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Lewis E 201 Chronicle of the History of the World from Creation to Woden

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## A Labor of Love: The Edward IV Roll Digital Mappa Project—Part Two

### Ancient Origins: From Noah to the Fateful Marriage of Ralph Mortimer to Gwladus Ddu

by Susan Troxell

The excerpts presented in this issue contain the transcription and translation of Free Library of Philadelphia MS Lewis E201 (“the Edward IV Roll”), from approximately the middle one-third of the 16-foot-long vellum scroll. This part focuses on telling an abbreviated history of the British, Frankish, and Saxon peoples. While it may not seem to be directly related to Edward IV’s title to the English throne in 1461, this ancient history played a significant role in laying the context of his claim and allowed him to argue that he was the fulfillment of ancient prophecy as foretold by Merlin and others. This gave him a powerful political advantage over Lancastrian contenders for the throne.

The method used to tell this ancient history is the family tree. Beginning with Noah’s ark and the survival of his family after the Great Flood, the roll shows that the British and Saxon nations spring from Noah’s son Japhet. The British descend from Japhet’s eldest grandson Kittim (spelled Cethim here) whose descendants include Aeneas and his great-grandson Brutus, the eponymous founder of Britain. The Saxons spring from Japhet’s second grandson Charsis, whose descendant, Woden, fathered five sons with his wife Freolaph; those sons’ descendants founded the kingdoms of Kent, Wessex, Sussex, Northumbria, Essex, Mercia, and East Anglia (known as the “Heptarchy”). Curiously, the Franks are not shown to be collectively descended from any of Noah’s sons – they simply emerge out of thin air with the appearance of their first king, Faramund (Pharamond), and their blue line of descent is literally squeezed between the other two lines. It worked to Edward IV’s benefit to elevate his British and Saxon ancestry over the Frankish, as he needed to prove he was the rightful heir of the English crown before laying any claim to the French one.

The roll privileges the British line of descent in a number of ways. It is positioned prominently on the left side of the roll, so that readers’ eyes would naturally gravitate there first. It also gives valuable vellum space to listing all the Romano-British kings of England from Brutus to Cadvan, the latter of whom fathered Cadwallo and the Welsh line of kings, as enumerated by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*The History of the Kings of Britain*). Using a green line to outline and connect all their genealogical boxes, the compilers of this roll show that Cadwallo’s ancestors include many notable persons such as King Lear, his daughter Cordelia, Cymbeline, Emperor Constantine III/IV, and - perhaps most significantly - King Arthur from the great chivalric romance tradition.

The roll substantiated the belief that the Welsh people were the original Britons who had been forced out of their homelands by invading Saxons and Angles.

The early origins of the Saxon invaders occupy a substantial part of the roll’s right side, with a series of large gold-outlined blocks containing miniature histories of each kingdom in the Heptarchy. The roll tells briefly the story of Saint Augustine and the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, as well as the role in history of England’s earliest rulers such as King Æthelred, Saint Edmund, and England’s patron saint Edward the Confessor. Here, in response to the invading Danish usurpers and other pagans, the kingdom of Wessex emerges as the one dominating and then unifying the Heptarchy under King Alfred. The culmination of these boxes is a large map in the shape of a seven-petaled compass rose illustrating the seven kingdoms of the Saxons, arranged around Edward IV’s badge of the sun-in-splendor and festooned with white roses-en-soleil. The paragraph beneath the map gives a summary of all the kings from Brutus up to Edward IV, calculating that from the coming of Brutus up to King Alfred there were 224 successive kings, of whom 127 were Christians, and another 31 kings between Alfred and Edward IV. These numbers probably had some mystical or prophetic significance to fifteenth-century people.

Prophecy, in particular, is a critical component of the Edward IV Roll. It leverages many popular prophecies that had been used to criticize Lancastrian rulers following the deposition and murder of Richard II in 1399. Prophecies were used to support campaigns to depose Henry IV and Henry V in favor of the Mortimer earls of March, and later, to depose Henry VI in favor of the House of York. In his chronicle, Geoffrey of Monmouth had devoted an entire book to the prophecies of Merlin, the famous wizard from Arthurian tradition. The first prophecy tells of a pool underneath the ground on which British King Vortigern had been trying unsuccessfully to build a fortress. In the pool are two sleeping dragons, one red and one white. On awakening, the red and white dragons fight. Merlin declared that the red dragon signified the people of Britain and the white dragon represented the Saxons whom Vortigern had invited into the country. Many versions of this prophecy foretold that the red dragon (the British) would ultimately conquer and expel the white dragon (the Saxons) from England. This prophecy is explicitly referenced in two roundels containing red and white dragons immediately next to the c.1230 marriage of Ralph Mortimer to Gwladus Ddu. Gwladus was daughter and sole heiress of Llywelyn the Great, king of Gwynedd, bringing a family tree that could be traced all the way back to King Arthur and Brutus. The Mortimers appropriated this history and saw themselves as lineal descendants of King Arthur.

The House of York publicly presented their family pedigree on two important occasions. In October 1460, the third duke of York submitted a

petition to parliament rehearsing his genealogy, showing that through his mother Anne Mortimer he was the true heir of Richard II and could claim seniority of descent through Edward III's second son Lionel of Antwerp. The petition became part of the settlement in which Henry VI named the duke of York as his heir. In November 1461, the full Yorkist genealogy was heard yet again at Edward IV's first parliament. Some historians speculate that the Edward IV Roll might have been prepared for that occasion.

Title to the English throne via female descendants was not as controversial as some might have made out during the Lancastrian regime. The Yorkists could point to several occasions in English and Biblical history where the right of succession passed through a woman, including Henry II's succession through his mother Empress Matilda, Edward III's claim to the French crown via his mother Isabella, Jesus' title of King of the Jews through his mother Mary, and the Old Testament daughters of Zelophehad being allowed to inherit his patrimony in the absence of brothers. Other examples abounded in continental European kingdoms.

A few final observations should be made at this point. First, this genealogy does not represent Edward IV's family tree but rather that of his father, the third duke of York. There is a noticeable absence of Edward IV's maternal ancestry, possibly because of space limitations, but more likely because Duchess Cecily's lineage was problematic for the House of York. Her mother was Joan Beaufort and her father was Ralph Neville; during their lives, both were outspoken and stalwart supporters of the House of Lancaster. The illegitimate origins of the House of Beaufort, with its connection to John of Gaunt's notorious adultery with Katherine Swynford, also ran contrary to the roll's repeated emphasis on legitimacy and proper birthright.

Second, while there is a great emphasis on Edward IV's British-Welsh lineage, no one should think that this roll is advocating for the interests of Wales, its political sovereignty, or cultural superiority. In fact, the green British-Welsh line terminates when Gwladus Ddu marries Ralph Mortimer in 1230, even though there were several more generations of Welsh princes leading up to Owain ap Gruffydd (d. 1415). Many historians see the Edward IV Roll as a type of "pageant parade" (my words) celebrating the House of Mortimer and all its august ancestors and noble associations. The dominance of Mortimer-related heraldry on this roll certainly shows that it has a very strong bias towards that family, and may have been copied in part from a Wigmore Abbey chronicle. The Mortimers took great pride in being the founding patrons of that abbey, which was about a four-hour walk from their principal residence at Ludlow Castle.

Finally, why does this project have relevance to a society named after Richard III? As will be seen in Part Three of this series, Richard is identified as one of the sons of the third duke. He has a box dedicated to him where

he is called the king's brother and duke of Gloucester in a later hand. This may be the first time that Richard appears in a Yorkist genealogy. Furthermore, Richard's title to the throne in 1483 was, for all practical purposes, identical to the claim set out by his brother Edward in 1461. He could even say he was restoring the kingdom to the status quo ante, to a time when there was no Woodville marriage or troublesome nephews.

#### Notes:

Dr Alison Allan has written extensively and authoritatively on the use of genealogies in the fifteenth century, and especially how they were used as political propaganda during the Wars of the Roses. For further reading, please see:

Alison Allan, "Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York, 1450-71", PhD Dissertation, University College Swansea, 1981.

Alison Allan, "Yorkist propaganda: Pedigree, prophecy, and the 'British history' in the Reign of Edward IV", in Patronage, Pedigree and Power, ed. C. Ross, 1979.

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# Three Ancient Roots: British, Frankish, and Saxon

## Origins of the British (green line)



Noah's ark, his sons, grandsons, and the origins of the British, Frankish, and Saxon peoples. The **British green line** springs from Noah's grandson Joban [Javan], whose son Cethim [Kittim] appears in the portrait on the far left in a green-outlined roundel. Cethim is the progenitor of the Bruti [the British] who are listed beneath him in green-outlined boxes.

## Transcription

Cethim

Primus filius dicti Joban qui linialiter de eo succedunt ut hic inferius patet etc.

Ciprinus, Cretus, Celius, Saturnus, Jupiter, Dardanus, Erutonium, Troyus, Azaracus, Capis, Anchyses. Eneas, filius Anchysis, post destructionem Troie applicuit in Italiam et ibi fuit rex sextus Latinorum, aliter dictorum Albanorum. et post tres annos regnavit Ascanius, filius Enee. et regnavit lxx annos et presidit civitatem Laminam quam pater suus edificavit. et post ipsum regnavit Silvius Postumus, rex Latinorum predictorum, & fuit pater Bruti. qui quidem Brutus ivit in Greciam et ibi per potestatem et iuvamen Troianorum, qui fuerunt sub tributo, duxit in uxorem Innoges, filiam Pandras regis, et deliberavit Troianos a captivitate eorum et cum eis navigavit et habuit responsa de dea in insula maris et applicuit in Albion et conqueravit gigantes & appellavit eam Britanniam, ut in diversis libris plenius appareatur. etc.

Brutus predictus edificavit proinde Trinovantum, quod est Troiam Novam, quam nunc Londoniam appellamus a creacione mundi 3048.

Locrinus, primo- genitus Bruti, ipso defuncto medietatem partem insule, que de nomine suo dicta est Loegria, & cum regnasset x annos etc.

Camber, secundus filius Bruti, sortitus est illam terram ultra Sabrinum quod nunc appellatur Wallea. Albanac, iijus filius Bruti, possedit Scociam & eam Albaneam vocari iussit etc.

## Translation

Cethim [Kittim]

The first son of the aforementioned Joban [Javan]. Those who descend lineally from him, as is clear here below etc.

Ciprinus, Cretus, Celius, Saturn, Jupiter, Dardanus, Erutonium, Troyus, Azaracus, Capys, Anchises. Aeneas, the son of Anchises, went to Italy after the destruction of Troy and there was the sixth king of the Latins, also known as the Albans. And after three years Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, reigned. And he reigned for 65 years and kept watch over the city of Lavinia, which his father built. And after him Silvius Postumus reigned as the king of the aforementioned Latins, and he was the father of Brutus. This Brutus went to Greece and there, by the power and aid of the Trojans, who were subject to tribute, he took Innogen, the daughter of King Pandrasus, as wife and delivered the Trojans from their captivity. And he sailed with them and received a response from the goddess on an island of the sea. And he reached Albion and conquered the giants and called it Britain, as is made evident at greater length in many books etc.

The aforementioned Brutus then built Trinovantum, which means "New Troy," which we now call London, in the year 3048 from the creation of the world.

Locrinus, the first-born son of Brutus, [took] the middle part of the island when he (sc. Brutus) died. It is called Loegria after him, and when he had reigned for ten years etc.

Camber, the second son of Brutus, was allotted the land across the Sabrinum [River], which is now called Wales. Albanactus, the third son of Brutus, took possession of Scotland and ordered that it be called Albany etc.



Origins of the **Franks (blue line)**

Noah's ark, his sons, grandsons, and the origins of the British, Frankish, and Saxon peoples. The Frankish blue line begins with Faramund, described in the text box immediately below the center roundel with Joban's (Javan's) portrait.

Faramundus, primus rex Francie, paganus. iste Faramundus fuit filius Marchomuri, qui fuit filius regis Priami de terra Ostruis. descendunt de linagio & sanguine regis Priami de Troya, qui cepit regnare anno Domini 420, ut patet postmodum.

Faramundus predictus primus rex. & hic incipit prima linea regum Francorum anno gracie 420. tamen paganus fuit.

Clodio Crinitus, filius eius Faramundi, in regnum elevatur, a quo reges Francorum Criniti vocantur, anno gracie 431. paganus fuit etc.

Meroveus, cognatus eius, a quo reges Francorum Merovingi sunt appellati, anno Domini 447. paganus fuit.

Faramund\*, the first king of France, a pagan. This Faramund was the son of Marcomer, who was the son of King Priam from the land of Ostruis. They are descended from the line and blood of King Priam of Troy. He (sc. Faramundus) began his reign in the year of our Lord 420, as will be clear shortly.

The aforementioned Faramund was the first king. And here begins the first line of Frankish kings, in the year of grace 420. However, he was a pagan.

Clodio the Long-Haired, the son of Faramundus, was raised to the kingship. From him, the Frankish kings are called "Long-Haired." In the year of grace 431. He was a pagan etc.

Meroveus, his brother, from whom the Frankish kings are called "Merovingian." In the year of our Lord 447. He was a pagan

(\*note that Faramund is left unconnected to any Old Testament ancestor in this genealogy, unlike the British and Saxon peoples. – S.T.)



## Origins of the Saxons (gold line)



Noah's ark, his sons and grandsons, and the origins of the British, Frankish, and Saxon peoples. The **Saxon gold line** springs from Noah's grandson Joban [Javan], whose son Charsis appears in the gold-outlined roundel on the right. Charsis is the progenitor of the Saxon peoples. The roll addresses the lineage and history of each kingdom of the Heptarchy in separate text boxes.

Charsis Secundus filius dicti Joban qui linialiter de eo succedunt ut predictum est et inferius patet etc.

Woden et Freolaph, uxor eius, fluxerunt de dominis superius scriptis et habuerunt in Saxonia quinque filios, de quibus venerunt reges Anglie, postquam Britones. prodiderunt nomen & regnum. scilicet de primo filio, nomine Vecta, successerunt Wicta, Witgily, Engist, primus rex Cancie. de secundo filio, nomine Beldegenus, successerunt Brandius, Beanok, Allok, Angewit, Yngwyn, Osee, Anglise, Coppe, qui habuit tres filios, scilicet Sedericius, rex Westsaxie, & Elle, rex Southsaxie, ac Hyda, rex Northumbro- rum. item de tertio filio dicti Woden, scilicet Saxand, successerunt An- delph, Gesac, Spethewe, Sigewoth, Bredcan, Offe, Erkewimis, rex Est- saxie. item de quarto filio, scilicet Witlacus, successerunt Weremund, Offa, Agethen, Consec, Yall, Knylba, Cynewold, Crida, rex Mer- ciorum. item de quinto filio, scilicet Wepedeg, successerunt Sigegag, Scaplond, Sesusil, Westre, Flacua, Witgalles, Uskerea, Uffa, primus rex Estanglie, ut plenius declarabitur in- ferius etc.

Charsis - The second son of the aforementioned Joban [Javan]. Those who descend lineally from him, as has been said above and is clear below etc.

Woden and Freolaph, his wife, de- scended from the lords recorded above and had five sons in the Saxon land, from whom descended the English, and later the British, kings. They provided both the name and the kingdom. From the first son, named Vecta, descended Witta, Witgily, and Engist, the first king of Kent. From the second son, named Beldegenus, succeeded Brandius, Benok, Allok, Angewit, Ingwyn, Osee, Anglise, and Eoppa, who had three children: Sedericius, king of Wessex; Elle, king of Sussex; and Hyda, king of Northumbria. From the third son of the aforementioned Woden, that is, Saxand, succeeded Andelph, Gesac, Spethewe, Sige- woth, Bredcan, Offa, and Erkewimis, king of Essex. From the fourth son, that is, Wihtlacus, suc- ceeded Weremund, Offa, Agethen, Consec, Yall, Knylba, Cynewold, and Crida, king of the Mercians. From the fifth son, that is, We- pedeg, descended Sigegag, Scaplond, Sesusil, Westre, Flacua, Witgalles, Usterea, and Uffa, the first king of East Anglia, as will be stated at greater length below etc.



## Origins of the Saxons (gold line) conc.

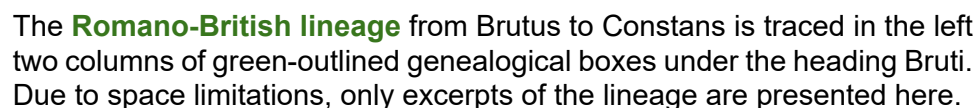


primum regnum fuit Cantia cuius reges dominabuntur in Cantia, que Britanice Keynt, Anglice Cantewareland dicebatur. In hac provincia archiepiscopatus Cantuarie et episcopatus Roffensis siti sunt. Hengistus primus rex de gente Saxonica. qui quidem Hengistus intravit in Britanniam, nunc Angliam vocetur, anno Domini CCCC xlvj et post octo annos cepit regnare, & in hoc regno fuit adeptus provinciam a Vortigerno propter nuptias filie sue quam Vortegerius amavit. Et regnavit in toto xxxij annis deinde per ordinem regnaverunt Eyst, Otha, Ermenricus, omnes pagani. post hos Ethelbertus qui fidem Christi suscepit predicatione sancti Augustini. hic solus in regibus Cantie usque ad confinium Humbrie fluminis imperii sui fines extendit. qui etiam post mortem sanctorum cathologo est appositus pro merito sanctitatis. iste est qui fundavit monasterium sancti Augustini extra muros Cantuari et Londoni sancti Pauli. post quem Edbaldus filius eius regnavit qui constructit monasterium sancti Martini Londoni. Cui Erkenbertus, Egbertus, Lotharius, Edricus, Witredus per ordinem successerunt. post quos Baldredus, rigie dignitatis [abortum?], regnum potius obcedit quam rexit, donec ab Egberto rege Westsaxonum prelio superatus in exilium tramigravit. Ita regnum Kantie, quod ab anno incarnationis Domini CCCC quadrasimo quarto steterat annis CCC sexaginta quinque, accessit alterius potestati. concideret in hoc loco lector quod omnia regna reliqua proscensu temporum regno Westsaxonico sunt unitata.

The first kingdom was Cantia [Kent]. Its kings held sway in Cantia, which was called Kent in British, Cantewareland in English. The archbishopric of Canterbury and the episcopate of Rochester are located in this province. Hengist was the first king (to be descended) from the Saxon people. This Hengist entered Britain, now called England, in the year of our Lord 446 and began to rule after eight years, and during his reign he acquired a province from Vortigern on account of the marriage of his daughter (sc. to Vortigern), with whom Vortigern was in love. He (sc. Hengist) reigned for 32 years in total. Then Eyst, Otha, and Ermenricus, all pagans, reigned in succession. After these, Æthelbert, who took up the Christian faith because of the teaching of Saint Augustine (sc. of Canterbury). He alone among the kings of Kent extended the borders of his kingdom all the way to the boundary of the river Humber. After his death, he was elected to the canon of saints on account of his holiness. It was he who founded the monastery of Saint Augustine outside the walls of Canterbury and the [church] of Saint Paul in London. After him reigned Eadbald, his son, who constructed the monastery of Saint Martin in London. Ercenbert, Egbert, Lotharius, Edric, and Witred succeeded him, in order. After them, Baldred, [unworthy?] of royal dignity, rather beset the kingdom than ruled it, until he was conquered in battle by Egbert, the king of Wessex, and went into exile. Thus the kingdom of Kent, which had stood from the year of the incarnation of our Lord 444 for 365 years, yielded to another's power. Let the reader here reflect that all the remaining kingdoms were united by the kingdom of Wessex in the course of time.



## The Romano-British Line: From Brutus to Constans (excerpts only)



*\*Note: Succession from Brutus to Albanactus is supplied in Origins of the British, above.*

Leyr, filius eius. Hic construxit  
Leycestriam anno 3301 regnavit que  
quadraginta annis.

Cordeilla regnavit quinque annis ex post vero a Morgano & Smedagio, sororum suarum filijs, incarcerata seipsam interfecit.

—

3794

Archigallo tyrannus, quapropter depositus est sed pietatis fratris receptus & sce[?].

Elidurus pius dictus est quia Archigallionem regnum gratis restituit, sed eo mortuo iterum regem

positus anno [].

— — —

Regin, filius Gorbaniani, qui  
numquam a tramite rectitudinis devi-  
avit.

Morganus, Archigallus filius, gentem  
Britonum cum magna tranquillitate  
tractavit. regnavit viij annis.

— — —

Guellinus vir modestus prudens &  
rectam iustitiam exercebat.

Hely regnavit quadraginta annis.

■ ■ ■

Lud, filius eius, qui cingit urbem  
Trinovantum novis muris in anno  
4119.

Cassibalanus, 4136, filius Hely,  
Julium Cesarem bis devicit. tercio  
ab eo victus est in bello.

— — —

Leyr, his son [King Lear, son of Bladud]. He built Leicester in the year 3301, and he ruled for forty years.

Cordeilla ruled for five years. But later, after she was imprisoned by Morgan and Smedagius, her sisters' sons, she killed herself.

—

3794

Archgallo was a tyrant. For this reason he was deposed. But he was received by his brother's piety and [?].

Elidurus was called “the Pious” because he voluntarily restored Archigallo [to] the kingdom. But when he died, he was again made king in the year [blank].

11

Regin, the son of Gorbonianus,  
who never strayed from the path of  
righteousness.

Morgan, the son of Archgallo, treated the British people with great peacefulness. He reigned for eight years.

—

Guellinus, a modest and prudent man, administered justice lawfully.  
Hely reigned for forty years.

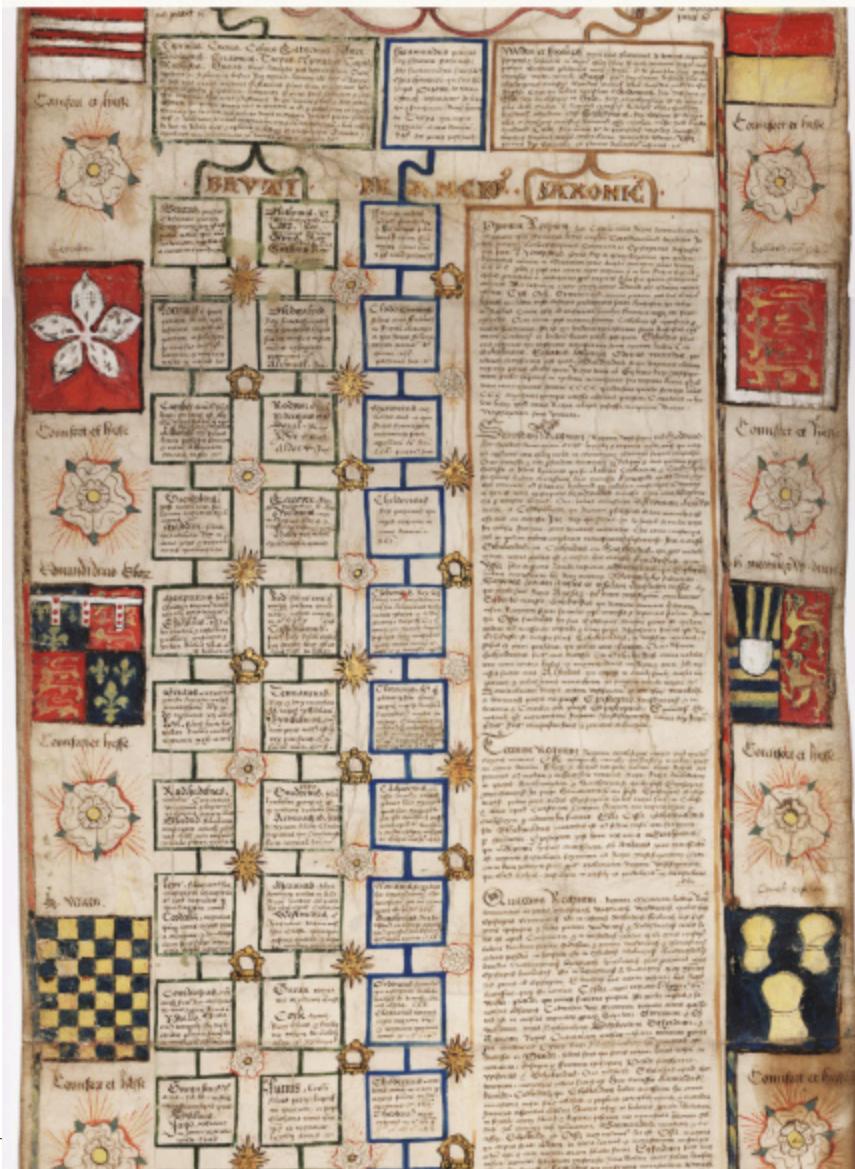
Lud, his son, who encircled the city of Trinovantum with new walls in the year 4119.

Cassibalanus, 4136, the son of Hely, conquered Julius Caesar twice. The third time he was defeated by him in battle.

—



The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Cadfan  
(Excerpts from Sections 3-4 of DM E201) cont.  
The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Constans (excerpts only)  
cont.



## Transcription

Tennantius, rex & dux Cornubie &  
nepos Cassibilani.

Kymbelinus, cuius temporis natus est  
Cristus, rex pacificus, anno a cre-  
atione mundi 4178.

— — —

4188  
Guiderius, filius Kymbelinii, peremptus est quia negavit tributum Romanis.

Arviragus habuit in uxorem filiam  
Claudi imperatoris, qui Claudiocestre  
fecit. regnavit Domini 40<sup>o</sup>

—

Maurius, filius Arviragi, occidit in bello regem Scottorum, alias Pictorum. hic edificavit Cestriam. Westmaria anno regnavit Domini nostri Ihesu Christi quinquagesimo quarto & regni sui vicesimo sexto sep[ur].

— — —

Asclepiodotus regnavit x annis. pas-  
sus est sanctus Albanus pro Cristi  
nomine.

Coel pacem fecit cum Romanis etc.  
et sanctam Elenam, filiam suam,  
dedit Constancio etc.

— — —

Constantius regnavit x annis &  
sancta Elena invenit crucem etc.

Constantinus filius eius & totius  
mundi tenuit monarchiam.

— — —

Octavius dux Gwiseorum occidit pro-  
consules Romanos etc.

Traher avunculus sancte Elene mis-  
sus a Constantino etc.

...

## Translation

Tennantius, king and Duke of Cornwall and the nephew of Cassibilanus.

Cymbeline, in whose time Christ was born, a peaceful king in the year 4178 from the creation of the world.

---

4188  
Guiderius, son of Cymbeline, was  
killed because he denied tribute to the  
Romans.

Arviragus had as a wife the daughter of the emperor Claudius. He built Claudicestre (sc. Gloucester). He reigned in the year of our Lord 40.

— — —

Maurius, the son of Arviragus, killed the king of the Scots, otherwise known as the Picts, in battle. He built Chester. Westmaria reigned in the year of our lord Jesus Christ fifty-four, and he was buried in the twenty-sixth year of his reign.

— — —

Asclepiodotus reigned for ten years.  
Saint Alban was martyred in the name  
of Christ.

Coel made peace with the Romans etc. and gave his daughter Saint Helen to Constantius (sc. in marriage) etc.

— — —

Constantius reigned for ten years and Saint Helen discovered the cross etc.

Constantine, his son, had sole rule of the entire world.

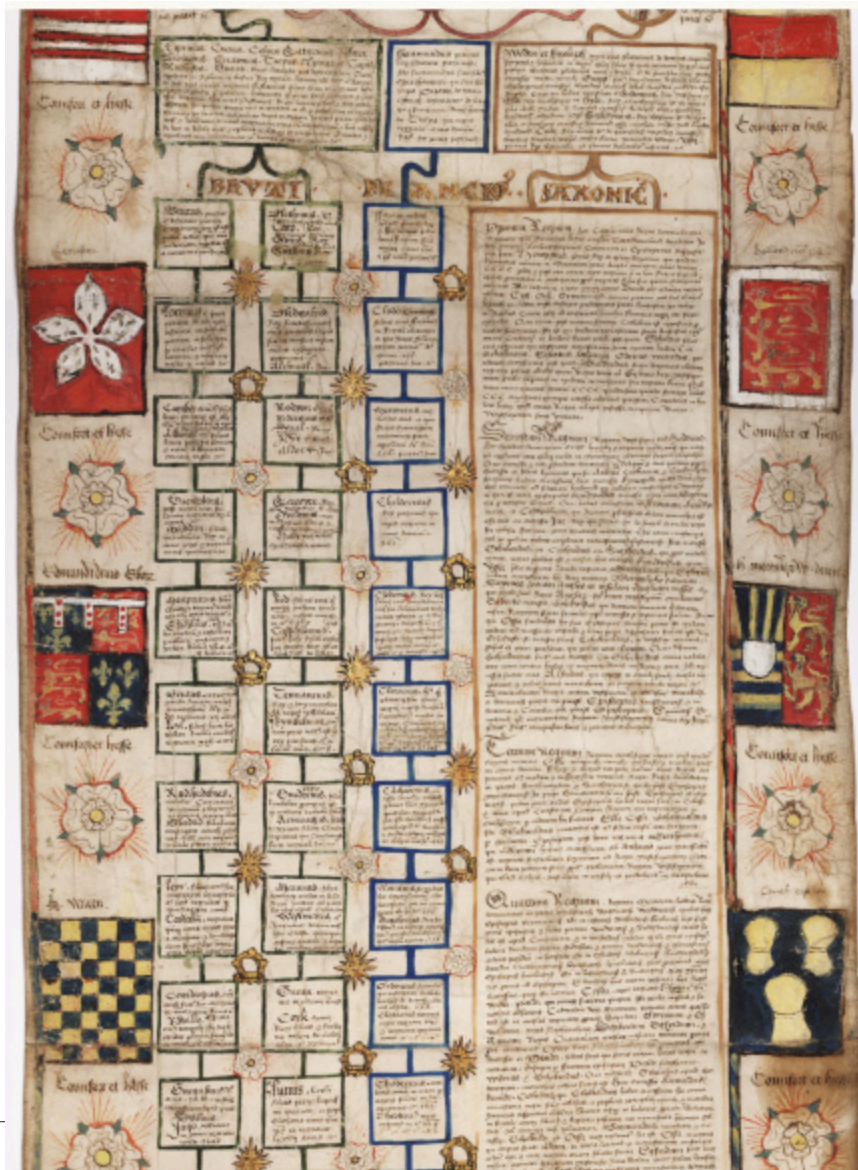
— — —

Octavius, Duke of the Gewissi, killed Roman proconsuls etc.

Traher, the uncle of Saint Helen, was sent (sc. to Britain) by Constantine etc.



The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Cadfan  
 (Excerpts from Sections 3-4 of DM E201) cont.  
 The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Constans (excerpts only)  
 conc.



Transcription

Maximus senator duxit filiam Octavii regis.

Gracianus occiditur propter nimiam

---

Constantinus, frater Aldroeni, regis Armonicanorum Britonum.

Constans regnavit iii annis. Fuit monachus Wintonie & rex efficitur, & post occiditur etc.

Translation

Maximus (sc. Maximianus), a senator, married the daughter of King Octavius.

Gratianus was killed by the Britons because of his excessive cruelty.

---

Constantine, brother of Aldroen, king of the Armonican Britons.

Constans reigned for three years. He was a monk at Winchester and was made king, and afterwards he was killed etc.

The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Cadfan  
 (Excerpts from Sections 3-4 of DM E201) cont.  
 The **Romano-British Line**: From Constans to Cadfan (excerpts only)



Section 4 of DM E201, Romano-British line continues for two columns, upper L, in green-outlined boxes, above the frieze of seven half-portraits. It then continues as the Welsh line on the left on later sections of the roll. Cadwallo is the first of the Welsh kings identified as continuing the Romano-British line.

Transcription

Vortigernis proditor duorum regum & misit pro saxonibus etc.

Vortimerius a Britonibus coronatur ut Saxones debellet. hic quater vicit Anglos. tandem veneno periit etc.

---

Aurelius, alias Aurilambros, occiditur veneno apud Wintoniam.

Uter Pendragon occidit Pascencium & regem Hibernie Guilomannium ac Garloys, ducem Cornubie, & duxit Igernam garl & ex ea genuit Arthurum.

---

Arthurus rex contra Saxones duodecies victor bellorum & omnis Anglos fecit tributarios. in dedicionem accepit Romanum exercitum. vicit Franciam et Burgundiam etc.

---

Constantinus, filius ducis Cadoris, Cornubie regnavit post Arthurum.

Aurelius Conanus successit eidem. Hic viriliter Saxonibus resistebat, iuvenis diademete dignus etc.

---

Translation

Vortigern was the betrayer of two kings, and he sent on behalf of the Saxons etc.

Vortimer was crowned by the Britons in order that he might defeat the Saxons. He conquered the Angles four times. At last he died by poison etc.

---

Aurelius, otherwise known as Aurilambros (sc. Ambrosius), died by poison at Winchester.

Uther Pendragon killed Pascencius, Guilomanius, the king of Ireland, and Garlois, the Duke of Cornwall, and he married Igerna Garl and with her he fathered Arthur.

---

King Arthur was victorious in battle against the Saxons twelve times, and he made all the Angles his subjects. He received the surrender of the Roman army. He conquered France and Burgundy etc.

---

Constantine, the son of Duke Cador. Reigned at Cornwall after Arthur.

Aurelius Conanus succeeded him. He courageously resisted the Saxons, a youth worthy of the crown etc.

---



The **Romano-British Line**: From Brutus to Cadfan  
 (Excerpts from Sections 3-4 of DM E201) cont.  
 The **Romano-British Line**: From Constans to Cadfan (excerpts only)



Transcription

Vortiporius viriliter dimittavit & vicit  
 Saxones & Britones suos cum dili-  
 gentia gubernavit.

Malgo Pulcher, tyrannorum depul-  
 sor, robustus armis & ultra modum  
 probitate preclarus etc.

...

Karecticus a Godmundo rege  
 Affricanorum vocato fuerat in auxil-  
 ium Saxonum fugatur in Walliam. ex  
 tunc Angli invaluerunt Britanniam im-  
 perare etc.

...

Cadwanus, dux Venedotie regni di-  
 adema suscepit a Britonibus ut es-  
 set contra Saxones & ductor eorum  
 qui paulo post pacem fecit etc.

Translation

Vortiporius courageously fought  
 and conquered the Saxons, and he  
 ruled his Britons with care.

Malgo the Handsome, deposer of  
 tyrants, strong in arms and distin-  
 guished beyond measure in valor  
 etc.

...

Ceredic was made to flee to Wales  
 by Godmundus, king of the  
 Africans, who had been called to  
 aid of the Saxons. From that point  
 on, the Angles were unable to rule  
 Britain etc.

...

Cadvan [Cadfan], Duke of Venedo-  
 tia, took up the rule of the kingdom  
 from the Britons so that he might  
 fight against the Saxons and be  
 their leader. Somewhat later, he  
 made peace etc.

## The Frankish Line: From Faramund to Charles the Simple

**Frankish Line:** Faramund to Pepin [excerpts]



Section 3 of DM E201 - The **Frankish line** is the single line of boxes in the center outlined in blue; it is flanked on the left by the **Romano-British** and on the right by the **Saxon** history.

### Transcription

*\*Note: Descent from Faramund to Meroveus is covered in the section above.*

Childeritus, rex paganus, qui cepit regnare in anno Domini 461.

Clodoveus rex, 484, filius eius, quinto decimo anno regi sui Alemannos tributarios constituit & a sancto Remigio die Pasha cum 3 m<sup>l</sup> virorum & 2 sororibus baptismum suscepit. Huic Anastasius imperator coronam auream etc. misit etc. & Augustus eum appellavit.

Clotarius. huius quoque Clotarii filii quatuor regnum inter se diviserunt. Karenbertus recedit Parisius, Guntrunus Aurelianum, Sigebertus apud urbem Methensem, Chilperitus vero apud Suesionem ? regnum patris sui fu?at anno 516.

Chilperitus, cum esset lacivus & vanus, plures habuit uxores, inter quas habuit Fredagundam, satis quidem speciosam sed pessimis artibus opulendam. Sigebertum enim, fratrem Chilperici, interfecit ac Chilpericum interfecit 558.

Clotarius secundus. hic Saxonum terram adeo devastatam ut non remaneret ibi homo etc. 588.

Dagobertus, rex fortissimus, in iudiciis serenissimus, pacificus velud Salomon. quietus regnum optinit regnavit 44.

### Translation

Childeric, a pagan king, who began his reign in the year of our Lord 461.

King Clovis, 484, his son. In the fifteenth year of his reign, he made the Germans his subjects, and he was baptised on Easter by Saint Remigius along with 3,000 men and his two sisters. Emperor Anastasius sent him a golden crown etc. and declared him "Augustus."

Clothar. The four sons of Clothar, too, divided the kingdom among themselves. Charibert went to Paris, Guntram to Orléans, Sigebert to the city of Metz, Chilperic to Soissons. He [illegible] the kingdom of his father in the year 516.

Chilperic had many wives, since he was licentious and foolish. Among them was Fredagunda, quite beautiful, but endowed with evil arts. She killed Sigebert, the brother of Chilperic, and she killed Chilperic in 558.

Clothar the Second. He [left] the Saxon land so devastated that not a single person remained there etc. 588.

Dagobert, a mighty king, most fair in his judgments, peaceful, like Solomon. He held the kingdom in a state of calm. He reigned in the year [6]44.



# The Frankish Line: From Faramund to Charles the Simple

Frankish Line: Faramund to Pepin [excerpts] cont.



## Transcription

Clodoveus secundus, qui instiganti diabolo brachium beati Dionisii martiris absidit. 647.

---

Pypinus rex Francie. hic fit transmigration secundum Henricum archiepiscopum alios que cronografos de una cerie generationis Francorum in alium, de quibus ortus est Pipinus. 751.

## Translation

Clovis the Second, who at the prompting of the devil cut off the arm of the blessed martyr Dionysius. 647.

---

Pepin, king of France. According to Archbishop Henry and other chronographers, here occurred the transition from one line of Frankish succession to another, from which Pepin was born. 751.



Top two-thirds of Section 4 on DM E201, showing the **Frankish blue line** continuing as a single line through the middle and continuing past the portrait of the French king who is robed in blue and wearing a diadem

Karolus 771, magnus rex et imperator, coronatus que veste imperatoria circumdatur & a populo Romano Augustum appellatum. qui obiit imperii sui anno quadragesimo vj<sup>to</sup>.

Lodowicus Pius, rex & imperator, Karoli magni imperatoris filius. Post obitum patris Romanum optinens imperium imperavit annis xxvj mensibus xj 815, aliter 820.

Karolus Calvus, qui cepit regnare in anno Domini 844, fuit Rex Francorum & imperator. secundum vero alios 868.

Lodowicus Lilefus, qui cepit regnare in anno Domini octo centenario septuagesimo nono. Secundum vero 928.

Karolus cum Lodovico, fratri suo, cepit regnare in anno Domini Dccc lxxxv etc.

Karolus rex & imperator, qui cepit regnare in anno Domini Dccc lxxvij etc.

Odo, filius Comitis Andegavensis, cepit regnare in anno Domini Dccc lxxxj etc.

Karolus Simplex. secundum quedam cronica regnavit annis xxx xxxvij; secundum alia, xliij. hic dedit filiam suam & terram Normanniam Rolloni duci etc.

Charlemagne. Crowned king and emperor. He was cloaked in the imperial garment and was titled Augustus by the Roman people. He died in the forty-sixth year of his reign.

Louis the Pious. King and emperor, son of emperor Charlemagne. He received the Roman Empire after the death of his father and reigned for 26 years and eleven months. 815 or 820.

Charles the Bald, who began his reign in the year of our Lord 844, was king of the Franks and emperor. But according to others, 868.

Louis the Stammerer, who began his reign in the year of our Lord eight hundred seventy-nine. But according [to others,] 928.

Charles, along with his brother Louis, began his reign in the year of our Lord 885 etc.

Charles, king and emperor, who began his reign in the year of our Lord 887 etc.

Odo, the son of the Earl of Anjou, began his reign in the year of our Lord 891 etc.

Charles the Simple. According to some chronicles, he ruled for 30 38 years; according to others, for 43. He gave his daughter and the land of Normandy to Duke Rollo etc.



[excerpts only]



*Note: The First Kingdom of Kent was described in the first section on Saxon origins, above. Transcriptions/translations for the Kingdoms of Sussex, Mercia, and Essex, have been omitted here due to space limitations.*

**Secundum regnum.** regnum Westsaxie sub Sederico, alias Serdicio, anno gratie CCCC lxxxvj, & regnavit xxvj annis. qui mox ut applicuit cum quinque ceolis in Britanniam Britones fugere compulsit. quo successu & sibi profundam securitatem in reliquum & suis quietem peperit. successit ei filius Kynricus qui se Aulnium, Ceolricum, & Ceolwlphum paganos habuit successores. hiis successit Kynegild, quem sanctus Brinus convertit ad fidem. cui Kenewalk qui ecclesiam construxit in Wyntonia, in qua est sedes episcopalis Kenewalkis. successit uxor eius Sexburga per tempus aliquod. qui habuit successores Alkwinum, Kentwinum, et Cedwallam, qui Romam proficissens ibidem monachus est effectus. cui successit Ine rex, qui statuit ut de singulis famulis regni sui ecclesie Romane unus denarius mitteretur. hic etiam construxit vel ut quidam volunt ampliavit monasterium Glastoniense. Ine successit Ethelardus, cui Cuthredus, cui Sigebertus, qui propter crudelitatem regno pulsus est & occisus. hinc successit Kynewlfus, quem Uffa prelio superavit. deinde regnavit Bruturicus, qui Egbertum habuit successorem. hic rege Merciorum Bernulpho subiugato Saxones vocari Angles et insulam Angliam iussit. Ex quo vocati sunt reges Anglorum prius reges Westsaxonum vocabantur. Egberto successit Ethelwlfus, qui decimam omnium hidarum infra regnum suum famulis Cristi concessit & reperavit scolam Rome qui Offa fundaverat. hic fuit episcopus Wintoni primo ut quidam volant sed

**Second kingdom.** The kingdom of Wessex [was established] under Sedericus (sc. Cerdic), otherwise known as Serdicius, in the year of grace 486, and he reigned for 26 years. When he reached Britain with five war-galleys, he forced the Britons to flee. By means of this success, he procured deep security for himself for the rest of his life and tranquility for his family. His son Cynric succeeded him, and he was succeeded by the pagans Aulnius, Ceolric, and Ceolwulf. Their successor was Cynegild, whom Saint Birinus converted to the faith. He was succeeded by Cenwalh, who constructed a church in Winchester, in which there is an episcopal see. Seaxburh, his wife, succeeded Cenwalh for some time. Her successors were Alcwin, Centwine, and Cædwalla, who went to Rome and there became a monk. He was succeeded by King Ine, who decreed that one penny be sent from each household of his kingdom to the church of Rome. He also constructed—or, as some think, expanded—the monastery of Glas-tonbury. Ine was succeeded by Æthelheard, then Cuthred, then Sigeberht, who was banished from the kingdom and killed on account of his cruelty. Cynewulf, whom Uffa conquered in battle, succeeded him. Then Beorhtric reigned, and his successor was Egbert. He, after subjugating Beornwulf, king of the Mercians, decreed that the Saxons be called English and that the island be called England. .



## The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.



## Transcription

necessitate cogendi & Leone papa dispensante factus est rex. Ethelwfo isti successit filius Ethelwaldus in Westaxonia, ignavus prorsus et patri perfidus, qui poluit eius thronum. Quo defuncto Ethelbrutus frater eius successit. cui Ethelredus animo nobilis uno anno contra hostes et maxime Danos conflixit & vicit. illi successit frater eius Alfredus, qui ex post in omnibus finibus Anglie imperavit & solus tenuit monarchiam, ut patet in tabula maiori etc. dominabuntur reges autem Westsaxonum et Wiltshiri Warokcensi et Dorcecensi pagis, cui preest episcopus Saresburiensis, & in Devonia et Cornubia, ubi preest episcopus Exoniensis. Et notandum quod iugnamitate regnum Westsaxonum cetera sex regna predictum regum conquista sunt & penitus subiugata.

## Translation

(Lat. Anglia). Because of this, (those who) used to be called kings of the West Saxons are called kings of the English. Egbert was succeeded by Æthelwulf, who yielded a tenth of all the hides (sc. of land) within his kingdom to the servants of Christ and restored the schola (sc. Saxonum) at Rome that Offa had founded. He was originally bishop of Winchester, as some would have it, but by force of necessity and the dispensation of Pope Leo, he was made king. Æthelwulf was succeeded in Wessex by his son Ethelwald, entirely spiritless and disloyal to his father, who dishonored his father's throne. When he died, Æthelberht, his brother, succeeded him. He was succeeded by bold-hearted Æthelred, who fought for one year against his enemies, and especially the Danes, and was victorious. He was succeeded by his brother Alfred, who thereafter held sway in all the territories of England and was its sole ruler, as is clear from the older record etc. But the kings of Wessex held sway in the counties of Wiltshire, [Warokcensis] and Dorset, over which the Bishop of Salisbury presides, and in Devon and Cornwall, where the bishop of Exeter presides. And it should be noted that the other six kingdoms of the kings mentioned here were conquered and deeply subjugated and yoked under the kingdom of Wessex.



## The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.



## Transcription

**quintum regnum.** regnum Estanglorum habuit reges dominantes in pago Cambrigiensis, cui preest episcopus Eliensis, et in Northfolch & Southfolch, quibus est episcopus Norwicensis, cuius sedes erat olim apud Elingham vel Thetford. nomina regum qui regnaverunt

ibidem per ordinem fuerunt hec. Uffa, qui cepit regnare in anno domini CCCC lxxxij, Thilitha, Redwaldus, Orpwaldus, Wibertus, qui omnes pagani fuerunt preter Orpwaldum, qui innocens est occisus post susceptam Cristi fidem. nam Redwaldus inter Christianos minime computatur quia post modum a fide dessivit. magnus tamen fuit a deo ut omnes Australes Anglorum & Saxonum provincie citra Humbrum cum suis regibus ei subderentur. ipse etiam qui occidit Ethelfridum regem Northumbrorum istis successit Sigebertus, qui conversus est per Felicem episcopum cum genta sua, qui tandem seculo valefaciens monachus est effectus. post hunc regnavit Egricus, cui successit Anna, qui genuit sanctas Ethelburgam, Etheldredam, ac Withburgam. Anne Ethelherus successit, cui Ethelwoldus, Aldulphus, Alwoldus, Beorna, Ethelredus per ordinem successerunt. Ethelredo successit filius eius Ethelbertus, qui iussu coniugis regis Merciorum Offe quidem videlicet martirizatur. post hunc non legimus in Estanglia pro violentia Merciorum usque ad sanctum Edmundum, qui ab iniquo Kynwar martirizatur anno xvj<sup>o</sup> vel secundum alios xxvj<sup>o</sup> regni sui. Gytro Danus regnavit ibidem annis duodecim. qui successorem habuit et alium Danum nomine Ecric. qui cum regnassit annis quatordecim peremptus est ab Anglis eo quod magnaniliter in eos egisset. nec tamen libertas eis assurrexit Danorum comitibus eos opprimentibus

## Translation

**Fifth kingdom.** The kingdom of the East Anglians had kings who reigned in the town of Cambridge, over which the Bishop of Ely presides, and in Norfolk and Suffolk, over which presides the Bishop of Norwich, whose seat was once at Ellingham or Thetford. The names of the kings who reigned there, in order, were these. Uffa, who began his reign in the year of our Lord 492, Thilitha, Rædwald, Eorpwald, and Wibert, who were all pagans except for Eorpwald, who, though innocent, was killed after he took up the faith of Christ. For Rædwald is esteemed very low among Christians, because he abandoned his faith after a short time. He was so powerful that he subjugated all the southern Angles and Saxons of the territory on that side of the Humber, including their kings. Sigebert, who killed Æthelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, succeeded them. He, along with his people, was converted by Bishop Felix, and he eventually left secular life to become a monk. After him reigned Ecgic, who was succeeded by Anna, who fathered Saints Æthelburh, Æthelred, and Wihtburh. Anna was succeeded by Æthelhere, who was succeeded by Æthelwold, Ealdwulf, Ælfwald, Beorna, and Æthelred, in order. Æthelred was succeeded by his son Æthelberht, who was martyred at the order of the wife of the Mercian king Offa. After him, we do not read of the violence of the Mercians in East Anglia until Saint Edmund, who was martyred by the evil Cynwar in the sixteenth year of his reign, or according to others, the twenty-sixth. Guthrum the Dane, by the name of Eohric. After he had reigned for fourteen years,

## The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.



Origins of the Saxon kingdoms - King Arthur and the Saxons [excerpts]

[Note - for editorial reasons, the Saxon Kingdoms of Sussex, Mercia, Essex are omitted]

## Transcription

donec Edwardus, filius Alfredi magni, expulsis Danis & liberatis Anglis regnum illud suo imperio Westsaxonico adiecisset anno post occisionem sancti Edmundi quinquagesimo regni vero sui quintodecimo.

## Translation

he was killed by the English because he had treated them [very cruelly]. But they were not free so long as the Danish earls were oppressing them, until Edward, the son of Alfred the Great, who expelled the Danes and liberated the English, joined the kingdom with Wessex, his kingdom, in the fiftieth year after the killing of Saint Edmund, the fifteenth year of his own reign.



# The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.



Top portion of Section 4 of DM E201 - the history of the **Saxon kingdoms** along the right margin concludes in a large seven-petaled compass map of the Heptarchy centered around Edward IV's badge of the sun in splendor. Below the map is a text box describing King Arthur's efforts to expel the Saxons, and the number of kings up to Edward IV.

## Transcription

**septimum regnum.** Regnum Northumbrorum incipit sub Hyda, secundus filius Coppe & frater regis Sederici Westsaxonie, anno Domini Dxlviij<sup>o</sup>. post quem regnaverunt reges subscripti: Adda, Clappa, Theodwulfus, Frethewulfus, Theodoricus, Eadricus, Ethelfridus. et hii quidem omnes pagani. sed qui eis successit, Edwynus, per sanctum Paulinum Christianis imbutur sacramentis. deinde Kynfridus, Oswaldus, Oswynus, Egfridus, Alfridus, Osredus, Kenredus, Osricus, Ceolwulfus, Egbertus, Osalphus, Ethelwaldus, Elredus, Ethelbertus, Aswoldus, Oanredus, Ethelbertus, Osricus, Osbertus, Elle per ordinem successerunt. In Deyra regnavit Elle post Hydum, primum regem Northumbrorum, dum octo reges collaturales regnabant in Bernicia. de hoc rege Elle fit mentio in Vita Beati Gregorii Pape. post Elle regnabant in Deyra Eadricus, Eadwynus, & Oswynus. dominabantur autem reges

Northanhumborum generaliter in omni regione que est ultra Humbrum usque ad Scotiam, ubi sunt archiepiscopus Eboracensis & episcopi Dunelmensis & Carleolensis. in hoc regno, ut pretactum est, Edwinus fuit primus regum qui fidem Christi suscepit, conversus per sanctum Paululum episcopum cum genta sua. hoc regnum post mortem Ide, primi regis, divisum est in Berniciam & Deyram. regnum Berniciorum fuit a flumino Tina usque ad mare Scotticum; Deyrorum regnum a flumine Humbrie usque ad fluvium Tinam. interiecto tempore sanctus Oswaldus duo regna compaginavit, qui nono anno

## Translation

**Seventh kingdom.** The kingdom of the Northumbrians begins under Ida, the second son of Coppia and the brother of King Sedericus of Wessex, in the year of our Lord 547. After him, the following kings reigned: Adda, Clappa, Theodwulf, Frethewulf, Theodoric, Eadric, and Ethelfridus. And these were all pagans. But Edwin, who succeeded them, took the Christian sacraments because of Saint Paulinus. Then Cynfrid, Oswald, Oswin, Egfrid, Alfrid, Osred, Coenred, Osric, Ceolwulf, Egbert, Osalph, Ethelwald, Elred, Æthelbert, Aswold, Oanred, Æthelbert, Osric, Osbert, and Ælle succeeded him, in order. Ælle reigned in Deira after Ida, the first king of Northumbria, while the eight co-regents were ruling in Bernicia. There is a mention of King Ælle in the Life of the Blessed Pope Gregory. After Ælle, Eadric, Eadwin, and Oswin ruled in Deira. The Northumbrian kings ruled, in general, over the whole of the territory from that side of the Humber and up to Scotland, where the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle reside. In this kingdom, as has been mentioned, Edwin was the first king to take up the faith of Christ, converted by Saint Paulinus, the bishop, along with his people.



# The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.



## Transcription

regni sui per martirium  
vitam finivit. quo defuncto Oswy reg-  
navit in Bernicia & sanctus Oswinus  
in Deyra. Oswy vero graviter ferens  
regni divisionem sanctum Oswynum  
interfecit & regnum iterum adunavit.  
Coelwlfus, sextus rex ab Oswy, sus-  
cepit habitum monachalem. Egbricht,  
successor eius, similiter monachus  
est effectus. tandem Danis superve-  
nientibus occupatum est regnum ab  
illis donec rex Edredus illud regno  
Westsaxonico copulasset. hee erant  
particionum regimoniorum quam  
reges vicissitudine temporum iii<sup>o</sup>  
hii<sup>o</sup> illi terminos pretergrederentur  
pro fortitudine vel amitterent per  
ignavia.

## Translation

After the death of Ida, its first  
king, this kingdom was divided  
into Bernicia and Deira. The  
Bernician kingdom stretched  
from the River Tyne all the way  
to the Scottish sea; the  
kingdom of Deira, from the  
Humber estuary to the River  
Tyne. After some time, Saint  
Oswald reunited the two  
kingdoms and died as a martyr  
in the ninth year of his reign.  
After he died, Oswiu reigned in  
Bernicia and Saint Oswine in  
Deira. Oswiu, however, bearing  
the division of the kingdom  
heavily, had Saint Oswine killed  
and reunited the kingdom.  
Coelwulf, the sixth king after  
Oswiu, took up the habit of a  
monk. Eadberht, his successor,  
also became a monk.  
Eventually, when the Danes  
invaded, the kingdom was  
occupied by them until King  
Edred united it with the  
Kingdom of Wessex. [These  
were the divisions of the  
kingdoms ... the kings, through  
the succession of the ages,  
[tertio...tertio?] invaded their  
borders, either attacked  
because of their strength or  
sent away because of their  
weakness.]



# The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.

## Compass Rose Map of the Saxon Heptarchy with Badges of Edward IV.



Detail from Section 4 of DM E201, close up of compass rose map of the Saxon Heptarchy

## Transcription

## Translation

Outer ring in blue capital letters:  
Hee sunt septem divisiones Britanici Regni  
que expulsis Britonibus ab Anglis facte sunt.

Outer ring in capital blue letters:  
These are the seven divisions of the  
British kingdom which were created when  
the Britons were expelled by the Angles.

At the cardinal points of the map:

Ab meridie  
Regnum Cantie. Regnum Sudsaxie  
Primum Tertium

At the cardinal points of the map:

From the South  
Kingdom of Kent Kingdom of Sussex  
First Third

Ab Oriente  
Regnum Westsaxie. Regnum Merciorum  
Secundum Quartum

From the East  
Kingdom of Wessex Kingdom of Mercia  
Second Fourth

Ab Septentrione  
Regnum Northumbriorum.  
Septimum

From the North  
Kingdom of Northumbria  
Seventh

Ab Occidente  
Regum Estanglie. Regum Estsaxie.  
Quintum Sextum

From the West  
East Anglia Kingdom of Essex  
Fifth Sixth

Innermost circle in black capital letters:  
Situs Britanie Maioris, quae nunc Anglia  
vocatur.

Innermost circle in capital black letters:  
Geography of Great Britain, which is now  
called England.

Transcription and translation of text follow.

## The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.

### Compass Rose Map of the Saxon Heptarchy with Badges of Edward IV.



## Transcription

Incipit **regnum Arthuri** Orientalium in Saxonum, quod modo Estsexia dicitur, a nativitate salvatoris Dxxvj anno. expulsi sunt Britanni a regno per Anglos, qui Walliam pecierunt, ubi a Britannia nobilitate degenerati. nam non Britones sed Wallenses sunt appellati a Wallone, duce eorum. & sic deinceps Anglia vocatur anno Domini Dlxxxvj. Alfredus tenuit monarchiam Westsaxonum & totius Angliae circa annum Domini Dccclxxxvj m<sup>d</sup>. ab Alfredo, qui tenuit monarchium Westsaxonum, & Wilhelmum conquestorem fuerunt quindecim reges divisim. ita a Bruto, primo rege Angliae, usque ad Arthurum fuerunt divisim lxxxv reges. iterum octo reges

fuerunt a tempore Arthuri usque ad divisionem Britonum et regnum quod fuit divisum in septem regibus, ut prescriptum est in figura. quidem regnum Northumbrorum post mortem Yde primi regis divisum est in Berniciam et Deyram. regnum Berniciorum fuit a Tyno flumino usque ad mare Scotticum. Deyrorum regnum a flumine Humbrie usque ad fluvium Ty nam, que duo regna compagnaivit sanctus Oswaldus etc.

## Translation

The **kingdom of Arthur** begins in the East Saxon land, which is now called Essex, in the year 527 after the birth of our Lord. The Britons were expelled from the kingdom by the Angles, and they headed for Wales, where they degenerated from the British nobility. For indeed they are not called Britons but Welsh (Lat. Wallenses) after Wallo, their lord. And thus at last it was called England in the year of our Lord 586. Alfred had the sole rule of the West Saxons and of all England around the year of our Lord 896. From Alfred, who held the sole rule of the West Saxons, up to William the Conqueror there were fifteen successive kings. Thus from Brutus, the first king of England, all the way up to Arthur there were 95 successive kings. There were eight more kings from the time of Arthur up to the division of the Britons and the kingdom that was divided among seven kings, as shown in the diagram. Indeed, the kingdom of the Northumbrians was divided after the death of Ida, its first king, into Bernicia and Deira. The kingdom of the Bernicians stretched from the River Tyne up to the Scottish sea. The kingdom of the Deirans stretched from the Humber River up to the River Tyne. Saint Oswald reunited the two kingdoms etc.



# The Saxon Kingdoms of the Heptarchy

[excerpts only] cont.

## Compass Rose Map of the Saxon Heptarchy with Badges of Edward IV.



## Transcription

Ab adventu Bruti usque ad regnum prime monarchie Anglie fluerunt diuisim duos centenos & viginti quator reges, de quibus centum viginti septem fuerunt Cristiani. ita a regno primi mornarchie fluxerunt in Anglia xxxj reges ad illustrissimum regem dominum nostrum Edwardum quartum, verum & indubitatum regem in linea rectissima ab Adam ad Noe & a Noe usque ad hodiernum diem. silicet anno primo regni sui quod est anno gratie millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> lxj<sup>o</sup>, ut in presenti rotula sub brevi loquio & hoc breviario componitur et claro declaratur, quod dictus dominus Edwardus est rex Anglie & Francie nec non Castelle & Legionum etc. in super computando ab adventu Bruti fluxerunt in Anglia duos centenos quinquaginta quinque reges. & nunc recitemus Aluredum proximum regem sequentem in linea ista etc.

## Translation

From the coming of Brutus up to the kingdom of the first united rule of England there were two hundred and twenty-four successive kings, of whom one hundred and twenty-seven were Christians. Thus from the kingdom of the first united rule there have been in England 31 kings up to the most illustrious king our lord Edward the Fourth, the true and undisputed king in the direct line from Adam to Noah and from Noah up to the present day. Indeed, it was in the first year of his reign, which is the year of grace 1461, as is presented in this scroll in summary form and is clearly stated, that he was called Lord Edward, King of England and France, and of Castile and León etc. As previously mentioned, calculating from the arrival of Brutus there have been in England two hundred and fifty-five kings. And now let us discuss Alfred, the next king to follow in this line etc.

The **Prophetic Line of Wales**: From Cadwallo to the  
Fateful Marriage of Gwladus Ddu to Ralph Mortimer

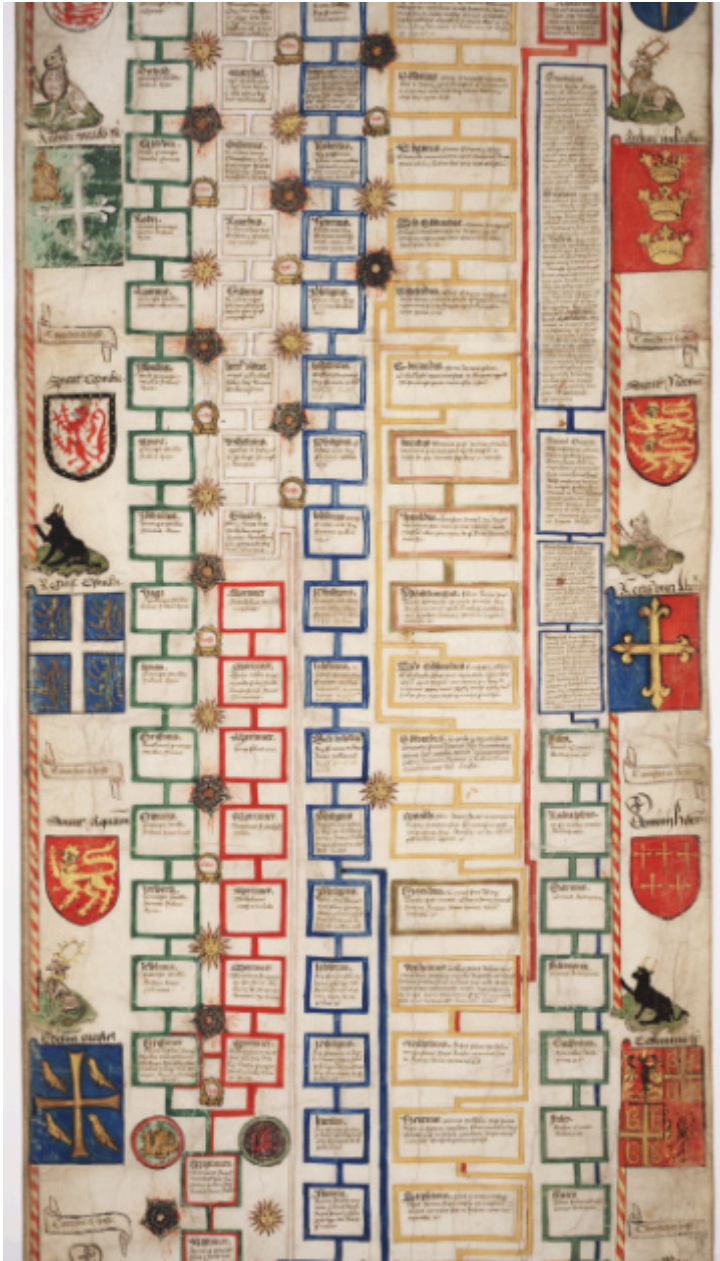


From bottom part of Section 4 of DM E201. On the L, the **Romano-British line** becomes the line of the kings and princes of **Wales**, beginning with Cadwallo.

Transcription	Translation
Cadwallo. post mortem vero eius corpus ad terrorem Saxonum in imagine enea super equum eneum super occidentalem portam Londoni collocatur.	Cadwallo. After his death, his body was placed in a bronze statue atop a bronze horse on the east gate of London, to the terror of the Saxons.
Calwaladus, ultimus rex Britanie, cuius tempore tam pestifera mortis consecuta est ut vivi non valerent mortuos sepulire etc.	Calwaladus, the last British king, in whose time such a deadly plague occurred that the living were unable to bury the dead etc.
Idwaldus Iurche, princeps Wallie. Brutus.	Idwal Iwrch, prince of Wales. British.
Rodri Malutanthus, princeps Wallie. Brutus.	Rodri Malutanthus, prince of Wales. British.
Kamandinam, princeps Wallie. Brutus.	Kamandinam, prince of Wales. British.
---	...
Lewlinus, princeps Wallie. rubeus draco, Brutus.	Lewlin [Llywelyn], prince of Wales. Red dragon, British.
Griffinus, filius Leulini, princeps Wallie. rubeus draco item.	Griffin, son of Lewlin [Llywelyn], prince of Wales. Red dragon.
Gladuys Duy, filia dicti Lewlini & heres dicti Griffini, nupta domino Radulpho. Brutus	Gladuys Duy, daughter of the aforementioned Lewlin [Llywelyn] and heiress of the aforementioned Griffin, married to Lord Ralph [Mortimer]. British.



## The **Mortimer Red Line** Emerges and Marries into the Welsh Line



From Section 5 of DM E201: the **Mortimer line** (in red) suddenly appears between the **Welsh** (green) and **French** (blue) lineages. It then joins the Welsh line with the marriage of Gwladus Ddu to Mortimer

Transcription			Translation
Mortimer Mortimer.	Radulphus, dominus		Ralph Mortimer, lord Mortimer.
Mortimer Matilde, ducis Normanie.	Hugo, miles. nuptus filie Wilhelmi Longa Spata, ducis Normanie.		Hugh Mortimer, soldier. Married Matilda, daughter of William Longsword, Duke of Normandy.
Mortimer Hugo,	filius eius.		Hugh Mortimer, his son.
Mortimer dominus Radulphus,	miles.		Lord Ralph Mortimer, soldier.
Mortimer Wilhelmus,	occisus in bello.		William Mortimer, killed in battle.
Mortimer dominus Rogerus, fundavit Abathiam de Wigmore. dominus Mortimer.	qui de Wigmore.		Lord Roger Mortimer, who founded Wigmore Abbey. Lord Mortimer.
Mortimer Radulphus.	maritatus fuit Gladuy Duy, heredi Lewlini, principis Wallie, rubii draconi et Bruti.		Ralph Mortimer. Married Gladuys Duy, heiress of Lewlin, prince of Wales, of the red dragon, British.

## Annotations to Shield and Banners

written by Susan Troxell, with Laura Blanchard

### Edmundi ducis Ebor[aci] / Edmund duke of York



Edmund of Langley, first duke of York (1341-1402) was the fourth surviving son of King Edward III and founder of the House of York. His younger son Richard of Conisburgh, third earl of Cambridge, married Anne Mortimer, bringing his son Richard, third duke of York, and his grandson, Edward IV, a stronger claim in two respects. First, as a descendant of Edward III's second son Lionel of Antwerp, she brought senior descent from Edward III. Second, her Mortimer lineage brought descent from Brutus and Arthur plus the approbation of Richard II.

### H[ugonis] Mortim[er] et W[i]lhelmi ducis/ Mortimer impaling dukes of Normandy

The actual existence of this banner remains to be confirmed, although it is possible that it is a fifteenth-century conceit, highlighting the Mortimers' connection to the English conquest by the Normans, whose line is laid out later in this manuscript. Roger de Mortimer (c.1017-80) was a Norman lord and is thought to have fought with William the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings in 1066, but there is no concrete evidence of this. His son, Ralph de Mortimer (c.1050-1120), engaged in the Norman conquests of southern Wales and played an important role in the development of the Welsh marches, the tumultuous border between Wales and England. This banner may reflect the marriage (asserted in his genealogical box on the roll) of his son Hugh Mortimer to Mathilda, daughter of William Longsword of Normandy. Data on Ralph de Mortimer sourced here: <https://mortimerhistory.com/medieval-mortimers/> [accessed February 5, 2025]



### D[ominus] Waren / Warenne Earls of Surrey:

The Warenne earls of Surrey date back to the creation of the title by William the Conqueror in 1088 for William de Warenne, first earl of Surrey. Twelfth-century chroniclers asserted a close relationship between the de Warennes and the Mortimers, but their accounts are confused and unreliable. In some genealogical material, the first Roger de Mortimer (c.1017-1080) is identified as the son of Ralph de Warenne (c.990-1050), as seen in the family tree drawn up by the Mortimer History Society. It is possible that Edward IV sought to stress the de Warennes' association with the Norman Conquest, as well as their association with the Mortimers.



This coat of arms went to the FitzAlan earls of Arundel once Alice Warenne married the second earl of Arundel and the Warenne male line ran out in 1347, passing the title of earl of Surrey to the FitzAlan family. The second wife of Edmund, first duke of York, was a daughter of Alice FitzAlan and a niece of the earl of Surrey and Arundel, so this could possibly be a reference to Edward IV's connections to this family through his great-grandfather's wife. Richard Marks mentions that these arms were recorded as appearing in the fifteenth-century stained glass at the Yorkist collegiate church founded at Fotheringhay, and he takes the view they represent the first duke of York's second wife. Marks makes the observation that in February 1477, Edward IV's younger son Richard (b. 1473) was created earl of Surrey. R. Marks, "The Glazing of Fotheringhay Church and College", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 41:1 (1978), 79-109.



### Comes cestrus / Earl of Chester

The first earl of Chester was Gerbod the Fleming in 1067. It is thought that he was taken prisoner whilst fighting in France and died there in 1070. Following his death, William the Conqueror declared the earldom vacant and gave the position to his nephew, Hugh D'avranches. King Henry III decided that because Cheshire was such a powerful area with its important port and agriculture, he wanted the land for himself, so he transferred the title of earl of Chester to the Crown. Since 1254, the earldom of Chester has passed to the heir apparent to the English throne. The website of the Lord Mayor of Chester (<https://lordmayorchester.co.uk/civic-history-and-regalia/earl-of-chester/>) lists the original earls of Chester.



### Leulini princip[is]/ Llewelyn ap Gruffyd, Prince of Wales

Llewelyn ap Gruffyd was the last independent prince of Wales, the grandson of Llewlyn the Great, whose daughter married Ralph de Mortimer of Wigmore. The Yorkists thought of themselves as the successors of the Welsh princes via the Mortimers, thus claiming descent from Arthur and Brutus.



### Brecknocke

The lordship of Brecknock (on the border between England and Wales) was largely held, although not without disputes and some conflict, by Humphrey de Bohun and his heirs in the late thirteenth to late fourteenth centuries. It then passed to Henry of Bolingbroke in right of his wife, which was contested by her sisters.

At the time of Edward IV's accession, the Lordship of Brecknock was held by Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham.



### Powes / Princes of Powis

This is one of several banners referencing Edward IV's claim to the principalities of Wales via the Mortimer descent.



### Comes Cantabrigie / Earl of Cambridge

Richard, earl of Cambridge, was the younger son of Edmund first duke of York. Richard's marriage to Anne Mortimer allowed his son Edward IV to claim descent from the second son of Edward III as well as from the British/Welsh line stretching back through the princes of Wales to Arthur to Brutus. J.L. Laynesmith, "Anne Mortimer's Legacy to the House of York," in *The Mortimers of Wigmore 1066-1485: Dynasty of Destiny*, eds. P. Dryburgh and P. Hume (Eardisley, 2023). Earl Richard was one of the co-conspirators in 1415 who allegedly plotted to assassinate the Lancastrian king, Henry V, and install Edmund Mortimer in his place. The so-called Southampton Plot was foiled, Earl Richard was executed along with others, and he was buried in the hospital of St Julian in Southampton. The civic arms of Southampton appear in the final section of this manuscript.



### Domini Hibernie / Lord of Ireland

This is a confusing banner. Although the banner is labeled Domini Hibernie (lord of Ireland) the coat of arms of Ireland is a gold harp with silver strings on a blue background. The coat of arms of the Lord of Ireland at the time of Edward IV was three golden crowns ordered vertically on a blue background with a white border.



Section 5 of this roll also contains another banner labeled Domini Hibernie which is also different from the one with gold crowns on a blue field with white border.

### Unidentified Banner

This banner appears to have perplexed the roll's annotators, who included identifications for much unlabeled heraldic material in the manuscript. If the illustrator was not familiar with heraldry, it may be intended to represent a Holy Roman Emperor, with red mistakenly substituted for black. Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250), was assigned arms with a single-headed black eagle on a gold background. They were incorporated into Henry III's building at Westminster Abbey, as Emperor Frederick was his brother in law.



### Lancaster / Lancaster

These are the first arms of Edmund Crouchback, first earl of Lancaster and of Leicester, son of King Henry III and brother of Edward I. Alone among the children of Henry III other than Edward, Edmund's line of descent continues on the manuscript for three generations, ending with Blanche, first wife of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III.



### Northampton / Earls of Northampton

The first earl of Northampton, William de Bohun, assisted in the arrest of Roger Mortimer, helping to bring Edward III to the throne. He was the grandson of Edward I and his first wife, Queen Consort Eleanor of Castile. He married Elizabeth Badlesmere, daughter of Bartholomew Badlesmere, the first Baron Badlesmere, and Margaret de Clare. He was created earl of Northampton in 1337.



### Quinq[ue] portuum / Cinque Ports

The confederation of Cinque Ports is a historic group of coastal towns in south-east England. Although the membership has fluctuated over time, its original five members were Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich – where the crossing to the European continent is narrowest. It was originally formed for military and trade purposes. The Cinque Ports played an important role in the Yorkist lords' flight to and return from Calais in 1459. Following his accession, Edward IV awarded the wardenship of the Cinque Ports to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick.



### Stapule Calasie / Staple of Calais

The port of Calais, under English control from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, was an important military outpost during the Hundred Years' War and beyond. It was designated the exclusive port for exported wool and leather, hence the name. Calais played an important part in the Yorkist lords' flight from and return to England in 1459. Following his accession, Edward IV appointed Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, as captain of Calais.



### Invictissimi Bruti / Most invincible Brutus / Attributed Arms of Brutus

Brutus, also called Brute of Troy, is the descendant of the Trojan hero Aeneas, and was celebrated as the founder and first king of Britain. This is most famously known from Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *History of the Kings of Britain* (various editions, Book I). The Yorkists claimed descent from Brutus via the Mortimer line, a fact celebrated graphically by the compilers of this manuscript with the depiction of these arms on a shield at the center of the horse trapper of the equestrian portrait at the beginning of the roll, the impaled arms of Brutus and Pandrasus in Section 2, and the banner at the end of the roll. All these heraldic arms were created and attributed to Brutus retrospectively.



### Regis christiani Ethelberti / Attributed Arms of King Ethelbert

Three images on a red ground are a white lion, a white dragon, and a red-robed figure with an open coronet holding a sword and an orb. The source for these attributed arms remains to be identified.

The compilers of this roll speak highly of King Ethelbert in the histories of the kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy: "After these, Æthelbert, who took up the Christian faith because of the teaching of Saint Augustine (sc. of Canterbury). He alone among the kings of Kent extended the borders of his kingdom all the way to the boundary of the river Humber. After his death, he was elected to the canon of saints on account of his holiness. It was he who founded the monastery of Saint Augustine outside the walls of Canterbury and the [church] of Saint Paul in London."



### Prin[ci]pat[i] Wallie / Prince of Wales

This is one of several devices in this roll referencing Edward IV's sovereignty over Wales via the Mortimer line.



### Regis Cadwaldie / Attributed Arms of King Cadwaladr

Two heralds at the Royal College of Arms, Henry Bedingfeld and Peter Gwynn-Jones, have identified this as the attributed arms of King Cadwaladr. H. Bedingfeld & P. Gwynn-Jones, *Heraldry* (Chartwell, 1993) 78-79. Edward IV's chancellor gave a sermon asserting that "the British line, which perished with Cadwaladr's exile in 689, was restored by the arrival of Edward the king prophesied by Merlin and others." J. Hughes, "Politics and the Occult at the Court of Edward IV", in *Princes and Princely Culture: 1450–1650* (Brill, 2005), 112-13.



One theme of this roll is to prove that Edward IV represents the fulfillment of Merlin's Prophecy of the Red and White Dragons, as written by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It prophesied that the original Romano-British line of kings (represented by the red dragon and claimed by Welsh nationals) would some day return and take the English throne back from the Saxon line of kings (represented by the white dragon). Edward IV's ancestor, Ralph Mortimer, married Gwladus Ddu in 1230. She could trace her ancestry back to Cadwaladr, king of the Welsh and representative of the Romano-British line. Through this family background, Edward IV could claim that he was the Red Dragon taking back the crown as foretold by prophecy.



### Compass Rose Map Showing the Saxon Heptarchy with Yorkist Badges

A diagrammatic map of the Saxon Heptarchy in the shape of a seven-petaled rose, embellished with Edward IV's badges of suns and roses-en-soleil. This diagrammatic map of England shows the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ("the Heptarchy"). Its implicit message is that Edward IV is uniting the Brittonic race with the Saxon race under the English crown, thus fulfilling Merlin's prophecy and promising a golden age to come. The Yorkist badge of the sun in splendor and Edward IV's favored rose-en-soleil feature prominently in the drawing, as though to say that the Yorkist Edward IV is not only the true legitimate claimant to the throne but also England's best hope for the future.



Olivier de Laborderie has studied forty genealogical rolls of the kings of England produced between the last years of the reign of Henry III and the death of Henry V. Some of them contain a circular map of the Heptarchy similar to the one seen here; he interprets their presence within the context of how such genealogical rolls were used in their day. He sees rolls such as this one as a "sort of compromise" that have to balance between royal ideology and the elite's political aspirations; the messages given in the roll were used to satisfy both the king and his most influential subjects. Another outcome of genealogical rolls is that they could support a growing sense of national identity. Medieval historians, including the scribes and compilers who prepared MS Lewis E201, very much participated in creating a national identity by telling historical accounts and legendary stories of a shared past. The genealogical lines of descent, which traced actual people to legendary ancestors like Brutus, provided continuity of that identity.

England, however, had a daunting challenge because each of its invaders brought a totally new culture with their own identities and traditions. De Laborderie observes that earlier Plantagenet genealogical rolls tried to shape a cohesive national identity out of many ethnicities and kingdoms by drawing on the successive conquests of England: from Albina and her sisters' original possession of the island, to Brutus conquering Albion's native Giants, to the invasions of the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans. "Then, the only solution to shape a national history was to consider all these peoples as successive 'Chosen People', successive incarnations of a unique 'Elect Nation' which was not ethnically defined. All these people had been chosen by God to rule the 'Promised Land' that was England." O. de Laborderie, "A New Pattern for English History: the First

Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England," Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France, eds. Radulescu & Kennedy (Brepols 2008), 45-62, 59-60.

By the time of Edward I, diagrammatic maps of the Heptarchy of the type shown here were often presented at the very top of a genealogical roll, in the first membrane. De Laborderie notes the preeminence of their placement and their textual content, and offers the observation that the maps could have been used to justify an expansive interpretation of England's territorial boundaries to include Wales and Scotland. In MS Lewis E201, however, the map is presented not at the top or first membrane. It appears almost precisely mid-way in its schematic design, with England's ancient origins laid out above, and the origins of its royal lineages below. Whether this has any significance to this roll's interpretation will hopefully be elucidated by those who study this fascinating manuscript in greater depth.

### Heading over the Portraits of the Seven Progenitors



This heading has been transcribed and translated as *IHC aute[m] trancie[n]s per medium illoru[m] ibat* (Jesus, passing through the middle of them, went his way).

This quotation from Luke 4:30, in large gold-leaf capital letters, is flanked by the banners of Calais and the Cinque Ports. This quotation relates to Jesus' escape from a crowd who planned to kill him so, in the context of these banners, it is possibly an allusion to Edward IV's 1460 flight from England and triumphant 1461 return. This escape is also featured in British Library Harleian MS 7353, where it is paired with the discovery of Moses in the bulrushes, a nation's future savior who had escaped by water from Pharaoh's soldiers.



### Portraits of the Seven Progenitors to Edward IV's Titles:

#### From left to right:

Princeps Wallie brutus co[n]quest[or] / Prince of Wales Brutus conqueror  
 Dux Cornubie brutus / Duke of Cornwall / Brutus  
 Rex Francie / King of France  
 Rex Anglie / King of England  
 Rex Castellie et Legionum / King of Castile and Leon  
 Dux Aquitainie / Duke of Aquitaine  
 Dux Normanum conq[ue]st[or] / Duke of Normandy conqueror

The midpoint of the manuscript marks a shift from the predominantly Galfridian legends of descent to the commencement of the seven more historical lines of descent justifying Edward IV's titles as set forth at the end of the manuscript. Although five of these lines begin in this section, only three — British (green line), Frankish (blue), and Saxon (yellow) — are linked from the preceding section, emphasizing their ties to more ancient history.

There are five lineages immediately below the seven portraits, from left to right:

- British Succession [green line]: Cadwallo to Griffin the Decapitated
- Counts of Eu and, later, the Clare and Ulster line [white line]
- Frankish Succession: Radulph to Isabelle (Capet); Charles I to Katherine (Valois) [blue line]
- Saxon Succession: Alfred to John, father of Henry III, including Danish usurpers; Henry III and descendants [yellow line]
- Norman Succession: Rollo to Richard III, dukes of Normandy [red line]

These lines do not necessarily correlate to the portraits above them. For instance, the line of boxes bordered in white ("Obertus" to "Elizabeth") is directly below the figure labeled "Brutus, Duke of Cornwall" but actually contains what becomes the Clare/Ulster line. This line terminates in the marriage of Elizabeth de Burgh to Lionel, duke of Clarence.

Additional important lineages are introduced further down the roll. The House of Mortimer appears immediately next to the British line, using red-outlined boxes which join the British line at Ralph Mortimer's marriage to Gwladus Ddu. The combined British/Mortimer (green + red) line terminates with Edmund Mortimer's marriage to Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence. Further to the right, two more French lines are introduced. Blue-outlined boxes, representing the dukes of Aquitaine, start from Senebrinus

and terminate in Eleonor's marriage to Henry II. Also along the right margin and just below the Aquitainian lineage, the ancestry of the counts of Anjou begins with a green-outlined box for Fulk the Good, travels through Geoffrey count of Anjou's marriage to Empress Matilda, and also terminates with Henry II. Further down the roll, the king of Castile & Leon appears for the first time in a red-outlined box under an open crown similar to that shown on the Castilian king in the illustration in the lineup of seven portraits. That line travels through Isabella of Castile's marriage to Edmund, first duke of York, and terminates in Edward IV.

### Black bull

The black bull (also referred to as "Black bull of Clare") was adopted as a badge by Lionel of Antwerp, second son of King Edward III and duke of Clarence, through whom Edward IV's claim to the throne passes. Lionel had married Elizabeth de Burgh, who brought the badge into Lionel's possession as she was the granddaughter of Elizabeth de Clare.



### White Hart

The white hart is most widely associated with Richard II, who adopted it as his personal badge (see, for example, the Wilton Diptych). Its repeated use in the manuscript is a visual reinforcement of Edward IV's claim to be the legitimate heir of Richard II.



### White Lion

The white lion was first used by Roger Mortimer, earl of March, a founder knight of the Order of the Garter. It then passed to Edward IV via his grandmother, Anne Mortimer. Edward IV's Mortimer lineage connects him to the legendary heroes Brutus and King Arthur.





## The Red and White Dragons

Two roundels containing the Red Dragon and the White Dragon illustrate one of the *Prophecies of Merlin* written by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century. That prophecy foretold the victory of the Saxons (represented by the white dragon) but the eventual reconquest and restoration of the Britons (red dragon). This genealogy makes it abundantly clear that the Yorkists viewed themselves as descendants of Brutus, King Arthur, and Cadwaladr, and brought British blood to the English crown.



The roundels are placed at the union of the British (green) line with the Mortimer (red) line of descent, drawing the viewer's eye to that event. They also introduce a new technique into the roll. When looking at the genealogical boxes for the Mortimer line, a system of symbols is introduced beginning with the marriage of Ralph Mortimer to Gwladus Ddu, daughter of Prince Llewellyn who is called "red dragon" and British. Their descendants are often noted as "British, red dragon". Another symbol - the lion - is added to these designations after the marriage of Roger Mortimer to Joan Geneville. The symbols of the rooster and sun are further added to the description for Roger Mortimer, first-born son of Philippa and Edmund Mortimer. Descendants of John of Gaunt, however, receive very different symbols. Henry V and Henry VI are both called bull, dog, mole, star, fox. All these symbols were alluding to various popular prophecies that circulated widely at the time, and their interpretation was heavily influenced by political partisanship. We see that influence in MS Lewis E201 with the way white dragon is painted here; rather than white, it is actually yellow and seems to imitate the color of the genealogical boxes beginning with King Alfred through William the Conqueror to Henry III. This relationship of color seems to suggest that the roll views all English kings since Alfred as "Saxonic". Edward IV could thus claim that he was the fulfillment of Merlin's prophecy by restoring the British line to the throne. And, just to cover all potentialities, Edward IV simultaneously portrays himself as having Saxon blood too, with ancestry leading back to Henry III; he could thus argue he represented the union of these two ethnic peoples regardless of how one interpreted the color of the dragons.

Although Geoffrey of Monmouth's telling of Merlin's prophecies was one of the most popular of all stories in the fifteenth century, there existed even earlier accounts. Nennius' ninth-century chronicle (*Historia Brittonum*) has a history of King Vortigern - a British king and warlord - who is confronted with a boy who has a vision of a red and white serpent. ("There are," said he, "two serpents, one white and the other red; unfold the tent;" they obeyed, and two sleeping serpents were discovered; "consider attentively," said the boy, "what they are doing." The serpents began to struggle with each other; and the white one, raising himself up, threw down the other into the middle of the tent, and sometimes drove him to the edge of it; and this

was repeated thrice. At length the red one, apparently the weaker of the two, recovering his strength, expelled the white one from the tent; and the latter being pursued through the pool by the red one, disappeared. Then the boy, asking the wise men what was signified by this wonderful omen, and they expressing their ignorance, he said to the king, "I will now unfold to you the meaning of this mystery. The pool is the emblem of this world, and the tent that of your kingdom: the two serpents are two dragons; the red serpent is your dragon, but the white serpent is the dragon of the people who occupy several provinces and districts of Britain, even almost from sea to sea: at length, however, our people shall rise and drive away the Saxon race from beyond the sea, whence they originally came; but do you depart from this place, where you are not permitted to erect a citadel; I, to whom fate has allotted this mansion, shall remain here; whilst to you it is incumbent to seek other provinces, where you may build a fortress." "What is your name?" asked the king; "I am called Ambrose (in British Embresguletic)," returned the boy; and in answer to the king's question, "What is your origin?" he replied, "A Roman consul was my father.") Nennius, *Historia Brittonum (History of the Britons)*, translation by J.A. Giles.

Alison Allan, Jonathan Hughes and J.L. Laynesmith have studied these prophecies in depth in the context of this roll and other genealogies. A. Allan, "Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' in the Reign of Edward IV", in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester 1979), 171-92. J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: the Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud 2002); J.L. Laynesmith, "Anne Mortimer's Legacy to the House of York", in *The Mortimers of Wigmore 1066-1485: Dynasty of Destiny*, ed. P. Dryburgh and P. Hume (Eardisley 2023).

## Portrait of Juana of Castile: Part 5

Maria Elena Torres

In this continuing search for a portrait of Juana of Castile, we have reached the point where undeniable accusations of her instability begin to appear.

The legend of her return to Philip is that the marriage detonated: overcome with violent jealousy, Juana attacked one of Philip's mistresses, cutting off the woman's long blonde hair with her own hands; she rejected the ambassadors sent to speak with her; avoided her children; over-indulged in bathing and washing her hair at the hands of her slaves; and when Philip dismissed them, Juana flared out at him. He was forced to lock her up; while he tried to rest in the room below, Juana beat the floor with a stone all night. With all this mounting hysteria and irrational behavior, there was no choice but for Philip to take control and assume the authority of his wife's inheritance.

How much of this is reliable?

The two most often-repeated stories are:

The time soon after her return that Juana discovered that Philip had a mistress. Inflamed by jealousy, Juana is said to have attacked the woman with a sharp instrument, cut off her golden hair, cut her face.

The time that Philip, wishing to impose some order and dignity in Juana's household, tried to get her to dismiss a quartet of slaves. These slaves were detrimental to Juana's reputation – they were even over-bathing her and over-washing her hair. The disagreement erupted into a battle: Philip even struck Juana and locked her up in her room. Juana, knowing Philip slept downstairs, spent all night banging on the floor and keeping them both awake. When the exhausted Philip opened the door to the equally exhausted Juana, she announced: "I will die before I ever again do anything that you want."

Many biographers have related these and other stories unquestioningly. Others, like Bethany Aram, Gillian Fleming and Mary Varona have examined them more closely. Now that some of the sources for these stories are available online, it's possible for anyone to look at them.

The main sources for these incidents are correspondence to and from the Catholic Kings and their ambassadors in Flanders; and second or thirdhand accounts from Pedro Martir's correspondence. A dossier, no longer available to us, was compiled by Philip, Moxica, and Juan Manuel, and delivered by Moxica to Juana's parents, as a means to illustrate why Philip needed to take control. After Isabel's death, Fernando would use this document against his daughter and Philip, as a means to guard his own position.

Who were these compilers? Juan Manuel was a member of a powerful Castilian family (his sister Elvira was dueña to Catherine of Aragon in England). He was hostile toward Fernando and allied himself with Philip very early. Moxica, who had been with Juana since the early days of her marriage and was her treasurer, was also allied to, and paid by Philip.<sup>1</sup> There is every reason to question all of the incidents from these sources, and which have become part and parcel of Juana's life story.

If Juana's behavior was being falsely reported, why would this be? It may very well be a reaction to her choice of alliance. She had three basic choices: accommodation to both sides; join with Philip; join with her parents. She chose her parents, or, more specifically, Fernando. As a consequence, she made an enemy out of her husband, and placed herself in his power, though this may not have been immediately clear to her.

Philip had been away from Juana since December 1502. By the time Juana returned to him, in late May 1504, Philip had had plenty of time to mull over his unsatisfactory position in Spain, and the problems of Burgundy's pro-French policies versus the anti-French policies of his in-laws. He would have had months to confer with his advisors, and it seems likely that his conclusion was to take over Juana's sovereignty in the same way he had taken over her household finances and operations.

Isabel and Fernando had witnessed how unsuitable Philip was and were quite possibly looking for ways to neutralize him or bypass him. As

<sup>1</sup> Fleming, page 97.

speculated in Part 4 of this series, this may have come at the price of also disempowering Juana.

As 1504 progressed, everyone involved knew a crisis in Castile was approaching: Isabel's emotional and physical energies draining. As a result, everyone involved was planning and forming factions. Castilians, who, like Juan Manuel, despised Fernando as an interloper from Aragon, aligned themselves with Philip. Isabel and Fernando were working to engineer a way by which Fernando could still maintain authority in Castile, as a buffer against Philip. Both sides needed young Charles in their custody: even before Juana reached Flanders, her parents were insisting and negotiating for control of Charles and urging that the eldest grandson come to Castile.<sup>2</sup>

A strange incident illustrates the potential upheavals following Isabel's death: Fuensalida reported a visit to Philip from the Commander of the Order of San Juan. This "adventurer", Pedro Vinciguerra, claimed to be an illegitimate member of the House of Aragon. He had a private discussion with Philip, who assured Fuensalida that everything discussed was trifling and that he couldn't take it seriously. A bit later, Philip felt that Isabel and Fernando should be aware of what he'd heard: Vinciguerra claimed to have talked with Henry VII, now widowed and willing to remarry. In a convent in Portugal, Vinciguerra had informed Henry, was Juana Trastámara, aka La Beltraneja

Briefly discussed in the first part of this series, Juana "La Beltraneja" was Isabel's niece. Her mother was Joana of Portugal, second wife of Enrique IV of Castile. Very early, this Juana was labelled "La Beltraneja", on the suspicion that she may have been fathered by Enrique's court favorite, Beltrán de la Cueva. Isabel exploited this rumor to disinherit her niece. A war followed Enrique's death. Juana and her husband, Afonso V of Portugal, lost. Ever since 1479, La Beltraneja had been consigned to a convent in Portugal, under various constraints. However, she was always a vague, shadowy threat.<sup>3</sup>

Vinciguerra had suggested to Henry that Juana "la Beltraneja" might be willing to chance an emergence for a wedding to the king of England.<sup>4</sup> Fuensalida included an extensive missive to Isabel and Fernando on Philip's behalf. It purported to be Vinciguerra's several conversations with Manuel of Portugal about La Beltraneja. In this document, Vinciguerra states baldly that La Beltraneja is said to have been usurped by Isabel.<sup>5</sup> In May, Isabel and Fernando replied briefly about this, saying Vinciguerra had seen them, too, naming

<sup>2</sup> Fuensalida, page 238. Fleming, page 116.

<sup>3</sup> Humbe Ferreira, *Juana La Beltraneja, Dynastic Fears, and Threats of Marriage (1475–1506)*

<sup>4</sup> Fuensalida, pages 224-5.

<sup>5</sup> Fuensalida, pages 581-586.



names of grantees involved in the matter. Fuensalida was advised not to take things too seriously, but not to underestimate them either.<sup>6</sup> After Isabel's death, Fuensalida encouraged Fernando to marry Juana "La Beltraneja", uphold her claim as queen of Castile, and use that union to take control of the kingdom.<sup>7</sup> A tactic like this would have erupted in hostilities on several sides. A great deal depended on how the Castilian succession was handled.

Vinciguerra had his meeting with Philip in April 1504. If his conversations with Manuel of Portugal actually did take place, that would have been some time after March 1503, because he mistakenly mentions the death of Elizabeth of York taking place that March. From late summer through at least November 1503, Fernando was based in the Salsas, in the North, commanding the French war, and since it's implied that Vinciguerra met both Catholic Kings, this would have been any time from December through February or March 1504. Juana left Spain in May, and it isn't unreasonable to assume she would have at least heard about this. It may have been one factor among several that may have fed her new resolutions. And they would have been new:

Before her conflicts in 1503, Juana had seemed fairly compliant: obedient to her parents' instructions; flexible regarding Philip's control. She seems to have been intent on maintaining balance in the face of two opposing forces. When she decided to take a stand, she was adamant and unbendable. But, for the most part, she seemed to have tried her best to be a good wife, a good daughter, and a responsible adult, resigned to being the intermediary in circumstances growing increasingly unreasonable.

But after the birth of her son Fernando, in March 1503, there's a traceable change: a measurable attempt to voice her own wishes, within the constraints placed on her – she argued constantly with Isabel, who was still a formidable force. She and Isabel wore each other down, certainly a new experience for Isabel, especially from one of her children. In the culmination at La Mota, Juana made a definite attempt to act on her own. If her parents were attempting to limit her, Juana may have been attempting to take a step toward the power which, everyone insisted, was hers, but which more advantageously-placed people placed withheld from her. If, then, Isabel and Fernando were attempting to disempower her, Juana was, inconveniently, attempting to establish herself.

There's further evidence of this move toward independence: before setting sail, she dismissed eleven ladies from her service, as well as a long-standing servant, Diego de Ribera. Bethany Aram theorizes that the ladies may have been speaking for Isabel, possibly

<sup>6</sup> Fuensalida, page 230.

<sup>7</sup> Fuensalida, page 317.

trying to convince Juana to remain with her parents. Ribera refused to load some of Juana's belongings until she signed for items she may have sold in Spain. Juana's reason for dismissing him was that he should be answerable only to her.<sup>8</sup> This is very new language and behavior. If it disturbed Isabel and Fernando, it would have infuriated Philip, who needed, more than ever, to count on how much she loved him, and how willing she was to resign herself, as she always had before, to his control of her household and her. Juana may not have been initially aware of this, but it seems she learned differently within days of landing at Blankenberg. Within days, then, Philip had also learned differently about the wife who had come home to him.

A timetable of events and correspondence during 1504 might help track the possible development of Juana's trajectory:

Source	Page	Date	Notes
Fuensalida	219	April 1 1504	Fuensalida reports conflicts between himself and Juan Manuel.
Fuensalida	224-5	April 1 1504	Fuensalida reports the rumor regarding La Beltraneja.
Fuensalida	238	May 20 1504	Isabel notes that Juana is in transit, that she didn't want the Castilian ladies sent, so they were left behind, in order not to anger Juana.
Fuensalida	248	June 4 1504	Report that Juana is reunited happily with Philip and the children.
Martir	157	June 26 1504	Letter to Count Tendilla, from Medina del Campo, regarding the blonde mistress.
Fuensalida	236	July 6 1504	Letter to Count Tendilla, from Medina del Campo, regarding the blonde mistress.
Fuensalida	263	August 12 1504	Cover letter from Juan Manuel and Bishop of Catania regarding the dossier on Juana's behavior.
Fuensalida	265	August 12 15-4	Juan Manuel and his team report to the Catholic Kings that Philip and Juana argued about Philip's journey to Holland; that he left without her, taking Fuensalida while Juan Manuel remained in Burgundy with Juana. Juana and Philip are not corresponding with each other, and this has been happening for a while.
Fuensalida	267	August 25 1504	Letter from Isabel and Fernando to Juan Manuel, they are saddened by lack of love "beginning" between Juana and Philip.
Fuensalida	297-301	November 1 1504	Letter from Catania and Membrilla, reporting on the slave incident.

A few comments: Juana's reunion with Philip was enthusiastic,<sup>9</sup> but seem to have turned around with ferocious speed: on June 4, Catania is writing positively about Juana and Philip. June 26, Pedro Martir is reporting the gossip about Philip's mistress. There seems to be no surviving source for Martir's news: the diplomatic letters don't report on it, though there's plenty of reporting during the next few months. Padilla, in his chronicle focusing on Philip, doesn't report it. The dossier wasn't composed and delivered to Castile until mid-July, so Martir, based in Medina del Campo with Isabel, didn't get his

<sup>8</sup> Aram online Spanish edition, position 3695.

<sup>9</sup> Fleming, page 96.

information from that document. A bare 22 days elapsed between Catania's positive letter and Martir's lament. Even allowing for the most rapid transit of letters from Flanders to Castile, this is almost unbelievable speed for such a drastic change. It's doubtful that Martir would invent this story and report it to Tendilla, but how, when, and from what or whom did he get it? How soon after the joyous reunion did this happen? If it did happen, it would have to have been mere days after Juana's return.

Two more points on this item:

Martir's own report has been embellished by biographers. Martir lets Tendilla know that "...with a rabid heart, as is reported, with a face that was like a flame ..., and gnashing her teeth, she is said to have struck the blonde, and ordered her to be shaved to the skin." (Bolded by me). Martir says, honestly, and twice, that he is repeating only what he's heard or read – he enjoys the telling, but admits that it's gossip. In addition, he specifies that Juana ordered the woman to be shaved, not that she went after her with a scissors or knife and did so herself. (We also are not told whether Juana was obeyed). All of this indicates that this story, one of the most famous concerning Juana, should be called into question, at least in part, and possibly in whole.

The second point is that this is the first, and possibly only, story of jealousy toward a mistress that we have received up to this point in Juana's life. In biographies, it is also the only one widely reported, the others being generalized assumptions, based on pre-existing conceptions of Juana's character.

All of these stories and reports might be in direct reaction to the Juana that landed in Flanders.

Juana would have returned with an acute awareness of several overwhelming facts: Her mother's condition; her father's potential political difficulties; her obligations toward two sons, one left in Spain, the other a bone of contention between her parents and her husband; her position as the sworn heir to Castile; and even more historically significant, her role as her father's successor. Aragon, which had rejected her sister in favor of her son, had accepted Juana. Tremendous obligations now lay on Juana's shoulders. She couldn't be the conciliatory young archduchess. A stand had to be made, and it had to be for Spain.

She may have returned to Flanders with a few assumptions about Philip and her alignment with him. Mentions of their correspondence indicate affection and recognition of love.<sup>10</sup> She may have assumed a similar situation to the first stage of their marriage, that, when, alone together, they could talk things over. It may be that

she assumed matters would be simpler, because Besançon was no longer there to influence Philip.

Instead, she found people like Juan Manuel, and the Bishop of Catania: men she must have classified as traitors to her father, and, by extension, to her. Her husband was even more set on controlling the members of her household. Fuensalida was being sidelined. And she was still deprived of the resources to build her own coalition.

Therefore, she refused to communicate with the treasonous ambassador. She refused to accept the infiltration of spies into her household. Her attitude and actions may have shocked Philip, as they may similarly have shocked Isabel. His moves to corral Juana prompted an aggressive response instead of resignation: something unexpected and unwelcome. Matters escalated quickly and viciously. In a scenario like this, Philip's dossier to Spain, in mid-July, springs from a need to defend his actions, seize the narrative, and take advantage of his alliances and position, not from Juana's sudden descent into crazed jealousy. Juana's understandable anger, defiance, and retreat from undesirable staff and company was translated into hysteria and instability, even though Fuensalida stated that Philip was at least as uncontrolled and unreasonable as Juana.<sup>11</sup>

Very little documentation of this period is available: the dossier, which would become an important weapon for Fernando and Philip, seems to have disappeared; there is no correspondence from Juana on hand. There was correspondence from her: Catherine of Aragon refers to a letter from her sister, in November 1504.<sup>12</sup> Catherine mentions that Juana reported on Isabel's health, and so it's reasonable to assume that Juana and her parents were communicating, that Juana was concerned about her mother, and that both her parents could gauge her true state of mind and stability from her letters. It seemed clear, though, that Philip, on his home base, had full control over the flow and direction of information: when Fernando wrote about Isabel's health in September, this vital information seemed to have been withheld from Juana, which angered Fernando.<sup>13</sup> It's worth bearing all of this in mind when looking at Isabel's last will and her statements about Juana.

If Juana had been able to find an effective ally, or been able to sustain her own voice over the ones who had incentive to over-shout her, very likely we wouldn't have lurid stories about someone driven insane by ungovernable passions. We would have had a figure similar to Catherine the Great. One of her misfortunes was that she

<sup>11</sup> Fleming, page 100.

<sup>12</sup> BHO <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol1/pp337-342> Nov 26 1504 413.

<sup>13</sup> Fleming, pages 98-99.

<sup>10</sup> Fuensalida, page 210; Fleming, page 92.



was never able to collect the resources to fund and direct her own narrative or to build her coalition. Her options would narrow to solitary defiance or stubborn withdrawal, both of which would yield control to her opposition. The opposition would remain intimate, even as it would grow, after the death of Juana's mother.

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### Reviews

Myrna Smith, Pauline Calkin

*Medieval Medicine: Its Myteries and Science*—Toni Mount, Amberley, 2016

This contains the meticulous research, concise, clear writing, and the impressive array of facts that we have come to expect of Toni Mount. Even in her novels. Except there she doesn't let you catch her doing all this. In non-fiction it is the whole point.

There is the brief summary. Now to particulars. Mount comes up with the thesis that people were healthier in the pre-medieval period than in the medieval period, because the latter led the more sedentary lifestyle of an agricultural society, got less exercise, ate richer food, etc., etc. Is this beginning to sound familiar? This doesn't mean that the "pre-" folks lived longer. They were just fine, up to the time they died of accidents, violence, or some other hazard associated with the hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

Getting even more particular, various maladies will be considered, such as the Plague, the Sweat, and a number of lower-case diseases. It's not that our ancestors did not understand that certain disorders were "catching," though they may not have always understood the mechanics of this. Malaria, for instance, was attributed to "bad air," of the kind found in low-lying, swampy places. They weren't wrong. They just didn't realize what it was in low-lying, swampy places that caused the disease, e.g. mosquitoes. And while some diseases have been wiped out, some have just disappeared, like the Sweat. Still more particularly, there will be individual case studies reviewed, such as that of Richard III's scoliosis.

Are we getting healthier, because so many diseases have been wiped out, or more sickly, because more are being discovered/ defined? All I can say is, we used to have diseases, not syndromes. Or spectrums, as in the autism spectrum. Why not the pneumonia spectrum, when you have a bad cold? End of mini-rant, back to our theme.

Oh, and there are some very colorful illustrations. Whether you consider them beautiful or not is in the eye of the beholder.

—M.S.

By the way, isn't it about time Toni Mount revved up her fictional talents again? I'm looking forward to another go-round of the Foxley Follies.

*The Solace of the Common People*—Angela K. Smith, Leofrici, 2022

The sub-title of this novel is, "What if Richard III had won at Bosworth." So we know it is going to be of the genus Alternate History. As advertised, Richard does win, and immediately starts doing things alternatively. He decides he wishes to be called "Your Majesty," for instance, maybe because he has decided to reconquer France...and does. This establishes an Empire, if it is Anglo-French rather than British. He does not, however, kill any young boys in the Tower of London. This is literally true.

That is the premise. The actual story begins with a young man waking up one warm morning and going for a run. From references to trainers and the like, we deduce that this takes place in modern times, but we have yet to learn who our unnamed hero is. Over the course of several chapters, this will be revealed. The author seems to be determined to play coy with the reader. Right here, I should issue a spoiler alert. The young man is the heir to the bifurcated throne. His father was John IV. (There is another royal name that has been rehabilitated, but we are not told how or why.) Papa lived by choice in Versailles, so wouldn't he have called himself Jean IV? In any case, our protagonist is named Richard. Though this Alternative UK is progressive in many ways (women actually fill most of the positions in the Church, which is still Roman), royal marriages are still commonly arranged, which causes this Richard some angst.

Back to the alternative-historical part of the story. Richard III marries again, to Joanna of Portugal, a marriage of duty for both of them. We are told that they do not have a language in common. But wasn't French a lingua - er - franca among the upper and upper-middle classes at this time? Failing that, maybe Latin, unless the language of the Mass might be considered too sacred for ordinary communication, never mind pillow talk.

Having done her duty, including putting up with Richard's mistress, Joanna passes on, to prospective beatification, perhaps, leaving her husband free to marry again. I'm not telling who—this time I am going to play it coy. I will tell you that he simply ignores the necessity for clerical clearance for his marriage. He promotes translation and reading of the English Bible, but does not quarrel with the Church, because they pretty much do what he tells them to.

To make a long story short—well, it is not that long, though rather far-reaching—Richard lives out Henry VII's life span, does almost all the things that Henry did, including naming a son Arthur, does some things that Tudors never thought of, including executing a woman for treason.... that's why it is an Alternative History. Arthur, by the way, dies young, and second son Richard marries Catherine of Aragon, but their marriage will be childless. His other sons and daughters make marriages similar to the ones they made in real life, but they are not the same couples.

Not until rather late in the story do we actually see King Richard doing anything for the "common people," and then it is more in appearance than reality. He is cynically and deliberately letting them think they have a say in

the government. The king never quite trusts Buckingham, but does trust people he shouldn't have. His third wife dies, but he does not remarry, not caring to follow Tudor footsteps to that extent. Also, he is in more and more pain as the years go by.

Only in the last chapter, do we learn the time of these "Modern Times," the number of the particular King Richard in question, and whether the monarch will do a runner or not. For all the faults I have found with the story, it does have a way of growing on the reader, if they are even halfway cooperative. —M.S.

As previously noted, the subtitle is, "What if Richard III had won at Bosworth." I would append "and turned into Henry VII." And his adoption of the honorific "Your Majesty" is just the beginning. As my coconspirator in this column observed, the author evidently is in the school of thought that the times makes the man. I'm not—at least not entirely—but the book was clever.—P.C.

This segues into...

*What if...Book of Alternative British History*—Future Publishing, Ltd., 2025

This is in magazine format, but it has many of the attributes of a book, or even an anthology, including multiple authors. So it will be reviewed as a book. The turning points range from Boudicca to the Good Friday Agreement. Some seem to be non-events, such as the Beatles never getting together, or the NHS never coming into existence. Or the Titanic not sinking, at least not on its maiden voyage. A relative few involve something happening that was avoided in real life, e.g. Queen Victoria's assassination.

The parts of the anthology of most interest to Ricardians would be the chapters on "What if Richard III had lived?", "What if Henry VII had been overthrown?", and, to a slightly lesser extent, "What if Arthur Tudor had lived?", and "What if Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII had a son?"...and a cute little red-headed boy he would have been, as depicted here. The essay on Richard, written by Matt Lewis, is a reprint from a previous general history edition. The chapter on Henry Tudor is by Nathan Amin, but is rather neutral in tone. Other chapters are by Sean Cunningham, Elizabeth Norton, Tracy Borman, et al.

One problem with all of this is that the authors often assume that the changes, once having taken place, would remain unchangeable. Would the same royal families still be ruling in England? This might be true in, say, Monaco, since that principality was fortunate enough to have the males that married its daughters adopt the Grimaldi name. What might work in a pocket-handkerchief nation like Monaco might not in the UK.

Take another example: Nick Churchill claiming that music in Great Britain would still be rather, well, square, if the Beatles had not formed. But if the Brits were that square, how would they know it?

Still, it is enjoyable to pick the nits and criticize these articles, so just read/look at the pictures, and have fun! —M.S.



*Death in the Forest*—Jeremy Potter, Constable London, 1977

Two sons of the Conqueror died in the New Forest—both allegedly in hunting accidents. This novel tells a story spanning the two events as witnessed by Edith of Scotland, who eventually marries the youngest son, Henry I. The royal blood of Scotland and England flowed through her veins—from her father, King Malcolm, that of Scotland, and from her mother, that of Alfred the Great.

The tale begins when 15-year-old Edith arrives at the nunnery at Romsey, which lies between the forest and Winchester, and where her maternal aunt Christina is abbess. Edith, however, has no intention of taking the veil. She wants to marry, and to marry someone who will stand against the Normans. Almost immediately upon her arrival four hunters arrive, demanding entrance. They are, in fact, four Norman lords, the sons of King William I—Robert, Richard, William, and Henry—who have come to look Edith over. Richard, described as pious and destined for the Church, is fair and handsome. To Edith he looks like the Christ her mother described to her and she falls under his spell. At that evening's banquet, the four behave as drunken louts, brawling and carousing all night. (The Brothers York are angelic choir boys in comparison to this bunch.) In the morning, Edith discovers Richard's body—he has been stabbed in the back. The three remaining brothers start accusing one another. Their mother Matilda is fetched from Winchester, and she is no better than her sons, a real termagant who accuses Edith of being a wanton, and her aunt the abbess and the latter's confessor of dissolute living (perhaps with good reason as to the latter accusation). All three are accused of murdering her son. Matilda chooses to cover up the murder, ordering a willing William to shoot an arrow through his brother's dead body, which is then dumped in the forest.

The novel becomes the story of Edith fending off the three remaining brothers, who are attracted to her because of her royal Saxon blood as well as her beauty. Even their father gets into the act after the death of his queen, but fortunately for Edith he dies before she must respond to his proposal. She is loath to marry a Norman but she eventually believes she may be able to help the Saxon people by doing so. She also maintains she will not marry a man guilty of fratricide. Throughout the rest of the novel, there are a series of confessions, accusations, and revelations about Richard's murder. It is a lot of "he said, he said" over and over again. The climax comes when William—whose marriage proposal Edith is about to accept—is also murdered in the New Forest. She marries Henry, who forces her to forego her Saxon name and adopt the Norman Matilda. But she has become known as Good Queen Matilda and has passed her Saxon blood down to the present day British monarchs. The truth about Richard's murder is not disclosed until the final pages, and after all the false revelations it loses its impact. The author's concept in linking the two deaths through Edith is an intriguing one, although historically inaccurate as I later discovered that she was born 10 years after Richard's death. After the promising start, the story plods along and becomes somewhat tedious despite the good writing and the interesting portrayal of Edith.—P.C.

*The Good Queen: Matilda of Scotland, Wife of Henry I*—J.P. Reedman, Kindle Edition, 2023

This is a novel about Edith of Scotland, who upon her marriage to Henry I of England took the name of Matilda. It is one in the author's series, *Medieval Babes: Tales of Little-Known Ladies*.

It is also the second novel in succession I have read about Edith, the other being Jeremy Potter's *Death in the Forest*. Reedman takes a far more traditional approach than Potter, telling a straightforward chronological account of Edith's life from age six until her daughter leaves England to marry the Holy Roman Emperor. The book describes many of the historical events during this period, and having read much of the author's work, I trust that the recital is reliable. This is a far different approach than that taken in *Death in the Forest* where the author exercises a good deal of dramatic license to have Edith alive at the time of the death of Richard, William the Conqueror's second son. He died in 1170, some ten years before Edith's birth. Potter used this device to link Richard's death, allegedly the result of a hunting accident with his brother, with William Rufus's thirty years later, also in a hunting accident. Henry I has been implicated in the latter's not-so-accidental death, and both Potter and Reedman adopt that theory. By doing so, Potter creates a mystery and a little adventure for Edith. He also focuses on Edith's relationships and attitudes to all of the Conqueror's sons. She is proud of her royal Saxon blood and hates the Normans, agreeing to marry Henry when she is convinced that only by doing so can she do some good for the Saxon people. She gives up her Saxon name with the greatest reluctance. In contrast, Reedman's Edith is a bit bland. She has no qualms about adopting the Norman name Matilda in place of her Saxon name, and never questions any of Henry's actions—even though she must have suspected that he arranged for William Rufus's murder. She's full on Team Henry. Who knows? That may be the more accurate picture of Edith.

If I had to give them a number rating, they would earn about the same score. But which one would get the edge? Probably Potter's—not only because of the mystery and adventure but the vivid characterizations, principally of Edith but also of others, including that of William Rufus.—P.C.

*The Mortimer Affair*—Alice Mitchell, Kindle Edition, 2020

This is the story of the rise and fall of the notorious Roger Mortimer, told through the eyes of his loyal wife, Joan de Joinville. Notorious because he rebelled against his king, Edward II, became Queen Isabella's lover, and deposed the king. Only in the end to be overthrown and executed by Edward III. This basic outline I knew, but I was curious to know more about these events. And I certainly did. I assume the account is more or less accurate; it is certainly detailed enough, which is one of the problems I will address later. (One tidbit I learned is that Ludlow and the Irish estate of Trim came to the Mortimers through Joan.)

Joan begins her tale when she was a child, educated at Trim by her grandfather. She is married to Mortimer when they are both young teens.

During the course of their marriage she produces 12 children, and there is some affection between her and her husband. Roger is in Prince Edward's household, and is somewhat nonplussed by the latter's relationship with Piers Galveston. But at least Galveston is good-natured—unlike Edward's later favorites, the avaricious Dispensers. It is the Dispensers who virtually rule instead of the feckless Edward. Thus, the reader understands and even sympathizes when Roger rebels. But it is Joan who pays a price—she is imprisoned for five years—and it is a harsh imprisonment. She is set free only when Roger returns (he has escaped from the Tower and fled to France) and deposes the king, but by that time he is in thrall to the Queen. Roger becomes corrupted by his power and his rule is shown as no better than the Dispensers' was.

The novel is written in reportage style, i.e. this happened, then that happened, then another thing happened. The following is an example: "So we went back to Dublin and my lord set about rebuilding the country and re-establishing law and order, as he had promised. The weather was vastly improved, the famine eased, and I bore yet another daughter we named Beatrice." No joke, this writing makes up at least 80% of the novel. It gets tedious. There are some redeeming features: e.g., Joan's despair when deprived of her children and even her books during her long imprisonment; Roger's arrogance when he takes the seat of honor and fails to acknowledge Edward III during a banquet. And finally, the fate of Edward II is cleverly handled.—P.C.

## Upcoming Events

### Did Richard III Do It or Not? Let's Talk!

*October 19, 2025, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EST, Zoom*

Join chair Susan Troxell for this Zoom discussion about the Princes in the Tower. Let's talk about the evidence, the controversy, and the latest developments in the case. There is no formal lecture. We want to hear from you, no matter your expertise or familiarity with "history's greatest unsolved mystery."

### The Medieval Christmas

*December 7, 2025, 2:00 pm – 1:30 pm EST*

Join this talk from Toni Mount, author and researcher, to learn how Christmas was celebrated at the time of Richard III—well before turkey, roast potatoes, or Santa Claus! Toni Mount is a 40-year member of the Society and the author of several best-selling history books, including *Everyday Life in Medieval London* and *How to Survive in Medieval England*.

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Use italics for book titles, article titles, publication titles, and foreign language.

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Do not resize your images. I can always make them smaller to fit, but can't make them larger. Images 300 dots per inch size, so if the image is 1" by 2" in the article, then it has to be 300 dots (or pixels) by 600 dots for the correct size.

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Please do not hesitate to contact me at [info@r3.org](mailto:info@r3.org) if you have any questions on something that you want to submit.

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**October 30 – November 1, 2026**

**New Haven, Connecticut**

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*The Omni Hotel in New Haven.*