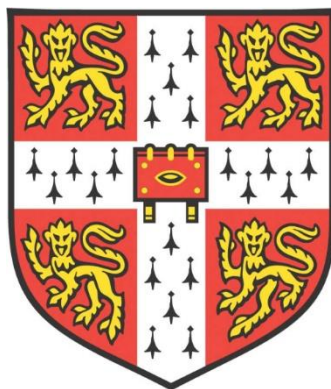

Child Kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany, c.1050 – c.1250

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

In accordance with the Faculty of History guidelines, this thesis does not exceed 80,000 words. The word count is: 79,850 words.

Date: 27 July 2017

Abstract

This dissertation is a comparative study of children who succeeded as kings of England, Scotland, France, and Germany as boys under the age of fifteen in the central Middle Ages. Children are often disregarded in the historical record, even those divinely-ordained as king. The research undertaken in this thesis aims to uncover a more human aspect to medieval kingship by combining social aspects of childhood and gender studies with a political and legal approach to the study of the nature of rulership and royal administrative practices. Part I provides vital context of how royal fathers prepared their underage sons for kingship. I argue for the importance of maternal involvement in association, demonstrate the significant benefits a comparative approach brings to our understanding of anticipatory actions, and reveal the impact which changes in the circumstances and documentation of royal death had on preparations for child kingship. In Part II, I focus on vice-regal guardianship to expose how structural legal, social, political, and cultural changes affected the provisions for a child king. The symbolic meaning of knighthood, which had been a clear rite of passage to adulthood in the eleventh century, later became a precursor to kingship. The child's progression to maturity was increasingly directed by legalistic ideas. These developments meant that, by the first half of the thirteenth century, queen mothers faced greater challenges to their involvement in royal governance alongside their sons. Part III presents a challenge to the idea that periods of child kingship were necessarily more violent than when an adult came to the throne through an analysis of instances of child kidnap, maternal exclusion from guardianship and departure from the kingdom, dynastic challenge, and opportunistic violence. Children often appear as passive actors controlled by the adults around them but accepting this unquestioningly is too simplistic. Child kings could make an impact on the political landscape even if they could not do so alone. Through an innovative comparative analysis of a child's preparation for rulership, the care of king and kingdom, and the vulnerabilities and challenges of child kingship, I demonstrate far greater political continuity across medieval monarchies than is usually appreciated. This constitutes a fresh and original contribution towards the study of medieval rulership in north-western Europe.

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Abbreviations

<i>Acta sanctorum</i>	Acta Sanctorum Database (ProQuest)
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Anderson, <i>Early sources</i>	<i>Early sources of Scottish history: A.D. 500 to 1286</i> , ed. Alan Orr Anderson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1922)
Anderson, <i>Scottish annals</i>	<i>Scottish annals from English chroniclers, A.D. 500 to 1286</i> , ed. Alan Orr Anderson, 2nd edn, Paul Watkins Medieval Studies 10 (Stamford, 1991)
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
Arch. Nat.	Archives Nationales de France, Paris
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	<i>Johannis de Fordun Chronica gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. William F. Skene, The Historians of Scotland 1 (Edinburgh, 1871)
<i>Chron. Holyrood</i>	<i>A Scottish chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood</i> , eds. Marjorie O. Anderson and Alan Orr Anderson, Scottish History Society 30 (Edinburgh, 1938)
<i>Chron. maiora</i>	Matthew Paris, <i>Chronica maiora</i> , ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series 34 (London, 1872-83)
<i>C. P. R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, A.D. 1247-1258</i> (London, 1908)
<i>Dipl. Docs.</i>	<i>Diplomatic documents preserved in the Public Record Office, Volume I: 1101-1272</i> , ed. Pierre Chaplais (London, 1964)
<i>DMLBS</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, conventiones, literae, ... volume I, part I, 1066-1272</i> , ed. Thomas Rymer (London, 1816)
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
<i>Layettes</i>	<i>Layettes du trésor des chartes (inventaires et documents)</i> , ed. A. Teulet, etc., 5 vols. (Paris, 1863-1909)

Lewis and Short	Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, <i>A Latin dictionary founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1896)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit
MGH DD	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata
MGH Dt. Chron.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Deutsche Chroniken
MGH Dt. MA	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Deutsches Mittelalter
MGH Ldl	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Libelli de lite
MGH LL nat. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges nationum Germanicarum
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores
MGH SS rer. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
NAL	<i>Nouvelles acquisitions latines</i>
Niermeyer	J. F. Niermeyer, <i>Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus: a medieval Latin-French/English dictionary</i> (Leiden, 1976)
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
Ordonnances	<i>Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race</i> , 21 vols. (Paris, 1723-1849)
Patent rolls, 1216-1225	<i>Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1216-1225</i> (London, 1901)
Patent rolls, 1225-1232	<i>Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1225-1232</i> (London, 1903)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus...Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64) [online database]

PoMS	<i>The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093-1314</i> , Amanda Beam, John Bradley, Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Matthew Hammond, Michele Pasin (with others) (Glasgow and London, 2012) [online database]
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , eds. Dom Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1737-1904)
<i>Rot. Chart.</i>	<i>Rotuli Chartarum</i> , ed. Thomas D. Hardy (London, 1837)
<i>Rot. Litt. Claus.</i>	<i>Rotuli litterarum clausarum</i> , ed. Thomas D. Hardy, 2 vols. (London, 1833-44)
<i>Rot. Litt. Pat.</i>	<i>Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati</i> , ed. Thomas D. Hardy (London, 1835)
RRS	<i>Regesta regum Scottorum</i>
SC	Special Correspondence, The National Archives, London
Shirley	<i>Royal and other historical letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III</i> , ed. Walter W. Shirley, 2 vols. (London, 1862-66)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
TCE	<i>Thirteenth-Century England</i>
TNA	The National Archives, London
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

A note on names

The majority of personal and place names are anglicised throughout the text, except where names are most recognisable in another form. For example, John of Joinville rather than Jean de Joinville, Henry IV rather than Heinrich IV, but Robert de Ros. Although recent Scottish scholarship has shown a preference towards the use of Gaelic forms, e.g. Mael Coluim IV rather than Malcolm IV, I have used the anglicised form to ensure consistency across the four kingdoms discussed here.

Introduction

In a medieval world that depended on rulers exercising military strength and political power, the concept of child kingship appears unusual and contradictory. Yet, on a day to day basis, both royalty and aristocracy lived with and adapted to the practice of children inheriting. Children frequently acceded as dukes, counts, and earls, and we know of more than eighty child kings across Europe between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.¹ There is also a global context to child rulership beyond the medieval European framework of this thesis.² Periods of child kingship generally have not received glowing endorsements. Assessments of a kingdom's experience of a child ruler usually focus on unrest, political disorder, and violence. Norman Reid characterised the minority of Alexander III, king of Scots (1241-1286), as 'a decade of factional strife, corrupt government and external interference'.³ Perceiving periods of child kingship primarily in such terms has led to a tendency to over-psychoanalyse the trauma of a boy king's upbringing and its lasting effects on an adult ruler, even providing justification for personal behaviour and royal policies later in that king's reign.⁴ Some modern scholars have treated the experience of child kingship as a get-out clause to defend their subject's less palatable traits. 'Royal minorities were times of crisis and unrest in the kingdoms of the Early

¹ Thomas Vogtherr, "'Weh dir, Land, dessen König ein Kind ist.'" Minderjährige Könige um 1200 im europäischen Vergleich', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 37 (2003), 291-314 (at p. 293). See also Armin Wolf, 'Königtum Minderjähriger und das Institut der Regentschaft', in *L'Enfant. Deuxième partie : Europe médiévale et moderne*, Recueils de la société Jean Bodin 36 (Brussels, 1976), pp. 97-106 (at pp. 97-8). Underage kings were, if anything, even more common before the eleventh century, especially if we include the appointment of children as associate kings or co-rulers during their fathers' reigns.

² Al-Mustansir Billah (1029-1094) succeeded to the Fatimid Caliphate in 1036 aged six; Lý Chiêu Hoàng (1218-1278) became empress of the Lý dynasty (modern-day Vietnam) in 1224 aged seven; Antoku (1178-1185) became emperor of Japan at the age of two. See Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic empire: Fatimid history and its sources* (London, 2002), pp. 61, 143-7; Vu Hong Lien and Peter D. Sharrock, *Descending dragon, rising tiger: a history of Vietnam* (London, 2014), pp. 79-80; Conrad Totman, *A history of Japan*, The Blackwell History of the World (Oxford, 2000), p. 94.

³ Norman H. Reid, 'The political role of the monarchy in Scotland, 1249-1329', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (1984), p. 35. For further examples, see: Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich IV, Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 2006), pp. 41-5; R. Andrew McDonald and Scott A. McLean, 'Somerset of Argyll: a new look at old problems', *SHR*, 71 (1992), 3-22 (especially at pp. 13-20); Jacques Le Goff, 'The whys and ways of writing a biography: the case of Saint-Louis', *Exemplaria*, 1 (1989), 207-25 (at pp. 218-19).

⁴ For example, Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Philippe Auguste : la personnalité du roi', in *La France de Philippe Auguste : le temps des mutations : actes du colloque international organisé par le C.N.R.S. (Paris, 29 septembre – 4 octobre 1980)*, ed. Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 33-57 (at p. 37), and Aline G. Hornaday, 'A Capetian queen as street demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut', in *Capetian women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan, The New Middle Ages (New York, 2003), pp. 77-98 (at p. 78), both of whom blame Philip II's upbringing for turning him into an 'enfant terrible'.

and High Middle Ages, a calamity for which their ruling strata knew no remedy', Karl Leyser claimed, attempting to rationalise why one should not reproach Emperor Frederick II (*d.*1250) for being 'neither likable nor reassuring'.⁵ According to Leyser, Frederick's upbringing, like that of the earlier German king, Henry IV (1050-1106), led him to seek revenge for what he had suffered as a child. At an unsophisticated level, modern historians have scrutinised periods of child kingship for 'what went wrong/well' merely to inform their research into adult rulership. Without a solid foundation in modern neuroscience, psychiatry, and developmental biology, assessments of this type remove the agency of decision-making from adult men and discourage attempts either to study child kingship in its own context or to compare and contrast child kings across traditional 'national' boundaries. Looking beyond modern narratives of trauma and violence helps us to reconstruct a more rounded picture of how contemporaries approached the problem of a child king, as well as how societal, cultural, and legal changes affected child kingship in north-western Europe in the central Middle Ages.

i. Historiography and medieval sources

Child kingship has been the subject of far less historical research than one would suppose, especially considering the wealth of scholarship devoted to medieval kings and rulership.⁶ There are considerable discrepancies in the attention devoted to different child kings and in historians' approaches to minority reigns. Although biographical monographs now tend to touch on a king's childhood and minority as a preliminary chapter to their adult life and kingship, some monarchs have not received even this cursory attention.⁷ Narrative accounts dominate the study

⁵ Karl Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982), p. 272.

⁶ Child kingship has received considerable attention, however, from legal historians and scholars of law due to the legal conundrum posed by a child ruler. See, for example, Wolf, 'Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 98 n.1. See also Félix Olivier-Martin, *Les régnances et la majorité des rois sous les Capétiens directs et les premiers Valois (1060-1375)* (Paris, 1931), which was Olivier-Martin's thesis for his doctorate in law. He came from a family of legal historians and his work is still regularly cited, especially in studies of child kingship in France. See Marguerite Boulet-Sautel, 'Félix Olivier-Martin (1906-1972)', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 130 (1972), 680-1.

⁷ Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, and I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999); Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus, king of France, 1180-1223*, *The Medieval World* (London, 1998); see n.8 below for two monographs devoted to Henry III of England's minority; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, *Bibliothèque des histoires* (Paris, 1996), trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, Ind., 2009); Marion Campbell, *Alexander III: king of Scots* (Isle of Colonsay, 1999). Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris, 1912) is still the standard text on Philip I's reign. Though valuable, it is now significantly out of date. Malcolm IV, king of Scots, has never been the subject of a biographical monograph. Key events of his life and reign are set out briefly in *The acts of Malcolm IV, king of Scots, 1153-1165: together with Scottish royal acts prior to 1153 not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish charters'*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, RRS 1 (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 3-26.

of child kings, divulging the historian's predilection for chronologically structured accounts. The minority of Henry III of England (1207-1272) has been much scrutinised in two lengthy monographs devoted to examining the events of the baronial warfare which lasted until 1217 and the state of governance throughout Henry's childhood and adolescence.⁸ A comparative project like this thesis would be near impossible without the meticulous analysis of scholars such as David Carpenter. His study of Henry III's minority self-admittedly focuses less on the boy king himself and more on the minority government, and the political, administrative, and legal outcomes of the minority period which ultimately created the conditions for securing the formal acceptance of Magna Carta.⁹ In contrast to Carpenter's approach, I hope to demonstrate the value of undertaking a comparative, thematic analysis of child kingship across the English, Scottish, French, and German kingdoms.¹⁰ This is something we currently lack but which can critically inform our study of medieval rulership, as I will demonstrate.

German scholarship has done most to further the study of medieval child kingship, focusing principally on researching Frankish-Germanic kings in the earlier Middle Ages. Theo Kölzer did not initiate German research into underage kings but his study of 'Minderjährige Könige', published in 1990, has been particularly influential.¹¹ Kölzer's student, Thilo Offergeld, continued his work with a weighty thesis dedicated to the topic a decade later.¹² Offergeld's work considers Henry IV of Germany (1050-1106) almost as an afterthought to his analysis, which centres on the eighth to tenth centuries. Accordingly, Henry becomes the last child king in Germany before the increasing development of elective kingship led to the rejection of child contenders for the throne in favour of adult men. This has resulted in the virtual isolation of Henry IV's experience from the wider European context of eleventh-century child kingship, especially from his direct contemporary in France, Philip I (1052-1108), who also succeeded as a child. Historians have limited their comparative research to cataloguing consecutive case

⁸ Kate Norgate, *The minority of Henry the third* (London, 1912); D. A. Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III* (London, 1990).

⁹ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Carpenter only briefly refers to Frederick II as a directly contemporary comparison for Henry III, and then mentions the minority of Louis IX once. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 123, 378. He cites no other situations of child kingship across Europe.

¹¹ Theo Kölzer, 'Das Königtum Minderjähriger im fränkisch-deutschen Mittelalter. Eine Skizze', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 251 (1990), 291-323. For earlier studies: Wolf, 'Königtum Minderjähriger', 97-106; Heinrich Mitteis, 'Der Rechtsschutz Minderjähriger im Mittelalter', in *Die Rechtsidee in der Geschichte: gesammelte Abhandlungen und Vorträge*, ed. Mitteis (Weimar, 1957), pp. 621-36.

¹² Thilo Offergeld, *Reges pueri: das Königtum Minderjähriger im frühen Mittelalter*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 50 (Hannover, 2001).

studies of child kingship, sometimes relying heavily on secondary literature, before concluding with a few general remarks of comparison and contrast.¹³ This narrative approach to child rulership has its attractions. Chronological and geographical differences can make it hard to tie thematic discussions together whilst also allowing for specific socio-political context. The individual conditions of each case study undoubtedly need to be considered but, with a narrative approach, we gain a distinct view of each boy king but little of the *longue durée* of developments in child kingship over time.¹⁴ How did changes in practices of inheritance, succession, royal death, tenurial wardship, government, and marriage affect child kingship? The evaluation of child rulership must progress beyond a case-by-case investigation to consider thematic strands of continuity, change, and contrast.

Research into medieval childhood has had an important influence on present-day studies of child kings. The publication of Philippe Ariès's *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* in 1960 (and its English translation in 1962) is often seen to mark the birth of modern historical scholarship on medieval childhood.¹⁵ Ariès's focus on childhood and the family derived from a wider interest in historical *mentalités* and a desire to understand human attitudes, especially in the aftermath of the occupation of France during the Second World War.¹⁶ The popularity of Ariès's *Centuries of childhood*, especially in English-language scholarship, needs to be placed in the context of burgeoning efforts by historians over the 1960s to revise established historiography, and the predominance of politics and events, by turning to study social history through topics such as family, education, childhood, and class. In England, folklorists had long studied the oral culture and everyday lives of children, but research into nursery rhymes and games by Iona and Peter Opie throughout the 1950s had already sparked

¹³ See Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', pp. 291-314, and Christian Hillen, 'The minority governments of Henry III, Henry (VII) and Louis IX compared', *TCE*, 11 (2007), 46-60. It is worth noting here that Hillen, like Offergeld, completed his dissertation under Theo Kölzer. See Stefan Berger, 'Comparative history', in *Writing history: theory and practice*, eds. Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London, 2003), pp. 161-79 (at p. 168), for the problems inherent in this form of comparative study.

¹⁴ Christian Hillen and Frank Wiswall, 'The minority of Henry III in the context of Europe', in *The royal minorities of medieval and early modern England*, ed. Charles Beem (New York, 2008), pp. 17-66. See also, W. Mark Ormrod's review of *The royal minorities of medieval and early modern England*, ed. Beem, in *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 986-7.

¹⁵ Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui (Paris, 1960); Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: a social history of family life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York, 1962).

¹⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1948), especially the chapter 'L'enfant dans la famille'.

more widespread popular and academic interest in the study of childhood. Almost immediately after *Centuries of childhood*'s publication, historians challenged Ariès's analysis that the concept of childhood was unknown throughout the Middle Ages, and the backlash against his conclusions has been fierce and unrelenting.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Ariès's ideas were influential for many years. Jacques Le Goff's work on the young Louis IX of France (1214-1270) accepted Ariès's thesis of the non-existence of childhood, for example.¹⁸ Historians of childhood have mined royal cases for evidence of infant education, clothing, family life, and upbringing, but they have tended to ignore young kings to focus on experiences of infancy and youth more in keeping with a broader social stratum.¹⁹ Nevertheless, there has been an increasing historical interest in royal childhood from modern authors writing biographies of kings.

The lifecycle approach was always an important element in royal biography, but the emphasis placed on a ruler's early years and upbringing has recently become even more central to any biographical endeavour.²⁰ Advancing biological and neurological knowledge of the formative nature of childhood and adolescence throughout the twentieth century has probably contributed to this enthusiasm. Sigmund Freud (d.1939) and Jean Piaget (d.1980) were, among others, at the forefront of developing cognitive and psychological understanding of the impact of childhood experience. More recently, sociologists such as Alison James and Alan Prout have

¹⁷ Criticism of Ariès's conclusions began almost immediately but did not peak until the mid-1970s. See Lloyd deMause, 'The evolution of childhood', in *The history of childhood*, ed. deMause (New York, 1974), pp. 1-73; Adrian Wilson, 'The infancy of the history of childhood: an appraisal of Ariès', *History and Theory*, 19 (1980), 132-53. For discussion of the persistent notoriety of Ariès's ideas in scholarship on medieval childhood: Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London, 1992); Daniele Alexandre-Bidon, Didier Lett, and Pierre Riché, *Children in the Middle Ages, fifth to fifteenth centuries*, trans. Jody Gladding, Laura Shannon Series in French Medieval Studies (Notre Dame, Ind., 1999); Nicholas Orme, *Medieval children* (London, 2003), p. 5.

¹⁸ Jacques Le Goff, 'Le roi enfant dans l'idéologie monarchique de l'occident médiéval', in *Actes du colloque international : historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse : Athènes, 1-5 octobre 1984* (Athens, 1986), pp. 231-50. Even ten years later, when Ariès's views faced extensive criticism from most quarters, Le Goff had not changed his opinion on medieval childhood. See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 88-9 ('je pense avec Philippe Ariès que l'enfance a été fondamentalement une non-valeur au Moyen Age', p. 88).

¹⁹ The most recent historiographical example in which child kings receive little mention is *A cultural history of childhood and family in the Middle Ages*, ed. Louise J. Wilkinson, paperback edn (London, 2014). This is, of course, not a new problem. See, for example, Antonia Gransden, 'Childhood and youth in mediaeval England', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 16 (1972), 3-19.

²⁰ Some recent examples in English-language scholarship include: Bernard Hamilton, *The leper king and his heirs: Baldwin IV and the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 23-43; David Bates, *William the Conqueror*, The English Monarchs Series (New Haven, 2016), pp. 16-48; Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (London, 2016), pp. 17-33; John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: the prince and the myth* (London, 2016), pp. 1-59. The same is also true for female rulers: Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile, Queen of France* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 29-45.

argued for the culturally constructed nature of childhood, whilst biological anthropologists like Barry Bogin have demonstrated an evolutionary underpinning to an understanding of childhood and adolescence.²¹ Upbringing and childhood are thus now seen as essential to a well-rounded picture of medieval kingship. Despite this, analyses of these lifecycle stages often rely disproportionately on potentially unhelpful psychoanalysis. Althoff devoted a significant chapter of his monograph on Henry IV to exploring, as he described it, the traumatic nature of Henry's early years, to achieve a greater understanding of his kingship as a whole.²² Applying psychoanalysis to a king's childhood experiences distracts from a contextual understanding of his preparation to be king, the arrangements made to support and care for him as he matured in age and kingship, and the roots of conflicts which arose when he was a child. A comparative and thematic approach is required to bring out these motifs of preparation, guardianship, and the vulnerabilities of child kingship.

The legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz dominates theoretical discussions of the nature of medieval kingship in much the same way that Ariès still overshadows the study of medieval childhood. And, like Ariès, one can still sense Kantorowicz's influence on the modern history of child kingship. Kantorowicz's study of 'medieval political theology' traced the origins of the Tudor concept of 'The King's Two Bodies' – the body politic and the body natural – through the Christological kingship of the eleventh and twelfth centuries via jurisdictional kingship (which the author linked expressly to Frederick II) and on into late medieval legal notions of the Crown as a corporate body. In the introduction to his study, Kantorowicz relied on the work of William Blackstone (1723-1780), the famous eighteenth-century English common lawyer and judge, whose *Commentaries on the laws of England* present the declaration 'in the king is no minority; and therefore he hath no legal guardian'.²³ The spectre of William Blackstone looms especially large over German historians writing about child kingship. Kölzer, a historian of medieval Germany, France, and Italy, found Blackstone through Kantorowicz's work and introduced a

²¹ *Constructing and reconstructing childhood*, eds. Alison James and Alan Prout (Basingstoke, 1990); Barry Bogin, 'Evolutionary and biological aspects of childhood', in *Biosocial perspectives on children*, ed. C. Panter-Brick (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 10-44.

²² Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, p. 41.

²³ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies: a study in medieval political theology*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ, 1997), p. 4. The first edition was published in 1957. See William Blackstone, *The Oxford edition of Blackstone – commentaries on the laws of England. Book I: of the rights of people*, eds. David Lemmings and Wilfrid Prest (Oxford, 2016), p. 161. See also Wilfrid Prest, 'Blackstone, Sir William (1723–1780), legal writer and judge', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, September 2015) [accessed 25 July 2017].

comparison between early modern reflections on English common law and the contradiction of a child king in the early medieval Frankish kingdoms.²⁴ Offergeld followed his teacher's use of the eighteenth-century English lawyer as an example of the enduring paradox of ruling sovereignty and an incompetent king in hereditary monarchies.²⁵ Yet, Blackstone was merely and conveniently summarizing the features of the king's political body as they had developed in England over several centuries and through various speculative iterations, as Kantorowicz noted but other scholars have failed to acknowledge.²⁶ Blackstone's denial that the political body of the king could be underage was never meant to be taken at face value: it was shorthand for a far more extensive and imprecise debate. German historians, in their reliance on Blackstone's later summary of the legal status of minority as it related to contemporary English kingship, have unwittingly introduced an anachronistic understanding of minority to medieval child kingship. Rather than attempting to understand the 'legal fiction' of child kingship in the Middle Ages, we should instead focus on comprehending the actualities, as I intend to do here.

Although the cultural diversity of childhood must be borne in mind, the biological consistency of this lifecycle stage and shared childhood experiences enable a comparison between several different case studies.²⁷ The comparative approach allows us to challenge commonly promulgated ideas regarding circumstances of child kingship and guardianship, such as the fact that it was 'normal' or 'expected' that the child's closest male relative would become guardian of king and kingdom, or that mothers were unable to exercise similar powers to magnate guardians. Modern historians of the Middle Ages, from Marc Bloch to Janet Nelson, have outlined the importance of comparative history, yet a comparative methodology poses many problems.²⁸ Chris Wickham identified three principal difficulties facing the comparative

²⁴ 'Königsherrschaft ist untrennbar mit der Person des Königs verbunden', Kölzer, 'Das Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 309. A German translation of Kantorowicz's work was released in 1985 but Kölzer cited the original, in English.

²⁵ Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, p. 833. See also Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', p. 291, who opened his article with the same quote from Blackstone.

²⁶ Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies*, pp. 3-6.

²⁷ Shared childhood experiences are dealt with more fully in the next section of this introduction, pp. 21-39.

²⁸ Marc Bloch, 'Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes', *Revue de synthèse historique*, 46 (1928), 15-50; Janet L. Nelson, 'The church's military service in the ninth century: a contemporary comparative view?', in *Politics and ritual in early medieval Europe*, ed. Nelson, History Series 42 (London, 1986), pp. 117-32; Timothy Reuter, 'Modern mentalities and medieval politics (Inaugural lecture at University of Southampton, 1995)', in *Medieval politics and modern mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 3-18.

historian.²⁹ Firstly, the empirical problem caused by variance in documents and data. Secondly, the historiographical problem, since how historians have approached a problem or topic may not be similar across countries. These initial two problems are particularly pertinent for this study, which adopts a ‘multiple societies, one issue comparison’ to child kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany.³⁰ The third problem is that of significance, i.e. finding what is important to compare. All three difficulties can be overcome, as Wickham suggests, by focusing on a single element of comparison.³¹ For this reason, I concentrate on the single concept of child kingship as it relates to boys who became sole rulers under the age of fifteen in the kingdoms of north-western Europe between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries. Demarcating geographical and temporal boundaries enables constructive comparisons to be drawn from a fixed number of case studies.

Geographically speaking, kinship networks and marital alliances linked the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Germany across the central Middle Ages, making these four kingdoms of north-western Europe obvious foci for my analysis. The genealogies supplied in the appendices indicate the interconnected nature of the royal families at that time.³² Björn Weiler’s observation that ‘the high politics of medieval Europe formed a complicated web of overlapping strategies, alliances and ambitions, and cannot be understood unless this wider background is taken into account’ is highly prescient to this research.³³ It is important to integrate Germany into the study due to the historiographical tendency to see Henry IV’s minority as the end of child kingship in the realm, as mentioned above.³⁴ Kings here continued to rely on practices related to child rulership throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the designation of children as heirs or even, in Frederick II’s case, crowning his son

²⁹ Chris Wickham, ‘Problems in doing comparative history’, *The Reuter Lecture 2004* (Southampton, 2005). See also Stefan Berger, ‘Comparative history’, pp. 161-79.

³⁰ See David d’Avray, ‘Roman law and common law’, in *Von Nowgorod bis London: Studien zu Handel, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa: Festschrift für Stuart Jenks zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Marie-Luise Heckmann and Jens Röhrkasten (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 343-4, who adopts a Weberian ‘two society, one issue comparison’ in respect to law.

³¹ Wickham, ‘Problems in doing comparative history’, p. 11.

³² See Appendices A-D, pp. 280-7.

³³ Björn Weiler, ‘Henry III’s plans for a German marriage (1225) and their context’, *TCE*, 7 (1999), 173-88 (at p. 188).

³⁴ Timothy Reuter, ‘The medieval German Sonderweg? The Empire and its rulers in the high middle ages’, in *Kings and kingship in medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, King’s College London Medieval Studies 10 (London, 1993), pp. 179-211, who outlines more broadly the importance of integrating Germany into a wider European approach.

‘rex Romanorum’ to enable his own imperial promotion.³⁵ Despite the ever more elective nature of Germanic kingship, it was still not inevitable that this would eliminate children from the royal succession.³⁶ The central Middle Ages became the testing ground for ideas of child rulership in Germany. Incorporating the Scottish kingdom is also fundamental. Historians tend to exclude Scotland from comparative studies despite its assimilation into European networks across the North Sea, south to France, and further afield.³⁷ The impact of contact with other kingdoms is visible throughout the early reigns of the boy kings Malcolm IV (1141-1165) and Alexander III.³⁸ Expedient opportunities for comparison across kingdoms helped to delineate the chronological boundaries of my study. The 1050s provide a natural starting point since two children succeeded as kings within a few years: Henry IV of Germany and Philip I of France. Extending my research to 1250 enables a direct comparison between three child rulers in the first half of the thirteenth century: Henry III of England, Louis IX of France, and Alexander III, king of Scots. These three kings provide an insight into how personal experience of kingship as a child may have informed an adult king’s engagement with other child rulers later in his reign.

In the twelfth century, isolated cases of child kingship appear rather than the clustering observed in the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries. The two twelfth-century child kings, Malcolm IV, king of Scots, and Philip II of France (1165-1223), stand out from the other case studies, as will become obvious from the biographical details outlined in the next section of this

³⁵ Björn Weiler, *Kingship, rebellion and political culture: England and Germany, c.1215 – c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 5, for the unique nature of the election and succession of Frederick II’s son Henry (VII).

³⁶ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 62-3, who notes that, despite Frederick of Rothenburg’s young age, later chronicles showed puzzlement regarding why his claims to the throne had been rejected in favour of Barbarossa.

³⁷ Some recent scholarship is beginning to counteract this marginalisation of Scotland. For example, Melissa Pollock, *The lion, the lily, and the leopard: the crown and nobility of Scotland, France, and England, and the struggle for power (1100-1204)*, *Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces 4* (Turnhout, 2015), who integrates Scotland into a discussion of royal and aristocratic relations more comprehensively than earlier studies, such as David Crouch, *The image of aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300*, (London, 1992), p. 5, or Crouch, *The birth of nobility: constructing aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005). Anglo-Scottish comparative studies have a far longer tradition. Select examples include: Judith A. Green, ‘Anglo-Scottish relations, 1066-1174’, in *England and her neighbours, 1066-1453. Essays in honour of Pierre Chaplais*, eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), pp. 53-72; G. W. S. Barrow, *Scotland and its neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992); A. A. M. Duncan, ‘John king of England and the kings of Scots’, in *King John: new interpretations*, ed. Stephen Church (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 247-71; David Carpenter, ‘Scottish royal government in the thirteenth century from an English perspective’, in *New perspectives on medieval Scotland, 1093-1286*, ed. Matthew Hammond (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 117-59.

³⁸ See especially Chapter Four, and Chapter Five.

introduction and in Chapter Four. Their predecessors used similar means to prepare Malcolm and Philip for kingship, and both kings experienced conflict during the initial years of their reigns, but there is little evidence that either boy king required a guardian. Including Malcolm and Philip as case studies crucially provides a more rounded picture of guardianship arrangements and the circumstances in which contemporaries considered the explicit appointment of guardians unnecessary. Furthermore, Malcolm and Philip's experiences as young kings inform an analysis of male maturity and the transition to adulthood which was vital to a child king's development as a ruler. Legal, narrative, and medical texts usually agree that the stage of childhood, 'pueritia', ended for a male youth at fourteen.³⁹ The significance of a boy's fifteenth year had appeared in Roman law and continued to have some connection to a child king's coming of age throughout the central Middle Ages. This was the age at which a boy could legally consent to marriage, as set out at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, although betrothals could and did occur much earlier, particularly for royal children.

One would like to believe that it is no longer necessary to justify time devoted to the study of childhood, or to comparative history. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of historiographical interest in understanding boyhood.⁴⁰ The neglect of childhood is not exclusively a modern historiographical problem; medieval commentators demonstrated a similar approach. Many chroniclers ignored royal children until an age at which they became involved in political events. Even those who displayed an interest in a king's youth felt this required justification. Bruno of Merseburg defended his decision to begin his record of the Saxon War with a study of Henry IV's boyhood and youth, 'pueritia uel adolescentia', by claiming that insight into Henry's childhood would aid his audience's understanding of how the war came about.⁴¹ Like many modern historians, Bruno's interest in child kingship stemmed from a desire to understand what came afterwards more fully. Appreciating the context in which such comments were made

³⁹ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, pp. 22-8, and Orme, *Medieval children*, pp. 6, 322-7, for more extensive discussions on the stages of childhood. See Chapter Four, pp. 130-40, and Chapter Five, pp. 179-84.

⁴⁰ Jean-Christophe Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien (1180-1328)*, Histoire de France 3 (Paris, 2012), p. 14, who dismisses Philip II's childhood offhand. As will be seen from the chapters which follow, Philip II had a formative childhood as heir during which time he experienced the itinerant nature of French kingship and exposure to practices of lordship, royal ritual, and political processes.

⁴¹ 'Sed priusquam incipiam ipsius belli seriem explicare, oportet me pauca de pueritia vel adolescentia eiusdem Heinrici praemittere, ut, dum qualem vitam puer vel adolescens agebat, lector agnoverit, minus miretur, quod intestinum bellum vir factus inceperit', Bruno of Merseburg, *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH Dt. MA 2 (Leipzig, 1937), p. 13.

leads us to the issue of the sources for my study of child kingship. Child kings benefit from greater attention in contemporary source material than their non-royal peers since, in most cases, ‘children did not become important to historians of the period until they were old enough to influence political events’.⁴² Yet, even for boy kings, evidence can be sparse. Some chroniclers deliberately excluded material regarding a king’s childhood because it did not further their purpose. One can only wish that the French chronicler Rigord had prioritised his source matter, the young King Philip II, over the protection of his listeners’ ears, the reason he gave for not including a wealth of information on Philip’s early reign in his chronicle.⁴³ Due to the variance in extant material between case studies, I rely on a wide range of sources from which to analyse child kingship. These can be divided into three principal categories: documentary, narrative, and other sources. Let us first consider the documentary material emanating from royal courts and chanceries.

Documents usually provide first-hand evidence from the court, although the quantity (and quality) of acts surviving from each king’s childhood varies. For the earlier period, the numbers are relatively small. Approximately 160 diplomas survive for Henry IV’s minority (1056x1065), while there are roughly 27 for Philip I’s minority (1060x1066).⁴⁴ Just under two centuries later, Henry III’s minority in England provides the most prolific documentary output from a period of child kingship in the central Middle Ages. Despite the lack of charter rolls for the first decade of Henry’s reign, surviving royal orders in the patent and close rolls, as well as other royal documents and correspondence, provide a more systematic account of daily political life under a boy king than elsewhere.⁴⁵ The imbalance in source materials is particularly

⁴² Lois Huneycutt, ‘Public lives, private ties: royal mothers in England and Scotland, 1070-1204’, in *Medieval mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), p. 307.

⁴³ ‘De his autem que in exordio regni sui gessit pauca scribere proposuimus ne prolixitas voluminis et nimia simplicitas sermonis delicatis auditorum auribus fastidium generaret’, Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed./trans. Elisabeth Charpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin, *Sources d’histoire médiévale* 33 (Paris, 2006), p. 128; translated in *Deeds of Philip Augustus*, trans. Paul Hyams <http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/prh3/408/texts/Rigord1.html> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁴⁴ *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae. Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, eds. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, 3 vols., MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6 (Weimar, 1941-78), i. This number for Henry IV includes some documents attributed as forged or false. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108)*, ed. M. Prou, *Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l’histoire de France* 1 (Paris, 1908).

⁴⁵ The main documentary sources on which I rely for Henry III’s minority are: *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 2 vols.; *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*. See Nicholas Vincent, ‘Why 1199? Bureaucracy and enrolment under John and his contemporaries’, in *English government in the thirteenth century*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 17-48 (especially at pp. 44-8), for differences between Capetian and Plantagenet administration and record keeping in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

apparent in Scotland, where many documents were lost or destroyed during (and after) the reign of Edward I of England (1239-1307).⁴⁶ Acts issued from the Scottish king's chapel survive in far fewer numbers than elsewhere in north-western Europe, even by the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁷ Chronological disparities emerge in, firstly, the expansion of different types of royal document and, secondly, the escalation of standardised formats and content between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries. There was an evolution over this period from acts issued by beneficiaries which the king confirmed to the participation of chancery clerks in all royal documents. This was particularly visible under the Capetian kings. Changes in diplomatic practices across all four kingdoms affect the visibility of child heirs in their fathers' acts (as I shall discuss in Chapter Two) and shaped the documentary prominence of maternal and magnate guardians. Changes in a mother's place alongside her son are particularly noticeable in the French kingdom. Anne of Kiev (c.1024-c.1075) appeared alongside her son Philip I in several acts issued by the royal household or beneficiaries in the 1060s. By the 1220s and 1230s, Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), rarely appeared in documents issued in her son's name despite acting as vice-regal guardian. The seals used to authorise documents were also important as visual and material symbols of kingship and could be adapted to demonstrate a child king's incapacity, although the way in which child kingship affected sealing practices varied between kingdoms.⁴⁸ Further documentary sources consulted on occasion throughout this thesis include royal testaments, the English pipe rolls, and, for France, the memorandum of Philip I's coronation written by Archbishop Gervais of Reims (1055-67), and documents contained in the *Layettes*.⁴⁹ Since further problems arise from an assessment of the available documentary evidence, including dating and the reliability of witness lists, this material is best

⁴⁶ See Dauvit Broun, 'The absence of regnal years from the dating clause of charters of kings of Scots, 1195-1222', *ANS*, 25 (2003), 47-63 (at p. 50), for the loss of administrative records in Scotland under Edward I. And see Vincent, 'Why 1199?', p. 46, for accidents, fire, and warfare affecting the survival of Capetian royal records.

⁴⁷ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1; *The acts of Alexander III king of Scots, 1249-1286*, eds. Cynthia J. Neville and Grant G. Simpson, RRS 4 pt. 1 (Edinburgh, 2012). In addition, two online databases are invaluable when analysing Scottish acts. See PoMS, www.poms.ac.uk [accessed 25 July 2017] and *Models of authority: Scottish charters and the emergence of government, 1100-1250*, <http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁴⁸ I discuss the significance of royal seals at several occasions throughout this thesis: Chapter One, pp. 72-4; Chapter Four, pp. 145-6; Chapter Five, pp. 178, 181-2; Chapter Seven, pp. 221-2.

⁴⁹ *Ordines coronationis Franciae: texts and ordines for the coronation of Frankish and French kings and queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard A. Jackson, 2 vols., Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 1995-2000), i, pp. 217-32. Since we lack a modern edition, or even a catalogue, of Louis IX's acts, the *Layettes* are invaluable but should not be seen to be comprehensive for Louis's reign. See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 320, 533; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 23.

used in conjunction with narrative sources to gain a more complete understanding of contemporaneous attitudes towards child kings.⁵⁰

Narrative sources, and chronicles in particular, usually originated from beyond the royal household and, therefore, provide a different perspective of events than royal documents. Chroniclers and annalists may not always have had access to detailed information regarding the royal court, but they provide a diverse view of contemporary recognition and understanding of guardianship arrangements and child kingship. Authors add colour to a boy king's life, offering intimate details regarding adjustments which had to be made to allow for a king's childhood, as well as revealing uncertainty and unrest.⁵¹ Naturally, we should evaluate chronicle narratives with caution. Some writers wrote from a geographical location far-removed from the king or provided only one geographical perspective on events, as is the case for the chronicle narratives of Henry III's minority, most of which originated from the eastern midland counties of England.⁵² Many authors looked at the secular world through a prism of ecclesiastical morality and, since they often wrote with the benefit of hindsight, later events in a king's reign such as marital disputes, clashes with the papacy, and baronial rebellions could influence a writer's perception of a given period of child kingship. William of Malmesbury recorded relatively little of Philip I's minority, but he revelled in detailing the French king's marital exploits as an adult.⁵³ Ian Robinson has shown how Lampert of Hersfeld's hostility towards the adult King Henry IV influenced his account of Henry's early years.⁵⁴ In France, the large corpus of hagiographical narratives of Louis IX's life provide a particularly pertinent example of how the retrospective nature of narrative accounts could affect the portrayal of child kingship. Works by authors such

⁵⁰ For some select, but important, studies in charter scholarship: David Bates, 'Charters and historians of Britain and Ireland: problems and possibilities', in *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, eds. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 1-14; *The reality behind charter diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain. Studies by Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Richard Sharpe and Alice Taylor*, ed. Dauvit Broun (Glasgow, 2011). On the general acceptance for royal acts that named witnesses were actually present, see Dauvit Broun, 'The presence of witnesses and the making of charters', in *The reality behind charter diplomatic*, pp. 235-90 (at p. 237).

⁵¹ A pertinent example can be found in Chapter Three (pp. 118-20) regarding changes to coronation ceremonies to account for a child's age and incapacity.

⁵² G. J. Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', *TRHS*, 1 (1907), 205-62 (at pp. 205-6), who notes the geographical bias of writers such as Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Walter of Coventry, Ralph of Coggeshall, and the authors of the Dunstable and Burton annals.

⁵³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed./trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., OMT (Oxford, 1998-9), i, pp. 438-9, 730-1.

⁵⁴ *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. I. S. Robinson, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester, 2015), pp. 36-45.

as Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres presented an idealised portrayal of Louis's childhood to suit the appeal to the papacy to secure the king's canonisation.⁵⁵ Other writers, such as William of Saint-Pathus, confessor to Louis IX's wife Margaret of Provence, and, at least for part of his work, John of Joinville, wrote in full knowledge of Louis's recognition as a saint by Pope Boniface VIII on 11 August 1297.⁵⁶ Although we must approach these texts with an awareness of the purpose for which they were written, they provide valuable insights from authors who knew Louis or Margaret intimately from their time as clerics at the royal court (or, in Joinville's case, from accompanying the king on crusade). They often detail events in Louis's childhood of which we would otherwise be ignorant. In respect to the Scottish sources, Dauvit Broun's dating of the completion of *Gesta Annalia I* to the mid-1280s makes this narrative a more contemporaneous account of Alexander III's reign than earlier scholars supposed.⁵⁷ Modern historians formerly regarded these annals – which cover the period from Malcolm IV's succession in 1153 – as an addition to John of Fordun's fourteenth-century *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*. Believing the annals to have been written not long after the royal minority of David II (1323-1371), Reid contended that they were an unreliable record of Alexander III's minority, claiming that Fordun was writing a moral tale for his own time.⁵⁸ Broun's discovery removes *Gesta Annalia I* from the influence of fourteenth-century events and allows us to reintegrate these annals as a near-contemporaneous narrative, providing crucial information regarding developments in child kingship in Scotland between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁹ One

⁵⁵ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The making of Saint Louis: kingship, sanctity, and crusade in the later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2008), especially pp. 21-47. See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 328-44.

⁵⁶ Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite et biographe de saint Louis', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 79 (1986), 142-52. See Gaposchkin, *The making of Saint Louis*, pp. 181-3, who summarises the debates regarding the process of construction of Joinville's work. See also Christopher Lucken, 'L'évangile du roi : Joinville, témoin et auteur de *la Vie de Saint Louis*', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 56 (2001), 445-67, who considers the reliability of Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* as an eyewitness account. And see the response in the same volume by Jacques Le Goff, 'Mon ami le saint roi : Joinville et Saint Louis (réponse)', 469-77.

⁵⁷ Dauvit Broun, 'A new look at the *Gesta Annalia* attributed to John of Fordun', in *Church, chronicle and learning in medieval and early Renaissance Scotland: essays presented to Donald Watt on the occasion of the completion of the publication of Bower's 'Scotichronicon'*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9-30, who demonstrated that the *Gesta Annalia* was not Fordun's work at all but could be divided into two parts. See also Murray Andrew Lucas Tod, 'The narratives of the Scottish nation and its late-medieval readers: non-textual reader scribal activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2005), pp. 1-12.

⁵⁸ Norman H. Reid, 'Alexander III: the historiography of a myth', in *Scotland in the reign of Alexander III, 1249-1286*, ed. Reid (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 181-213 (at pp. 190-91).

⁵⁹ See Dauvit Broun, *Scottish independence and the idea of Britain: from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 171-83, for an example of the use of *Gesta Annalia* to re-interpret events of Alexander III's reign.

final problem which arises with chronicle narratives across the kingdoms of north-western Europe is their frequent propagation of gendered stereotypes, especially tropes regarding the suitability of female power. I therefore treat judgements of the roles which mothers could, or should, play alongside their young sons with care. Since this thesis focuses as much on contemporary notions of maturity and guardianship as on the child kings themselves, chronicles, annals, and hagiographies all provide valuable evidence of societal attitudes in texts written for a variety of audiences.

Naturally, in addition to documents and narratives, there exist many other miscellaneous sources. A few collections of letters have been particularly helpful, especially the German collection *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, Shirley's *Royal Letters* and Rymer's *Foedera* for Henry III's minority in England, and the online resource, *Epistolae*, presenting Latin letters written to and from medieval women, including several concerning the mothers of the child kings studied here.⁶⁰ Legal texts, vernacular literature, and poetry offer unique accounts of child kingship, for which two examples will suffice. The secular biography, *The history of William Marshal*, is an invaluable source for details of William Marshal's involvement as guardian ('rector') of Henry III and the English kingdom between 1216 and 1219. Written shortly after William's death, it provides intimate details of magnate collaboration in guardianship arrangements when a child was king.⁶¹ The Norman legal text, the *Très Ancien Coutumier* – the first part of which has been dated to c.1200 despite only surviving in later thirteenth-century manuscripts – grants an interesting insight into aristocratic guardianship arrangements, suggesting changing societal attitudes which began to prioritise guardianship as an extension of lordship and to malign maternal involvement and the participation of close kin.⁶²

⁶⁰ *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 5 (Weimar, 1950); Shirley, i; *Foedera*, i, pt. i; *Epistolae: medieval women's Latin letters*, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁶¹ *History of William Marshal*, ed./trans. A. J. Holden, 3 vols. (London, 2002-6).

⁶² *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Ernest-Joseph Tardif, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1881-1903), i, especially pp. 10-12. For the manuscript tradition of the text, see pp. xii-xxx. For a discussion of its dating, see pp. lxxv-lxxvii. In following this dating here, I am adhering to the most recent French scholarship: Jean Yver, 'Le *Très ancien Coutumier* de Normandie, miroir de la législation ducale?', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 39 (1971), 333-74; François Neveux, 'Le contexte historique de la rédaction des coutumiers normands', *Annales de Normandie*, 61e année (2011/2), 11-22. However, a verbal discussion with Nicholas Vincent has made me aware of possible contentions with such an early dating for the customal, and these arguments deserve further thought.

Having considered the source material available for my analysis of child kingship in the central Middle Ages, I now turn to the seven case studies which form the basis of this thesis to demonstrate why these cases merit comparison.

ii. Biography and geography

Despite biological similarities between boy kings, the nature of the kingdoms which the children came to rule also shaped their experience of child kingship. Geo-political differences affected practices of preparation and guardianship, and the nature of conflicts during a child's kingship. Different family relationships, practices of succession and inheritance (for example, partibility or primogeniture, female or male succession), variances in political stability and inter-kingdom connections, and divergent structures of royal and aristocratic power all shaped a child's accession and reign. Hence, we must consider the geographical nature of child kingship before turning to a more thematic approach. I will do so by introducing the main protagonists of the thesis in their geographical context, beginning with the earliest case study, Henry IV of Germany, before turning to the kingdoms of France, Scotland, and England. Sketching an outline of the child's birth and accession, the position of guardians and mothers, rebellion and unrest in the kingdom, and the point at which we can judge the king to have come of age contextualises the themes discussed in the following chapters.

Henry IV's birth on 11 November 1050 had been eagerly anticipated.⁶³ His parents were Emperor Henry III (1017-1056), who had ruled as sole king of Germany since 1039, and Agnes of Poitou (c.1024-1077), daughter of Agnes of Burgundy (d.1068) and Duke William of Aquitaine and Poitou (d.1030).⁶⁴ Henry III's first wife, Gunhild, daughter of King Cnut of Denmark and England, had died in 1038 after bearing him a daughter. It took a second marriage, to Agnes in 1043, and the births of three more daughters over the next seven years before the long-awaited son finally arrived. Building on Ottonian precedents, and his own personal experience, Henry III associated his son with the throne from birth.⁶⁵ Barely six weeks old, and still unbaptised, Henry IV received an oath of fidelity from the German princes on Christmas

⁶³ 'Quo etiam tempore Agnes imperatrix tandem imperatori filium peperit', Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hannover, 1843), pp. 67-133 (at p. 129), who emphasised that Agnes *finally* gave birth to a son. See Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, and Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, for the most recent biographical accounts of Henry's life.

⁶⁴ See Appendix A, p. 281.

⁶⁵ Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Phyllis G. Jestice (University Park, PA, 2003), pp. 29-30.

Day 1050.⁶⁶ A few years later, on 17 July 1054, Archbishop Herman of Cologne (*d.*1056) co-crowned Henry IV in Aachen.

Although the German kingdom was an autonomous region, the imperial title claimed by the kings of the Romans and bestowed by the pope intimately connected the territory to Italy and Burgundy.⁶⁷ The trans-Alpine nature of the German polity affected how its rulers moved about the kingdom, dictating the highly itinerant character of German kingship. Whilst the itineration of the royal court was not a feature of German kingship alone, the vast distances travelled by the German kings and emperors are in stark contrast to the kings of Scots, for example, whose royal territory was more geographically confined, especially before the thirteenth century. Geography was intimately intertwined with politics; interactions between the empire and the papacy in the mid-eleventh century allowed for royal involvement in papal appointments. The close friendship between Emperor Henry III and Pope Victor II (1055-7), a German by birth who had been invested as bishop of Eichstätt in 1042 and chosen as pope by the emperor, affected both the preparations for Henry IV's succession and the arrangements for his care. Victor (*né* Gebhard) was at court when Henry III died on 5 October 1056. The dying king asked Victor – as one of the emperor's trusted councillors, and having already acted in a guardianship capacity for the young Henry for the duchy of Bavaria – to ensure his son was safely secured on the German throne.⁶⁸ The pope remained in the kingdom only long enough to arrange Henry's enthronement and to confirm future guardianship arrangements with the princes before returning to Italy in February 1057. Henry's mother, Agnes, became his guardian. Like Victor, Agnes had previous experience of governing the duchy of Bavaria (for her second son, Conrad).

⁶⁶ 'Ubi filio suo Heinrico, adhuc caticumino, principes regni sub iuramento fidem promittere fecit', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis opera*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS. rer. Germ. 38 (Hannover, 1894), pp. 3-304 (at p. 63).

⁶⁷ Whilst I will use the titles 'king of the Germans/Romans' virtually interchangeably throughout this thesis, it should be noted that there was no standard title for the German king to associate him with a people. See John Gillingham, 'Elective kingship and the unity of medieval Germany', *German History*, 9 (1991), 124-35 (at p. 124). Similarly, the kingdom will be referred to throughout as 'Germany'. For the problems with this terminology, see Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1200*, trans. Timothy Reuter, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge, 1986), p. 19.

⁶⁸ *Annales Romani*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hannover, 1843), 468-80 (at p. 470). See also Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, p. 27.

As guardian, Agnes worked to obtain support, maintain peace, and secure profitable marriages for Henry's sisters but, in doing so, she attracted the hostility of various of the German princes.⁶⁹

Regional differences may have played into the noble opposition Agnes faced during Henry's minority. Mid-eleventh-century Germany consisted of a patchwork of different principalities including comital, ducal, and episcopal jurisdictions alongside many fragile frontier lands.⁷⁰ Magnates turned against Agnes's guardianship and forcibly removed the boy from his mother in 1062, in an event now known as the 'Kaiserswerth coup'.⁷¹ Archbishop Anno II of Cologne (1056-75) led the coup and was either self-appointed or designated by the other magnates as guardian in Agnes's place. The regional power of German archbishops, and their prominent political involvement at the royal court alongside secular princes, meant that archbishops were more conspicuous in vice-regal guardianship in Germany than archbishops elsewhere in north-western Europe. Anno had mixed success as Henry's guardian and had to deal with the fallout from a disputed papal election.⁷² An imperial council in Basel on 28 October 1061 had elected the Lombard Bishop, Cadalus of Parma, as Pope Honorius II, causing a schism with the papal reform party, which had already appointed Anselm of Lucca as Pope Alexander II on 30 September. Anno left the kingdom to attend the Council of Mantua. In his absence, his colleague, Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (1043-72), supplanted him as guardian. Adalbert won over the young Henry, who had reached the age of twelve and ostensibly resented Anno's part in his kidnap. Henry's coming of age coincided with recognition of his military capability and his acceptance of arms at Worms on 29 March 1065, during his fifteenth year. The king's marriage to Bertha of Savoy-Turin (*d.*1087), to whom he had been betrothed since before his father's death, occurred the same year. Adalbert remained a prominent royal advisor for another year before German nobles removed him with Henry's consent. As greater emphasis was put on elective, rather than hereditary, kingship in the German kingdom from the twelfth

⁶⁹ A letter to Abbot Hugh of Cluny in May 1056 asking for his support for his godson Henry demonstrates Agnes's commitment to securing peace. See Tilman Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 104 (1984), 411-24 (at p. 423). See also Chapter Six, p. 187.

⁷⁰ Timothy Reuter, 'A new history of medieval Germany', *History*, 61 (1981), 440-44 (at p. 440).

⁷¹ Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, eds. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* Bd. 15 (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 48-121 (at p. 72).

⁷² See *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, 4 vols., MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 4 (Munich, 1983-93), iii, p. 99, for praise of Anno's guardianship from his contemporary in northern Italy.

century onwards, child candidates for king were passed over in favour of adult men.⁷³ This was not so in the French kingdom.

Child kingship occurred with more frequency in France than elsewhere, with three children succeeding to the French throne in the central Middle Ages: Philip I (1052-1108), Philip II (1165-1223), and Louis IX (1214-1270).⁷⁴ Like Germany, the French kingdom consisted of a group of principalities but, in contrast with the German rulers, French kings sought to centralise their power and incorporate principalities into the royal demesne. Geographical expansion of royal authority between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries meant that each child king faced slightly different problems. At the start of the period, the king controlled little more than a territory centred around the Île de France, between Orléans and Paris.⁷⁵ By Louis's accession in 1226, the French kings had subsumed much of what had been Angevin-controlled lands, such as Normandy and Anjou, as well as lands north of Paris, in particular the Vermandois. The territory over which they could exert royal authority was now far more extensive, and this development altered the balance between royal and magnate power across France. Furthermore, in contrast to England and Scotland, where primogeniture – direct succession from father to son – was less firmly established by the thirteenth century, the strength of Capetian primogenital succession between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries helped to secure three boy kings in their royal positions.

Philip I, eldest son of King Henry I (1008-1060) and Anne of Kiev, was born on 23 May 1052, only a couple of years after Henry IV.⁷⁶ Like the young German king, Philip was the son of a king's second wife.⁷⁷ Philip's father had first married Matilda, a relation of Henry III of

⁷³ For elective and hereditary kingship in the German kingdom see: Bernd Kannowski, 'The impact of lineage and family connections on succession in medieval Germany's elective kingdom', in *Making and breaking the rules: succession in medieval Europe, c.1000-c.1600: proceedings of the colloquium held on 6-7-8 April 2006, Institute of Historical Research, University of London*, eds. Frédérique Lachaud and Michael Penman, *Histoires de famille* 9 (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 13-22; Björn Weiler, 'Suitability and right: imperial succession and the norms of politics in early Staufan Germany', in *Making and breaking the rules*, pp. 71-86. See also Gillingham, 'Elective kingship', pp. 124-35, who questions the negative perception of elective kingship.

⁷⁴ See Appendix B, p. 283.

⁷⁵ Jean Dunbabin, *France in the making, 843-1180*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2000), p. 162.

⁷⁶ Philip's birth date is usually now accepted as that suggested in *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, pp. xv-xxiii.

⁷⁷ Before his marriage to his first wife, Henry had been betrothed in May 1033 to Matilda, daughter of Conrad II and Gisela. It is unlikely that this betrothal was ever formalised in marriage since Matilda was still a young child, probably under seven years old, when she died in 1034.

Germany and the daughter of Liudolf, Markgraf von Friesland, and Gertrude of Egisheim.⁷⁸ Although Matilda bore Henry I a daughter in 1044, both mother and child died shortly afterwards. The delay of some seven years between Matilda's death and Henry's second marriage to Anne on 19 May 1051 meant that he was forty-three when Philip was born. Anne, a Russian princess, daughter of Yaroslav I of Kiev (*d.*1054) and Ingegerd of Sweden (*d.*1050), could have been any age between twenty and twenty-eight at her eldest son's birth. Evidence is sparse for Philip's early years. He was present with his parents at court on several occasions, but there is no indication that the French nobles ever swore oaths of fidelity or homage to Philip, as occurred in Germany with Henry IV. In 1059, on his seventh birthday, Philip was co-crowned in Reims cathedral by Archbishop Gervais, whose memorandum of the coronation survives.⁷⁹

The eight-year-old Philip initially had his mother's support when Henry died just over a year later, on 4 August 1060. Modern historians have downplayed Anne's role despite the charter evidence unmistakably demonstrating a far more prominent role for her than has been argued previously.⁸⁰ As guardian, Anne probably worked alongside Baldwin V, count of Flanders (c.1012-1067), who assumed sole charge of king and kingdom when Anne remarried in 1062 to Raoul, count of Crépy and Valois (c.1025-1074). Baldwin was married to Philip's paternal aunt, Adela (*d.*1079), and was well-respected by the French nobles.⁸¹ He administered the kingdom until 1066, the year Philip turned fourteen.⁸² Unlike Henry IV, Philip did not marry until several years into his adult reign, wedding Bertha (*d.*1093), daughter of Floris I, Count of Holland, in 1072. Philip's minority demonstrated the collaborative sharing and shifting of vice-regal power between mother and magnate. The kingdom witnessed relatively few disturbances and Philip's progression from child king to adult ruler was a smooth one.

⁷⁸ Szabolcs de Vajay, 'Mathilde, reine de France inconnue. Contribution à l'histoire politique et sociale du royaume de France au XIe siècle', *Journal des Savants*, 4 (1971), 241-60.

⁷⁹ *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, pp. 217-32.

⁸⁰ For Anne's role as Philip's guardian, see especially Chapter Three, pp. 111-12, and Chapter Six, p. 208. See also: Wladimir V. Bogomoletz, 'Anna of Kiev: an enigmatic Capetian queen of the eleventh century', *French History*, 19 (2005), 299-323; Emily Joan Ward, 'Anne of Kiev (c.1024 – c.1075) and a reassessment of maternal power in the minority kingship of Philip I of France', *Historical Research*, 89 (2016), 435-53; Talia Zajac, 'Gloriosa regina or "alien queen"?: some reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship (r. 1050-1075)', *Royal Studies Journal*, 3 (2016), 28-70.

⁸¹ Adela had previously been married to Richard III, duke of Normandy (*d.*1027).

⁸² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 336-7.

Philip I's great-grandson, Philip II, known as Philip Augustus, was the next child to sit on the French throne, succeeding just over a century after his great-grandfather. It had taken 'three wives, four daughters, and twenty-eight years of connubial exertion' before Adela of Champagne (c.1140-1206) finally gave birth to Louis VII's first male child on 21 August 1165.⁸³ From the moment of Philip's birth, he was portrayed as a child given by God.⁸⁴ Prior to Louis and Adela's marriage in 1160, the French king had had two wives: Eleanor of Aquitaine (d.1204), whom he divorced in March 1152, and Constance of Castile, who died in childbirth in 1160. Eleanor and Constance had borne Louis two daughters apiece but no sons. The celebration of Philip II's arrival was recorded far more widely than the births of eleventh-century child kings. Letters which came to Louis congratulating him on Philip's birth have been used to suggest that Philip was seen as his father's heir from birth.⁸⁵ Pope Alexander III encouraged Louis to crown Philip in 1172, when he was seven years old (the same age Philip I had been at his inauguration), but it was not until Philip's fifteenth year that Louis called a council to discuss his son's coronation.⁸⁶ The date originally chosen at the meeting had to be postponed when Philip became ill.⁸⁷ Louis VII was so worried for his son's health that he went on pilgrimage to Canterbury, to Thomas Becket's shrine.⁸⁸ Somewhat ironically, it was on his return that Louis himself, by now sixty years old, suffered a stroke which incapacitated him in the final year of his life. Philip, aged fourteen, was eventually anointed and crowned on the feast of All Saints, 1 November 1179, at Reims by Archbishop William of the White Hands (d.1202), his maternal uncle.⁸⁹

Since Louis's health was failing quickly, Philip took control of the kingdom's governance almost immediately and removed his father's seal, dating his reign from his inauguration rather

⁸³ John W. Baldwin, 'Persona et gesta: the image and deeds of the thirteenth-century Capetians, 1. The case of Philip Augustus', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 195-208 (at p. 196).

⁸⁴ 'Iste antonomas[t]ice debet vocari a Deo datus', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 120. See also *The correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162-1170*, ed./trans. Anne J. Duggan, 2 vols., OMT (Oxford, 2000), i, letter 109, pp. 528-9.

⁸⁵ Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France: studies on familial order and the state*, Harvard Historical Studies 100 (Cambridge, MA, 1981), pp. 66-9. See Chapter Two, pp. 89-92.

⁸⁶ *RHGF* 15, pp. 925-6.

⁸⁷ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 122, for the assembly of men to discuss the coronation date.

⁸⁸ See *Gesta regis Henrici secundi benedicti abbatis. The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192: known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 49 (London, 1867), i, pp. 240-1, for the claim that Louis had been warned in a vision that this was the only way to save his son.

⁸⁹ 'a Willelmo reverendo Remensium archiepiscopo, tytuli Sancte Sabine presbitero cardinali, apostolice sedis legato ipsiusque regis avunculo, coronatus est Remis', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 126.

than Louis's death. One of Philip's first royal actions – expelling the Jews from the royal domain – marked his political independence from his father, whose policy towards the Jewish community had been more favourable.⁹⁰ Although Philip and his kingdom had no guardian, the secular magnate Philip of Flanders took an active role in the first few years of the king's reign.⁹¹ Philip of Flanders helped to arrange the king's marriage to Isabella of Hainault (1170-1190), daughter of Count Baldwin V of Hainault and his wife Margaret, sister of the count of Flanders. The couple wed on 28 April 1180, only a few months before Louis VII's death, when Philip was fourteen and Isabella was ten.

In response to the increased influence of the Flemish count, Philip came into direct conflict with his maternal family – namely his mother, Adela, and three of her four brothers, Theobald V of Blois and Chartres (*d.* 1191), William, archbishop of Reims, and Stephen of Sancerre (*d.* 1190).⁹² Adela may have expected to act as her son's guardian, much as Anne of Kiev had done during Philip I's early years as king.⁹³ Philip II moved against his mother, seizing her dower castles. In response, she turned to Normandy for protection, encouraging Henry II of England (1154-1189) to act as a mediator in French affairs. Henry secured reconciliation between Philip and his maternal family.⁹⁴ Unrest appeared elsewhere as magnates exploited Louis's illness and the uncertainty that came with Philip acting in his place to defy church liberties.⁹⁵ Philip's troubles did not cease when Louis VII died on 19 September 1180.⁹⁶ Resentment at the treaty of Gisors, signed by Philip and Henry II on 28 June 1180, brought Philip of Flanders into alliance with

⁹⁰ See Yves Sassier, *Louis VII* (Paris, 1991), p. 470; Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish relations, 1000-1300: Jews in the service of medieval Christendom* (Harlow, 2011), p. 62, for a discussion of Louis VII's policies towards the Jewish population. See also William Chester Jordan, *The French monarchy and the Jews, from Philip Augustus to the last Capetians* (Philadelphia, 1989), pp. 3-90, for Philip II's policies.

⁹¹ Achille Luchaire, *Philippe-Auguste et son temps (1137-1226)* (Paris, 1980), p. 98, who suggests that Philip of Flanders saw himself as 'le tuteur du nouveau roi'. That this was a guardianship role is countered below, p. 50, and in Chapter Four, pp. 131-2, 134-5.

⁹² The fourth, and eldest, brother, Henry (*d.* 1181), count of Champagne, was in Jerusalem when his sister and brothers rebelled.

⁹³ Discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, pp. 156-7.

⁹⁴ John Gillingham, 'The meetings of the kings of France and England, 1066-1204', in *Normandy and its neighbours, 900-1250: essays for David Bates*, eds. David Crouch and Kathleen Thompson, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 14* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 17-42 (at p. 23).

⁹⁵ Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica a monacho Novi-monasterii Hoiensis interpolata*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS 23 (Hannover, 1874), pp. 631-950 (at p. 856).

⁹⁶ Alexander Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste (1179-1180)', *Revue Historique*, 54 (1894), 1-33 (at p. 15), for the dating of Louis VII's death.

the counts of Champagne and Burgundy against the adolescent king.⁹⁷ Philip II's intervention in the inheritance of Vermandois a couple of years later provoked open conflict with the Flemish count which lasted until peace was finally concluded at the Treaty of Boves in July 1185.

Perhaps it is contentious that we regard Philip as a child when, aged fourteen and on the cusp of adulthood, he took over the reins from his incapacitated father. Nonetheless, Philip was still seen as a young boy in these early years, and writers were aware of the struggle ahead of him to consolidate his rule.⁹⁸ The poet Bertran de Born described him scathingly as the little king of a lesser land ('Del pauc rei de Terra Menor') in a poem written in spring or summer 1182.⁹⁹ Similarities with the early years of other child kings are apparent as Philip struggled with rebellions, opportunistic magnates, and his marriage arrangements. Many of the sources for Philip's reign focus on his later achievements, painting the king as a new Caesar or Alexander the Great. The 'official portrait' of Philip fashioned by the panegyrics of Rigord and William the Breton would not have been recognisable between 1179 and 1185.¹⁰⁰ A veil of later royal propaganda conceals Philip's childhood. In this respect, Philip is not alone, although sanctity rather than heroic pretensions overshadow the early reign of his grandson, Louis IX.

The hagiographical portrayal of Saint Louis, the last French child king to be discussed, looms large over accounts of his life. The image of the 'Saint King' prevails in modern historical narratives.¹⁰¹ Long before he was a saint, Louis IX was a child, born at Poissy on 25 April, St Mark's Day, probably in the year 1214.¹⁰² Louis's mother was Blanche of Castile, daughter of Alfonso of Castile (1155-1214) and Eleanor of England (*d.*1214). She had been brought to France in 1200 to marry Philip II's son, Louis (1187-1226). Louis IX was not recognised as his father's heir from birth, partly because Louis VIII did not accede to the throne until 1223, but also because Louis IX had an elder brother, Philip. Philip's death at the age of nine left the four-

⁹⁷ Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere, Commission royale d'histoire. Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique (Brussels, 1904), p. 134.

⁹⁸ Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 856 (citing from the chronicle of Guy de Bazoches). See also Chapter Four, pp. 130-1.

⁹⁹ *The poems of the troubadour Bertran de Born*, eds. William D. Paden, Jr., Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein (Berkeley, 1986), p. 115.

¹⁰⁰ Baldwin, 'The case of Philip Augustus', p. 198.

¹⁰¹ See, for one example, Le Goff, 'The whys and ways of writing a biography', pp. 207-26, who refers to Louis as a saint throughout.

¹⁰² The year of Louis's birth is not entirely certain due to conflicting sources. See Natalis de Wailly, 'Mémoire sur la date et le lieu de naissance de saint Louis', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 27 (1866), 105-27 (at p. 106), for the justification of choosing 1214.

year-old Louis as heir, demonstrating the adaptability of thirteenth-century practices of association and succession. In June 1225, before Louis VIII departed on the Albigensian crusade, he drew up a testament to provide for the division of royal territories should he not return. The document stipulated the land which the son who succeeded to the kingdom would hold but did not name Louis IX.¹⁰³ At the end of October 1226, struck down by an attack of dysentery at Montpensier, Louis VIII called twenty-six barons and ecclesiastical magnates to a council on 3 November where they swore to crown his eldest son as soon as possible.¹⁰⁴ Louis designated Blanche to act as guardian and, consequently, the queen mother dominated the years of Louis IX's minority.¹⁰⁵ Hearing of her husband's death, Blanche took Louis straight to Reims, where he was crowned on 29 November 1226 by the bishop of Soissons, Jacques de Bazoches (*d.*1242). Louis was knighted en route to his coronation. His rapid girding with arms prior to coronation is comparable to the knighting of the English child king, Henry III, in 1216. Both ceremonies demonstrate the emerging view of knighting as a precursor to royal rule. For earlier Capetian child kings, knighthood traditionally occurred in their fifteenth year.¹⁰⁶

Resentment against a woman in power helped to heighten magnate discontent at the start of Louis's reign, as it had done in the years prior to Agnes of Poitou's removal. Blanche, like Agnes, attempted to secure peace. She released political prisoners and provided gifts of money and castles to Philip Hurepel, Louis VIII's half-brother. Nonetheless, these actions did not prevent rebellion. Peter Mauclerc (*d.*1250), duke of Brittany, initiated an uprising in 1227 and later secured support from Henry III of England.¹⁰⁷ Discontentment led to an attempted kidnap when French barons gathered at Corbeil to remove Louis from his mother. Unlike at Kaiserswerth in 1062, the French plot was unsuccessful and the citizens of Paris rescued Louis from Montlhéry castle.¹⁰⁸ Conflict continued until the Treaty of Vendôme established peace on

¹⁰³ 'Primum, volumus et precipimus quod filius noster, qui nobis succedet in regnum, habeat totam terram quam karissimum genitor noster Ph., pie recordationis, tenuit', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710, p. 54.

¹⁰⁴ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1811, pp. 96-7. See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 103. This document is extant in Paris, Arch. Nat., J 401, no. 1. See Chapter Three, pp. 109-10, for Blanche's nomination as guardian. See also Chapter Six.

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter Four, pp. 137-48, for changes to knighting practices.

¹⁰⁷ John of Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1995), pp. 188-90; William of Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, eds. P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet (Paris, 1840), pp. 544-86 (at pp. 544-5).

¹⁰⁸ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188; *Les grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard, 10 vols., Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1920-53), vii, pp. 39-40. See Arié Serper, 'L'administration royale de Paris au temps de Louis IX', *Francia*, 7 (1979), 123-39 (at p. 133), who considers the importance of the citizens of Paris and the development of the city in this period.

16 March 1227 and a truce with England was negotiated in July. Louis IX faced a range of other problems throughout his minority. A dispute at the university in Paris in February 1229 led to its closure until Pope Gregory IX intervened. Peter Mauclerc secured English support for an invasion of France in 1230. Henry III and his army landed on 3 May but did very little damage, leaving France in October and agreeing a four-year truce with Louis.¹⁰⁹

The precise date at which Louis came of age is unclear, as is the case with many of the child kings discussed here. Louis had a new seal made shortly after his succession but it was virtually identical to his later seal of majesty. It did not reflect Louis's minority status, in contrast to the small seal created for the king of Scots, Alexander III, twenty-five years later.¹¹⁰ From the age of sixteen, Louis started to take a more active role in government and led military campaigns in Brittany and Champagne without his mother at his side. Most historians date Louis's majority to 1234, his twenty-first year and the year he married Margaret of Provence (*d.*1295), who was crowned alongside him. The sacral aspect of kingship was well-established in the French kingdom. Louis had been anointed king with the holy oil of chrism which, from the mid-ninth century onwards, was believed to have been brought by a dove to the baptism of Clovis (*d.*511), king of the Franks. In the first half of the eleventh century, Helgaud of Fleury's *Epitoma vitae regis Roberti pii* made a case for the sanctity of King Robert II 'the Pious' (*d.*1031). Capetian sacrality was not fully realised, however, until Pope Boniface VIII officially canonized Louis IX in 1297 and the dynasty claimed a saint as their royal ancestor. This provides a stark contrast to the Scottish kingdom. The kings of Scots did not receive papal confirmation of their right to receive anointing at royal inaugurations until the fourteenth century.

The kingdom of the Scots was only just beginning to be associated with a specific geographical region in the twelfth century.¹¹¹ The kingdom was a diverse one, both culturally and linguistically, and several different influences operated on Scottish kingship. Celtic concepts of succession did not necessarily favour the eldest son, and rival dynastic branches orchestrated challenges against Scottish kings until the thirteenth century. Two children, Malcolm IV and

¹⁰⁹ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 194.

¹¹⁰ *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge. Tome 2 : les sceaux des rois et de régence*, ed. Martine Dalas (Paris, 1991), pp. 156-7.

¹¹¹ A. A. M. Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: succession and independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 4, and Alice Taylor, *The shape of the state in medieval Scotland, 1124-1290*, Oxford Studies in Medieval European History (Oxford, 2016), pp. 1-22.

Alexander III, were enthroned as kings of Scots before 1250.¹¹² Their interactions with the English kingdom are crucial to understanding their experience as child kings. Anglo-Scottish relations affected many of the ceremonial events which were important to child kingship, such as inauguration, marriage, knighting, and the appointment of guardians.

Malcolm IV's kingship was distinct from the other case studies in several ways: he succeeded his grandfather on the throne as opposed to his father, did not marry, and only reigned for twelve years. Although the exact date of Malcolm's birth is uncertain, he was probably born between 23 April and 24 May 1141.¹¹³ Malcolm was David I of Scotland's (c.1085-1153) grandson and was made David's heir when the 'rex designatus' – Malcolm's father, Henry, earl of Northumberland – died in 1152. Malcolm's paternal grandmother, Matilda de Senlis, had died in 1131 and David had not remarried. Consequently, Malcolm's mother, Ada de Warenne (c.1123-1178), had been the first lady of the Scottish kingdom since her marriage to Earl Henry in 1139. Immediately following Henry's death, David placed Malcolm under the care of Duncan I, earl of Fife, and the earl accompanied him around the country to display him as David's heir.¹¹⁴ David's actions demonstrated his belief in the importance of securing the succession to the Scottish throne as far as he could during his own lifetime. David died on 24 May 1153 at Carlisle and Malcolm was quickly inaugurated as king. The ceremony, carried out in the royal manner ('mos regius'), included the child's recognition by lay and ecclesiastical men, similarly to inaugurations in other kingdoms, although the king of Scots was enthroned rather than crowned.¹¹⁵

¹¹² See Appendix C, p. 285.

¹¹³ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, p. 3, where Barrow justifies narrowing the dating to between these parameters. See *Annals of the reigns of Malcolm and William, kings of Scotland, A.D. 1153-1214*, ed. Archibald Campbell Lawrie (Glasgow, 1910), p. 3, where Lawrie claimed the exact date of Malcolm's birth as 20 March 1142, saying that the child was exactly '11 years 2 months and 5 days old' at his succession, without providing any evidence.

¹¹⁴ John of Hexham, *Symeonis historia regum continuata per Johannes Hagustaldensem*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols., Rolls Series 75 (London, 1882-5), ii, pp. 284-332 (at p. 327).

¹¹⁵ 'Eodem anno obiit dauid rex scotie cui successit malcolmus nepos eius more regio in regem sullimatus', *Chronica regum Mannie et Insularum: chronicles of the kings of Man and the Isles: BL Cotton Julius Avii*, ed./trans. George Broderick, 2nd edn (Manx National Heritage, 1996), fol. 36v.

Malcolm was still seen as a child when he succeeded his grandfather at the age of twelve, but he did not experience a period of ‘minority’.¹¹⁶ The precise nature of Duncan’s involvement is unclear but, whatever role the count played, it was short-lived since Duncan died in 1154. Support and advice for Malcolm early in his reign probably came from the close collaboration of a group of magnates instead of a specifically nominated guardian. Malcolm’s early acts suggest a regular lay and ecclesiastical presence around the child – including Ada, Malcolm’s mother, the steward Walter son of Alan (*d.*1177), the constables Hugh and Richard de Moreville, and David Olifard (*d. c.*1170), King David’s godson – but fail to supply any detailed record of governance arrangements.¹¹⁷ An uprising began towards the end of 1154, led by Somerled, lord of Argyll, and his nephews.¹¹⁸ These nephews are usually believed to have been the sons of Somerled’s sister and a magnate named Malcolm, who had previously rebelled against King David in 1130 and was incarcerated in Roxburgh tower during 1154.¹¹⁹ Chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni suggested that this Malcolm was a natural-born son of King Alexander I.¹²⁰ If this was indeed the case, the uniting of rebels around a king’s grandchildren was a direct threat to Malcolm’s kingship and one of the few genuine dynastic challenges to a child king’s rule. The rebels reconciled with the king in 1157 and Somerled made peace by 1160. But the conflict caused great disturbance across the kingdom.¹²¹

Malcolm had to contend with increasing demands from the English king during his reign, especially after Henry II’s coronation on 19 December 1154. Henry began to assert his authority

¹¹⁶ John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 331; *Aelred of Rievaulx: the historical works*, ed./trans. Jane Patricia Freeland and Marsha L. Dutton, Cistercian Fathers Series 56 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2005), p. 60. See Chapter Four, pp. 130-33.

¹¹⁷ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ ‘Sumerlede et nepotes sui, filii scilicet Malcolmi, a[s]so[c]iatis sibi plurimis, insurrexerunt in regem Malcolm, et Scotiam in magna parte perturban[t]es inquietaverunt’, *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 125. See also McDonald and McLean, ‘Somerled of Argyll’, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ Alex Woolf, ‘The song of the death of Somerled and the destruction of Glasgow in 1153’, *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, 14 (2013), 1-11 (at p. 3), who suggests that Malcolm and Somerled could have been related in other ways.

¹²⁰ *The ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis*, ed./trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols., OMT (Oxford, 1969-80), iv, book 8, p. 276; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols., Rolls Series 82 (London, 1884-9), iv, p. 118. See Alasdair Ross, ‘The identity of the “Prisoner of Roxburgh”: Malcolm son of Alexander or Malcolm MacHeth?’, in *Fil súil nglais: a grey eye looks back. A festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill*, eds. Sharon Arbuthnot and Kaarina Hollo (Ceann Drochaid, 2007), pp. 269-82, for Malcolm’s descent from Alexander I.

¹²¹ *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 125, for the nearest contemporary authority for Somerled’s rebellion. G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The date of the peace between Malcolm IV and Somerled’, *SHR*, 73 (1994), 222-3. See Chapter Eight, pp. 248-53, for dynastic threats to child kingship.

over the Scottish kingdom and, when they met at Chester in 1157, Malcolm handed him Northumbria and Cumbria, territories which had been held by Malcolm's brother, William, as earl of Northumberland since 1153.¹²² The Scottish magnates mistrusted the English king and his relationship with Malcolm, an atmosphere which was not improved by the young king of Scots fighting for Henry's army on the Toulouse expedition in 1159. It was during this campaign that Henry knighted the eighteen-year-old Malcolm.¹²³ Malcolm reigned, unmarried, until his death in 1165.¹²⁴

In terms of chronology, Alexander III, king of Scots, is the latest case study examined here, considered in conjunction with his ancestor Malcolm IV. We then proceed to discuss the only English case study, Henry III. Born on 4 September 1241, the day of the translation of Saint Cuthbert and almost exactly a century after Malcolm's birth, Alexander III was the son of Alexander II (1198-1249), king of Scots since 1214, and his second wife, Marie de Coucy (c.1219-1284). Marie was the eldest daughter of Enguerrand (III) de Coucy (d.1242), an important northern French nobleman with connections to the French royal family as the great-grandson of Louis VI. Matthew Paris claimed that Marie's marriage to Alexander attracted concern from the English king, Henry III, who had not been consulted and may have seen it as an act of Franco-Scottish hostility.¹²⁵ As a result, Henry stepped into Scottish affairs to exercise his control in the kingdom at the earliest possible moment.

¹²² 'Rex Scotie reddidit regi Anglie Northamimbriam et Cumberlandiam', *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 131. The transfer of land should be seen in the context of Henry's strategy of depriving earls created by Stephen of their earldoms and land in the English kingdom. Although initially starting closer to home, Henry's attention soon turned to the lands in the north. See *Annals of the reigns of Malcolm and William*, ed. Lawrie, p. 36. See also Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Warenne view of the past, 1066-1203', *ANS*, 26 (2004), 103-121 (at p. 110), who compares Henry's treatment of Malcolm to the English king's similar treatment of William IV de Warenne in May 1157, when he rescinded many of the concessions made in the 1153 Treaty of Winchester.

¹²³ Geoffrey of Vigeois, 'Chronica', *RHGF* 12, ed. des religieux bénédictins de la Congregation de S. Maur (Paris, 1877), pp. 421-51 (at p. 439). Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, ed. Howlett, iv, pp. 202-3. *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 255.

¹²⁴ A letter from Constance, the sister of the duke of Brittany, to Louis VII of France in 1160 in which she asked not to have to become queen of Scotland suggests a proposed betrothal for Malcolm IV. See *RHGF* 16, ed. Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial (Paris, 1878), p. 23; Jessica A. Nelson, 'Scottish queenship in the thirteenth century', *TCE*, 9 (2007), 61-81 (at p. 65).

¹²⁵ 'Erat autem amicitia inter ipsos reges nimis attenuata, postquam scilicet confoederatus est rex Scotiae foedere matrimoniali cum filia Engelrami de Cuscy, qui et sicut omnes Franci, capitalis vel unus de capitalibus regis Angliae inimicis fuisse dinoscitur', *Chron. maiora*, iv, p. 359; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 351.

Alexander III was almost certainly considered his father's heir without requiring a public display of fidelity from the Scottish magnates. The greater political stability of the kingdom of the Scots by the mid-thirteenth century is one reason for this, as I will suggest in Chapter Two. Furthermore, the betrothal arranged for Alexander supplies clear evidence of his father's plans for the succession. In August 1244, Alexander II betrothed his son, not yet three years old, to Margaret (1240-1275), Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's eldest daughter, maintaining a tradition of Anglo-Scottish marital alliances.¹²⁶ Alexander II was taken ill at the start of July 1249, whilst on a campaign in the Isles. He died on 8 July, on the island of Kerrera. Five days later, the seven-year-old Alexander III was inaugurated at Scone. Although Alexander's mother, Marie, remained in the kingdom for her son's inauguration, she left Scotland in 1250 to return to France. Family circumstances in her natal lands and, perhaps, the denial of a place in her son's government encouraged her departure.¹²⁷ She returned from France to attend Alexander's marriage to Margaret at York on 26 December 1251. The day before the wedding, King Henry III knighted Alexander; another 'tradition' in Anglo-Scottish relations.¹²⁸ Alexander's knighting was not a precursor to his royal inauguration or adult rule. Instead, his entry into knighthood was tied to marital maturity and demonstrated the complex relationship between the English kings and the kings of Scots. As part of the knighting ceremony, Henry attempted to gain homage from Alexander for his kingdom, although the young king refused this brazen request.¹²⁹

Conflict arose throughout Alexander's minority from those who wielded power in his name rather than in opposition to the boy king himself. No dynastic contenders opposed Alexander in the initial years of his reign, as they had after Malcolm succeeded. Entrenched factional divisions in the Scottish magnate community had already emerged during Alexander II's reign, especially between a group led by Alan Durward (*d.*1275), justiciar of Scotia, and another headed by members of the Comyn family. Durward may have tried to establish his supremacy

¹²⁶ Matthew Paris suggested that the original betrothal was prior to this, in 1242, and the events of 1244 were simply a confirmation. See *Chron. maiora*, iv, pp. 192-3. Alexander II's first wife was Henry III's sister, Joan (*b.*1210), although she died childless in March 1238.

¹²⁷ Donald E. R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *TRHS*, 5th series, 21 (1971), 1-23 (at p. 8). For a discussion of the departure of queen mothers from their sons' kingdoms, see Chapter Seven, pp. 232-45.

¹²⁸ Richard Oram, *David I: the king who made Scotland* (Stroud, 2004), p. 285. Henry I of England knighted David I and David had knighted Henry II a few years before his succession.

¹²⁹ *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 268.

as Alexander's guardian by claiming the right to knight Alexander before inauguration. Two years later, Durward was accused of endeavouring to steal Alexander's seal and attempting to betray the king and queen.¹³⁰ Following these accusations, Henry III supported the removal of Durward and other magnates from royal governance and he elevated several prominent members of the Comyn faction in their places.¹³¹ A second guardianship upheaval came in 1255, possibly initiated by complaints regarding the treatment of Henry's daughter, Queen Margaret. Henry sent Patrick, earl of Dunbar (*d.* 1289), to Edinburgh Castle where he took Alexander and Margaret away from Robert de Ros (*d. c.* 1270) and John de Balliol (*d.* 1268). Depending on the chronicler to whom one turns, this event was either an outrageous kidnap or the just removal of Alexander from unscrupulous influences.¹³² Following the 'kidnap', Henry visited the Scottish kingdom briefly. During discussions at Kelso, a council of fifteen lay and ecclesiastical magnates was invested with guardianship over Alexander, his wife, and his kingdom until the king turned twenty-one.¹³³ Alexander and Margaret were again kidnapped in 1257, this time by a group of magnates led by Walter Comyn, who claimed to be rescuing the couple from excommunicated counsellors.

Alexander began to take a more active role in royal rule from the age of seventeen. The deaths of leading magnates such as Walter Comyn and William, bishop of Glasgow, allowed him more freedom and he convened a council ('mutuum colloquium') at Jedburgh on 9 September 1258 with both magnate factions.¹³⁴ Even at this late stage, Henry intervened in Scottish affairs, insisting that the guardianship council should remain in place until Alexander's twenty-first birthday in September 1262. The birth of Alexander's daughter, Margaret, in February 1261

¹³⁰ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey, a stratigraphic edition*, eds. Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, Scottish History Society 6th series vol. 1 (Woodbridge, 2007), London, BL, Cotton MS Faustina B. IX, fol. 56v. The edition of this chronicle contains a facsimile of the MS on CD-ROM so all references henceforth will be by MS folio.

¹³¹ 'Nescio quo infortuito Zabulo seminante discordiam inter magnates terrae huius, cancellarius et iusticiarius Scotiae apud regem Angliae accusati, ab officiis deprivati, et alii eorum loco substitute', Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and kingship in early Scotland*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 278.

¹³² Two contrasting versions of events are presented in *The Melrose Chronicle* and the *Scotichronicon*. See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 57v.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, pp. 581-2. See also *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 297; Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Donald E. R. Watt et al., 9 vols. (Aberdeen, 1987-98), v, pp. 316-7.

¹³³ *Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328: some selected documents*, ed./trans. E. L. G. Stones (Oxford, 1965), pp. 62-5, where the role of this guardianship council was defined in a letter ostensibly from Alexander but more likely dictated by Henry for the young king.

¹³⁴ 'Conuenientib(us) igitur i(n) crastino ap(u)d gedewrd mutu(m) habu(er)unt fere p(ro) tres ebdomadas colloq(ui)um', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 59r.

provided the king with an heir and from this point on, if not before, Alexander would surely have considered his own minority over. Henry's interactions with Alexander III are particularly interesting considering the English king's own experience of child rulership. I now turn back in time to consider Henry III himself, the last of the seven boy kings under discussion in this thesis and the only English king in the central Middle Ages to succeed as a child.

Henry III of England (1207-1272) came to the throne in 1216 after continental territories such as Normandy and Anjou had been lost to the French king. The English realm was by far the most centralised of the kingdoms under consideration here. Its history of conquest and settlement over several centuries, as well as the cross-Channel nature of kingship since 1066, influenced English policies of succession, inheritance, and kingship. Prior to Henry, children or young adolescents who had claims to the throne – Edgar Ætheling (*d. c.1125*), Arthur of Brittany (*d.1203*), and natural-born children such as Robert of Gloucester (*d.1147*) – were not usually able to advance their claims in opposition to an adult ruler. Born on 1 October 1207, Henry III was the first child king of the English for over two centuries, since Æthelred II (*d.1016*). Henry's father, John (1167-1216), had been king of England since 1199, and his mother was John's second wife, Isabella of Angoulême (*c.1188-1246*).¹³⁵ Little can be seen of the young Henry in documents emanating from his father's court but, in 1209, John made a demonstrative exhibition of his eldest son as heir. Calling together a group of free men at Marlborough, he made them swear fealty both to himself and to Henry, who was two years old at most.¹³⁶ John's early association of his son with the throne had an English precedent in Henry II's reign, when he had magnates swear fealty to his young sons William and Henry, but it also resembles the oaths sworn in Germany to Henry IV.¹³⁷

John died at Newark on 19 October 1216, leaving his nine-year-old son a kingdom in the midst of warfare and a succession crisis.¹³⁸ An adult rival for the kingship, Louis, eldest son of the French king, Philip Augustus, was already in England, had a large following of barons and

¹³⁵ See Appendix D, p. 287.

¹³⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, *The historical works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 73 (London, 1879-80), ii, p. 104.

¹³⁷ John R. Maddicott, 'The oath of Marlborough, 1209: fear, government and popular allegiance in the reign of King John', *EHR*, 126 (2011), 281-318 (at pp. 297-8). See Chapter Two, pp. 79-86, for a discussion of oaths and homage as practices of association.

¹³⁸ 'puer ix annorum', *Burton annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Henry Richard Luard, 5 vols., Rolls Series 36 (London, 1864-9), i, pp. 183-500 (at p. 224).

clerics, and held crucial territories including the city of London.¹³⁹ On his deathbed, John wrote to the pope claiming that he could see no way to secure his perpetual hereditary succession without papal assistance.¹⁴⁰ Papal backing would prove crucial to securing Henry on the throne, as it had been for Henry IV of Germany, although in different circumstances. John also knew that Henry could not succeed without the support of important magnates. In his testament, therefore, he asked thirteen ‘ordinatores et disositores’ to help his sons secure their inheritance, eight of whom were present at his deathbed and sealed the document alongside the king’s seal.¹⁴¹

John’s previous surrender of the kingdom of England into the pope’s hands led to greater papal involvement in Henry’s early kingship than is evident for the other child kings discussed here. The papal legate, Guala Bicchieri (*d.*1227), received wide-ranging powers to support Henry. Guala crowned Henry at Gloucester on 28 October 1216 as the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton (*d.*1228), was absent from the kingdom.¹⁴² St Peter’s, Gloucester was chosen because Louis’s forces held the more conventional coronation church of Westminster. Support for Henry came too from William Marshal (*c.*1146-1219), earl of Pembroke, who secured the boy’s guardianship after John’s death.¹⁴³ William took the title ‘rector regis et regni’ but, when he died on 14 May 1219, a council held in Oxford divided the responsibilities of guardianship three ways. The ‘Triumvirate’ of Pandulph, Guala’s replacement as papal legate, alongside Hubert de Burgh (*d.*1243), the justiciar, and Peter des Roches, Henry’s tutor, lasted until 19

¹³⁹ Two recent books focus on the events of Louis’s invasion of England in 1216 and the threat he posed to both John and Henry III. See Sean McGlynn, *Blood cries afar: the forgotten invasion of England 1216* (Stroud, 2013); and, written for a non-academic audience, Catherine Hanley, *Louis, the French prince who invaded England* (New Haven, 2016).

¹⁴⁰ ‘successionem nostram hereditariam perpetuam’, *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri, papal legate in England, 1216–1218*, ed. Nicholas Vincent, Canterbury and York Society 83 (Woodbridge, 1996), no. 140b, p. 105. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 12. See also David Abulafia, *Frederick II: a medieval emperor*, new ed. (London, 2002), p. 93, for a similar case in which Constance of Sicily left her young son, Frederick II, as a papal ward in her will.

¹⁴¹ These men were almost certainly chosen specifically for the range of skills they could use to support the young Henry. See Stephen Church, ‘King John’s testament and the last days of his reign’, *EHR*, 125 (2010), 505-28, especially 519-25. Church suggests four of the five men named in the testament but absent from John’s deathbed were William Marshal, Guala Bicchieri, Ranulf of Chester, and Savaric de Mauléon, and he suggests possible contenders for the fifth absentee.

¹⁴² ‘Henricus, filius regis Johannis primogenitus, coronatur apud Glocestriam in regem Angliae, W[idone] legato ei coronam imponente, xv kal Novembris’, *Tewkesbury annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, pp. 43-180 (at p. 62).

¹⁴³ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 260-1, which claims John named William Marshal guardian for his son on his deathbed. See Chapter Three, p. 113.

July 1221.¹⁴⁴ In 1221, Pandulph left England, Peter's tutelage of Henry came to end, and Hubert remained the king's sole guardian, although still acting in co-ordination with the royal council.

Two victories for Henry's forces in 1217 – a battle at Lincoln and a naval fight off the coast of Sandwich – helped to determine the war. The Treaty of Lambeth, sealed on 20 September, formalised peace arrangements.¹⁴⁵ Henry's mother, Isabella, remained in the English kingdom during the peace negotiations but left for France late in 1217. Much like Alexander III's mother, Marie, Isabella may have been denied a role in the governance of the kingdom by the men around her son. She certainly struggled to access parts of her dower lands.¹⁴⁶ Yet, Isabella was an heiress in her own right, and she returned to the lands in Angoulême which were her inheritance from her father, Audemar (*d.*1202). Her relationship with her son's counsellors and guardians was never straightforward, especially after her remarriage in 1220 to Hugh X of Lusignan (*d. c.*1249), count of La Marche.¹⁴⁷ On 17 May 1220, Henry III was crowned for a second time, probably to mark the end of the tumultuous initial period of his minority and perhaps to compensate for the unorthodox Gloucester ceremony. The archbishop of Canterbury led his second coronation at Westminster.¹⁴⁸ Magnates exploiting royal rights or pursuing property claims, especially those concerning royal castles, caused further disputes in Henry's minority. Although Henry had won the war, popular feeling did not entirely abandon Louis's cause and there were fears of a second French invasion following the events of July 1224 when Louis, now ruling the French kingdom as Louis VIII, overran Poitou. The severity with which Henry's guardians viewed some of the conflicts during this period is evident from the capital punishment enforced upon the garrison of Bedford in 1224.¹⁴⁹

The documents emanating from Henry's chancery displayed the king's progression to adulthood rather than his knighting or marriage. Henry had been girded with arms at the age of nine and his marriage to Eleanor of Provence (*d.*1291), sister to Louis IX's wife Margaret, did not take place until 1236, when Henry was twenty-eight. Earlier in his minority, at a meeting

¹⁴⁴ See also Chapter Five, pp. 173-4.

¹⁴⁵ J. Beverly Smith, 'The Treaty of Lambeth, 1217', *EHR*, 94 (1979), 562-79 (at pp. 564-5).

¹⁴⁶ *Rot. Chart.*, i, p. 128, for the charter detailing Isabella's dower.

¹⁴⁷ See Chapter Seven, pp. 238-9.

¹⁴⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 60r, shows a manuscript drawing of Stephen Langton placing his hands on Henry's head during the ceremony.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter Eight, p. 262.

on 6 November 1218, Henry had been forbidden to use the Great Seal on charters or grants in perpetuity until he came of age.¹⁵⁰ Although Henry had some measure of royal control from December 1223, seizing and redistributing castles, he did not use his seal on charters until a council at Oxford in January 1227 where he declared himself of age and dismissed his governors.¹⁵¹ Even then, various documents issued before Henry turned twenty-one still had to be re-confirmed after he reached that age. It has even been argued that Henry's personal rule did not truly begin until he was free from the control and influence of men such as Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches as late as 1234.¹⁵²

Having examined the individual life stories of the child kings discussed in this thesis, some comparative points stand out immediately. Preparation, guardianship, and conflict shaped the early lives and reigns of the seven boys who came to the thrones of England, Scotland, France, and Germany in the period between 1050 and 1250. Some experiences were different from kingdom to kingdom, for instance the methods used by fathers to associate their sons with the kingship, or the involvement of mothers, ecclesiastical magnates, and secular men in guardianship arrangements. Other experiences could change over time, as with a child king's entry into knighthood. Whilst the four kingdoms studied here have traditionally been supposed to have taken very different approaches to kingship, the experience of child rulership across the central Middle Ages provides an opportunity to emphasise continuities as well as contrasts. The four polities adopted similar approaches to the socio-political challenge of a child king. To understand contemporaneous expectations and reactions to a child on the throne, it is first necessary to comprehend the vocabulary used in the medieval sources to describe arrangements made for the guardianship of king and kingdom. It is to an analysis of this vocabulary that I now turn.

¹⁵⁰ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 177.

¹⁵¹ This was when Hubert de Burgh's attestations ceased, and Henry first used the phrases 'teste me ipso' or 'teste rege' in royal letters. See Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur flores historiarum ab anno domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum Regis Secundi Primo*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols., Rolls Series 84 (London, 1886-9), ii, pp. 318-9; F. M. Powicke, 'The chancery during the minority of Henry III', *EHR*, 23 (1908), 220-35 (at pp. 222-3).

¹⁵² D. A. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1980), 1-17 (at p. 1).

iii. Vocabulary of guardianship

Terms such as ‘regent’ and ‘regency’ frequently appear in modern scholarship but they are inadequate for describing the arrangements made for the care of a child king and his kingdom throughout the central Middle Ages. Deriving from the past participle of the Latin verb ‘regere’, ‘to rule’, the word ‘regent’ did not appear as a noun until the fourteenth century at the earliest, although the Latin term ‘uicegerens’ was used throughout the thirteenth century (literally ‘acting in the place of’).¹⁵³ ‘Regent’ was not used with any frequency until the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century, by which time greater legal clarity was evident in the allocation of stipulated roles to specific individuals in the event of a minority. When Henry V of England drew up the final codicil to his will on 26 August 1422, he left his son’s ‘tutela et defensio’ to his brother and gave the duties of ‘regimen et gubernatio’ to Thomas Beaufort.¹⁵⁴ By contrast, formalised procedures to appoint guardians did not exist in the central Middle Ages. Arrangements were more flexible, and titles were attached to individuals rather than positions. Conciliar arrangements with stipulated guardianship responsibilities do not appear until the very end of the period under consideration in this thesis. Even then, the documents recording these arrangements may only be idealised depictions of the *de facto* situation. Various scholars have already identified problems with employing the modern term ‘regency’ before the fourteenth century. David Bates rejected ‘regency’ as a label for the role played by William I’s wife, Matilda, opting instead for a more prolix description in which the queen was ‘sharing in rule, at the same time having an authority associated with kingship and subordinate to it’.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, pp. 314-5, who dates the appearance of the term ‘regent’ in France to the year 1316. This was the year Philip V died, while his wife, Clementia of Hungary, was pregnant. Philip already had a surviving daughter, but the female line of succession was discounted in favour of waiting for the queen mother to give birth. See also Maria Teresa Guerra Medici, ‘La régence de la mère dans le droit médiéval’, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 17 (1997), 1-11 (at p. 2). For ‘uicegerens’ in England see DMLBS, <http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 8 January 2018], where the earliest recorded use of the term is dated to the mid-fourteenth century. However, see H. G. Richardson, ‘The coronation in medieval England: the evolution of the office and the oath’, *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 111-202 (at pp. 200, 202), for possible earlier appearances of variants of ‘uices gerens’. For ‘uicegerens’ in a royal context during Louis IX’s reign, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 289. For its use in an episcopal absence in the bishopric of Laon, see Fernando Alberto Picó, ‘The bishops of France in the reign of Louis IX (1226-1270)’, unpublished PhD thesis, John Hopkins University (1970), Appendix 1, p. 282.

¹⁵⁴ C. T. Allmand, ‘Henry V (1386-1422)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, September 2010) [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also J. L. Watts, ‘The counsels of King Henry VI, c.1435-1445’, *EHR*, 106 (1991), 279-98, which touches on the provisions made for Henry’s minority council.

¹⁵⁵ David Bates, ‘The representation of queens and queenship in Anglo-Norman charters’, in *Frankland: the Franks and the world of the early Middle Ages: essays in honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, eds. David Ganz and Paul Fouracre (Manchester, 2008), pp. 285-303 (at p. 289).

Similarly, Le Goff rejected 'regent' as a description of Blanche of Castile's role, arguing that the responsibility of 'regency' was instead guardianship and tutelage, even when the individual in such a role had to govern the kingdom.¹⁵⁶ Intriguingly, thus far, modern scholarship has rejected the terminology of 'regent' primarily in the context of reinterpreting a woman's position alongside a king, either a queen with her husband or a queen mother with her son. Although David Crouch questioned whether 'regent' is an accurate translation of William Marshal's role as Henry III's 'rector', relatively few such concerns regarding vocabulary have troubled those writing about magnate guardians elsewhere.¹⁵⁷

Modern German scholarship adopted the vocabulary of 'regency' ('Regentschaft') to avoid the legal connotations of the term 'guardianship' ('Vormundschaft').¹⁵⁸ Kölzer claimed that he had found no representative guardian in law for a boy king in any of the sources he consulted for the early or high Middle Ages and, consequently, argued that it was inadmissible to speak of female guardianship for child kings in a legal sense. Instead, he proposed that a royal mother's role alongside her underage son should be regarded as an irregular, intermittent, *de facto* regency in which the mother was a support rather than a deputy.¹⁵⁹ It is anachronistic to comb sources for evidence that child kings had representative guardians in law identical to non-royal examples, and theories such as Kölzer's are unsustainable in view of contemporary evidence. Narrative and documentary sources presented queen mothers such as Agnes of Poitou and Blanche of Castile unambiguously in terms of 'deputising', as we shall see. Women exercised regal and administrative duties, directed governance, provided advice, and controlled the kings' education. Furthermore, medieval authors used legal terminology such as 'tutela', 'baillium / ballum', 'cura', 'custodia', and 'garde' (OF) to describe the arrangements to care for king and kingdom. This does not mean that the roles of magnates and mothers alongside child kings were indistinguishable from arrangements made in cases of tenurial guardianship. Unlike noble or aristocratic children, child kings were also 'heads of the state' from whom, in part, law was

¹⁵⁶ Jacques Le Goff, 'Blanche de Castille, dominatrice et maternelle', in *Isabelle d'Angoulême, comtesse-reine et son temps (1186-1246) : actes du colloque tenu à Lusignan du 8 au 10 novembre 1996*, eds. Gabriel Bianciotto, Robert Favreau, and Piotr Skubiszewski (Poitiers, 1999), pp. 57-69 (at p. 62), where Le Goff describes Blanche as 'gardienne et tutrice de son fils et du royaume'. See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁷ David Crouch, *William Marshal*, 3rd edn (London, 2016), p. 161.

¹⁵⁸ Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', p. 291, who claims that a child king needed an advisor and tutor rather than a guardian.

¹⁵⁹ 'die unterstützend, nicht stellvertretend agieren', Kölzer, 'Das Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 314. See also Chapter Five, pp. 172-4.

supposed to originate and through whom law was upheld. It is thus problematic to base an argument against guardianship, as German historians do, on much later legal authorities, such as William Blackstone. Modern historians should certainly be wary of claiming that child kings had ‘legal’ guardians – individuals who adopted the legal personality of their ward – but this does not mean we should settle for an anachronistic use of regency based purely on anxiety to avoid guardianship terminology. Guardianship was a concept known to the central Middle Ages; regency was not.

The term ‘regent’, as well as being anachronistic, does not adequately represent the diverse range and nature of the duties of a child king’s guardian(s). Grouping child kingship with absentee kingship, as some modern scholars have done, obscures various subtleties of the provisions when a child was king.¹⁶⁰ There could be significant differences between how terminology such as ‘custodire’ was used when the king was absent and how it was used when a child was king.¹⁶¹ Medieval authors used a wider range of vocabulary to describe situations of child kingship since these arrangements had to incorporate the care of king *and* kingdom, rather than the kingdom alone. I have divided these terms into five main categories, which I will discuss in this order: first, royal rule; second, governance; third, administrative rule; fourth, education and supervision; and, finally, legal wardship and guardianship. Defence, protection, counsel, and advice were also important aspects of vice-regal guardianship, but I will discuss these responsibilities in later chapters.¹⁶² The categories I have chosen help clarify medieval expectations of a guardian’s duties but I do not intend them to be prescriptive. Categorisation allows geographical or chronological differences in contemporary conceptions of guardianship to rise to the fore, such as the increased use of variants of the verb ‘custodire’ between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, my analysis of contemporaneous vocabulary exposes divergences and continuities in the treatment of mothers and magnates when they exercised guardianship responsibilities. This is a recurrent theme throughout my

¹⁶⁰ Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 171.

¹⁶¹ For example, a document issued during John’s absence from England in February 1214 candidly specified that Peter des Roches held the custody of the land of the English in the king’s place: ‘ad custodiend(um) loco n(ost)ro t(er)ra(m) n(ost)ram Angl(ie) et pace(m) regni n(ost)ri’, *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i pt. i, p. 110. The same claim, that a magnate protected the kingdom ‘loco nostro’ did not appear during Henry III’s minority. See Turner, ‘The minority of Henry III. Part I’, p. 281, for absentee kingship as a precedent for Henry’s minority.

¹⁶² See especially Chapter Five, pp. 160-9 for royal counsel, and Chapter Six, pp. 200-4 for military defence.

thesis. Medieval authors used vocabulary and personal titles with intent, even though their intentions are not always obvious to us. The anonymous author of the *Vita Heinrici IV* specified the female nature of royal administration under Agnes of Poitou, Henry IV's mother, suggesting these were circumstances he found unfamiliar or perhaps even uncomfortable.¹⁶³ Disputes over titles further demonstrate their importance to contemporaries. English magnates debated the title which William Marshal would take as guardian of Henry III and his kingdom in 1216, resulting in an entirely new designation, 'rector regis et regni'.¹⁶⁴ Terminology and titles could be critically important to those around a child king, as we can see from the way in which contemporary writers employed ruling terminology in Latin and Old French (henceforth OF) sources.

We begin with the vocabulary of royal rule which medieval commentators may have deliberately avoided when referring to a non-royal guardian out of respect for royal majesty even when the king was a child. William of Jumièges noted that Henry I of France appointed his young son Philip 'in regimine Francorum', whilst Baldwin of Flanders was entrusted with the 'tutela'.¹⁶⁵ Derivatives of the verbs 'regere' and 'regnare', or terms such as 'regimen' and 'interrex', appeared surprisingly infrequently to describe a magnate's actions alongside a boy king. Chroniclers did not have the same hesitation when detailing a queen mother's role.¹⁶⁶ A mother's position as queen consort, usually already crowned and anointed, made it conceptually more acceptable to view maternal guardianship in terms of royal rule.¹⁶⁷ Agobert, bishop of

¹⁶³ 'administrari a femina', *Vita Heinrici IV imperatoris*, ed. W. Eberhard, MGH SS rer. Germ. 58 (Hannover, 1899), p. 14.

¹⁶⁴ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, pp. 204, 223, 237, 318. See *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 293, where William Marshal first appears as justiciar and then as 'rector regis et regni'. And see *The great roll of the pipe for the second year of the reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1218 (Pipe Roll 62)*, ed. E. Pauline Ebdon, Pipe Roll Society 77 (London, 1972), p. 42. See also Chapter Five, pp. 172-3.

¹⁶⁵ 'Phylippum uero filium suum in regimine Francorum heredem constituit et tutele Balduini Flandrensis satrape commendauit', *The gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed./trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols., OMT (Oxford, 1992-95), ii, pp. 152-3. Whilst the noun 'regimen' does not necessarily have a link to royal rule, the context in which it appears here (and in the following example in n.166) suggest a specific emphasis on the rule of a kingdom. See *Niermeyer*, p. 901, for an additional meaning of 'regimen' as 'guardianship'.

¹⁶⁶ 'sub matris suae Agnetis, prudentissimae reginae, regimine', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus de institutione Hersfeldensis Ecclesiae*, in *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis opera*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS. rer. Germ. 38 (Hannover, 1894), pp. 343-54 (at p. 353).

¹⁶⁷ This bears some resemblance to occasions when aristocratic women acted for their sons in their husbands' absences. See Kimberley A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois: familial alliances and female lordship', in *Aristocratic women in medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 7-43 (at p. 25), who notes that Adela of Blois was acknowledged to be ruling, 'regnantes', with her son, Stephen, when her husband was away.

Chartres, addressed Philip together with his mother, Anne of Kiev, as ‘kings’ (‘reges’) in an act of November 1060.¹⁶⁸ A queen’s royal status allowed her to represent the king himself, even to the extent of acting in the place of her son, ‘loco filii’.¹⁶⁹ When chroniclers used ruling terminology to describe a magnate guardian’s responsibilities, they were more likely to specify that this was alongside the king rather than in his place.¹⁷⁰ A twelfth-century Flemish annalist, perhaps keen to demonstrate his familiarity with Roman political systems or his learning in Cicero or Livy, described Baldwin of Flanders as judging in the French kingdom ‘quasi interrex’.¹⁷¹ The Flemish writer needed to qualify that Baldwin was not acting out of place: the count acted in this way, saving the fidelity of the boy king, Philip. Even here, royal authority was respected despite being embodied in a young boy.

Secondly, there is the vocabulary of political governance.¹⁷² This was far more common than terminology which emphasised a guardian’s ‘rule’ although the two were closely related, as the term ‘rector’ demonstrates. In the context of child kingship, ‘rector’ solely refers to male magnates alongside child kings or kings-in-waiting. The title, implying a leader or governor, has additional connotations of a more tutorial role, such as master or instructor.¹⁷³ William

¹⁶⁸ ‘ad supplementum firmitatis precibus etiam apud predictos dominos nostros serenissimos reges obtinui ut regio sigillo’, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 6, p. 20. See also Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, eds. Adolf Hofmeister and Walther Lammers (Darmstadt, 1961), p. 488, where Agnes of Poitou’s role encompassed both ruling and reigning for her son in the German kingdom (‘ipsaque per aliquod tempus pudenter ac strenue imperium *rexit*. Postmodum vero consilio quorundam matri alienatus per se *regnavit*’ (my own italics)).

¹⁶⁹ ‘Heinricus III imperator ut supra diximus uita excedens, reliquit filium paruulum, cognominem sui, imperatrice Agnete loco filii cum ceteris obtimatibus regni curam administrante’, *Codex Laurehamensis*, ed. Karl Glöckner, 3 vols. (Darmstadt, 1975), i, p. 391. Note here that the writer does not see the magnates acting in place of the king, although they are still integral to the administration of the kingdom. See Chapter Six, p. 189, for an example where Isabella of Angoulême acts on her son’s behalf even after having left his kingdom.

¹⁷⁰ It is telling that, even when the language of ‘uice gerens’ began to be used in the thirteenth century, it was not employed to describe the individuals holding political power around a child king. See above, p. 40.

¹⁷¹ ‘Henric(us) rex o(biit) et balduin(us) comes Flandrie q(ua)si int(er)rex in regno iudicat salva fidelitate Philippi pueri regis’, *Annales Elnonenses minores*, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque de Valenciennes, MS 343, fol. 49r., <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452589j> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also *Annales Elnonenses minores*, in *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Philip Grierson (Brussels, 1937), p. 157. See also Lewis and Short, p. 985, for Cicero and Livy’s use of ‘interrex’.

¹⁷² For example: ‘baiulus’; ‘baiulatio’; ‘baiulare’; ‘dictatura’; ‘gouverner’ (OF); ‘gubernaculum’; ‘gubernare’; ‘gubernatio’; ‘rector’.

¹⁷³ Lewis and Short, pp. 1536-7, for the different meanings of ‘rector’. These two facets were not mutually exclusive. See Julianna Grigg, ‘The just king and *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*’, *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 27-52 (at p. 44), who notes that ‘rector’ emphasises secular leadership in the mid-seventh-century tract

Marshal's designation as the kingdom's governor and the king's instructor confirmed this dual meaning. John of Hexham used the title 'rector' in a less definable sense, without the implication of vice-regal guardianship, to describe Duncan I of Fife prior to Malcolm IV's succession as king of Scots.¹⁷⁴ More consistently than 'rector', chroniclers used variations of 'gubernare' (OF, 'gouverner') to describe the responsibility of a child king's guardian(s).¹⁷⁵ Such vocabulary is found less frequently in royal documents when describing guardianship arrangements. A rare documentary example from Alexander III's reign noted that the king would not take back his castles without the common counsel of his advisors, who had been assigned 'the custody and government' ('custodia et gubernacio') of his kingdom, his body, and the body of his queen.¹⁷⁶ The vocabulary of governance could represent a woman's guardianship in similar terms to male magnates. Lampert of Hersfeld's claim that Anno of Cologne conspired to take the 'government of affairs' away from Agnes during Henry IV's reign demonstrated the empress's personal responsibility for governance.¹⁷⁷ The image of a governing queen was a natural one and is not limited to narrative sources.¹⁷⁸ A revised late eleventh- or early twelfth-century coronation *ordo* added the formula that the English people would be 'governed by the providence of queenly virtue', clearly inspired by contemporary examples of governing women.¹⁷⁹

but, because of its links to ecclesiastical and spiritual leadership, it may also have conveyed a paternal context.

¹⁷⁴ 'Rex autem David, dissimulato moerore super interitu reginae Angliae, neptis suae, et filii sui unici, tulit continuo Melcholmum primogenitum filii sui, et dato ei rectore Dunecan comite cum exercitu copioso, iussit eundem puerum per provincias Scotiae circumduci et proclamari haeredem regni', John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 327. See Chapter Two, pp. 93-4, and Chapter Four, pp. 131-3, for a discussion of Duncan's responsibilities alongside Malcolm.

¹⁷⁵ Baldwin V of Flanders: 'Mortuo autem Henrico... filium eius Philippum prefatus comes Balduinus usque ad etatem eius regno habilem nutriendum suscepit, et regnum viriliter gubernavit', *Flandria generosa*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1951), pp. 317-25 (at p. 319). Anno of Cologne: 'Episcopus cum rege ad se rerum gubernacula transtulit', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 353.

¹⁷⁶ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8 (Charter Roll 39 Henry III), and Patent Roll 39 Henry III, C 66/69 membrane 2; *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 64, 66. See below p. 51, for use of 'custodia'. See also Chapter Five, pp. 168-9.

¹⁷⁷ 'Inter caetera id potissimum invidiae ei erat, quod ante aliquot annos, dum imperatrici ius regni rerumque gubernacula eripere vellet, ipsum pene regem in ultimum discrimen precipitasset', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 93. For Blanche of Castile's role in governance when Louis IX was a child: William of Saint-Pathus, 'Vie de Saint Louis par le confesseur de la reine Marguerite', *RHGF* 20, pp. 58-121 (at pp. 64-5).

¹⁷⁸ Amalie Föbel, 'The political traditions of female rulership in medieval Europe', in *The Oxford handbook of women and gender in medieval Europe*, eds. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford, 2013), pp. 68-83 (at p. 77).

¹⁷⁹ 'laetetur gens Anglica domini imperio regenda et reginae virtutis providentia gubernanda', Percy Ernst Schramm, *A history of the English coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937), p. 29.

The third category concerns the vocabulary of administration.¹⁸⁰ A letter from Meinhard, *magister scholarum* at Bamberg, claimed that, when Agnes of Poitou returned to court in 1064, it was to provide advice and counsel rather than in her previous capacity of ‘administering’ the principal matters of the realm (‘ut summam rerum quomodo prius administret’).¹⁸¹ Writers continued to use similar terms in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁸² Derivatives of the verb ‘administrare’ appeared in narrative sources and letters throughout the central Middle Ages. By contrast, the title ‘procurator’ was particularly, although not exclusively, favoured in northern France in the eleventh-century.¹⁸³ French or Flemish writers used the title for Baldwin V, describing the count as ‘procurator’ in two of Philip I’s surviving acts dating to 1065 or 1066.¹⁸⁴ Baldwin’s consistent recognition as Philip’s ‘procurator’ at the French royal court may have inspired later writers to bestow the same title upon the Flemish count.¹⁸⁵ While writers did

See also Lois Huneycutt, ‘Images of queenship in the High Middle Ages’, *HSJ*, 1 (1989), 61-71 (at p. 64).

¹⁸⁰ For example: ‘administrare’; ‘administer’; ‘administratio’; ‘disponere’; ‘negotium’; ‘procurare’; ‘procurator’.

¹⁸¹ ‘Michi quoque compertum est imperatricem summo studio acciri non ut summam rerum quomodo prius administret – nam hoc nescio que profana sacramenta impediunt – veruntamen ut omnia nutu ipsius et consilio transigantur’, *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 23, p. 218. See also, Raoul Tortaire, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît écrits par Adrevald Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hughes de Saint Marie, moines de Fleury*, ed. E. de Certain, Société de l’histoire de France (Paris, 1858), p. 314, who praises Count Baldwin V’s administration of the French kingdom (‘Qui prudentissime regni administrans negotia’).

¹⁸² For Blanche of Castile’s administration of the French kingdom: *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 196; Geoffrey of Beaulieu, ‘Vita et sancta conversatio piae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum’, *RHGF* 20, pp. 1-27 (at p. 4); ‘Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, auctore monacho sancti Dionysii’, *RHGF* 20, pp. 45-57 (at p. 46).

¹⁸³ Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 26 (Hannover, 1882), pp. 219-76 (at p. 246), who describes Egidius, one of Philip II’s counsellors, as ‘negotiorum regis procurator’. See *Catalogi archiepiscoporum Coloniensium: continuationes et auctaria*, ed. H. Cardauns, MGH SS 24 (Hannover, 1879), pp. 352-6 (at p. 352), who used this title to describe Engelbert (I) of Berg (1216-1255), guardian of Henry (VII). See also Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, pp. 297-8, and Christian Hillen, ‘Tutor et provisor – minority government for German kings: the case of Henry (VII) (1220-1235)’, *Medieval History*, 1 (2002), 30-48. See Francis West, *The justiciarship in England, 1066-1232*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 12 (Cambridge, 1966), p. 18, for examples of ‘procurator’ in situations removed from the circumstances of child kingship. And see David Bates, ‘The origins of the justiciarship’, *ANS*, 4 (1981), 1-12 (at p. 11), for earlier Norman usage of the title.

¹⁸⁴ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 22 and 25, pp. 60, p. 71, where Baldwin appeared as ‘procurator et baiulus’. In one further act (no. 18, p. 53), the verb ‘procuro’ was used but not as a title (‘domno Balduino, comiti, cuius solerti cura et diligenti providentia regni procuratur monarchia’).

¹⁸⁵ ‘Cum rex Philippus adolescens, de Procuratoris potestate egressus, regni sui gubernacula suscepisset’, *De S. Romana virg. mart. Bellovaci in Gallia*, in *Acta sanctorum*, October II, col. 0139C; ‘Anno domini millesimo sexagesimo septimo, obitus comitis Balduini, memoriae felicitis, regiminis Francorum sub rege Philippo procuratoris, et huius ecclesiae fundatoris’, *Necrologium ecclesiae collegiatae beati Petri*

not often gender guardianship responsibilities, the titles they used – ‘magister’, ‘rector’, ‘procurator’ – were gendered male in medieval society and were never used to describe queen mothers. The sources thus obscure some of the nuances of maternal guardianship because mothers were far more likely to receive official royal or imperial titles: ‘mater regis’, ‘regina’, ‘imperatrix’. Amy Livingstone has shown how titles such as ‘domina’, ‘vicedomina’, and ‘legedocta’ embodied the powers, privileges, and responsibilities of aristocratic women in the Chartrain.¹⁸⁶ The official titles of queen mothers acting alongside their sons performed the same function.

The vocabulary of practical care is the fourth category under discussion.¹⁸⁷ Whilst much of the terminology used by chroniclers and writers to elucidate the arrangements for the kingdom’s care focused on political management, writers did not ignore the social reality of a child king. Chroniclers commonly described the relationship between the boy and his guardian(s) in terms of education and childrearing, emphasising the guardian’s pedagogical role and, consequently, the king’s childhood. In England, when Henry III came of age, he had to free himself from the influence of his guardians, who had been ‘quasi paedagogi’.¹⁸⁸ Terms such as ‘pedagogus’ and ‘magister’ correspond with descriptions of non-parental figures in other royal and aristocratic households.¹⁸⁹ After Anno of Cologne kidnapped Henry IV from his mother, he began appearing as Henry’s ‘magister’ in chronicles and royal diplomas.¹⁹⁰ Contemporary writers were well

insulensis, in *Documents liturgiques et nécrologiques de l’église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, ed. E. Hautcoeur (Lille, 1895), p. 313.

¹⁸⁶ Amy Livingstone, ‘Aristocratic women in the Chartrain’, in *Aristocratic women in medieval France*, ed. Evergates, pp. 44-73 (at p. 66).

¹⁸⁷ For example: ‘alere’; ‘cura’; ‘curare’; ‘educare’; ‘eruditio’; ‘magister’; ‘magistratus’; ‘nutria’; ‘nutrire’; ‘nuriçon’ (OF); ‘pedagogia’; ‘pedagogus’. Some of these terms were rather rare. The verb ‘alere’ only appears in one chronicle: ‘Balduinus vero comes Flandrensis regem parvulum Philippum aluit et Franciam gubernavit’, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius...*, ed./trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, *Sources d’histoire médiévale* (Paris, 1979), p. 126.

¹⁸⁸ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 318. See also, *Codex Laureshamensis*, ed. Glöckner, i, p. 391, which note that Adalbert engineered for himself to be entrusted with Henry IV’s ‘eruditio et pedagogium’ in Anno’s absence.

¹⁸⁹ Kathryn Dutton, ‘*Ad erudiendum tradidit*: the upbringing of Angevin comital children’, *ANS*, 32 (2009), 24-39.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Anno Coloniensis episcopus regem Heinricum matri subripuit seseque illi magistrum prefecit’, *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. 38 (Hannover, 1894), pp. 9-57 (at p. 51); ‘Honestae igitur petitioni nostrorum consilio fidelium, videlicet dilecti magistri nostri Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis, Sigefridi archiepiscopi Mogontini, Bvrchardi Halberstedensis episcopi, Ottonis marchionis consentire decernentes’, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 103, p. 136. See also nos. 108, 112, 113, 114, 125, 130 and 135. See also *Annales*

aware that caring for a young child required the engagement of a range of tutors and educators with varying responsibilities for the boy. ‘Magister’ (OF, ‘meistre’) could pertain either to a guardian or to an individual involved in a child king’s education who was not actively participating in governance.¹⁹¹ Authors never classified a child king’s education and rearing as an exclusively maternal role. Whilst writers often emphasised Blanche’s nurturing and educating role in Louis IX’s childhood using the French vernacular ‘nourrir’, Agnes of Poitou’s care of Henry IV was more frequently described in vocabulary deriving from ‘administrare’ or ‘gubernare’ than in derivatives of ‘nutrire’.¹⁹² My research does not corroborate the prominence of the term ‘nutrire’ to describe arrangements made for a boy king’s upbringing in the central Middle Ages. This suggests a possible shift in vocabulary by those writing during Henry IV’s reign, since Kölzer claimed that ‘nutrire’ and its derivatives were preferred by writers in Germany in the earlier Middle Ages.¹⁹³ Continuing the emphasis on a child’s practical care, the terms ‘cura’ and ‘curare’ dealt not only with the child king’s physical and mental nourishment but also with the care of the kingdom. The term ‘cura’ united two responsibilities into one duty – to care for king and kingdom – and thus differed from other authoritative, administrative, or pedagogical vocabulary which suggested that contemporaries required two different types of skills to support the body of the king and protect the kingdom. Responsibility for ‘cura’ of king and kingdom could be exercised either by an individual or by a collaborative group.¹⁹⁴ ‘Cura’,

Blandinienses, in *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Grierson, p. 27, where Baldwin of Flanders was described as ‘magistratus’.

¹⁹¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 24, p. 69, for the witness of Ingelrannus as ‘magister regis’ during Philip I’s reign. See *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 282, 402, for references to Peter des Roches and William Marshal as Henry III’s ‘meistres’, and p. 264, for Ralph of St Samson as Henry III’s ‘meistre’ and ‘norriçon’. Ralph went on a royal mission to Poitou in 1219 but he did not have any overarching administrative responsibility for the English kingdom. See Shirley, i, pp. 43-5.

¹⁹² For Blanche, see: Geoffrey of Beaulieu, ‘Vita et sancta conversatio’, *RHGF* 20, p. 4; William of Saint-Pathus, ‘Vie de Saint Louis’, *RHGF* 20, pp. 64-5. For Agnes: ‘a primoribus matri imperatrici educandum est commendatus’, Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicon [Erste Fassung]*, in *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, ed. I. S. Robinson, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 14 (Hannover, 2003), pp. 161-381 (at p. 182); ‘regni negocia tractare’, *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. Edmund von Oefele, MGH SS rer. Germ. 4 (Hannover, 1891), pp. 1-86 (at p. 59); ‘imperatrice Agnete loco filii cum ceteris obtimatibus regni curam administrante’, *Codex Laureshamensis*, ed. Glöckner, i, p. 391.

¹⁹³ Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, p. 315, who argues for the prominence of terms deriving from ‘nutrire’ in the German kingdom in the earlier Middle Ages.

¹⁹⁴ Bruno of Merseburg, *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. Lohmann, p. 13, for Agnes of Poitou’s responsibility for the ‘care’ of both Henry IV and his kingdom. See also ‘Barnwell’ chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the historical collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 58 (London, 1872-3), ii, pp. 196-279 (at p. 233), for the collaborative involvement of the legate Guala, Peter des Roches, and William Marshal in sharing the care of the king, Henry III, and his kingdom after John’s death (‘Commissaque est ex communi consilio cura regis et regni legato, episcopo Wintoniensi, et Willelmo Marescallo comiti de Penbroc’).

or ‘caretakership’ to follow J. A. Crook’s translation, had connotations of the Roman law of guardianship for adolescents between the ages of fourteen (when Roman ‘tutela’ ended) and twenty-five.¹⁹⁵ If medieval writers discussing child kingship were aware of these Roman precedents, they never explicitly indicated this. The age of twenty-five held little significance for boy kings in the central Middle Ages.

Considerations of Roman law lead us into the fifth and final category of vocabulary: wardship and legal guardianship.¹⁹⁶ Ideas of tenurial and aristocratic wardship overlapped with those of vice-regal guardianship. Contemporaries did not envisage the care of king and kingdom in precisely the same terms as tenurial guardianship, but they certainly considered legal language as the best means to describe the provisions made until the king came of age. The term ‘tutela’, or its variants, stressed the jurisdictional situation of guardianship under Roman law.¹⁹⁷ The term remained popular across the central Middle Ages for describing a child king’s guardianship although it appeared in other contexts than solely the custody of a person or underage child.¹⁹⁸ Anno received Henry IV under his guardianship in 1062.¹⁹⁹ The term ‘tutela’ was especially prevalent in later French, Norman, and Anglo-Norman depictions of Baldwin’s responsibility for Philip I of France and his kingdom, perhaps inspired by the language of those around the royal court.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ J. A. Crook, *Law and life of Rome*, Aspects of Greek and Roman Life (Ithaca, New York, 1984), pp. 116-7.

¹⁹⁶ For example: ‘custodia’; ‘custodire’; ‘garde’ (OF); ‘garder’ (OF); ‘mundiburdium’; ‘pupillus’; ‘tutela’; ‘tutor’. ‘Baiulatio’ could also have connotations with the tutelage of a minor. See *Niermeyer*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁷ In Roman law, the ‘tutela’ of an underage child could come under a ‘testamentary’ guardian, appointed by the dying male head of the family, an ‘agnatic’ guardian, or a ‘statutory’ guardian when no other guardian could be found. See Crook, *Law and life of Rome*, p. 114.

¹⁹⁸ *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Achille Luchaire (Paris, 1885), no. 752, p. 460, where Louis VII took a ‘uilla’ under his guardianship and protection (‘in tutela et defensione nostra’).

¹⁹⁹ ‘sub tutela sua accepit’, Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 300-74 (at p. 360). This was also how Henry’s son described the arrangements during his father’s minority in a diploma he issued in 1110 for Stablo monastery: ‘Defuncto suavissime memorie avo nostro imperatore Heinrico pupillus pater noster cum totius regni amministrazione in tutelam domni Annonis Coloniensis archiepisopi commendatus est’, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 161, p. 210. When Emperor Frederick II made his son, Henry (VII), German king in the early thirteenth century, chroniclers depicted the care of king and kingdom under Archbishop Engelbert (I) of Berg (1216-1255) in similar terms. See *Chronica regia Coloniensis: annales maximi Colonienses, cum continuationibus in Monasterio S. Pantaleonis scriptis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 18 (Hannover, 1880), p. 255 (‘Teutonici regni tutelam’). See also Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, pp. 296-7.

²⁰⁰ Hugh of Fleury, *Hugonis liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), pp. 374-95 (at p. 389); *The gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed./trans. van

Using similar vocabulary, Louis VIII set out his deathbed wish for the care of his eldest son, Louis IX, and the French kingdom, reinforcing the legal circumstances of his decision by confirming that both child and realm should be under Blanche of Castile's 'ballum, sive tutela'.²⁰¹ Although we cannot assume that chroniclers were always aware of the precise jurisdictional background to their choice of phrasing, writers used legal vocabulary more deliberately in royal documents, especially as guardianship arrangements came to an end. A few months after Philip I turned fourteen in May 1066, he referred to a time when he had been under Baldwin's tutelage as if it were now in the past.²⁰² Later the same year, Philip claimed he had withdrawn himself from Baldwin's 'mundiburdium', a Germanic concept which emphasised the legal authority of husbands and fathers over their dependents, here making a unique appearance in the context of child kingship.²⁰³ The title 'tutor' appeared in William the Breton's poem *Philippide*, written around 1220, to refer to another count of Flanders alongside a young French king, this time Philip of Flanders (1143-1191) alongside Philip II.²⁰⁴ Unlike Baldwin V, however, Philip of Flanders never received this title in royal acts. Thirteenth-century writers continued to use similar terms, and the rise in vernacular texts introduced the Old French terms 'garde' and 'garder' to describe the actions of guardians such as William Marshal and Blanche of Castile.²⁰⁵

Houts, pp. 152-3; *The gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed./trans. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, OMT (Oxford, 1998), pp. 32-3; Raoul Tortaire, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. de Certain, p. 314; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical history*, ed./trans. Chibnall, ii, book 3, p. 88; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 436-7.

²⁰¹ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102. See also Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, pp. 49-52; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 77, 80. This document may have inspired the authors of narrative sources to view Blanche's guardianship in similar terms: 'Sanctus igitur iste Ludovicus, XIII annorum juvenis patre suo christianissimo orbatu, sub illustris dominae Blanchae Reginae matris suae tutela remansit', 'Gesta sancti Ludovici noni', *RHGF* 20, p. 46.

²⁰² 'Dum sub tutore degerem Balduine marchione, meo patre nuper defuncto, in diebus puericie mee...', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 27, p. 80.

²⁰³ 'exeunte me de Flandrensiu comitis Balduini mundiburdio', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 28, p. 85. See also Joseph Canning, *A history of medieval political thought, 300-1450* (London, 1996), pp. 20-1.

²⁰⁴ 'Cuius erat tutor, didascalus atque patrinus?', William the Breton, *Philippide de Guillaume-le-Breton. Extraits concernant les guerres de Flandre. Texte latin et français*, ed. Octave Delepierre (Bruges, 1841), p. 4. See Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 246, who, by contrast, claims Robert Clement was not only Philip II's chief advisor, but also held the king in tutelage ('dum regem post mortem patris habuit in tutela'). See also Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste', pp. 19-20, who dismisses the notion that Philip II was under tutelage at all when he succeeded.

²⁰⁵ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 318, who described both William Marshal and Peter des Roches as 'tutor et rector' for Henry III. For William Marshal: *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 260, 264, 402; *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, ed. Francisque

Contemporaries increasingly described the care of a child king and his kingdom in identical terms to aristocratic wardship, as we can tell from the more frequent appearances of vocabulary deriving from the verb ‘custodire’ – meaning to guard, to protect, or to hold someone in wardship.²⁰⁶ Earlier authors rarely used ‘custodire’, but variants of the verb regularly appeared in narrative sources during the minorities of Henry III, Louis IX, and Alexander III.²⁰⁷ Roger of Wendover repeated the exact phrase ‘remansit in custodia’ to describe how Henry III was first under William Marshal’s custody and then, following William’s death, under the custody of Peter des Roches.²⁰⁸ The use of ‘custodire’ and its derivatives extended into royal documents, as in the record of Alexander’s new guardianship council in 1255.²⁰⁹ Legal terminology in cases of tenurial wardship influenced the use of ‘custodire’ in circumstances of child kingship. The author of the *Très Ancien Coutumier*, in a section on arrangements to be made for underage children, asked the question ‘Quis igitur custodiet eum?’ (‘Who, then, will protect him?’).²¹⁰

Medieval writers recognised that the circumstances of child kingship called for a system of vice-regal guardianship which saw the king and his kingdom as two separate bodies even if the same individual or group of individuals cared for them both. Modern historians have unhelpfully complicated the assessment of medieval terminology due to their reluctance to follow in the footsteps of medieval authors who used – as I have shown – specific and at times overtly legal vocabulary. The term ‘vice-regal guardianship’ is the most fitting way to describe

Michel (Paris, 1840), p. 180. For Blanche of Castile: William of Saint-Pathus, ‘Vie de Saint Louis’, *RHGF* 20, pp. 64-5 and *Les grandes chroniques*, ed. Viard, vii, pp. 32, 34.

²⁰⁶ Niermeyer, p. 298.

²⁰⁷ Two exceptions can be found in twelfth-century chronicles looking back on Philip I’s reign: Hariulf, *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. Ferdinand Lot (Paris, 1894), pp. 234-5; ‘Ex chronici veteris excerpto’, *RHGF* 11, ed. des religieux bénédictins de la Congregation de S. Maur (Paris, 1876), p. 159.

²⁰⁸ ‘Rex autem post coronationem suam remansit in custodia Willelmi comitis Penbroc, magni videlicet Mareschalli’, Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 198; ‘post cuius mortem momoratus rex in custodia Petri Wintoniensis episcopi remansit instruendus’, ii, p. 237. In France: Geoffrey of Beaulieu, ‘Vita et sancta conversatio’, *RHGF* 20, p. 4. In Scotland: *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Maitland Club Publications 46 (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 57.

²⁰⁹ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; ‘Nec castra nostra ab eis quibus tempore confeccionis presencium commissa fuerunt resumemus, nisi per consilium commune eorumdem consiliariorum nostrorum ad custodiam et gubernacionem regni nostri et corporis nostri et regine nostre assignatorum’, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 64-6. See also, *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, p. xlv, for a description of the legate Guala as ‘quasi tutor domini regis et custos regni’ in a court case in 1237.

²¹⁰ *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Tardif, i, p. 11. See also George Garnett, *Conquered England: kingship, succession, and tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), p. 110, for the meaning and significance of ‘custos’ in tenurial landholding.

how magnates and mothers acted on behalf of child kings. Whilst the implication of deputy inherent in the phrase compelled Bates to decline the term 'vice-regal' to describe Matilda's role alongside William the Conqueror, similar problems do not arise in the circumstances of child kingship.²¹¹ Regardless of who acted as guardian for a child king and his kingdom, they were invariably subordinate to the king, as chroniclers often emphasised.

I have divided the following eight chapters into three parts to examine how preparation, guardianship, and the vulnerabilities and challenges of child kingship moulded the experience of child kings. In Part I (Chapters One, Two, and Three), I ask how a child's upbringing introduced them to notions of rulership. Part II (Chapters Four, Five, and Six) considers changes to kingship to allow for childhood, and the impact on guardianship arrangements of developments in legal thinking, counsel, and notions of maturity. Finally, in Part III (Chapters Seven and Eight), I analyse contemporary perceptions of, and reactions to, child kings and their guardians, questioning whether challenges which arose during a minority were necessarily in opposition to the concept of child kingship itself. At the most rudimentary level, I illustrate the value of comparing the experience of child kings beyond traditional geographical or chronological boundaries. More importantly, my comparative approach presents a new perspective on developments in kingship, gender, minority rule, and attitudes to maturity across the central Middle Ages. Interpreting these significant developments allows us to reconceptualise the notion of child kingship in a context which considers both the social reality of childhood and the political practicalities of medieval rulership.

Having outlined the aspects of a king's childhood which make the cases discussed here comparable, as well as several chronological and geographical variances between my case studies, I continue this thematic approach in Part I, focusing on how royal families prepared underage heirs for royal rule through their involvement in documents and diplomacy, actions of association, and provisions made at the king's deathbed.

²¹¹ Bates, 'The representation of queens and queenship', p. 289. For the use of the term 'viceregal' in relation to William Marshal, see West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 2.

PART I

Preparation: From Child Heir to Child King

CHAPTER ONE

Child Heirs and the Written Record of Preparation

In a study of child kingship, it may seem paradoxical to focus at length on the period when most of these children were not kings and none were the sole ruler of their kingdom, but it was often during infancy and childhood that fathers began to acclimatise their sons to royal rule. One of the most immediate ways in which kings associated young sons with the throne was by including them in the written output of royal governance: in transactional charters issued for ecclesiastical or, less frequently, secular beneficiaries. Jonathan Lyon's study of noble youths in twelfth-century Germany demonstrates how important the routine inclusion of sons in their fathers' transactional charters could be for introducing them to regional political networks at the centre of familial power and authority.¹ Similar inclusion in acts and diplomacy was even more important for royal children who needed to rely on these networks to support their minority rule after their father or grandfather's death. Studying the written record of a child's preparation for kingship provides an important revision to modern scholarship of practices of association and succession since it places the child's mother into the forefront of the picture, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Paternal inclusion of young children in royal documents changed dramatically over the two centuries between 1050 and 1250, coinciding with, and probably relating to, a less perceptible presence for queen mothers in their husbands' acts by the thirteenth century. In the first section of this chapter, I consider the appearance of mothers and sons together in royal documents and show how, over time, the familial context to a child's preparation as king declined, as did the practice of naming individual children in royal records. Through the titles used to refer to sons, documents also provide evidence of kings introducing changes to a child heir's status, usually from heir to associate king. The way in which kings bestowed titles upon their sons reflects an awareness of the heir's maturity (or lack of) and, as I argue in the second part of this chapter, this reveals that norms of association often made allowances for the heir's childhood.

¹ Jonathan R. Lyon, 'Fathers and sons: preparing noble youths to be lords in twelfth-century Germany', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008), 291-310 (at p. 298). Similarly, see Jane Martindale, "'His special friend'? The settlement of disputes and political power in the kingdom of the French (tenth to mid-twelfth century)", *TRHS*, 6th series, 5 (1995), 21-57 (at pp. 56-7), who demonstrates the important role fathers played in encouraging their sons' involvement in judicial affairs and dispute settlement.

i. Mothers, sons, and documents

Although we should not rely on record evidence alone to uncover the part royal mothers played in an heir's upbringing, documents crucially expose a mother's participation in introducing her young son to acts of kingship. This is especially important since mothers rarely feature in narrative accounts of associative events such as co-coronations or oaths of fidelity (which I will consider in Chapter Two). Even if they were almost certainly in attendance, queens are absent from contemporary accounts of the ceremonial actions, at court or on itinerary, which kings used to associate their young sons with the throne. Chroniclers did not note the queen mother Anne of Kiev in their lists of those attending Philip I's coronation at Reims on 23 May 1059, nor did the queen appear in the coronation memorandum written by Archbishop Gervais.² Yet Anne's presence in the *pro salute* clause of an act Henry I issued to the monastery of Saint Valerian in Tournus on the day of the coronation shows that she was alongside her husband and eldest son at Reims.³ Even if contemporary chroniclers did not record maternal involvement, mothers were often still central to a boy's preparation for kingship, especially at the point of his introduction to processes of administrative royal governance.

An eldest son's appearance in his father's acts from an early age demonstrates the collaborative familial nature of his preparation for kingship.⁴ Mothers were often the means through which child heirs received their introduction to the routine administrative processes of kingship. A close bond between a mother and her eldest son may have existed in some cases even before the child became king. Henry IV first appeared in intervention clauses to his father's acts alongside his mother, Agnes of Poitou, from October 1051, when he was less than a year old.⁵

² Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, ed. Waitz, p. 389; *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, pp. 217-32. See also Zajac, 'Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship', p. 39 n.52.

³ 'atque pro salute animae meae, conjugisque meae Annae, filiique nostri Philippi Regis, necnon et perpetua prosperitate nostra, ac statu regni nostri', 'Diplomata Henrici I. Francorum Regis', *RHGF* 11, no. 33, p. 600. There is less evidence for Agnes of Poitou's presence at Henry IV's coronation at Aachen on 17 July 1054. See *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae. Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, eds. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ 5 (Berlin, 1931), nos. 323-6, pp. 441-7, where Agnes was with her husband in Goslar in May 1054 and again in October 1054 but does not appear in either of the surviving diplomas issued in July.

⁴ See Stephen Marritt, 'Prayers for the king and royal titles in Anglo-Norman charters', *ANS*, 32 (2010), 184-202 (at p. 188), who shows that named family members in charters stress legitimacy and dynastic continuity.

⁵ 'qualiter nos ob nostram nostrique regni ac thori consortis scilicet Agnetis imperatricis augustae ac dilectae prolis nostrae Heinrichi felicitatem', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, no. 276, p. 377.

Agnes had been a frequent presence in her husband's acts since their marriage. She first appeared in a gift to the monastery of Leno, issued at Ingelheim on 29 November 1043, which Henry III gave through the intervention of his 'beloved wife'.⁶ Significantly, Henry III sometimes issued documents through his wife's love and petition ('amor et peticio').⁷ Henry IV did not feature in documents particularly frequently before his inauguration on 17 July 1054, suggesting that the few occasions on which his name appears reflect his physical presence there. Even if the infant Henry would not have known exactly what was taking place, these documents may have recorded events of special significance to his father, or to the beneficiaries. When Henry is addressed, it is as the emperor's 'filius' or 'proles', and he was always with his mother, emphasising the familial, dynastic context to the young boy's inclusion in royal documents.⁸ Even after Henry's anointing as king, he never appeared without his mother alongside him, although Agnes occasionally appeared in her husband's diplomas without her son.⁹ This, and the fact that Agnes is always mentioned first, followed by her son, are 'a glimpse of reality', as Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke notes. Those drafting diplomas never presented the infant as the means of approaching his father's presence without his mother.¹⁰ Agnes's prominence alongside her son is not unusual for queen mothers at the time and was, to some extent, a routine feature of documents from the imperial chanceries. Yet, the consistency with which Agnes and Henry appeared together is more remarkable, and we should not dismiss their prominence together in acts as mundane purely because German diplomas adopted more standardised forms.

At the same time in France, King Henry I included his eldest son, Philip, in royal acts, sometimes together with his mother, Anne of Kiev. Although the documentary evidence for

⁶ 'per interventum nostre dilecte coniugis Agnetis', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, no. 114, p. 143.

⁷ For example, see *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, nos. 138 and 141, pp. 173, 177, for two examples from July 1045.

⁸ For examples of Henry IV appearing as 'proles': *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, no. 277, p. 378 ('qualiter illa spe inducti donavimus pro remedio anime nostre dilectaeque nostrae coniugis scilicet Agnetis nostraeque prolis Heinrici seu parentum nostrorum'); no. 285, p. 387; no. 286, p. 388. For examples of Henry IV appearing as 'filius': no. 322, p. 440 ('Cuius petitioni condescendentes ob interventum nostri thori ac regni karissime consortis scilicet Agnetis imperatricis auguste ac petitione filii nostri Heinrici'); no. 323, p. 441.

⁹ See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, no. 341, pp. 465-7, issued at Florence on 27 May 1055, for an act issued through Agnes's petition but without her son alongside her.

¹⁰ Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, 'From famous empresses to unspectacular queens: the Romano-German empire to Margaret of Brabant, countess of Luxemburg and queen of the Romans (d. 1311)', in *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe: proceedings of a conference held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 75-108 (at p. 93).

France is less abundant, Anne, Agnes's contemporary, features in seven of the thirty-six documents surviving from her husband's reign after their wedding on 19 May 1051.¹¹ In contrast to the German situation, where the child Henry IV never appeared alongside his father without his mother, Philip appeared in Henry I's acts on his own as well as together with Anne. The queen may have appeared on occasion without Philip, but she was more likely to be included in documents in her maternal context alongside her son(s).¹² A few instances appear significant for their incorporation of the child Philip's assent, confirmation, or support. In 1058, Anne, Philip, and his two younger brothers, Robert and Hugh, assented to a concession to the monks of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, just outside Paris.¹³ Prior to his associative coronation, Philip confirmed the foundation of Saint-Genès of Thiers alongside his father, but his mother was not mentioned on this occasion.¹⁴ Another act issued after 23 May 1059 showed Anne and Philip supporting ('firmare') Henry's decision together.¹⁵ Including male children in charters alongside their mothers implied social notions of family participation rather than the consent of the child to political decisions.¹⁶ This does not negate the importance of these actions for familiarising children with concepts of royal rule from a young age. Agnes's appearances

¹¹ *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier, roi de France, 1031-1060*, ed. Frédéric Soehnée, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sciences historiques et philologiques 161 (Paris, 1907). See Bogomoletz, 'Anna of Kiev', pp. 310-11, who records the details of all these acts. I have also discussed this in Ward, 'Anne of Kiev and a reassessment of maternal power', pp. 439-40. And see Zajac, 'Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship', especially pp. 58-63. One further document mentions Anne and relates to a grant to Hasnon abbey but is generally considered a forgery.

¹² The evidence for Anne appearing in Henry's documents without her son is unreliable. A *notitia* of a lost act issued between October 1055 and August 1060 states: 'Praesentate Regis Henrici et uxoris eius Agnetis libera donatione, cum suo et successoris sui Philippi praecepto et confirmatione'. See *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, pp. 105-6, who asserts that Philip's name only appears here because he later issued two diplomas at Saint-Nicaise in 1061 and 1066 rather than because he witnessed this document. If this is the case, Anne may have been mentioned in the original document without Philip alongside her.

¹³ 'Istam concessionem pro remedio animae meae feci, annuente mea conjuge Anna, et prole Philippo, Roberto ac Hugone', 'Diplomata Henrici', *RHGF* 11, no. 32, p. 600; *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, pp. 103-5.

¹⁴ 'rex gloriosissimus simul cum filio suo Philippo', A. C. Chaix de Lavarène, *Monumenta pontificia Arverniae, decurrentibus IX, X, XI, XII saeculis: correspondance diplomatique des papes concernant l'Auvergne depuis le pontificat de Nicolas Ier jusqu'à celui d'Innocent III (IXe, Xe, XIe, XIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1886), p. 25.

¹⁵ 'Henricus, rex Francorum firmavit; Anna, regina firmavit; et rex Philippus firmavit', *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne: recueil de documents authentiques pour servir à l'histoire des pays qui forment ce département*, ed. Maximilien Quantin, 2 vols. (Auxerre, 1854-60), ii, p. 12. See also *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, pp. 125-6.

¹⁶ Susan M. Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power in the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman realm*, *Gender in History* (Manchester, 2003), p. 91, who suggests the importance of this family participation for aristocratic women and their sons.

alongside her husband have been perceived as depicting her only as intervener and petitioner, rather than as a political mediator like her predecessor, Gisela (*d.*1043), during Conrad II's reign.¹⁷ In placing more emphasis on the important role Agnes played as the facilitator for her son's introduction to the diplomatic processes of German kingship, I contend that we must amend this idea and see a greater political context to Agnes's documentary involvement. As mother and son, Agnes and Henry, much like Anne and Philip, acted together in royal actions, prefiguring the image of joint rule which would exist after the deaths of Emperor Henry III and King Henry I. Documentary association of child heirs continued into the twelfth century, at least in the French kingdom.

An heir's early childhood still incorporated familial participation in royal acts by the late twelfth century. Despite modern historians suggesting a decline in the position and power of queens over this century, mothers continued to be associated with their young sons in their husbands' documents.¹⁸ In France, Philip II first appeared in his father's acts in August 1170, when he was five years old.¹⁹ Louis VII called on his son's concession ('concedo') and assent ('assensus') in

¹⁷ Claudia Zey, 'Frauen und Töchter der salischen Herrscher. Zum Wandel salischer Heiratspolitik in der Krise', in *Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein*, ed. Tilman Struve (Cologne, 2008), pp. 47-98 (at p. 53). See Hillen, 'Minority government for German kings', pp. 30-1. See also Chapter Five, p. 174 n.121.

¹⁸ Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Women, gender, and medieval historians', in *The Oxford handbook of women and gender*, pp. 1-17 (at pp. 4-5), for a recent summary of these arguments. For examples of scholars who argued for a 'narrative of decline' between the early and central Middle Ages in the position of women and their access to power and authority: Marion F. Facinger, 'A study of medieval queenship: Capetian France 987-1237', *Nebraska Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968), 1-48; Georges Duby, *The knight, the lady, and the priest: the making of modern marriage in medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (London, 1983); Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, 'The power of women through the family in medieval Europe, 500-1100', in *Women and power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (London, 1988), pp. 83-101. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians have challenged this idea of decline. See, for example: Bates, 'The representation of queens and queenship', p. 302; Miriam Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship": reassessing the argument', in *Capetian women*, ed. Nolan, pp. 137-61 (at pp. 138-9); Jessica A. Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland, circa 1067-1286', unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London (2007), p. 7; Föbel, 'The political traditions of female rulership', p. 81.

¹⁹ 'Concedente filio nostro Philippo', *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 587, p. 285. The future Henry II of England had similarly appeared in charters issued by his father, Geoffrey, count of Anjou, in the 1140s. See *Recueil des actes de Henri II : roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, eds. Léopold Delisle and Élie Berger, 4 vols., Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1916-27), i, nos. 8 and 9. See also W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, new ed. (New Haven, 2000), p. 32.

several acts during Philip's childhood.²⁰ Although phrases which referred to the child's concession or assent were becoming more formulaic, Philip's presence in his father's acts from early childhood brings into contention Jim Bradbury's claim that Louis VII resisted associating his son with royal government.²¹ Instead, Louis included his son in diplomatic and political acts as a means of emphasising Philip's association with kingship to a wider audience. Furthermore, Louis's frequent references to the salvation of Philip's soul in *pro salute* clauses reflect his genuine paternal concern for the health of his only male child, even before Philip's illness in 1179.²² A family circle which included young sons and heirs alongside their father and mother had not yet disappeared entirely from royal acts by the second half of the twelfth century. Philip and his mother, Adela of Champagne, assented together to Louis VII's grant of privileges to the inhabitants and garrison of Dun-le-Roi in 1175.²³ Even so, Adela appeared alongside her son less frequently than queen mothers such as Agnes and Anne. Philip II's introduction to administrative government does not appear to have been as reliant on maternal involvement as those of earlier royal children.²⁴ This does not necessarily imply a decline in the position of Capetian queen consorts by the end of the twelfth century, since Adela was, if anything, more prominent alongside her husband as queen than Anne of Kiev had been. Louis VII sought Adela's assent in to least one royal transaction prior to the birth of their son, when he took the abbey of Lannoi under royal protection in 1162 ('venerabilis regine Aale assensu').²⁵ After Philip's birth, having provided her husband with a male heir, Adela appeared more frequently,

²⁰ See, for example, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 656, p. 306 ('Philippo filio nostro ad ipsum consentiente'); no. 692, p. 317 ('assensu dilectissimi filii nostri Philippi'); no. 704, p. 320 ('de assensu Philippi filii nostri'); no. 765, p. 338 ('assensu et voluntate charissimi filii nostri Philippi').

²¹ See *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, p. 14, where Luchaire highlights the formulaic nature of Philip's appearances in his father's acts. See also Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, p. 38.

²² For example, 'pro remedio peccatorum nostrorum et regum Francie antecessorum nostrorum, pro salute quoque et vita filii nostri Philippi', *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 594, pp. 287, 436 [5 April 1170 x 27 March 1171]. See also no. 657, pp. 306-7 [24 March 1174 x 12 April 1175]; no. 687, p. 316 [13 April 1175 x 3 April 1176]; no. 694, pp. 735, p. 329 [24 April 1177 x 8 April 1178].

²³ 'assensu Adelae Reginae et dilectissimi filii nostri Philippi', *Ordonnances*, eds. Louis Guillaume de Villevault and Louis G. O. F. de Bréquigny (Paris, 1769), xi, p. 208. See also *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, nos. 718 and 738, pp. 324, 330, where Adela and Philip appear together.

²⁴ *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, p. 13, who notes that the assent of members of the royal family was employed less frequently under Louis VII.

²⁵ 'nos laudamus et venerabilis regine Aale assensu, perpetua et inconcussa libertate tenenda concedimus', *Mémoires de la société académique d'archéologie, sciences et arts du département de l'Oise*, 29 vols., Société académique de l'Oise (Beauvais, 1847-1937), x, p. 656. See *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 455, pp. 14, 246.

especially from the mid-1170s.²⁶ She also gained greater independence of action, as we can see in two of Louis's acts issued in 1175/6 which suggest the degree of his wife's power and authority. In the first, recalling an agreement which had been made between Adela and the canons of Saint-Aignan in Orléans, Louis confirmed certain liberties and customs to the inhabitants of Chalou-la-Reine (modern-day Chalou-Moulineux) which Adela had previously granted to them.²⁷ The commune of Chalou-Moulineux was very close to Étampes, a town which Adela had received from her husband as dower in 1163/4.²⁸ In the second act, still extant, Louis confirmed a donation of tithes his wife had made to the abbey of Saint-Victor.²⁹ These documents suggest that Adela had access to income and the authority to grant liberties, at least in territories connected to her dower. Whilst these two grants needed her husband's confirmation, Adela's independence of action is substantiated in a confirmation she made in 1178 in her own right as 'Dei gratia Francorum regina' without her husband (or son) alongside her.³⁰ Such independence is striking when compared to Anne of Kiev and Agnes of Poitou, who only appeared alongside their husbands. Even the later Capetian queen, Blanche of Castile (*d.*1252), who became guardian for her son Louis IX in 1226, does not appear to have granted liberties or confirmed accords separately from Louis VIII, although her almost-constant childbearing may have been partly responsible for this.³¹

²⁶ See *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 656, p. 306 [24 March 1174 x 12 April 1175]; no. 677, p. 313 [13 April 1175 x 3 April 1176]; no. 689, p. 316 [13 April 1175 x 3 April 1176]; no. 692, p. 317 [13 April 1175 x 3 April 1176].

²⁷ This document survives only in a vidimus from 1395. The vidimus transcription is in *Ordonnances*, ed. Denis François Secousse (Paris, 1750), viii, p. 34. Mentioned in *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 677, p. 313.

²⁸ Jean Dufour, 'Adèle de Champagne, troisième femme de Louis VII, une reine méconnue', in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge. Actes du cinquième colloque international de Montpellier Université Paul-Valéry (24-27 novembre 1999)*, ed. Marcel Faure, 2 vols., Les cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A. 5 (Montpellier, 2001), i, pp. 35-41 (at p. 36). The act setting out Adela's receipt of Étampes survives in a vidimus from 1373 in Paris, BnF, Lat. 9035, no. 1.

²⁹ *Monuments historiques*, ed. Jules Tardif (Paris, 1866), no. 664, p. 326. Mentioned in *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 689, p. 316. The original document is Paris, Arch. Nat., K. 25, No. 72.

³⁰ *Monuments historiques*, ed. Tardif, no. 678, pp. 332-3. For original document, with seal, see Paris, Arch. Nat. K. 25, no. 9. This is particularly unusual since most of Adela's acts which she issued alone date from her widowhood. See Dufour, 'Adèle de Champagne', p. 40. See also p. 41, for the suggestion that Adela had her own chancery.

³¹ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, no. 1557, p. 556, where Blanche was addressed independently in an association with prayers and good works of the Cistercian order in 1222, before her husband became king. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 44, for Blanche's record of childbearing. Childbearing did not prevent Blanche from actively involving herself in raising money and men for her husband's campaign in England. See Chapter Six, p. 203.

The physical and mental exertion of childbearing could impact upon a queen mother's documentary position alongside her husband, and thus alongside her sons, but we should not overemphasise the political effects here. In Germany, Agnes of Poitou's lack of prominence in documents issued by her husband, when compared to earlier Ottonian and Salian queen consorts, has been attributed to her occupation with the births of six children.³² Yet, childbearing did not prevent the queen mother from consistently appearing alongside her eldest son in royal transactions, as we have seen. Agnes's prominence increased after Henry IV's birth in 1050, during a period when she went on to bear her husband at least three more children. Acts in which Anne of Kiev appeared are similarly clustered towards the end of her husband's reign, after the six years in which their four children were born.³³ For these eleventh-century queens, motherhood, especially the birth of a male heir, increased their prominence in their husband's acts. The opposite was true in Scotland in the mid-twelfth century. Ada de Warenne, the only mother of a child king who never became queen consort herself, witnessed acts for her husband Henry, earl of Northumberland, between 1139 and circa 1141/2.³⁴ Ada's prominence at court and in her husband's counsels is reflected in her position immediately after King David I, Henry's father, in the witness list to Henry's renewal of lands to Malton Abbey, which survives as a fourteenth-century copy.³⁵ On another occasion, before 1142, Henry confirmed his father's gift to the abbey of the Holy Trinity, Tiron, and Ada's name headed the witness list, followed by other magnates and household officers.³⁶ Childbearing affected Ada's visibility alongside her husband since, after the birth of her eldest son Malcolm, she appeared as a witness to Henry's acts far less frequently.³⁷ This Scottish case is slightly different in that Malcolm was not 'born in the purple', i.e. he was not, from birth, a king's eldest son. This may be reflected in the way in which his father and grandfather included him in royal acts. David's priority was

³² Zey, 'Frauen und Töchter', p. 62.

³³ See *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée and, more recently, Bogomoletz, 'Anna of Kiev', pp. 308-11, for a catalogue of Henry I's acts. See also Ward, 'Anne of Kiev and a reassessment of maternal power', p. 439.

³⁴ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, no. 21, p. 145 [1139x1152, probably 1139 x c.1141]. See also Victoria Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, queen mother of Scotland (c.1123-1178)', *SHR*, 60 (1981), 119-39 (at p. 123).

³⁵ 'T. D(avi)d Reg' Scoc' et Ada Comitissa', London, TNA, C 47/9/5. See also *The charters of King David I: the written acts of David I king of Scots, 1124-53 and of his son Henry earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), no. 82, p. 92; *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, no. 11, pp. 138-9.

³⁶ 'Testibus eodum. Ada comitissa...', *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, no. 101, p. 102.

³⁷ Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland', p. 94. I would like to thank Jess Nelson for her generosity in sharing a copy of her unpublished thesis with me.

to promote Malcolm's father, Henry, as his heir, and Malcolm only appeared once in his grandfather's acts. In 1144, David confirmed a grant to Kelso Abbey 'in the presence of' several named witnesses ('coram hiis testibus') who included Henry, the three-year-old Malcolm, and his younger brother, William, who cannot have been more than a year old.³⁸ Despite the act's familial milieu, Ada's name is absent from this transaction with her young family. Around the same time, probably in 1143/4, Henry included Ada in a broad family context in a charter to the monks of Rievaulx Abbey at Melrose. Here, the mother-son relationship can be seen in the *pro anima* clause, where Ada's name appeared alongside her (unnamed) sons ('pro animabus... uxoris meae Adae et filiorum meorum') after Henry's father and mother, King David and Matilda de Senlis, and his uncle, Edgar.³⁹ Childbearing could have a variety of effects on a woman's place in rule alongside her husband, and we do not always possess all the information to reconstruct a queen's experience of pregnancy and childbirth. Although the biological practicalities of childbearing could affect a queen's visibility alongside her husband and impact on her prominence as consort – and thus on her involvement at court in royal governance and political life – it was not the sole explanation for a woman's participation, or failure to participate, in rulership with her husband and young children. The increasing standardisation of royal documents by the thirteenth century was far more central to altering the frequency with which queen mothers appeared with their sons in royal records.

Changes to practices in the *capella regis* or royal chancery, such as a decline in beneficiary production, and, in some kingdoms, increasingly bureaucratised kingship, may partly explain a decline in maternal-filial participation in royal acts since it left less opportunity for personalised references to underage children alongside their mothers. The less frequent appearances of queens in their husbands' acts by the thirteenth century have been attributed to innovations in

³⁸ 'coram hiis testibus, Joanne episcopo Glasguense, Henrico filio meo, Willielmo nepote meo, Edwardo cancel[l]ario, Ascelino archidiacono, Ricardo et Joanne capellanis, Malcolmo filio comitis et Willielmo fratre eius...', *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, no. 130, p. 116. See also, G. W. S. Barrow, 'Witnesses and the attestation of formal documents in Scotland, twelfth-thirteenth centuries', *Legal History*, 16 (1995), 1-20 (at p. 9).

³⁹ 'p(ro) a(n)i(m)a mea et p(ro) a(n)i(m)abus pat(ri)s et mat(ri)s mee et auunc(u)li mei Edgari et uxoris mee Ade et filio(rum) meo(rum) et antecesso(rum) meo(rum) et successo(rum) meo(rum)', Edinburgh, NRS, GD 55/2. See also *Early Scottish charters prior to A.D. 1153*, ed. Archibald C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), no. 142, p. 109; *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, no. 41, p. 157. See also Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.11, fols xxiii r. – xxiii v., where this charter, and David's charter which it confirmed, were written into the Melrose Abbey cartulary.

chancery practice and more standardised forms of attestation in the German kingdom.⁴⁰ Similar changes elsewhere are likely to have had a comparable effect.⁴¹ Equally, young children became far less frequent participants in their fathers' acts by the first half of the thirteenth century. This was partly due to the changing nature of royal records. In England, occasional details of household payments for Henry III can be found in the pipe rolls from John's reign but these financial records give little indication of Henry's introduction to kingship.⁴² Moreover, any references to underage sons in their fathers' acts were more likely to use generic terminology rather than personal names. In the testament written in the last few days before he died, John referred to his sons generically as 'filii mei' without naming Henry or Richard (1209-1272) specifically.⁴³ Like John, Louis VIII of France did not specify his eldest son by name in his 1225 testament, speaking only in general terms of the son who would succeed him.⁴⁴ By contrast to Philip II less than a century before, Louis IX did not assent to his father's acts or appear in *pro salute* clauses at any time during his childhood.⁴⁵ It is harder to state with certainty what occurred in Scotland since the acts of Alexander II, king of Scots, have not yet been edited as part of the *Regesta Regum Scottorum* series.⁴⁶ As far as I have been able to evaluate, Alexander

⁴⁰ See Amalie Föbel, 'Gender and rulership in the medieval German Empire', *History Compass*, 7 (2009), 55-65 (at pp. 59-60), who argues that changes in the queen's role in the Empire can be traced to innovations in the chancery, especially to the replacement of intercession formula with witness formula.

⁴¹ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 9-10, who attributes the changing roles of French queens to changes in governmental and administrative power.

⁴² For example, see *The great roll of the pipe for the thirteenth year of the reign of King John*, *Michaelmas 1211 (Pipe Roll 57)*, ed. Doris M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society 66 (London, 1953), p. 178 ('Et pro duabus robis ad opus duarum domicellarum de camera Henrici f. R.'). See also Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: an alien in English politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 71.

⁴³ 'sustentacione prestanda filiis meis pro hereditate sua perquirenda et defendenda', Church, 'King John's testament', pp. 516-7.

⁴⁴ 'filius noster, qui nobis succedet in regnum', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, p. 54. For this, and n.43 above, see Chapter Three, p. 104.

⁴⁵ There are no references to Louis IX in 'Catalogue des actes de Louis VIII', *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187-1226)*, ed. Charles Petit-Dutaillis (Paris, 1894), appendix 6. See p. 14, where Petit-Dutaillis claims that it is hardly surprising that Louis VIII reminisces in his acts about his father more than he speaks about his son. It may not be surprising, but it shows a definite change either in chancery attitudes or in the attitudes of Capetian kings between the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

⁴⁶ Keith Stringer's edition of Alexander II's acts for the RRS series has been delayed, in part, by the appearance of the PoMS database. Where possible, I have gone to the original, manuscript copy, or, in most cases, printed sources listed by Scouler in the handlist of Alexander II's acts to follow up relevant references between the time of Alexander III's birth in 1241 and his father's death in 1249, some of which are of dubious authenticity. See *Handlist of the acts of Alexander II, 1214-1249*, ed. J. M. Scouler (Edinburgh, 1959). All references have been checked with the PoMS database, which has proved invaluable. See www.poms.ac.uk [accessed 25 July 2017].

II's acts rarely, if ever, mentioned Alexander III by name.⁴⁷ Instead writers referred to Alexander II's unnamed heirs or successors ('heredes/successores nostri').⁴⁸ Given that queen mothers could facilitate the involvement of their young sons in the king's acts, the relative decline in the inclusion of royal children in royal records was partly due to the corresponding decline in the prominence of their mothers.

Acts issued during a king's lifetime do not provide a clear indication as to the role that his wife and queen would take during her young son's reign, in contrast to evidence for various other aristocratic women.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the role women played as wives and mothers during their husbands' reigns can indicate their experience of governance and the processes of royal rule. In turn, this could affect whether magnates viewed a royal mother as a suitable guardian for her son after her husband's death. That the two women who rarely, if ever, appeared in their husbands' acts or alongside their sons – in England, Henry III's mother Isabella of Angoulême (*d.*1246), and, in Scotland, Alexander III's mother Marie de Coucy (*d.*1284) – were also the mothers who returned to their natal lands shortly into their sons' reigns is surely no coincidence. A lack of involvement in the day-to-day transactions of rulership at an earlier stage of the female lifecycle resulted in less freedom of action being available to the queen later in life, as a widow. John granted a confirmation to the bishop and chapter of Chichester for the sake of his soul and the soul of his wife Isabella in 1204, before Henry III's birth, but Isabella never appeared

⁴⁷ This contrasts with some of William the Lion's acts, in which Alexander II had been named. For example, see Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.2, fol. xli v., where Alexander appears as the first named witness ('Testib(us) d(omi)no alex(andr)o filio d(omi)ni regis').

⁴⁸ For example: 'Saluis nobis [et] heredib[us] n[ost]ris', *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros: munimenta vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, ed. Cosmo Innes, 2 vols., Bannatyne Club Publications 56 (Edinburgh, 1837), i, no. 239, p. 215; 'Tene(n)d(um) (et) h(abe)nd(um) eisd(e)m mo(na)chis de nob(is) (et) successoribus n(ost)ris i(n) p(er)petuu(m)', *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: registorum abbacie de Aberbrothoc*, eds. Cosmo Innes and Patrick Chalmers, 2 vols., Bannatyne Club Publications 86 (Edinburgh, 1848-56), i, no. 252, p. 191.

⁴⁹ Livingstone, 'Aristocratic women in the Chartrain', p. 71, who shows that widowhood for aristocratic women in the Chartrain was, in most cases, a continuation of their powers, rather than an extension. For further examples of noble and aristocratic women who were especially politically active alongside their husbands, see: Karen S. Nicholas, 'Countesses as rulers in Flanders', in *Aristocratic women in medieval France*, ed. Evergates, pp. 111-37; Heather Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc? The case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: lord and lady*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, New Middle Ages (New York, 2002), pp. 133-58; Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, p. 81; Michelle Armstrong-Partida, 'Mothers and daughters as lords: the countesses of Blois and Chartres', *Medieval Prosopography* 26 (2005), 77-107 (at pp. 83-4).

alongside John in this way in other documents.⁵⁰ Isabella's absence from her husband's charters contrasts vividly with other English queens, particularly her mother-in-law Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁵¹ John did not make Isabella guardian of the kingdom whilst he was abroad, instead leaving the justiciar, Geoffrey fitz Peter, with this responsibility.⁵² Admittedly, if Isabella had been around the age of twelve when she became queen, she would still only have been sixteen years old when Normandy and Poitou were lost in 1204. This would have been a young age for a queen to deputise for her husband.⁵³ After 1204, John was hardly absent from England and, when he did cross the Channel to visit Poitou in 1206 and 1214, Isabella accompanied him.⁵⁴ The combination of John's presence in England, Isabella's age, and several years of childbearing was enough to prevent her involvement in governance almost entirely.⁵⁵ The same cannot be said for Marie de Coucy who, although probably in her early twenties when she married Alexander II in 1239, only bore him one child during the decade of their marriage. Crucially, the queen did not take an active role alongside her husband in his acts either before or after Alexander's birth. Although we cannot know whether Marie endured pregnancies that

⁵⁰ 'p(ro) salute n(ost)ra et salute Ysabelle Regine Angl(or)um uxoris n(ost)re', *Rot. Chart.*, i, p. 129. See also Nicholas Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel' in *King John: new interpretations*, ed. Church, pp. 165-219 (at p. 189).

⁵¹ For Eleanor's acts and their evolution over her lifetime, see Nicholas Vincent, 'Patronage, politics and piety in the charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine' and Marie Hivergneaux, 'Autour d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine : entourage et pouvoir au prisme des chartes (1137-1189)', both in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens : confrontations et héritages*, eds. Martin Aurell and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Histoires de famille* 4 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 17-60, 61-73.

⁵² See West, *The justiciarship in England*, pp. 14-15, and Bates, 'The origins of the justiciarship', pp. 1-12, for the role of earlier queens in government whilst their husbands were absent (especially William I's wife, Matilda, and Henry I's wife, Matilda).

⁵³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum; De expugnatione terrae sanctae libellus; Thomas Agnellus De morte et sepultura Henrici regis Angliae junioris; Gesta Fulconis filii Warini; Excerpta ex Otiis imperialibus Gervasii Tileburiensis*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, *Rolls Series* 66 (London, 1875), p. 103, who claimed that Isabella appeared to be about twelve years old when she came to England ('et uxor sua in reginam consecranda, quae quasi duodenis videbatur'). See Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', pp. 166, 174, who suggests Isabella could have been anywhere between nine and fifteen. I disagree with Vincent (pp. 174-5) and Richardson (H. G. Richardson, 'The marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angoulême', *EHR*, 61 (1946), 289-314 (at p. 306)) that the gap between the marriage in 1200 and Henry III's birth in 1207 adds weight to an argument for the younger end of this scale. In France, Isabella's contemporary, Blanche of Castile, for whom we have more details, married Louis VIII at the age of twelve in 1200. Like Isabella, Blanche's first child, a daughter who died soon after birth, was born several years into the marriage (1205). We then have no record of any pregnancies until Blanche bore her first son, Philip, in 1209 when she was in her early twenties.

⁵⁴ Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 183. After 1204, John only made trips to France in the years 1206 and 1214. See Julie Elizabeth Kanter, 'Peripatetic and sedentary kingship: the itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London (2011), for a detailed analysis of John's itinerary.

⁵⁵ Henry III was born in 1207 and Isabella and John's youngest child, Eleanor, possibly as late as 1215, the year before the king's death.

did not make it to full term or live birth, her childbearing had little impact on her political involvement. Marie's sole appearance in Alexander II's acts, in a grant issued to Newbattle Abbey in 1241 for the salvation of the king and his wife, relates to her decision to leave her body to be buried at Newbattle.⁵⁶ Marie featured less often in acts issued from the king's chapel than Alexander II's first wife, Joan (*d.* 1238), who appeared as 'regina sponsa nostra' in at least two of her husband's charters to Scone Abbey in 1235.⁵⁷

Even Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castile, appeared infrequently in the acts from her husband's three-year reign. But the occasions where Blanche appears are significant. They suggest her greater involvement in lordship, governance, and her children's care than the near-contemporary cases of Isabella in England or Marie in Scotland. In 1211 or 1212, a couple of years before Louis IX's birth, individual castellans (e.g. Baldwin de Commines) and the citizens of towns (e.g. Saint-Omer) offered securities to Philip Augustus for loyalty to his son, prince Louis. These securities were all sworn with a promise that, if Louis died, the men and towns would remain loyal to Philip Augustus until Louis's heirs had reached a lawful and full age ('ad legitimam et perfectam etatem'), saving the right, 'salvo jure', of the most beloved Lady Blanche, Louis's wife.⁵⁸ Miriam Shadis claimed that Blanche appeared with Louis VIII only in the roles of wife and mother with little evidence of access to governance.⁵⁹ On the contrary, however, these securities demonstrate an element of hard power to Blanche's position. Contemporaries recognised the queen as 'domina' and she was potentially vital to ensuring the

⁵⁶ 'p(ro) salute n(ost)ra et Marie Regine sponse n(ost)re que corp(us) suu(m) apud Neubotle sepeliendu(m) reliquit', Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.13, fol. xxvii r. See also *Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle: abbacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubotle chartarium vetus: accedit appendix cartarum originalium, 1140-1528*, ed. Cosmo Innes, Bannatyne Club Publications 89 (Edinburgh, 1849), no. 120, p. 89; Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland', pp. 185-6.

⁵⁷ Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.3.28, fols 16r.-17v. See *Liber ecclesie de Scon: munimenta vetustiora monasterii Sancte Trinitatis et Sancti Michaelis de Scon*, ed. Cosmo Innes, Bannatyne Club Publications 78 (Edinburgh, 1843), nos. 67 and 71, pp. 42, 44. See also Taylor, *The shape of the state*, pp. 301, 401, and Carpenter, 'Scottish royal government', p. 121, both of whom note that it is incorrect to refer to a 'chancery' in existence in Scotland before at least the fourteenth century.

⁵⁸ 'Si vero dominus meus Ludovicus moreretur, ego juravi et bona fide promisi quod ego me tenebo ad dominum regem, donec heredes ipsius domini mei Ludovici pervenerint ad legitimam et perfectam etatem, salvo tamen jure karissime domine mee B. uxoris eiusdem', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, no. 1004, p. 378. See also nos. 1005-6.

⁵⁹ Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship"', p. 143. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 61-77, for Blanche's role as queen consort.

loyalty of castellans and townsmen to her young children in the future.⁶⁰ Family participation in royal acts may have been less frequent in the later period but emphasis on maternal-filial connections was still important.

Inclusion in royal documents was not the only way a woman could cultivate her position alongside her son. Mothers also influenced the ongoing process of childrearing and education. Although I will not deal with these aspects of the maternal role in detail here, it is worth noting that Blanche of Castile's role in her eldest son's education also distinguishes her from near-contemporary queens in England and Scotland. A fourteenth-century manuscript image in the *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre* provides a striking reminder of Blanche's participation in Louis IX's education as she supposedly supervised his reading.⁶¹ Similarly, the late twelfth-century Leiden Psalter, once owned by Blanche, contains a fourteenth-century inscription claiming that Louis had learnt to read from the text in his childhood.⁶² Mothers were not always so intimately involved in the instruction of their male children. In stark contrast to Louis's experience, Henry III was removed from Isabella of Angoulême's side to be raised in the household of the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, possibly when he was as young as five.⁶³

Modern scholars tend to confine their definition of 'association' to an heir's designation and election. In doing so, their focus has been on oaths of fidelity and performances of homage to young children or a king's use of associative coronation. These actions were undoubtedly important in preparing the magnate community for a child's succession, as I will argue in Chapter Two, but they often built on a child's more quotidian association with transactional charters. Expanding the definition of 'association' to include written records shows that, before the thirteenth century, across north-western Europe, a king's eldest son typically received an

⁶⁰ See Chapter Five, p. 158, for the importance of this title in Blanche's claim to act as her son's guardian. See also *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1813, pp. 97-8, for letters sent from Rodrigo Díaz de los Cameros and other Spanish nobles greeting Blanche alongside her husband and their sons.

⁶¹ *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre*, Paris, BnF, MS NAL 3145, fol. 85v. Image can be viewed online at *Mandragore, base des manuscrits enluminés de la BnF* <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08001367&E=1&I=78598&M=imageule> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁶² 'Cist psaultiers fuit mon seigneur saint Looy's qui fu Roys de France. Ou quel il aprist en s'enfance', *The Leiden psalter*, Leiden, Universiteit's Bibliotheek, BPL 76a, fol. 30v. Although, for doubts that this psalter would have been given to a child, see Nicholas Vincent, 'The great lost library of England's medieval kings? Royal use and ownership of books, 1066-1272', in *1000 Years of Royal Books and Manuscripts*, eds. Kathleen Doyle and Scot McKendrick (London, 2013), pp. 73-112 (at p. 94).

⁶³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 71.

early education in royal rule. From infancy, usually between the ages of three and five, kings began to include their sons in royal transactions, and queen mothers played a crucial role in facilitating this process. I turn now to take a closer look at how contemporaries represented children through their use of titles and in narrative accounts of their involvement in diplomacy.

ii. Royal titles and diplomacy

Kings consciously amplified a child heir's involvement and education in the processes of royal rule after their associative coronation.⁶⁴ Henry IV assented and intervened in Henry III's diplomas with greater regularity after his coronation on 17 July 1054. As well as his increased visibility alongside his father, inauguration also marked the point at which Henry IV began to be addressed as 'rex'. Henry's new title, 'nosterque filius dilectissimus Heinricus quartus rex', appeared consistently from November 1054.⁶⁵ Associative coronation marked a similar change for Philip I of France, who rarely featured in his father's acts prior to his coronation in 1059.⁶⁶ After 23 May 1059, the child appeared as 'Philippus rex' alongside Henry I.⁶⁷ The change in title attached to Philip's associative coronation is in stark contrast to earlier Carolingian practice. When Louis the Stammerer witnessed his father's acts as 'gloriosus rex' after 875, he had received designation as Charles the Bald's heir by a magnate oath of fidelity but he had not been crowned.⁶⁸ Determining whether the frequency with which Philip appeared in royal acts increased after his inauguration is less straightforward. Fewer of his father's documents survive, and less time elapsed between Philip's coronation and Henry I's death on 4 August 1060. Nonetheless, in the fourteen months between Philip's inauguration and Henry's death, Philip featured in at least four documents; the same number of acts in which he had appeared over the first seven years of his life. Thus, I am convinced that Philip's coronation, like Henry IV's, augmented his association with his father's kingship. Later in the twelfth century, Philip II appeared as 'rex' in his father's surviving acts only once, probably between 20 April and 19

⁶⁴ See Chapter Two, pp. 86-92, where I discuss the ceremonies which cemented a child's recognition as king at greater length.

⁶⁵ Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, pp. 98-9 and 103-5.

⁶⁷ 'filius nostri Philippi Regis', 'Diplomata Henrici', *RHGF* 11, no. 33, p. 600. Another act is witnessed by 'rex Philippus', *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, ed. Quantin, ii, p. 12. A third, from 1060, is signed 'S. Philippi Regis', 'Diplomata Henrici', *RHGF* 11, no. 36, p. 606.

⁶⁸ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens : recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français', *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1987), pp. 7-56 (at p. 44).

September 1180, but, as with earlier kings, this was in a document issued after the child had received co-coronation on 1 November 1179.⁶⁹ Child heirs adopted the title of king after associative coronation but there were other titles which implied ‘designation’ as king without yet bearing the title of ‘rex’.

Royal fathers usually only gave their heirs titles which emphasised their status as ‘king-in-waiting’ after a prolonged period of association. Consequently, children received specific titles far less frequently than adult men. In Scotland, David I used the title of designated king, ‘rex designatus’, to describe his son, Earl Henry, when he granted a confirmation to the newly-formed cathedral priory of St Andrews in 1144.⁷⁰ Henry used the same title himself but never before the 1140s.⁷¹ The title of designated king marked the culmination of two decades in which Henry had appeared first as a witness to his father’s acts, then with a more active role in confirming, assenting, and conceding to David’s actions.⁷² The same title had appeared in the French kingdom a few decades before. Philip I did not crown Louis VI (1081-1137) during his lifetime but he associated his son with kingship in royal acts, referring to Louis as ‘rex Francorum designatus’ or ‘in regem Francorum designatus’ from 1100, when Louis was almost twenty years old.⁷³ Whilst it is possible that David was familiar with Capetian practices, an English precedent was the more likely influence on Scottish diplomatic.⁷⁴ Henry I of England referred to his son, William Adelin, as ‘Dei gratia rex designatus’ in 1119 when the boy was

⁶⁹ ‘ob remedium animae nostrae, et antecessorum nostrorum et filii nostri Philippi Regis’, François Le Maire, *Histoire et antiquitez de la ville et duché d’Orléans* (Orléans, 1645), p. 326. The act survives today in a later manuscript copy, Paris, BnF, français 11988, fol. 16.

⁷⁰ ‘Ego Henricus comes, filius David regis et deo prestante rex designatus, ea que subscripta sunt concedo et sigillo meo consigno’, *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, no. 126, pp. 114-5 (at p. 115). Also in *Early Scottish charters*, ed. Lawrie, no. 163, p. 128.

⁷¹ ‘Unde ego henric(us) gloriosi et illustris. Regis dauid fili(us) et deo p(ro)picio heres et Rex designatus’, *Register of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, NRS, GD 45/27/8, fol. xcii r. See also *Early Scottish charters*, ed. Lawrie, no. 164, p. 128.

⁷² *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, no. 14, pp. 58-60, for the earliest evidence of Henry witnessing acts. Phrases which mention Henry were not standardised: ‘Henrici filii mei assensu et Matildis Regine uxoris mee’, no. 33, p. 70; ‘Testibus Henrico filio meo, hoc idem concedente’, no. 39, p. 73; ‘Concedente & confirmante hoc Henrico filio meo’, no. 52, p. 78; ‘Annunte hoc & concedente Henrico filio meo’, no. 96, p. 100. And see John Hudson, ‘Legal aspects of Scottish charter diplomatic in the twelfth century: a comparative approach’, *ANS*, 25 (2002), 121-38 (at p. 129), who notes that the participation of the king’s heir is more commonly found in Scotland than in England.

⁷³ Bautier, ‘Sacres et couronnements’, p. 54. See *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, ed. Dalas, p. 144, for evidence of a possible seal for Louis as designated king (‘Sigillvm Lodovici Designati Regis’).

⁷⁴ See *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, pp. 5-6, and Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 69, both of whom suggest that French practice influenced David I and do not mention English precedents.

sixteen.⁷⁵ Contemporary chroniclers similarly named William as the future or designated king.⁷⁶ Using a title to designate an heir to the English throne was not a new practice. In late Anglo-Saxon England, the title of ‘ætheling’, meaning ‘throneworthy’, generally referred to the sons and brothers of kings in the Wessex dynasty. In the last decade of Edward the Confessor’s reign, Edgar Ætheling became the first grandson of a king to receive the title (Edgar’s grandfather was Edmund Ironside). We cannot be certain of Edgar’s age when he was first recognised as ‘ætheling’, but the Latin form, ‘clito’, followed his name in an entry in the *Liber vitae* of New Minster, Winchester, possibly dated between 1063 and 1066.⁷⁷ Edgar’s name came directly after those of King Edward and Queen Edith.

Unlike the phrase ‘rex designatus’, which kings never applied to their heirs before they had reached adulthood, the title of elected king was not limited by an heir’s childhood. In Germany, Frederick II’s son, Henry (VII), appeared with the title ‘in regem Romanorum electus’ from autumn 1220, when he was nine years old, emphasising that he had been elected by the German princes but not yet crowned.⁷⁸ The title of designated king was never used for an heir as young as Henry (VII), and surviving acts predating David’s death (24 May 1153) provide no evidence that Malcolm IV ever inherited his father’s title. Following Henry’s death in 1152, David sent his grandson Malcom on an itineration of the provinces with the earl of Fife.⁷⁹ This trip removed Malcolm from David’s side for a time and explains why we have little evidence for the boy’s presence in his grandfather’s acts. A perspective from outside the Scottish court nonetheless demonstrates that contemporaries were aware of David’s attempts to include his grandsons in

⁷⁵ *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, eds. H. W. C. Davis, Charles Johnson, and H. A. Cronne, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913-69), ii, no. 1204, p. 146.

⁷⁶ ‘rex et dux iam designatus’, Hugh the Chantor, *The history of the church of York, 1066-1127*, ed./trans. Charles Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford, 1990), pp. 164-5. See also *The Warenne (Hyde) chronicle*, ed./trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts and Rosalind C. Love, OMT (Oxford, 2013), pp. 80-1, where William Adelin is called ‘rex Normananglorum ut putabatur futurus’ in a passage reflecting on his death in the White Ship disaster.

⁷⁷ *The Liber vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D.XXVII*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 97 (London, British Library, Stowe 944, fol 29r). See ‘Leges Edwardi Confessoris’, in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903-16), i, p. 665, where Edgar is also called ‘ætheling’. For the dating of the *Liber vitae* entry, see Tom Licence, ‘Edward the Confessor and the succession question: a fresh look at the sources’, *ANS*, 39 (2017), 113-27 (at pp. 119-23). I discuss Edgar Ætheling as a comparative case study in more detail in ‘Child kings, the Norman Conquest, and the representation of actions of association and succession’, forthcoming in the proceedings from the *Conquest: 1016, 1066 Conference* held in Oxford, July 2016.

⁷⁸ Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, p. 295; Hillen, ‘Minority governments compared’, p. 58.

⁷⁹ See Chapter Two, pp. 93-8, where I discuss this in greater detail.

royal rule after Henry's death. In an act issued probably in 1152, Bernard de Balliol (d.1154x1162), an English magnate holding lands in the earldom of Northumbria, claimed to be acting with the assent and confirmation of David and his grandsons Malcolm and William.⁸⁰ Calling upon all three collectively as his lords ('domini mei'), Bernard may have hoped to profit from the increased prestige of including David's grandsons, the heirs to the kingship of the Scots and the earldom of Northumbria, in his charter. Even so, there was no suggestion here that Malcolm bore the title of designated king. An entry in the Durham *Liber vitae* similarly suggests that contemporaries were well aware of David's intentions for the succession. The entry, dated to just after 1165, bestowed the title of junior king, 'iunior rex Scotie', upon Malcolm immediately after the names of his grandfather and father.⁸¹ Whilst the *Liber vitae* was not produced at the Scottish court, and it is highly unlikely that 'iunior rex' was ever Malcolm's official title, Durham monks in the twelfth century perceived the child's association in this way. Titles were important indicators of an heir's association with royal rule and could reflect a distinction between his childhood and adulthood. This distinction can also be seen in cases in which heirs began to issue their own charters.

Philip II was the only child king to issue charters in his own name during his father's lifetime, despite experiencing a similar introduction to the practices of royal administration as earlier child heirs such as Philip I and Henry IV. Shortly after his inauguration, Philip began to issue charters without any reference to his father's consent and with his own seal.⁸² This demonstrates that those around him recognised his progression into adulthood. It also corroborates the importance of the ages of fourteen and fifteen in marking a change in the perception of adult

⁸⁰ 'Annuentibus et confirmantibus dominis meis videlicet Daudid Rege Scottorum et Malcolmo et Willelmo nepotibus eius', *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: registrum cartarum abbacie Tironensis de Kelso, 1113-1567*, ed. Cosmo Innes, 2 vols., Bannatyne Club Publications 82 (Edinburgh, 1846), i, no. 52, p. 43.

⁸¹ 'Daudid rex, Henric(us) comes fili(us) ei(us), Malcolm(us), iunior rex Scotie fili(us) Henrici comitis q(u)i fuit fili(us) Daudid', *The Durham Liber vitae: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.VII*, eds. David and Lynda Rollason et al., 3 vols. (London, 2007), iii, p. 441. See also G. W. S. Barrow, 'Scots in the Durham *Liber vitae*', in *The Durham Liber vitae and its context*, ed. David Rollason (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 109-16 (at p. 115 n.36, for the dating of the entry).

⁸² *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, ed. Dalas, p. 150. See *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, eds. H.-François Delaborde et al., 6 vols., Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France 6 (Paris, 1916-), i, nos. 1-13, pp. 1-19, for acts issued by Philip II in his own name before 19 September 1180. References to Philip's personal seal can be found from the earliest acts: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 1, p. 2 ('presentem paginam sigilli nostri auctoritate ac regii nominis caractere subtus annotato corroborari precepimus'). See also Luchaire, *Philippe-Auguste et son temps*, p. 98.

royal identity, as I will argue in Chapter Four.⁸³ The arrangements made to give Philip II the means of displaying his own royal status in France bear some resemblance to actions taken by Henry II of England, less than a decade earlier, in regard to his eldest son, Henry the Young King (1155-1183). Henry II provided his son with an associative seal, probably in 1170, when Henry the Young King was crowned at fifteen. When the Young King rebelled for the first time in 1173, the seal was returned to his father.⁸⁴ Men in Philip II's household would have been familiar with contemporary English circumstances, especially since it was Philip's father who had provided the Young King with a new seal to replace the one taken by Henry II.⁸⁵ The Young King's charters have been seen principally as a demonstration of the restrictions of associate kingship.⁸⁶ The same cannot be said for Philip II, who was the only child king able to turn his period of anticipatory association to *de facto* sole power of governance whilst his father, the king, was still living. Philip did so in less than conventional circumstances. Louis VII's illness left him incapacitated until his death on 19 September 1180 and it was under these conditions that Philip received his own seal.⁸⁷ Ralph of Diss (*d.*1199/1200) is alone in suggesting that Philip removed his father's seal after receiving his own.⁸⁸ If this did occur, we do not need to assume the junior king did so deviously. Philip's father was too ill to protest these arrangements and it was politically astute to ensure that one regal seal was the sole emblem of royal authority. Although there were only slim chances of Louis VII's recovery, had Philip's father recovered even slightly, he would have reasserted his authority. Louis's personal experience provided a precedent for the fluid transfer of royal power between father and son during a period of illness.

⁸³ See Chapter Four, especially pp. 134-40. In the thirteenth century, royal heirs may not have received seals until much later. See Cynthia J. Neville, 'Preparing for kingship: Prince Alexander of Scotland, 1264-84', in *Children and youth in pre-modern Scotland*, eds. Janay Nugent and Elizabeth Ewan (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 155-72 (at pp. 162-3, 168), who notes that, in Scotland, Alexander III's son, Alexander, did not receive a seal of his own until 1281, when he was in his late teens.

⁸⁴ R. J. Smith, 'Henry II's heir: the acta and seal of Henry the Young King, 1170-83', *EHR*, 116 (2001), 297-326 (at p. 299). See also Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 95, 133.

⁸⁵ 'Interim Lodowicus rex Franciae satis humanum se exhibuit juveni regi et fratribus suis, et illis qui cum eis venerant; et statim fecit fieri ei novum sigillum per quod ille subscriptas donationes confirmavit', *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 43.

⁸⁶ Smith, 'Henry II's heir', p. 302. However, see Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, p. 95, who argues, in opposition to Smith, that the original seal given to the Young King by his father was created in imitation of Capetian seals rather than as a display of his lack of political authority.

⁸⁷ 'Quem ipse sollempniter Remis coronari fecit et postea, per annum fere vivens, in solio regni Francorum gloriosissime regnantem vidit', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 120-2. See also Sassier, *Louis VII*, p. 470.

⁸⁸ 'Ludovicus rex Francorum, quia jus suum et potestatem in Philippum regem transtulerat, ne quid in regno statueret citra filii conscientiam, sigilli sui potestate privatus est', Ralph of Diss, *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 68 (London, 1876), ii, p. 6.

Although Louis VI had invested Louis VII with the realm when he believed he was dying, Suger claimed there was a short period after this decision in which the father recovered enough to exercise authority over royal decisions; even to the extent of arranging his son's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁸⁹ Given that seals and royal insignia had important roles to play in the assertion of royal power, courtiers around Philip II wanted to limit who could control a competing symbol of kingship.⁹⁰ There was still a clear distinction in the minds of contemporaries regarding the hierarchy of kingship. Philip's titles before his father's death suggest that Louis VII was still seen as the foremost living king even if, in reality, he was not the individual exercising royal power.⁹¹

The physical acts of diplomacy behind royal documents need to be considered as part of a boy's preparation for royal succession alongside written records, the use of titles, and access to a seal. The child heir's presence alongside his (grand)father at public diplomatic events was a clear sign of association with the king and with acts and rituals of royal rule.⁹² Even in cases in which a document was not intended for a large audience, the actual event which it described may have been more widely attended. Likewise, the presence of royal children in their fathers' households and on the royal itinerary may not always have made its way into written records. Philip II accompanied his father not only to events of confirmation and gift-giving but also to other important diplomatic proceedings, especially those involving the duke of Normandy, who was also the English king, Henry II. Philip met with Henry at Montmartre in 1169 and, according to Thomas Becket, the four-year-old boy urged Henry to love King Louis, the kingdom of France, and himself.⁹³ An infamous story told by Gerald of Wales records how, several years later,

⁸⁹ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le gros*, ed./trans. Henri Waquet, *Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge* 11 (Paris, 1929), pp. 274, 278-80; *The deeds of Louis the fat*, trans. Richard C. Cuisimano and John Moorhead (Washington, D. C., 1992), pp. 154-6. See Smith, 'Henry II's heir', p.309. See also *Henry V: the practice of kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Stroud, 1993), p. 33, for a similar later medieval situation.

⁹⁰ Seals were items which could be removed when a child king was kidnapped. See Chapter Seven, pp. 221-2. See also Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 41-2, who suggests Philip's removal of the seal may have been to stop his uncles taking it.

⁹¹ Papal letters and contemporary authors entitled Philip 'novus rex' or 'iunior rex' to distinguish him from his father, 'rex senior'. See Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste', p. 29.

⁹² M. T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England, 1066-1307*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2013), who notes the importance of records to discussions of memory and ritual. See also Bates, 'Charters and historians of Britain and Ireland', pp. 1-14.

⁹³ *The correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed./trans. Duggan, ii, letter 243, pp. 1050-1. See also Bautier, 'Philippe Auguste: la personnalité du roi', p. 37.

Philip accompanied his father to another meeting with Henry at Gisors.⁹⁴ Gerald reported that Philip, hearing men steeping praises on the beauty and strength of the fortress, wished it was even stronger and richer for the greater pleasure it would then bring when it was back in his hands.⁹⁵ Although the reported speech is almost certainly fictitious, Philip's presence at Gisors with his father and some of the French barons was extremely important since it followed the signing of a peace with Henry II at Montlouis in 1174.⁹⁶ Events such as these acted as part of a child heir's education, familiarising them with diplomatic practice and preparing them for future political involvement as heir and then king.

Despite this, we know very little about how the children themselves understood the process of association or how they perceived their introduction to kingship. Occasionally, the humanity of a child emerges, as we have seen, in stories like those told about Philip II by Thomas Becket and Gerald of Wales. But accounts such as these are few and far between. Moreover, these narratives are perhaps less useful for understanding how child heirs acted or responded to their inclusion in royal actions of diplomacy than they are for understanding how adult spectators or commentators wanted to record the events afterwards. Evidence of self-determination is missing. Child heirs appear as passive actors, since their fathers overwhelmingly constructed and controlled their involvement in transactional charters and royal diplomacy, sometimes with the input and participation of their mothers. Even the titles given to a boy – 'proles', 'nepos', 'filius regis' or, if he was crowned in his father's lifetime, 'rex' – do not reflect his own view of his position or status. Titles were introduced and used at the instigation of adults around the child.⁹⁷ Whilst documentary evidence cannot always be relied on as the sole record for how fathers, or grandfathers, included young boys in actions of rulership prior to their succession, royal records contain hints of how a child became acquainted with royal authority and administrative practice. The importance of association through transactional charters was not exclusively one-way. Once a child became king, royal documents often retrospectively

⁹⁴ 'In colloquio quodam inter dictos reges prope Gistortium habito, ubi tunc praesens cum patre fuit Philippus Lodovici filius, quasi tunc temporis duodenus existens', Gerald of Wales, *Liber de principis instructione*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, eds. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, and George F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861-91), viii, p. 289.

⁹⁵ 'quanto melius pretiique majoris oppidum illud existeret, tanto carius idem, cum ad manus meas devolveretur, haberem', Gerald of Wales, *Liber de principis instructione*, viii, p. 289. See also Bautier, 'Philippe Auguste: la personnalité du roi', p. 37.

⁹⁶ Luchaire, *Philippe-Auguste et son temps*, pp. 83-4.

⁹⁷ Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', pp. 295-6, who suggests changes to Henry (VII)'s titles resulted from his father's understanding of his office.

emphasised his relationship with his (grand)father and connections to his predecessor. An illuminated initial from the 1159 Kelso Abbey charter provides vivid evidence of the significance of cultivating the relationship between the old king and the new child king, even many years after the boy's succession. In this image, the illustrator memorializes Malcolm enthroned alongside his grandfather David. Such an event had not, in reality, occurred but the image showed that, in the minds of one monastic community, Malcolm's kingship was linked intimately to his grandfather's memory.⁹⁸

Women are often neglected in modern discussions of anticipatory association and succession but, as I have shown in this chapter, queen mothers had a prominent place alongside their sons during their husbands' lives. We need to integrate maternal involvement into any assessment of associative practices. This is especially true of child kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whose introduction to the transactional nature of royal government crucially came, at least in part, through the medium of their mothers. Contemporary expectation of maternal provision of childcare may go part of the way in accounting for a queen mother's position alongside her son in royal acts but it does not provide a full explanation. The family context of father, mother, and eldest son (sometimes with younger brothers too) was important to the king and to the beneficiaries at whose request he granted or confirmed land, rights, and privileges. Mothers were part of this political, transactional network and, consequently, we must view mother-son involvement in royal acts in a similar light to more male-dominated actions such as oath swearings or the performance of homage to the child heir. Furthermore, I have shown that any analysis of a boy's association and preparation for royal rule must consider the child's (im)maturity. Kings wanted to familiarise their eldest sons with acts of kingship as part of their royal education, but they also considered their son's age before introducing any change to his status. Titles such as 'rex designatus' were, in general, not considered appropriate to bestow upon young children, even in cases when the king had to be proactive and change plans for the succession, as in Scotland at the end of David I's reign. The way in which kings included children in the written records of rulership changed dramatically over the chronological span of this thesis and distinguishes the experience of thirteenth-century child heirs from those in the earlier two centuries. Thirteenth-century kings did not regularly involve their young sons in

⁹⁸ Edinburgh, NLS, Duke of Roxburgh MS.

royal transactional documents. Instead, royal children appeared only on rare occasions and in exceptional circumstances such as records of oaths of fidelity or testaments, which I will discuss in Chapters Two and Three respectively. Thirteenth-century child kings had not received their introduction to royal rule in the same familial context which was so important before. Queen mothers, even those who involved themselves intimately in their sons' education, no longer facilitated their sons' induction into transactional acts of kingship from an early age. The shift from named references to child heirs in a family context to anonymised and generic references to sons, successors, or heirs emerged simultaneously across kingdoms. In the context of written records, the chronological disparity between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries is more remarkable than any geographical differences, showing the similarity of the experiences of royal children across geographical boundaries. The familial context and inclusion of mothers and sons together in royal documents had become far less imperative to kings in north-western Europe by 1250. Young royal children were excluded from written records by the thirteenth century and their early participation in royal rule was anonymized.

Royal transactional charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries show that kings took care to include their sons in acts of kingship and to represent them in a way which reflected their position and status. Integrating an eldest son from childhood into the networks of power and authority upon which medieval kingship relied was important, as was displaying him to those receiving or witnessing royal acts – lay and secular beneficiaries – and those in attendance at the events which charters recorded. In Chapter Two, I further demonstrate the emphasis kings placed on acquiring the magnate community's recognition of their heir not only in routine documents of royal rule but also in larger, less habitual actions of association.

CHAPTER TWO

Paternal Actions of Anticipatory Association

Contemporary writers offer limited information on a royal child's life until his succession as king revealed his political importance. It was not unusual, before the mid-twelfth century, for chroniclers or annalists to ignore the births of royal children entirely. Changing attitudes to recording these details can be seen from the late twelfth century, as the later addition of a notice of Malcolm IV's birth in the *Chronicle of Melrose* indicates in Scotland.¹ Yet, most of the scant details chroniclers provide for the period before a child's accession, even by the early thirteenth century, concern actions through which the king associated his son with royal rule, designating the child as his intended successor. Actions such as oaths of fidelity, performances of homage, and, most symbolically, a child's inauguration during his father's lifetime, helped to secure magnate recognition of the boy's position as heir. Historians have often studied these practices of 'association' together. Andrew Lewis, in his 1978 study of the Capetian dynasty, coined the term 'anticipatory association' to describe a ruler's actions to dictate royal or noble succession, usually in his eldest son's favour.² His ideas have been influential ever since.³ Lewis argued persuasively against the prevailing belief that, in France, fathers relied on these actions solely because of the weakness of hereditary succession. Less convincing was his absolute rejection of the worth of a comparative study of association across monarchies.⁴ Throughout this chapter, I prove that a comparative methodology further emphasises the importance of moving beyond a rigid political and constitutional context to a king's decision to associate his son in royal rule. First, I will analyse magnate oaths of fidelity and homage, then, in the second part of the chapter, I turn to ceremonies of associative coronation. By comparing childhood experiences of association across north-western Europe, I show how fathers factored a child's maturity into their associative strategies, and how cross-cultural influence could affect the practices upon

¹ 'nat(us) e(st) Rex Melcolm(us)', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 18v., and p. 101 for a discussion of the dating of the addition. The birth of William the Lion was similarly added under 1143 on the same folio. See James A. Schultz, *The knowledge of childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100-1350*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 2, for the sparsity of attention to the experiences of childhood in Middle High German texts.

² Andrew W. Lewis, 'Anticipatory association of the heir in early Capetian France', *AHR*, 83 (1978), 906-27; Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*.

³ See, for example, Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 34-54, for the continued influence of Lewis's ideas.

⁴ Lewis, 'Anticipatory association of the heir', p. 908.

which a father relied. In the third section, I use a Scottish case study to argue that, although there were geographical differences in the strategies of association kings used, their purpose was often the same. It is highly significant for understanding contemporary acceptance of a child as king that, consistently across the kingdoms of north-western Europe, their predecessors had prioritised their introduction to the magnate community and instigated attempts to secure magnate support from early in their childhood, even if the ways in which they did so differed.

i. Magnates, oaths, and homage

One of the most immediate strategies kings used to associate an eldest son with the throne came through obtaining an oath to him from the magnates of the kingdom.⁵ Oaths demonstrate that anticipatory association could be entwined with childhood whilst young boys were still unaware of such an oath's current, or future, implications. Fathers appear to have given little thought to a child's age before securing magnate fidelity to their sons. Herman of Reichenau, writing before 1054, recorded that Emperor Henry III made many of the princes promise on oath ('*ius iurandum*') their fidelity and subjection ('*fides subiectioque*') to his son, Henry IV, on Christmas Day 1050 when the boy was roughly six weeks old.⁶ Lampert of Hersfeld, writing slightly later than Herman, inferred that the oath sworn to Henry IV was especially unusual because the child was still unbaptised ('*adhuc caticuminus*').⁷ Over a century later, Pope Innocent III incredulously dismissed the possibility of raising to the German kingship a child

⁵ A vast wealth of secondary literature now exists on oaths and oath taking. For oaths as part of the process of seigneurial justice and *inquisitio*, see *Eid und Wahrheitssuche: Studien zu rechtlichen Befragungspraktiken in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Stefan Esders and Thomas Scharff (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), especially pp. 23-30. For an earlier medieval context, see Gerd Althoff, *Family, friends and followers: political and social bonds in medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2004), p. 139; Stefan Esders, 'Les origines militaires du serment dans les royaumes barbares (Ve-VIIIe siècles)', and Philippe Depreux, 'Les Carolingiens et le serment', in *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam) : parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*, eds. Marie-France Auzépy and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Paris, 2008), pp. 19-26, 63-80. And see Kenneth Pennington, 'Feudal oath of fidelity and homage', in *Law as profession and practice in medieval Europe. Essays in honour of James A. Brundage*, eds. Pennington and Melodie Harris Eichbauer (Farnham, 2011), pp. 93-115.

⁶ 'Imperator Natalem Domini in Saxonia apud Goslare egit, et multos ex principibus filio suo iureiurando fidem subiectionemque promittere fecit', Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, p. 129; translated in *Eleventh-century Germany: the Swabian chronicles*, ed./trans. I. S. Robinson, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester, 2008), p. 88.

⁷ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 63. Henry's baptism took place in Cologne over Easter 1051, conducted by Archbishop Herman of Cologne. Abbot Hugh of Cluny acted as Henry's godfather. See Gilo, 'Vita sancti Hugonis cluniacensis abbatis', in *Vie de Saint Hugues : abbé de Cluny, 1024-1109*, ed. R. P. Dom A. L'Huillier (Solesmes, 1888), pp. 574-618 (at p. 582). See also Joseph H. Lynch, 'Hugh I of Cluny's sponsorship of Henry IV: its context and consequences', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 800-26.

who had not yet been baptised; in this case the two-year-old Frederick II, king of Sicily.⁸ Frederick's father delayed his son's baptism in the hope that Pope Celestine III (*d.* 1198) would himself baptise the infant.⁹ Lampert's comment suggests similar monastic doubts regarding the suitability of swearing fidelity and subjection to an unbaptised child. Whilst Henry's unbaptised status may have been unusual, neither the young age at which a royal child received fidelity, nor the use of public oaths to designate a child as heir were unique to the German kingdom or to the mid-eleventh century. Securing magnate oaths to a royal child remained a prominent strategy of associating infants with English kingship between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Fathers consistently recognised the importance of introducing their son (and their plans for the succession) to the political community even when the boy was very young.¹⁰ English barons swore fealty to Henry II's two-year-old son William (*d.* 1156) in 1155 and a further oath to Henry the Young King in 1162, when he was seven years old.¹¹ King John (*d.* 1216) continued this practice of association by securing a general oath and homage at Marlborough in September 1209 to Henry III, shortly before the boy's third birthday.¹² Gervase of Canterbury, writing within a year of the event, provides the only evidence that men of England who were aged fifteen and over swore fealty to John and to the child Henry, 'as the king's heir'.¹³ In contrast to the legal age imposed for a boy to swear an oath himself, no lower age limit was ever specified for a royal child receiving magnate fidelity. Nevertheless, the decision of authors such as Gervase to specify a boy's age when he received oaths of fealty suggests the novelty of involving infants in these networks of lordship and kingship. The king's organisation of oath swearings and use of such ceremonies as a strategy of anticipatory association shows that the primary concern was to prepare the magnate community for the

⁸ 'Elegerunt enim personam non idoneam nec non solum imperio, sed nec alicui officio congruentem, puerum uidelicet uix duorum annorum, et nondum sacri bapismatis unda renatum', *Deliberatio domini papae Innocentii super facto imperii de tribus electis*, in *Regestum Innocentii III papae super negotio Romani imperii*, ed. Friedrich Kempf (Rome, 1947), no. 29, pp. 74-91 (at p. 78).

⁹ Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 90.

¹⁰ Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 4, 185-6, who argues that associations were not present in England either before or after the Conquest. However, his narrow definition of 'association' only includes coronation during the reigning king's lifetime. In contrast to Garnett's opinion, see John R. Maddicott, 'Edward the Confessor's return to England in 1041', *EHR*, 119 (2004), 650-66 (at p. 655), who compares associative coronations in France with 'swearing in' ceremonies in England.

¹¹ Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, p. 19.

¹² Maddicott, 'The oath of Marlborough', pp. 281-318, for a detailed discussion of the events.

¹³ 'Convenerunt autem ex praecepto regis apud Merleberge omnes Angliae viri divites et paupers et mediocres, ab annis xv et supra, ibique tam regi quam filio suo Henrico parvulo trienni, utpote regis haeredi, juraverunt fidelitatem', Gervase of Canterbury, *The historical works*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 104. See Maddicott, 'The oath of Marlborough', pp. 281-2, 284.

possibility of a son's succession, rather than wait until the child could comprehend the oath's significance.

Repetition of magnate oaths, or the securing of further assurances of fidelity to the child heir, reiterated the political significance of this strategy. Reinforcing aristocratic support for the eldest son was an aim common to kings in mid-eleventh-century Germany and early thirteenth-century England. Herman of Reichenau provides the only extant evidence that magnates swore a second oath to Henry IV at an assembly at Tribur in 1053. Although there is some debate over whether this additional oath took place, Herman's account at least reveals a prevalent assumption in the German kingdom that magnate oaths to a royal child could be mutually beneficial between the three parties involved.¹⁴ The magnates chose Henry III's son as king and agreed to be subject to him after the emperor's death, but only on the condition that the boy would prove to be a 'just ruler'.¹⁵ Kings demanded aristocratic support for their succession plans, and young children received confirmation of their position in the succession. But the magnates could also gain from this strategy. A century and a half later, the English king, John, did not put his faith solely in the large public oath sworn at Marlborough to provide for his son's association. John made further provision for Henry's succession with oaths sworn by individual magnates. Falkes de Breauté claimed in his *querimonia* that Peter de Maulay had sworn an oath to John to keep his castles until Henry was of a legitimate age ('donec iste rex legitimae foret aetatis').¹⁶ This deal had been beneficial to both parties, although Peter was then compelled to surrender the castles against his oath. Whilst many of Falkes's statements are of questionable truth, G. J. Turner emphasises that John's strategy made perfect sense in this case since Peter was in royal favour and had had charge of the royal children at Corfe castle.¹⁷ Furthermore, these circumstances correspond with an agreement between John and William 'the Lion', king of Scots (*d.*1214), in early 1212 which provides additional evidence that John consolidated Henry's presentation as his heir with oaths. William and his son Alexander swore to 'maintain

¹⁴ Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian century: main currents in an age of transition*, trans. Barbara M. Bowlus, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 104, and *Eleventh-century Germany*, ed. Robinson, pp. 96-7, who both discuss the contemporary political circumstances which may have informed Herman's record of this second oath.

¹⁵ 'Imperator Heinricus magno apud Triburiam conventu habito, filium aequivocum regem a cunctis eligi, eique post obitum suum, si rector iustus futurus esset, subiectionem promitti fecit', Herman of Reichenau, *Chronica*, ed. Pertz, p. 133.

¹⁶ 'Barnwell' chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 260.

¹⁷ Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', p. 283.

faith and fealty' to Henry and to support the boy in his kingdom.¹⁸ Alice Taylor argues convincingly for the authenticity of this agreement, which survives in a thirteenth-century copy or draft of an original document.¹⁹ David Carpenter's recent discovery in a cartulary of St Augustine's, Canterbury, of a copy of a letter from John outlining the terms of the 1209 Treaty of Norham provides further confirmation of Taylor's argument.²⁰ The letter states that John, his sons, and his men would provide aid to Alexander if William died. In return, William, his son, and his men would aid Henry 'as their lord' if John died ('tanquam dominus suus').²¹ In the context of the 1209 Marlborough oath, the oath sworn by Peter de Maulay, and that by the king of Scots with his heir, reinforce John's profound commitment throughout his reign to displaying Henry's status as heir to prepare the way for his succession. John's plans for Henry as his heir even extended outside England to his wife's inheritance of Angoulême. In 1214, John announced that Bartholomew of La Puy (or 'de Podio'), mayor of Angoulême, had performed fidelity to Henry, saving fidelity to John himself 'as long as I should live'.²² Larger ceremonies involving oaths of fidelity were common strategies to prepare a child for kingship in eleventh-century Germany and twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. They were not found in France, however, where performances of fealty and homage from individual princes remained more significant.

Guarantees of homage could be part of a child heir's introduction to royal power and authority as well as a clear demonstration of the complicated interactions between lordship and kingship. Royal fathers supposedly used their sons as vessels to avoid performing homage themselves.

¹⁸ 'Concessimus eciã eidem domino nostro Johanni regi Anglie quod quicquid de ipso contingat, nos et Alexander filius noster Henrico filio eius tanquam ligio domino nostro contra omnes mortales fidem et fidelitatem tenebimus, et iuvabimus eum pro viribus nostris ad tenendum ipsum in regno suo salva fide qua predicto domino nostro regi Johanni tenemur', *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 24-5. See also *The acts of William I, king of Scots, 1165-1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, RRS 2 (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 456-7.

¹⁹ London, TNA, SC 1/2/24. See Alice Taylor, 'Robert de Londres, illegitimate son of William, king of Scots, c. 1170-1225', *HSJ*, 19 (2008), 99-119 (at pp. 112-3). For previous doubts regarding the document's authenticity, see *The acts of William I*, ed. Barrow, RRS 2, p. 457; Duncan, 'John king of England and the kings of Scots', pp. 263-4, who suggests that the statement could have been amended after Henry III's succession.

²⁰ *Magna Carta*, ed. D. A. Carpenter, Penguin Classics (London, 2015), pp. 473-5. The letter can be found in London, TNA, E 164/27, fols 137-137r.

²¹ 'Eodem modo erunt idem rex Scocie et filius suus et sui auxiliantes filio nostro tanquam domino suo si de nobis humaniter contigerit', *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, p. 474.

²² 'Sciatis q(uo)d Bartholom' de Podio major Engolism' fidelitate(m) fecit filio n(ost)ro Henr(ico) salva fide n(ost)ra q(ua)mdiu vix(er)im(us)', *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i pt. i, p. 92. See also Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 183.

Yet, this argument fails to account for the event's significance as a demonstration of a young heir's status and part of their preparation for kingship. Following the battle of Brémule in 1119, Louis VI's three-year-old son Philip received fealty for the territory of Normandy from the sixteen-year-old William Adelin, Henry I of England's son.²³ Similarly, later in the twelfth century, Robert of Torigni recorded that the fourteen-year-old Henry, Henry II's son, performed homage to the three-year-old Philip II in Paris in 1169.²⁴ These cases again demonstrate that age limits were not imposed on infants receiving acts of homage or fealty. Those performing homage were at least expected to have reached adolescence. Children were manoeuvred for their fathers' purposes, but their role in acts of homage also demonstrated the child's position as their father's successor. The proceedings were highly significant as a form of public recognition, showing that powerful princes supported, at least in theory, the French king's intentions for his son's succession.²⁵ Swearing an oath of fidelity or performing homage to a child heir maintained the bonds of lordship and vassalage which already existed between the king and his magnates, tying them to a duty to keep the young child safe, to protect and support him, and to prevent damage to his kingdom.²⁶

Various motivations compelled a king to associate his son with the kingship, but a father's family circumstances and health could further compound the political necessity of recruiting support for a young child. Fears of mortality undoubtedly played a part in decisions to associate an infant son with the kingship and actively promote him as heir. In eleventh-century Germany, a king's illness was linked to increasing noble ambition for the throne. A few years before Henry IV's birth in 1050, his father had been so close to death that the German bishops and nobles had

²³ 'filium suum puerum concederet Willelmo, filio regis Henrici, Normanniam reddere et de ea idem Willelmus eidem puero filio regis Francorum debitam subiectionem faceret' ('the king of the French agreed that his son, a boy, would give Normandy to William, son of King Henry, and that this same William would do fealty owed for Normandy to the same boy, son of the king of the French'), *The Warenne (Hyde) chronicle*, ed./trans. van Houts and Love, pp. 82-3. The editors note that the Warenne chronicler is the only source to detail William's swearing of homage to the young boy Philip (p. 82 n.156).

²⁴ 'Henricus, filius Henrici regis Anglorum, fecit homagium Philippo, filio Ludovici regis Francorum', Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, ed. Howlett, iv, p. 241. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, pp. 69-70.

²⁵ John Gillingham, 'Doing homage to the king of France', in *Henry II: new interpretations*, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 63-84 (at pp. 66, 77).

²⁶ Pennington, 'Feudal oath of fidelity and homage', pp. 93-115. See also Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 143, who emphasises the use of oaths in the Norman dukedom to ensure continuing 'fides' between the duke and his heir/successor.

discussed the appointment of a successor.²⁷ When Henry IV was taken ill himself in 1066, before he had married or had children, the *Annals of Niederaltaich* similarly claimed that one of the princes would have occupied the seat of the kingdom with hope and greed ('spe et cupiditate').²⁸ Personal experience of life-threatening illness before the birth of a son and heir inevitably turned a king's mind towards the succession. Such experiences may then have motivated him, once he had a son, to hasten preparing his child for kingship. The six-week-old Henry IV was extraordinarily young to receive a magnate oath. By contrast, Henry III had been eight years old when his father, Conrad II (*d.* 1039), designated him in 1026 before leaving for Rome for his imperial coronation, probably with a similar oath from the German princes.²⁹ It was common, in the German kingdom and elsewhere, for oaths to be used to secure the succession before a king left on a long journey, including pilgrimage, or, from the late eleventh century onwards, crusade. These were not the circumstances in which Henry III secured the oath to his son. Instead, Henry's decision was inspired by his earlier illness and exacerbated by the length of time the king had waited for an heir. Most of the fathers discussed here saw their first son born late in their fourth, or into their fifth, decade of life: a late age for a medieval king to be provided with a male heir.³⁰ Yet, anxiety regarding the provision of a son could affect even relatively young fathers, such as Emperor Henry III, who was in his early thirties when Henry IV was born.³¹ Henry III had been married twice and had had three daughters with his second wife, Agnes of Poitou, before their son was finally born. In Scotland, a combination of illness and a prolonged wait for a male heir similarly encouraged William the Lion to try to secure the succession at the end of the twelfth century. Either William designated his daughter, Margaret (*d.* 1259), as heir or, as Roger of Howden claimed, William designated Margaret together with her betrothed, Otto of Brunswick (*d.* 1218), nephew of Richard I of England

²⁷ 'Cumque de die in diem languor magis ingravesceret, quam aliquid decresceret, Henricus dux Baioariae et Otto dux Sueviae, episcoporum nonnulli aliique nobilium quam plurimi in unum conspiraverunt et quem illo mortuo regem exaltarent elegerunt, scilicet Henricum, filium Hezilini comitis, patruelem praedicti Ottonis', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, pp. 40-1.

²⁸ 'et quidam principum spe et cupiditate iam occupassent solium regni', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 71.

²⁹ 'Chounradus rex filium suum Henricum post se designavit', *Annales Sancti Blasii*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 17 (Hannover, 1861), pp. 276-8 (at p. 276). After Conrad returned, in 1028, Henry III was co-crowned with his father. See *Annales Augustani*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 3 (Hannover, 1839), pp. 123-36 (at p. 125).

³⁰ Henry I of France (*b.* 1008) was about forty-four when Philip I was born. Louis VII (*b.* 1120) was about forty-five at Philip II's birth. John (*b.* 24 December 1167), king of England, was thirty-nine when Henry III was born. Alexander II (*b.* 24 August 1198), king of Scots, was forty-three at the birth of his only son, Alexander III.

³¹ Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, pp. 41-2.

(d.1199).³² If William recognised the couple jointly as his successors, their association did not stretch to a magnate oath. The possibility of the English king's nephew becoming king of Scots was enough to provoke the hostility of the native Scots nobility.³³ Thus, when William and his wife Ermengarde (d.1233) finally had a son in 1198, obtaining magnate fidelity to the child became an immediate priority. William secured the formal recognition of his three-year-old son, Alexander II, in a ceremony at Musselburgh in October 1201 with an oath of fidelity from the Scottish magnates.³⁴ That the king of Scots chose a method of associating his young son with the kingship which was novel to the Scottish kingdom suggests the influence of English precedents from the mid-twelfth century. Oath-swearing ceremonies were relatively rare occurrences in Scotland – as I shall discuss later in this chapter – which made the circumstances in 1201 especially striking. Furthermore, political instability influenced William's choice to secure a magnate oath of fidelity, since he feared the intervention of the English king, John, in installing William's younger brother, Earl David (d.1219), as king.³⁵ Personal and political motivations for practices of association were never far apart.

Cross-cultural influence affected practices of association. Near-contemporary precedents in other kingdoms could motivate a king to use oaths as a strategy of association, even when there was little precedent for this from within his own kingdom. Fathers recognised that, if they wanted to associate an infant son with the throne, oaths and homage were the most appropriate strategies considering the heir's age. Incorporating oaths of fidelity and performances of homage from the aristocracy into their sons' infancy was a way for kings to ensure noble cooperation in the present, whilst also attempting to secure future support for succession plans should their own death come sooner than expected. Fidelity and homage were less about a king preparing his son for kingship, since the child was often far too young to understand or remember the event, and more about involving the magnate community in royal succession

³² 'Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum aegrotavit, in villa sua quae dicitur Clacmann; et statuit Othonem filium Henrici ducis Saxoniae, nepotem Ricardi regis Angliae, sibi successurum in regnum Scottorum, ita quod ipse Otho filiam suam primogenitam in uxorem cum regno duceret', Roger of Howden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868-71), iii, pp. 298-9. The betrothal between Margaret and Otto ultimately came to nothing.

³³ Pollock, *The crown and nobility of Scotland, France, and England*, pp. 371-4.

³⁴ 'Magnates t[er]re iurauerunt fidelitate Alexandro filio reg[is]', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 27r.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, p. 354. See Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 109.

³⁵ Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 109.

plans. By contrast, greater emphasis was placed on the child's comprehension for ceremonies of associative coronation, especially in France.

ii. Associative coronation

Ceremonies of associative coronation went beyond magnate recognition of a child as heir to designate the heir as king, incorporating a change in status which could not be attained through other practices of association. Coronation immediately affected a child's representation in royal documents – as we have already seen in Chapter One – and contemporaries did not regard these inaugurations as inferior to other coronation ceremonies.³⁶ The physical act of crowning the child heir could be preceded by consecration: a sacramentary action in which an ecclesiastical celebrant, usually an archbishop, anointed the child.³⁷ Of the seven child kings discussed in this thesis, three received both consecration and coronation during their fathers' reigns – Henry IV of Germany on 17 July 1054 at Aachen, Philip I of France on 23 May 1059 at Reims, and Philip II on 1 November 1179, also at Reims – suggesting geographical and chronological limitations to this strategy of association.³⁸ In all three cases, fathers sought and arranged the coronations of their eldest surviving sons in ceremonies which incorporated paternal designation and the child's election as king by magnate or popular consent.³⁹ A combination of factors including ill health, a long wait for an heir, and fears of political turmoil had encouraged Emperor Henry III to secure magnate fidelity to his son at an unusually early age. We should see the coronation of the three-year-old Henry IV in 1054 in a similar context.⁴⁰ The emperor's decision to undertake

³⁶ Johanna Mary Olivia Dale, 'Inauguration and images of kingship in England, France and the Empire c.1050-c.1250', unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia (2013), pp. 146-7. The book of Dale's thesis is forthcoming, provisionally titled *Inauguration and liturgical kingship in England, France and the Empire, c.1050-c.1250*, and I would like to thank her for sending me a copy of her thesis in advance of the book's publication. See Chapter Three, pp. 114-25, where I discuss inaugurations which occurred after the death of the child's father/grandfather.

³⁷ Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements', pp. 7-56, for the difference between coronation and consecration in the French kingdom.

³⁸ Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements', pp. 39, 56, for the importance of Reims as the location of royal inauguration in France by the thirteenth century.

³⁹ The form of 'election' is written into coronation *ordines*, where the archbishop addresses the 'people' to ask if they will accept the man (or boy) as king. See *English coronation records*, L. G. Wickham Legg (London, 1901), p. xvi. Fathers could be blamed when co-coronation ceremonies went wrong. See *Margan annals*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, i, pp. 3-40 (at p. 16), for the outrage Henry II faced at the decision to co-crown his son, Henry the Young King, in 1170.

⁴⁰ 'Henricus imperatoris filius, puer, rex factus est Aquisgrani', *Annales Ottenburani*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hannover, 1843), pp. 1-9 (at p. 6); 'Heinricus IV, filius Heinrici, unctus est in regem Aquisgrani in dedicatione aecclesiae', *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Waitz, p. 37; 'Imperatoris filius

a military campaign against Count Baldwin V of Flanders provided additional motivation to co-crown the boy at such a young age.⁴¹ When Henry IV crowned his own son, Conrad, in Aachen in 1087 the boy was about thirteen, much older than his father had been and far more capable of comprehending the significance of the change in status being conferred.⁴² Henry IV's associative coronation had less to do with the heir's understanding of the position into which he was being consecrated, and more to do with a paternal desire to secure recognition of future intentions for the succession. This, however, was not the case in France.

The requirements of the Capetian inauguration ceremony necessitated that kings wait for their son to reach an age of comprehension. The memorandum of Philip I's coronation written by Archbishop Gervais of Reims records that the seven-year-old boy had to read and sign a declaration of faith as part of the ceremony.⁴³ Depending on the medieval scholar one followed, the male lifecycle in the Middle Ages could be divided into three, four, six, or seven stages. Although these were by no means rigid schemes, and we should bear in mind the ambiguities associated with age divisions, the first fourteen years of a boy's life were commonly divided into infancy ('infantia'), from birth to age seven, and childhood ('pueritia'), between ages seven to fourteen.⁴⁴ Adolescence and youth ('adolescentia' and 'iuventus') could then follow in the theoretical discussions of life cycles, then manhood ('uirilitas'), old age ('senectus'), and senility or decrepitude ('senium' or 'decrepitas').⁴⁵ The age of seven, in marking the end of the lifecycle stage of 'infantia', was often linked with notions of meaningful consent and command of language.⁴⁶ We should not overstate the importance of age seven, therefore, especially since

Heinricus consecratus est in regem Aquisgrani ab Herimanno Coloniensi archiepiscopo', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 66.

⁴¹ 'Heinricus imperator filio suo Heinrico puero quinquenni in regem sublimato Aquis, contra Balduinum proficiscitur', Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Bethmann, p. 360.

⁴² Zey, 'Frauen und Töchter', p. 77.

⁴³ 'Quo annuente, delata est eius professio, quam accipiens ipse legit, dum adhuc septennis esset, eique subscripsit', *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, p. 227.

⁴⁴ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, p. 22. For ambiguities of age, even into the early modern period, see Keith Thomas, 'Raleigh lecture on history: age and authority in early modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1977), 205-48.

⁴⁵ This is a simplification of several different schemes which existed in medieval Europe. For a fuller discussion see John A. Burrow, *The ages of man: a study in medieval writing and thought* (Oxford, 1988), especially pp. 5-54. The classic, although now dated, work on youth in northern France is Georges Duby, 'Dans la France du Nord-Ouest: au XIIe siècle: les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 19 (1964), 835-46.

⁴⁶ Gratian defined the youngest age of consent to marriage as seven: 'Sponsalia ante septennium contrahi non possunt', *Decretum Gratiani*, Part 2, Causa 30, questio II, <http://geschichte.digital-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/online/angebot> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also Part 2, Causa 22,

royal documents show that Philip's introduction to kingship began far earlier in his childhood, as I argued in Chapter One.⁴⁷ However, Philip's inauguration on his seventh birthday became the first public ceremony in which he was unequivocally associated with his father's kingship. Gervais first designated Philip with his father's consent and then consecrated him as king.⁴⁸ Associative coronations for royal children were not new to the French kingdom in the mid-eleventh century but Philip was younger than most other Capetian heirs at inauguration, reinforcing the idea that, in France, fathers waited until their sons were out of infancy before crowning them. Hugh, son of Robert II of France (*d.* 1031), had been co-crowned aged ten in 1017.⁴⁹ When Hugh died in 1025, his younger brother, Henry (Philip I's father), was crowned only a couple of years later whilst he was in his late teens. Louis VI and his queen, Adelaide (*d.* 1154), had their twelve-year-old son Philip crowned at Reims in April 1129 and Pope Innocent II crowned the couple's next eldest son, the eleven-year-old Louis, only twelve days after Philip's death in 1131.⁵⁰ The practices of his Capetian predecessors probably predisposed Henry I to crown his son, but tradition was not the sole factor involved in the king's decision.⁵¹ Lewis's suggestion that military factors alone motivated the French king to organise his son's inauguration is not convincing.⁵² Nor do we have any evidence that Henry, in his early fifties, arranged his son's coronation because he knew he was ailing.⁵³ Instead, German influence offers a more persuasive motive. Henry I and Emperor Henry III met three times: in 1043, 1048, and 1056.⁵⁴ Their last meeting took place shortly after Henry IV's coronation, and the newly-

questio V, c. 14. See Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, pp. 4, 22-3, 174, who suggests the age of seven was important in schooling and spiritual education.

⁴⁷ See Orme, *Medieval children*, p. 68, who argues that the age of seven should not be overemphasised as a watershed. See also Chapter One, pp. 57-8.

⁴⁸ 'Tunc annuente patre eius Heinrico elegit eum in regem... et ita consecravat eum in regem', *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, pp. 231-2. See Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 34, 41, for the significance of age seven as a minimum date for Henry's co-coronation.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, p. 24.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "'Franks, Burgundians and Aquitanians'" and the royal coronation ceremony in France', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 82 pt. 7 (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 43.

⁵¹ 'Fidèle à la tradition, Henry Ier fit couronner son fils, à peine âgé de sept ans', *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*, eds. Ernest Lavisse et al., 9 vols. (Paris, 1900-11), II pt. ii, p. 166. See also Olivier-Martin, *Les régnances et la majorité des rois*, p. 8.

⁵² Lewis, 'Anticipatory association of the heir', p. 909. Henry I had been involved in military campaigns throughout the 1050s, including a coalition invasion of Normandy in 1053 and 1054 and a second foray in 1057. See David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), pp. 75-6.

⁵³ Modern historians often assume this was true but provide no evidence that this was the case. See, for example, Zajac, 'Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship', pp. 39-40.

⁵⁴ Jean Dhondt, 'Henri Ier, l'empire et l'Anjou (1043-1056)', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 25 (1947), 87-109 (at pp. 89-90, 97, 106-7).

crowned boy king was almost certainly present when his father met the French king.⁵⁵ Hearing of the emperor's death, and the succession of the five-year-old Henry IV later in the year, spurred Henry I to prepare for his own son's coronation, lest a similar situation arise. He waited only for the young Philip to reach an acceptable age of consent before crowning him. The conviction that seven was a suitable age from which an heir could receive associative coronation was still influential in the later twelfth century. In 1172, Pope Alexander III wrote to Henry, archbishop of Reims (1161-1175), requesting the archbishop to influence Louis VII to co-crown his son, Philip II, who turned seven in August that year.⁵⁶

Fathers could turn their son's associative coronations to their own political advantage – as Louis VII's disinclination to crown his son at papal request shows. But we should not see Philip II's association with French kingship in wildly different terms from earlier Capetian precedents. Modern historians have tended to link a change in Capetian attitudes to heirs – and to royal succession more generally – to Philip II's birth, suggesting that this was the point from which eldest sons were recognised as heirs from birth. Great celebration certainly greeted Philip's entry into the world in August 1165, but this was due to Louis VII's prolonged wait of three decades for a son after the birth of several daughters.⁵⁷ Gervase of Canterbury (*d.* in or after 1210), writing towards the end of the twelfth century, described the French king as 'affected [possibly even weakened] by a longing for male offspring'.⁵⁸ The king's impatience, for an heir can be seen in the speed of his remarriage to his third wife, Adela of Champagne, within five weeks of Constance of Castile's death. Contrary to cases where widowed queens remarried within one or two years of their husbands' deaths, French chroniclers did not comment on the

⁵⁵ Henry IV travelled with his parents and appeared in every surviving diploma issued by his father during the year 1056. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ 5, nos. 363-381, pp. 495-523.

⁵⁶ *RHGF* 15, pp. 925-6. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, pp. 70-1.

⁵⁷ 'Anno incarnationis dominice M.C.LXV, sabbato in octava assumptionis beate Marie virginis, nocte, dum matutina synaxis celebraretur, hec nobilissima proles processit ad ortum', *De glorioso rege Ludovico, Ludovici filio*, in *Vie de Louis VI, le Gros : par Suger suivie de l'histoire du roi Louis VII*, ed. Auguste Molinier, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 4 (Paris, 1887), pp. 147-78 (at pp. 176-7). See Henri-François Delaborde, 'Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga sur la naissance de Philippe-Auguste', in *Notices et documents publiés pour la société de l'histoire de France : à l'occasion de cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation*, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1884), pp. 121-7; William Chester Jordan, 'Quando fuit natus: interpreting the birth of Philip Augustus', in *The work of Jacques Le Goff and the challenges of medieval history*, ed. Miri Rubin (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 171-88, reprinted in *Ideology and royal power in medieval France: kingship, crusades and the Jews*, ed. Jordan, *Collected Studies* 705 (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 171-88 (at p. 173).

⁵⁸ 'Rex autem Lodovicus masculinae prolis desiderio affectus, filiam Theobaldi comitis senioris jure sibi copulavit matrimonii', Gervase of Canterbury, *The historical works*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 167.

speed of Louis's remarriage. Contemporary English accounts unsurprisingly remarked upon Louis's matrimonial decision unfavourably.⁵⁹ Biblical precedents emphasised that prayer could lead to the divine provision of a child. Rigord's account of Philip II's birth, written in the late 1180s or early 1190s, drew on several biblical examples to illuminate Louis's cry to God for a son.⁶⁰ A late thirteenth-century illustration in the *Grandes Chroniques* provides a visual reminder that Philip II was recognised as 'a Deo datus', 'Dieudonné', God-given.⁶¹ In mid-eleventh-century Germany, the prolonged wait for the birth of an heir had encouraged Emperor Henry III to secure oaths to his son and arrange Henry IV's coronation with some urgency. In France, although Louis VII was in no such rush, he still arranged Philip II's associative coronation to match earlier Capetian ceremonies.

Jim Bradbury's suggestion that Philip was crowned in 1179 because it was necessary for him to govern the kingdom on behalf of his ailing father is inconsistent in reading the circumstances of the latter half of the year back into the period when Louis was making initial preparations for his son's coronation.⁶² We can date Louis's preliminary arrangements for Philip's coronation to a magnate council early in 1179 at which the coming feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary [15 August] was set as the date for the ceremony.⁶³ Only Rigord intimated that the August date was chosen because Louis VII was ill.⁶⁴ No contemporary or near-contemporary account corroborates this. Although Louis was approaching the age of sixty, English chroniclers such as Roger of Howden claimed that the French king's illness did not

⁵⁹ Ralph of Diss, *Opera historica*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 303, who claims Louis did not observe the correct mourning period; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, ed. Howlett, iv, p. 207. See Chapter Seven, pp. 236-40, for responses to the remarriages of queen mothers.

⁶⁰ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 120, who used passages from Isaiah 38:3, Luke 18:13 and 23:42, Psalm 142:2, Job 10:14, and Daniel 12:13. See also Alexandre-Bidon, Lett, and Riché, *Children in the Middle Ages*, p. 11.

⁶¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 782, fol. 208, digitised manuscript available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60012814> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See Baldwin, 'The case of Philip Augustus', p. 196.

⁶² Philip was crowned in 1179 'not in order to demonstrate his rights, but because it was necessary for him to govern', Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, p. 40.

⁶³ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 122-4. See Dale, 'Inauguration and images of kingship', p. 175, for Rigord's emphasis on the liturgical significance of Philip's coronation dates.

⁶⁴ 'Ludovicus christianissimus Francorum rex pene sexagenarius, considerans humane vite brevitatem sciensque se adversa valitudine paralyti aliquantulum pregravari, convocavit Parisius generale concilium omnium archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum necnon et baronum tocius regni Francorum in palatium venerabilis patris nostri Mauricii Parisiensis episcopi', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 122. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, pp. 75-6, who places too much emphasis on Rigord's report of Louis VII's health as the motivation for calling the magnates to an assembly.

begin until later in the year after his return from visiting Saint Thomas's shrine in Canterbury.⁶⁵ The king visited Becket's shrine to pray for his son's recovery after Philip fell ill around the time of his fourteenth birthday in 1179.⁶⁶ This exceptional development in twelfth-century Anglo-French relations demonstrates Philip's significance as Louis's son and heir, and paternal concern for the child's wellbeing.⁶⁷ Rigord must have been aware of Louis's Canterbury pilgrimage. His resolve not to mention the visit suggests unease regarding how his readers, possibly even Philip himself, would perceive the French king's presence in the realm of another (in Rigord's eyes, inferior) prince. A royal visit into another ruler's kingdom evoked connotations of subjection. Rigord's concealing of Louis's pilgrimage also casts doubt on the author's dating of the beginning of the king's infirmity. It was because of the son's illness, not the father's, that Philip's co-coronation was postponed to later in 1179; as Philip himself suggested in an act issued the following year.⁶⁸ Rigord's account of Philip's infirmity elaborated on how the royal heir fell ill after getting lost in a forest near Chartres during a hunting party. After praying to the Virgin Mary and to Saint Denis, Philip encountered a lone peasant who led the boy back to Chartres.⁶⁹ D. D. R. Owen revealed the extent of the literary underpinnings to Rigord's narrative and, in particular, the significant parallels between this passage and scenes in Chrétien de Troyes' romance *Yvain*, written in the 1170s.⁷⁰ Rigord, as Philip's panegyrist, had a vested interest in aligning his subject matter with a heroic figure from contemporary literary culture (and, of course, motivation to promoting Philip's heartfelt appeal to Saint Denis). Furthermore, and as Owen suggests, if Rigord's narrative derived from stories of Philip's forest adventure being told at the royal court throughout the 1180s, it is a valuable insight into the way in which literary fiction could be adapted for political purposes.⁷¹ Philip

⁶⁵ 'Sed Lodowicus pater suus coronationi illius interesse non potuit. Cum enim ab Anglia rediret, et Parisius veniret, maximo flutuans gaudio ad Sanctum Dionysium iter arripuit; in quo itinere, subito percussus frigore, incidit in paralysim, ita quod usum dexteræ partis corporis sui amisit', *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 243.

⁶⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, ii, pp. 192-3.

⁶⁷ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, i, p. 117, who emphasises the unique nature of the event.

⁶⁸ 'Noverint igitur universi presentes pariter et futuri quod, intuitu beatissimi Thome martiris quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad cuius tumulum pro salute anime et sanitate corporis impetranda pater noster in multa devotione fuerat profectus', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 2, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 124-6.

⁷⁰ D. D. R. Owen, 'The prince and the churl: the traumatic experience of Philip Augustus', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992), 141-4 (especially pp. 143-4).

⁷¹ Owen, 'The prince and the churl', p. 144.

was eventually consecrated and crowned on 1 November 1179, All Saints Day.⁷² The later date for Philip's associative coronation may well have been chosen with Louis VII's illness in mind, as Gilbert of Mons indicated, but the initial arrangements for an August coronation were made prior to concerns regarding Louis's health.⁷³

It is entirely misleading to date the 'discontinuance of anticipatory association' in the French kingdom to the year 1190, as Lewis does, based solely on the Capetian practice of associative coronation.⁷⁴ This was the year Philip II left on crusade without having crowned his two-year-old son and heir as associate king. Yet, as I have shown, the children of Capetian kings were never crowned at such a young age. Nor can we push a terminus for anticipatory association to later in Philip's reign, since he was not the first Capetian king entirely to forego crowning his eldest son during his lifetime.⁷⁵ Perhaps because of his father's influence, Louis VIII similarly chose not to crown his son, the future Louis IX, as king before he left on the Albigensian crusade in 1225. No contemporary chronicler saw this as unusual, suggesting that modern historians should not seek to impose an artificial end date on practices of anticipatory association in the French kingdom, or indeed elsewhere in north-western Europe. Instead, we must recognise that ideas regarding how best to prepare a child for their succession and how to present these intentions to magnates were changing by c.1200. In France, these developments are shown clearly in the transition from the ritual and ceremonial association of an eldest son as associate king to the more legal form of testaments which recorded, in writing, a father's intentions for the succession or the division of lands, as I will show in Chapter Three.⁷⁶

There were, of course, geographical differences to how kings used oaths of fidelity, performances of homage, and associative coronation. This is most noticeable in the kingdom of the Scots, where inauguration did not yet have the same emphasis on sacrality and was never performed anticipatorily.⁷⁷ Instead, the child's itinerary was the strategy used to associate Malcolm IV with the kingship and designate him as heir.

⁷² Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 242.

⁷³ Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 127.

⁷⁴ Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, p. 92. Although Lewis seems reluctant to set 'an arbitrary date', he nevertheless sets one.

⁷⁵ Philip I's son, Louis VI, had similarly never received coronation during his father's lifetime.

⁷⁶ See Chapter Three, especially pp. 102-7.

⁷⁷ The kings of Scots did not receive the privilege of royal unction until a papal bull of 1329 and crown-wearing was probably not introduced to inauguration ceremonies before Alexander III's succession. See

iii. Association in Scotland

The child who succeeded as king was not always the originally designated heir and kings had to be reactive and adaptable, sometimes even to the extent of changing strategies of association. Alterations to practices of association in mid-twelfth-century Scotland had to allow not only for the recent death of King David I's eldest son and heir, Henry (*d.*1152), earl of Northumberland, but also for the king's age, since David was nearing seventy. Paternal designation of Henry as heir and 'rex designatus' had been – as we saw in Chapter One – a prolonged process over a couple of decades.⁷⁸ Since time was not on David's side in 1152, the earl's death led the king to associate his eleven-year-old grandson Malcolm (*b.*1141) as heir in a very different way. We can sense urgency in David's decision to exploit Malcolm's itinerary by sending the boy on a tour through parts of the Scottish kingdom accompanied by a loyal magnate, Duncan, earl of Fife (*d.*1154). This alternative strategy of association offered a speedier means of ensuring noble co-operation since it did not rely on magnates travelling to the royal court. In the earliest surviving manuscript of his continuation of Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*, John of Hexham emphasised the urgency of David's decision to send Malcolm around the territory of Scotia following Earl Henry's death in 1152.⁷⁹ The insertion of the word 'continuo' above the line of text (probably by the same scribe) emphasised the importance of haste in this situation. Likewise, William of Newburgh recognised David's actions as part of Malcolm's association and designation as the 'successor to the kingdom'.⁸⁰ David's sense of urgency shows the emphasis he placed on actively involving the Scottish nobles in this act of designation. Before his succession as king in 1124, David had acted as tenurial guardian for Simon, son of his wife, Matilda de Senlis, and her first husband, Simon de Senlis (*d.*1111x1113).⁸¹ David's experience

A. A. M. Duncan, 'Before coronation: making a king at Scone in the thirteenth century', in *The stone of destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. Richard Welander, David J. Breeze, and Thomas Owen Clancy, Monograph Series (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland) 22 (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 138-67 (at pp. 151-2).

⁷⁸ See Chapter One, pp. 70-2.

⁷⁹ 'Rex au(tem) dauid dissimulato merore sup(er) int(er)itu regine Anglie neptis sue et filii sui unici tulit [continuo – inserted above the line of text] melcholmu(m) p(ri)mogenitu(m) filii sui et dato ei rectore dunecan comite cu(m) exercitu copioso iussit eunde(m) pueru(m) p(er) p(ro)uincias scotie c(ir)cu(m)duci et p(ro)clamari herede(m) regni', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139, fol. 145v. Another copy of this text is in Paris, BnF, NAL 692. See also John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 327; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, pp. 227-8.

⁸⁰ 'denique post annos aliquot generale debitum soluturus Malcolmum filii primogenitum adhuc impuberem regni successorem declaravit', William of Newburgh, *The history of English affairs*, ed./trans. P.G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy, 2 vols. (Warminster, 1998, and Oxford, 2007), i, pp. 100-1.

⁸¹ Judith A. Green, 'David I and Henry I', *SHR*, 75 (1996), 1-19 (at p. 6).

of aristocratic wardship may have provided him with an acute awareness of the problems Malcolm was likely to face if he had to succeed to his inheritance at a similarly young age.

David's decision to send the earl of Fife as Malcolm's escort, rather than accompanying the future king himself, was astute. The king trusted Duncan, who was a regular witness to David's acts. Duncan was also a native magnate and important adult member of this kin-based society.⁸² It is unknown exactly which regions of the 'provincias Scotiae' Duncan and Malcolm visited, but the visual display of support from a prominent native earl was an attempt to mitigate potential trouble from other Scottish magnates.⁸³ In the first year of Malcolm's reign, a rebellion led by Somerled, lord of Argyll, presented a direct dynastic challenge to his kingship, and the young king faced further uprisings from other landowners.⁸⁴ David's concerns regarding the magnate response to his young grandson's succession were proved correct posthumously. David himself escorted Malcolm's younger brother, William, to Newcastle where the boy received hostages ('obsides') from the Northumbrian magnates, whom David made subordinate to William's rule as earl of Northumberland.⁸⁵ No extant evidence survives for similar demands being made of the Scottish magnates during Malcolm's itineration with Duncan. The visibility of Malcolm's exhibition as heir led Michael Penman to describe the events of 1152/3 as the best-known example of Scottish designation.⁸⁶ But David's actions did more than simply designate an eleven-year-old boy as his intended successor. Malcolm's itineration served a similar purpose to associative coronation in the French and German kingdoms, and to oath-swearing in the German and English kingdoms: it prepared the child for succession and primed the magnates to receive him as their lord and king. One of the advantages of comparative research is that it highlights the different circumstances of association in the kingdom of the Scots in the mid-twelfth century, where the itinerary of a child heir was unmistakably used to

⁸² G. W. S. Barrow, 'The charters of David I', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 25-37 (at p. 30).

⁸³ John Bannerman, 'Macduff of Fife', in *Medieval Scotland: crown, lordship and community: essays presented to G. W. S. Barrow*, eds. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 20-38 (at p. 36).

⁸⁴ *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 125-6, which mentions the hostility of an individual named Arthur, of whom nothing further is known; *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, p. 8; J. M. Todd and Hilary S. Offler, 'A medieval chronicle from Scotland', *SHR*, 47 (1968), 151-9. See Chapter Eight, pp. 249-51, for rebellion at the start of Malcolm's reign.

⁸⁵ 'Junioem vero filium Willelmum ipse assumens, venit ad Novum Castellum, acceptisque obsidibus a principibus Northymbriae omnes eiusdem pueri dominio subditos fecit', John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, p. 327; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 228.

⁸⁶ Michael Penman, 'Difficione successionis ad regnum Scottorum: royal succession in Scotland in the later Middle Ages', in *Making and breaking the rules*, pp. 43-60 (at p. 45).

associate a young boy with kingship because of the changed circumstances following the adult heir's death.

When the child became king, control of his body was used to demonstrate and to secure power (as I shall show again throughout Parts II and III).⁸⁷ The circumstances of the early 1150s in Scotland, David's personal experience of the death of his son and heir, and also perhaps his memory of revolt in the years following his own succession, influenced the king's decision to use his grandson's itinerary to associate him with Scottish kingship.⁸⁸ But Malcolm's itinerary as heir only appears so unusual because it was an earl, not the reigning monarch, who accompanied him.⁸⁹ It was far more common for royal child heirs to travel – as we saw in Chapter One – with the court and household of their father and/or mother, than to be conducted on a separate itinerary by a prominent magnate.⁹⁰ Aristocratic parents in the early twelfth century likewise toured their lands with child heirs to promote their status and rule. Count Stephen of Blois and his wife, Adela, publicly displayed their son William as principal heir in a tour of the comital domain before Stephen left to return to the Holy Land.⁹¹ Henry, son of Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou, was accompanied by his uncle, Robert of Gloucester, when, at the age of nine, the boy made a hazardous winter crossing of the Channel in order to be displayed as the rightful heir to the English throne.⁹² Since royal documents provide firm evidence that kings across north-western Europe integrated their heir's association with royal rule into networks of aristocratic and noble lordship as the royal court travelled, we should not see Malcolm's association by itinerary as a purely Scottish 'anomaly'.

⁸⁷ See especially Chapter Six, pp. 207-12, and Chapter Seven, pp. 218-26.

⁸⁸ Ross, 'The identity of the "Prisoner of Roxburgh"', p. 276, who focuses on the rebellion at the start of David's reign and its relation to rebellions in Malcolm's reign.

⁸⁹ Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, p. 34, for a similar case in 1162 when Thomas Becket took Henry the Young King to England to receive homage and fealty from English magnates.

⁹⁰ It is hard to assert the age at which royal children began travelling with their parents, or how they were provided for within royal courts before the mid-thirteenth century. See W. Mark Ormrod, 'The royal nursery: a household for the younger children of Edward III', *EHR*, 120 (2005), 398-415 (at p. 401), for royal children under the queen's custody and moving with her itinerant household in the late thirteenth century. See also John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: queen and society in thirteenth-century England* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 38, who suggests a more gradual process of introduction into the itinerant life from the age of seven for Eleanor of Castile and Edward's children. For evidence for separate households for royal heirs from around the same time: Nicholas Orme, *From childhood to chivalry: the education of the English kings and aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984); Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: queenship in thirteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 99-100.

⁹¹ LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois', p. 24.

⁹² This voyage took place in November 1142. See Warren, *Henry II*, p. 29.

Debates regarding earlier twelfth-century association in Scotland have centred primarily on exploring the meaning behind Edgar's granting of an 'appanage' in Strathclyde and Teviotdale to his younger brother, David, who later became king.⁹³ Grants of territory can certainly provide an indication of early responsibility being devolved onto royal children. Sometimes they signpost a step in the child's preparation as royal heir, as when Henry III of Germany gave his young son Henry the duchy of Bavaria.⁹⁴ Yet land grants were not always suggestive of association and were only one step in the process by which a king prepared his heir for royal rule.⁹⁵ Penman claimed that 'designations' of heirs by the kings of Scots occurred relatively often during the early twelfth century – Alexander was 'likely' designated heir by his brother, Edgar, in 1100, and David as Alexander I's heir in 1107.⁹⁶ There is little evidence of an official designation in either case, however, and no reference to oath swearings as a way of involving the magnate community in these decisions. Alice Taylor has questioned whether group oaths had the same importance in the Scottish kingdom as they did elsewhere, especially in England, and this clearly affected paternal (or fraternal) decisions regarding association and designation.⁹⁷ Aside from the Musselburgh ceremony in 1201, which I mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is little evidence that Scottish magnates swore oaths of fidelity to royal children.⁹⁸ It is not surprising that Alexander II's experience at Musselburgh did not inspire him to secure a similar oath to his own son, Alexander III. The need to secure fidelity to a child heir had lessened by the mid-thirteenth century. Challenges from rival branches of the Scottish ruling house, particularly from the descendants of Malcolm III of Scotland (*d.* 1093) and his first wife, Ingibjorg (*d. c.* 1067), were no longer the problem they had been in the twelfth and early

⁹³ Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 59.

⁹⁴ *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 49; *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 126; Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500-1300: a political interpretation*, European History in Perspective (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 59-60. See also, Neville, 'Preparing for kingship', p. 160, for a later Scottish example in which Alexander III made his eleven-year-old son lord of Man in 1275.

⁹⁵ Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 60, who suggests the appanage to David 'surely looks more like provision made for one who was not expected to become king'.

⁹⁶ Penman, 'Royal succession in Scotland', p. 45.

⁹⁷ Alice Taylor, 'Leges Scocie and the lawcodes of David I, William the Lion and Alexander II', *SHR*, 88 (2009), 207-88 (at p. 213). See also James Campbell, 'Observations on English government from the tenth to the twelfth century', *TRHS*, 5th series, 25 (1975), 39-54, reprinted in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history*, ed. Campbell (London, 1986), pp. 155-70 (at pp. 162-3), for the connection between general oaths in Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian oaths.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 85.

thirteenth centuries.⁹⁹ Even when he left the kingdom in 1249 to campaign in the Isles, Alexander II trusted his wife, the magnates, and royal officers, in whose hands he left his son, to ensure the boy's succession. Furthermore, Alexander II's betrothal of his infant son to the daughter of the English king, Henry III, as part of a settlement with Henry in August 1244, had clearly set out the Scottish king's intentions for his young son to succeed him as king.¹⁰⁰ Later in the thirteenth century, Alexander III only considered it necessary to designate an heir personally after the deaths of all his children. The Scottish magnates then demonstrated their overwhelming acceptance of a lineal system of succession by arranging for Margaret (1282/3–1290), the 'Maid of Norway', an underage girl who was absent from the kingdom, to succeed to the throne after Alexander's death in 1286.¹⁰¹

Differences in inheritance and succession practices between kingdoms, and changes to these practices between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, affected the strategies kings used to associate a child with rulership. The increased expectation of primogenital succession by 1250, at least in the French and Scottish kingdoms, shaped adaptations to a child's preparation as king. Since the expectation grew that an eldest son would follow his father in rule, foregoing actions of association such as securing oaths of fidelity or associative coronation for a young child was no rash decision in a kingdom where royal blood was a necessity to rule. The greater acceptance of primogenital succession did not entirely end a child heir's association with the kingship, or stop royal fathers from making succession preparations, but these actions began to take different forms. 'Testaments de croisade' and records of deathbed testaments became more prominent in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, as I will show in Chapter Three. Elsewhere than France and Scotland, alternative succession practices affected both a father's reliance on actions of association and the prospects of a child's succession as king. In England, by 1200, primogeniture did not yet dictate royal succession although hereditary succession was more routine. In the century and a half between the Norman Conquest and Henry III's succession in 1216, only Richard (*d.*1189) succeeded to the kingship as the eldest surviving son of the

⁹⁹ See Chapter Eight, pp. 248-53, where I argue that, in general, dynastic rivals to child kings in the central Middle Ages were infrequent.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Hunter Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and royal lordship in the British Isles, 1249-1272', in *England and Europe in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds. Björn Weiler and Ifor Rolands (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 43-66 (at p. 46). See also Introduction, p. 34.

¹⁰¹ A. A. M. Duncan, 'Margaret [called the Maid of Norway] (1282/3–1290), queen-designate of Scots', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [accessed 25 July 2017].

preceding king.¹⁰² In a strictly primogenital system, John would never have succeeded as king since Arthur, the son of John's older brother Geoffrey (*d.*1186), was still alive at Richard's death. In Germany, the increasing emphasis on aristocratic election of kings, and the large number of possible successors this practice encompassed, eroded the likelihood of a child's succession by the mid-thirteenth century, even if he was the old king's son. John Gillingham claimed that the German monarchy was 'elective in theory but hereditary in practice' from the twelfth century onwards, except for a gap between 1254 and 1356.¹⁰³ I would amend this view slightly to include another caveat. German monarchy was only 'hereditary in practice' in respect to adult men. In the twelfth-century, children with a hereditary claim to the kingship of the Romans, such as Conrad III's seven-year-old son Frederick of Rothenburg in 1152 and Henry VI's three-year-old son Frederick II in 1198, were deliberately passed over because of their age.¹⁰⁴ In this, Germany was conspicuously set apart from to systems of monarchy elsewhere in north-western Europe.

Lewis rejected the idea of a set 'system' of anticipatory association for the Capetian dynasty, instead arguing that there were 'only a number of instances in which various arrangements of coseignory had been used in differing circumstances to achieve differing, though related, ends'.¹⁰⁵ Undoubtedly, no kingdom in north-western Europe during the central Middle Ages had a complex, preordained system which dictated the actions fathers used to associate their sons with royal rule. This is hardly surprising. More important, however, are the underlying norms which influenced how kings used different strategies of association. Analysing some of these norms, whilst allowing for chronological development and geographical differences, as I have done, shows greater continuity in the preparation children received prior to their succession as kings. Firstly, and most significantly, we can see continuity in a king's desire to

¹⁰² John Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England, 1066–1216', in *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Brigitte Kasten, Norm und Struktur 29 (Cologne, 2008), pp. 509-30 (at p. 528). See also Alheydis Plassman, '[...] *et claves thesaurorum nactus est, quibus fretus totam Angliam animo subiecit suo* [...] Herrschaftsnachfolge in England zwischen Erbschaft, Wahl und Aneignung (1066-1216)', in *Die mittelalterliche Thronfolge im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Matthias Becher, Vorträge und Forschungen (Ostfildern, 2017), pp. 193-231. I would like to thank Alheydis Plassman for graciously sharing a draft of this paper with me prior to its publication.

¹⁰³ Gillingham, 'Elective kingship', p. 128.

¹⁰⁴ Weiler, 'Suitability and right', pp. 73-5; Kannowski, 'The impact of lineage and family connections', p. 15.

¹⁰⁵ Lewis, 'Anticipatory association of the heir', p. 924.

secure some degree of magnate recognition for their son (or grandson) during childhood. Although different rulers used different strategies, this consistency across Germany, France, Scotland, and England shows that, even before a boy became king, the magnate community had usually been prepared for his succession. As I will show in Part II, collaborative magnate involvement continued to be an important factor in guardianship arrangements. Secondly, fathers gave due consideration to their son's maturity and the appropriateness of certain practices of association in relation to the child's age; reinforcing my conclusions from Chapter One regarding the introduction of royal titles for heirs. Kings saw no problem with securing magnate oaths, or performances of homage, to young infants, but there was a prevalent belief in north-western Europe that associative coronation should wait for an age of greater comprehension. It was only in eleventh-century Germany that a king's concerns for political stability led him to prioritise his son's quick inauguration as associate king over waiting until the boy was at least seven years old. Thirdly, over time, there was an obvious move away from associative kingship. None of the children who succeeded to the throne in the thirteenth century had been crowned before their fathers' deaths. This was standard practice for Scotland but, elsewhere, it put more pressure on the immediate actions after a king's death, especially on inauguration (as I shall show in Chapter Three). By contrast, kings continued to use oaths of fidelity and performances of homage to associate young sons into the thirteenth century. The benefits of looking at association in a comparative context go further than realising a set of norms, or arguing for greater continuity between kingdoms. I have also suggested select periods during which cross-cultural contact between kingdoms may have encouraged kings to associate their sons with the throne, or even influenced rulers to introduce ideas of association previously unused in their realms.

The actions of anticipatory association discussed in this chapter (and in Chapter One) all have one thing in common: they were conducted whilst the king was unaware that his death was imminent. He may have feared death was close, and illness or old age could certainly bring a greater sense of urgency to the king's actions, but oaths of fidelity from subjects, performances of homage by important magnates, and associative coronation were not crisis responses. Even David I, the most elderly of the kings discussed in this chapter, likely decided to use Malcolm's itinerary to secure the boy's recognition as heir before his own death was imminent. Actions of anticipatory association do not tell us how reactive preparations had to be when the inevitability of the king's death was closer at hand. In Chapter Three, I turn to look at what happened when

kings were more aware of the proximity of their own death and of the certainty of leaving a child as king.

CHAPTER THREE

Death and the King

Whilst a king often only intended his deathbed arrangements to secure further confirmation and support for a child already designated as heir – and, in some cases, elected, crowned, and anointed as associate king – the royal deathbed was of greater significance in gathering together men and women who would be crucial to maintaining the child upon the throne.¹ Significant developments took place in the documentation, nature, and locale of royal death across the central Middle Ages. In this chapter, I analyse how these changes impacted on situations of child kingship. Death away from the heir was far more common for the fathers of child kings in the thirteenth century than ever before. In England, John died of dysentery at Newark on 19 October 1216 during a campaign against a baronial uprising which had welcomed Louis, Philip Augustus's son, as a rival for the English kingship.² A decade later, the same Louis – now King Louis VIII of France – also contracted dysentery on his return from the siege of Avignon, dying at Montpensier on 8 November 1226.³ Alexander II, king of Scots, was taken ill on campaign in the Hebrides and died on the island of Kerrera on 8 July 1249, the furthest a king of Scots had died from the centre of Scottish royal power in over 150 years.⁴ In the first section of this chapter, I argue that, although royal testaments had become more common by the early thirteenth century, kings were still unlikely to use these documents to convey their wishes for the guardianship of their underage successor and the governance of the kingdom. Instead, they left these arrangements deliberately vague. In the second section of the chapter, using narrative representations of the deathbed, and letter evidence, I show how near-contemporary perceptions of the link between the royal deathbed and the nomination of a child king's guardian cannot always be trusted. Changes to royal death placed greater emphasis on the men around the dying king to facilitate his son's succession to the throne. In turn, this meant that, by the thirteenth

¹ Similarly, see Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England', pp. 511-2, who demonstrates that, of the five English kings who designated successors on their deathbeds between 1066 and 1216, four had already earlier associated their heir with the succession.

² 'Barnwell' chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, pp. 231-2; Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 196; *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, pp. 3-408 (at pp. 47-8); *Burton annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 224. See also McGlynn, *Blood cries afar*, pp. 180-5.

³ William of Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, p. 544.

⁴ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 55v.; *Chronica regum Mannie et Insularum*, ed./trans. Broderick, fol. 47r; *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 89. See also Campbell, *Alexander III*, p. 8.

century, queen mothers, who were absent from their husbands' deathbeds, faced an additional obstacle to their involvement in vice-regal guardianship. In the final section of this chapter, I stress how a boy's transition from heir to king was very largely in the control of magnates who had been at the royal deathbed. Magnate commitment to following the dead king's wishes secured the child's inauguration and, crucially, these men could introduce changes to the coronation ceremony to allow for the king's childhood.

i. Royal testaments

Kings prepared for a child's succession right up until the last moments before their deaths. In eleventh-century Germany, from his deathbed at Bodfeld in the Harz mountains, Emperor Henry III prioritised the conclusion of peace arrangements to ease the way for his young son's succession. He summoned men with whom he had fought during the final years of his reign, such as duke Godfrey 'the bearded' of Lorraine, to secure their fidelity to his son before he died.⁵ According to Frutolf of Michelsberg, the emperor's deathbed reconciliations involved concessions of land which he had previously taken away, beginning a conciliatory process which Agnes of Poitou would continue as Henry IV's guardian.⁶ These eleventh-century circumstances highlight the value a king placed on securing deathbed oaths from magnates to bind them to his young heir. The royal deathbed continued to be central to preparations for child kingship but, from the twelfth century onwards, we have more evidence for the use of wills or testaments to arrange the business of the realm. According to Ælred of Rievaulx, from his deathbed in 1153 David I, king of Scots, renewed and corrected the 'testamentum' he had made a year before. David provided additions to arrange the affairs of the kingdom, almost certainly to compensate for Earl Henry's death in 1152.⁷ Ælred did not associate Malcolm IV with the

⁵ Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Ldl 1 (Hannover, 1891), pp. 568-620 (at p. 590); translated in *The papal reform of the eleventh century: lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, trans. I. S. Robinson, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester, 2004), p. 195. See also Weinfurter, *The Salian century*, p. 108, who sees Godfrey as the victim of an unjust king rather than a ducal troublemaker.

⁶ 'sapienti usus consilio, ab omnibus quibus potuit veniam petiit, quibusdam predia que abstulit restituens, cunctis qui contra eum et regnum culpas dampnabiles fecerunt relaxans', Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 72. See also *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, ed. D. G. Waitz, MGH SS 6 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 17-32 (at p. 31); *Die Kaiserchronik: eines regensburger Geistlichen*, ed. Edward Schröder, MGH Dt. Chron. 1.1 (Hannover, 1892), p. 379. See Karl Leyser, 'The crisis of medieval Germany', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 69 (1984), 409-43 (at p. 440), who suggests that these were restorations of Saxon land. And see Chapter Eight, p. 256.

⁷ London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. XI, fol. 113r. 'Et quum non imparatus venit in horam hanc, testamentum, quod ante annum fecerat renovavit; quaedam etiam quae fuerant corrigenda correxit: et

deathbed account but, although we have no evidence, it seems likely that David's testament detailed preparations for his heir and grandson's succession. Jane Freeland and Marsha Dutton's translation of Ælred's *Eulogium Davidis* suggests that the king arranged the changes to his testament 'in a few words'; a translation which leaves some ambiguity over whether the testament was a written document or the renewal of oral arrangements.⁸ The Latin, 'paucis sermonibus ordinavit', is less obscure and indicates that David conveyed his deathbed wishes by a series of conversations.⁹ In England, John's is the earliest royal testament extant as an original single-sheet.¹⁰ From at least the early thirteenth century, if not earlier, kings in England (and, as we shall see, also in France) relied increasingly on written testaments. In Scotland, the lack of any documentation conveying Alexander II's deathbed wishes suggests that, even by the mid-thirteenth century, oral arrangements may still have been the norm. Paternal intentions for Alexander III's succession are entirely unknown.¹¹ Alexander II made a deathbed grant of St Bridget's church in Lorn to the see of Argyll, but this charter was very brief and made no reference to the king's illness, his son, or the succession.¹² Among others, Clement, bishop of Dunblane, Alexander the Steward, Alan Durward, and David Lindsay, justiciar of Lothian, witnessed the act, and Keith Stringer is confident that these men were those at Alexander II's deathbed.¹³ We cannot be certain whether Alexander had prepared these magnates for the eventuality of his own death, but, considering the circumstances a century earlier on David I's

religiosorum consilio quae de regni negotiis ordinanda videbantur, paucis sermonibus ordinavit', Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum*, in *Vitae antiquae sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus insulis*, ed. John Pinkerton (London, 1789), pp. 437-56 (at p. 451).

⁸ 'And when he came, not unprepared, to that hour, he renewed the will that he had made the year before, corrected certain things that needed correction, and, with the advice of religious men, in a few words arranged certain things concerning the affairs of the kingdom that seemed to need arranging', *Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed./trans. Freeland and Dutton, p. 62.

⁹ Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England', p. 509, who suggests English kings may have similarly left oral testaments.

¹⁰ Although a later record of a testament made by Henry II in March 1182 also survives. See Church, 'King John's testament', p. 506.

¹¹ Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III', p. 6.

¹² A. A. M. Duncan and A. L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the earlier Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 90 (1956-7), 192-220 (at p. 210). The charter is transcribed in Appendix II, p. 218.

¹³ 'Testibus venerabili patre C episcopo Dunblanense A Hostiario iusticiario Scocie Daudid de Lyndesay iusticiario de Lawdonia Alexandro senescallo W de Morauia W de Breyhyn' W Byseth et R de Meyners', Duncan and Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles', p. 218. William of Brechin's father was the king's cousin and Walter Bisset was the son of the king's half-sister. See Keith J. Stringer, 'The Scottish "political community" in the reign of Alexander II (1214-49)', in *New perspectives on medieval Scotland*, ed. Hammond, pp. 53-84 (at p. 57).

deathbed, it is likely that the king would have communicated his intentions orally to the men around him as he died. Alexander's departure on a military campaign, without his young son present and in hostile conditions, did not encourage the king to introduce written arrangements for the succession either before he left the kingdom or on his deathbed. This contrasts with other thirteenth-century cases where royal testaments were preparatory actions which provided further indications of a father's intentions for the succession, even when they were not associated with the king's deathbed.

Testaments drawn up many years before the king's death must be considered separately from those written in full expectation of impending death.¹⁴ The former were precautionary measures without specific knowledge of the heir's age at succession. Such was the case when Louis VIII provided for the division of his lands between his sons in a testament issued in June 1225 before he departed for the Languedoc.¹⁵ Louis stated that his intention was 'to make provision for all things in posterity for the successor to our kingdom', but he recorded no arrangements for his young heir's care or the kingdom's administration in the case of his untimely death on crusade.¹⁶ Although Louis's eldest son was to inherit the realm and was mentioned several times as 'the son who will succeed us in the kingdom', Louis IX was never named.¹⁷ Louis VIII prepared his testament in response to different circumstances than John in England a decade before, but both kings chose to record their wishes in writing and not to specify details of vice-regal guardianship. The date of John's testament cannot be determined exactly, since the document is without a dating clause, but the text opens with the claim that the king was 'hindered by grave infirmity' at the time of writing.¹⁸ The language used has been compared to that in a letter which John sent from Sleaford to Pope Honorius III on 15 October 1216, only three days before he

¹⁴ See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Death-bed testaments', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Jasper Detlev, 6 vols., *Schriften der MGH* 33 (Hannover, 1988), iv, reprinted in *Popes and church reform in the 11th century* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 703-24, for some of the methodological problems with using deathbed testaments as a source.

¹⁵ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710, pp. 54-5. See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 76, who classified Louis's document as closer to a 'testament de croisade' than a will. See also Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, pp. 161-4, who compared the testament to similar documents issued by several French barons including Louis's uncle, Guichard IV of Beaujeu

¹⁶ 'Cupientes successori regni nostri modis omnibus in posterum providere', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710, p. 54.

¹⁷ Variations of 'filius noster, qui nobis succedet in regnum' appear throughout the testament. See *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710.

¹⁸ 'gravi infirmitate preuentus', Church, 'King John's testament', p. 516.

died.¹⁹ The testament recorded John's last wishes for his own soul and body, and the deathbed obligations made by thirteen 'ordinatores' the king had named.²⁰ Most noteworthy from the perspective of preparation for a child's succession is the clause in which John asked for the named men to support his sons in obtaining and defending their inheritance.²¹ All John's 'ordinatores' were to play central roles in the early years of Henry III's minority and John had probably chosen them because of the range of skills they could put at the young king's disposal.²² Like Louis's testament in France a decade later – and, as mentioned in Chapter One – John's testament does not single out his eldest son by name.²³ The wording suggests that John knew both Henry and his younger brother, Richard, would equally require magnate support. It was not practical to specify a successor when there was such geographical distance between John's deathbed and his sons, and when a rival for the English throne was present in the kingdom. Should something have happened to Henry, the wording of John's testament left it open for the magnates to turn to Richard as alternative heir to the kingdom. The fact that their fathers' testaments did not name Henry III or Louis IX has important implications for developments in primogenital succession. Regardless of the age of their son(s), and irrespective of any changes in circumstances, thirteenth-century kings anticipated that the men around them would accept and uphold primogenital succession.²⁴

Even as kings came to rely increasingly in the thirteenth century on written deathbed testaments or 'testaments de croisade' – bringing greater legal clarity to their intentions for succession or the distribution of territories and wealth – intimate decisions regarding how to manage a child's immaturity were set aside. Neither John nor Louis VIII detailed how the governance of the kingdom would work in practice under a boy king or stipulated when the child would accomplish his majority. Philip II's ordinance, issued in 1190 before he departed France for the

¹⁹ 'Cum gravi infirmitate et incurabili detineremur ita quod de nobis penitus desperabatur, multipliciter vobiscum deliberavimus qualiter regno nostro si humanitus de nobis contigisset providerimus ad honorem Dei et sancte Romane ecclesie et succssionem nostram hereditariam perpetuam', *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 140b, p. 105. See also Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England', p. 521; Church, 'King John's testament', p. 519.

²⁰ Church, 'King John's testament', p. 515, who translates this as 'arbiters' rather than 'executors'.

²¹ 'et sustentacione prestanda filiis meis pro hereditate sua perquirenda et defendenda', Church, 'King John's testament', p. 516.

²² Church, 'King John's testament', pp. 527-8.

²³ See Chapter One, p. 64, and, more generally, pp. 56-69 for the trend towards anonymization in royal documents by the thirteenth century.

²⁴ Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England', pp. 517, 528, who argued that, by the thirteenth century, a more legalistic pattern of thought about royal succession had developed in England.

Holy Land, is the exception which proves the rule. This document's purpose was, first and foremost, to set out arrangements for absentee kingship. Philip, now in his mid-twenties, specified that his mother, Adela, and maternal uncle, William, archbishop of Reims, were to be responsible for the French kingdom whilst he was away.²⁵ Unlike Louis VIII's analogous document in 1225 – which did not publicise any preparations for the care of king and kingdom in the case of his death on crusade – in 1190, Philip gave due consideration to the possibility that he could die whilst abroad. In the case of his death, Philip ordered the protection of half the royal treasury for the needs of his young son Louis, then aged three, 'until he reaches an age at which he can rule the kingdom with God's counsel and his own capacity ('sensus')'.²⁶ Philip explicitly recognised that a king must demonstrate mental maturity and spiritual counsel before he could rule alone, but, yet again, the king's son was not named. The king's expression of the connection between his son's progression to maturity and ability to rule was flexible and was left deliberately vague. Paternal reservation in specifying notions of maturity was partly to protect sons from restrictions to their power after succession.²⁷ Despite the crucial role kings played in asserting their (grand)son's involvement in actions of kingship during their childhood, a child king's predecessor had little part in shaping notions of his heir's progression to maturity. Instead, as I will show in Part II, it was the child king's guardians who heavily influenced notions of their charge's maturity, basing these ideas on contemporary aristocratic precedents.²⁸

The changing political circumstances and locations of royal death by the thirteenth century affected how kings made their deathbed arrangements. Testaments became more prominent as a means by which a king associated his sons with the throne. Whilst these documents could be useful to the heir in securing the support of prominent magnates, they did not outline arrangements for vice-regal guardianship. The king may have orally expressed his wishes regarding who would care for his son, leaving no other evidence of his intentions. Or, royal

²⁵ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 345, pp. 416-20. The original document is lost but Rigord reproduced it in his chronicle. See Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 276-85. Translated in *Sources for the history of medieval Europe from the mid-eighth to the mid-thirteenth century*, ed. Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1966), pp. 254-7.

²⁶ 'De altera medietate precipimus custodibus averi nostri et omnibus hominibus Parisiensibus, quod eam custodiant ad opus filii nostri, donec ad etatem veniat in qua consilio Dei et sensu suo possit regere regnum', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 345, p. 419. Translation amended from *Sources for the history of medieval Europe*, ed. Pullan, p. 256.

²⁷ A more cynical perspective would be that this imprecision also benefited fathers since it moderated the heir's expectations of the delegation of royal authority at a particular age of maturity.

²⁸ See especially Chapters Four and Five.

letters and other forms of written record were more central to conveying the dying king's input. In Scotland, we can assume oral arrangements continued to be preferred, even when kings elsewhere turned to written testaments. In Germany, where the evidence for underage royal heirs relies primarily on the mid-eleventh-century case of Henry IV, it is harder to assert whether we see an increasing reliance on testaments in cases of child kingship across the central Middle Ages. Nevertheless, following Henry VI's death in September 1197, Markward von Anweiler's claim to have the dead emperor's testament, favouring him as guardian of the Sicilian kingdom for Henry's young son, Frederick II, suggests that testaments similarly played an increasingly important role in Italy, if not in the German kingdom.²⁹ Placing the Sicilian circumstances into a wider context alongside thirteenth-century testaments in England and France convinces me that Emperor Henry VI was unlikely explicitly to have named Markward as Frederick's guardian in a will issued from his deathbed. In the thirteenth century, testaments were not regarded as the appropriate place to expound vice-regal guardianship arrangements. In this, child kingship diverges again from absentee kingship. Whilst Philip II was happy to endorse Adela and William's joint guardianship in his absence in 1190, he refrained from specifying who would have the care of his son and kingdom in the case of his own death. I turn now to consider how the royal deathbed could have a significant influence over contemporary perceptions of a child king's care, and how the circumstances of royal death affected the involvement of queen mothers from the outset of a child's reign.

ii. Royal deathbeds and guardianship

Medieval authors often associated the deathbed with the process of decision-making regarding vice-regal guardianship arrangements, yet it can be hard for modern historians to discern realities from contemporary (or much later) perceptions.³⁰ The authority of her husband's dying wish could help a queen mother to legitimise her position in rule alongside her son, but it was not the king's nomination alone which secured her a guardianship position. The king often appointed ecclesiastical men to facilitate his wife's acceptance as guardian. Support from at least some of the kingdom's magnates or prelates was crucial to her success. In Germany, the

²⁹ Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 92, 95. See also Matthias Thumser, 'Letzter Wille? Das höchste Angebot Kaiser Heinrichs VI. an die römische Kirche', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 62 (2006), 85-133.

³⁰ More generally on royal deathbeds and their representation, see: Gillingham, 'At the deathbeds of the kings of England', pp. 509-30; Scott L. Waugh, 'Royal deathbed scenes in medieval England', in *Death at court*, eds. Karl-Heinz Spieß and Immo Warntjes (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 117-34.

Annals of Niederaltaich claimed that, with the end of his life fast approaching, Emperor Henry III relinquished his five-year-old son and heir, Henry IV, to Pope Victor II, who was present at his deathbed.³¹ Empress Agnes of Poitou, Henry IV's mother, was also at her husband's side and, according to Lampert of Hersfeld, Henry III left the boy under her control ('sub...regimine').³² We should not see these two accounts as conflicting versions of events. Although Victor was German by birth, and held the bishopric of Eichstätt in plurality with his papal see, as pope he could not stay away from Rome for long. His involvement in the boy king's care was never intended to be permanent. Victor's sole appearance in Henry IV's surviving diplomas occurred in December 1056 in a confirmation of estates to the monastery of St Bertin and the monks of St Omer. In this confirmation, Henry introduced Victor as his spiritual father ('noster spiritualis pater'), a companion to his worldly father ('noster carnalis pater'), in whose memory the child king confirmed the estates.³³ Empress Agnes had a prominent role in the same document, demonstrating her central involvement in royal business with her son.³⁴ As this record shows, Victor helped to mediate Agnes's recognition as guardian. Before the pope left the German kingdom early in 1057, he organised an assembly in which he handed the kingdom over to Henry IV 'per investimentum' in the presence of the bishops and secular princes of the realm.³⁵ It was probably at this meeting that the magnates formally accepted Agnes as guardian, with papal encouragement.³⁶ In the eleventh century, the itinerant

³¹ 'Cui cum vitae adventaret terminus, papa cum multis aliis universi ordinis praesentibus, publice confessionem peccatorum facit, filium suum Henricum, haeredem regni relinquens', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 53. See Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, pp. 180-1, who suggests that Henry summoned Victor to Germany. See also Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Bethmann, p. 360, for Victor's visit to Germany.

³² 'Heinricus cesar moriens Henricum filium parvulum reliquit heredem sub matris suae Agnetis, prudentissimae reginae, regimine', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 353. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, nos. 378-81, pp. 519-24, for Agnes's presence with her husband and eldest son at Bodfeld in September 1056.

³³ 'qualiter nos pro amore nostri spiritualis patris et merito semper dilectissimi videlicet Victoris secundi papae et pro remedio nostri carnalis patris scilicet Henrici III regis, secundi Romanorum imperatoris augusti', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 2, p. 3.

³⁴ 'nec non ob interventum nostrae dilectissimae matris Agnetis imperatricis augustae', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 2, p. 3.

³⁵ 'Tunc dictus pontifex tradidit regnum per investimentum dicto puero Henrico', *Annales Romani*, ed. Pertz, p. 470. Pope Gregory VII and his supporters used this claim that the pope had made Henry king as part of their polemic against him in the 'Investiture Controversy'. See also Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 72; *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, ed. Waitz, p. 31 (based on Frutolf's account), for Victor's role.

³⁶ See Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 182, for the magnate role in accepting Agnes as Henry's guardian. See also Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 24-7, especially p. 27, who is more hesitant to accept Henry III's nomination of Agnes as their son's guardian.

nature of kingship meant that sons and queens were generally travelling with kings when they died. Henry IV and Agnes were at Bodfeld with Emperor Henry III.³⁷ Similarly, in France, Philip I and Anne of Kiev were at Henry I's side.³⁸ Critically, in the thirteenth century, neither sons nor wives were travelling with John, Louis VIII, or Alexander II at the time of their deaths.³⁹ This pivotal development in the circumstances of royal death reinforced the dependency of thirteenth-century queens on magnate support to secure a position of guardianship and governance.

Geographical location and the political circumstances of the deaths of thirteenth-century kings distanced queens from their husbands' deathbeds and from the king's dying decisions for their son and the kingdom. Like Agnes two centuries before, Blanche of Castile received both her husband's blessing and ecclesiastical support to become Louis IX's guardian. Yet, in contrast to the Empress, Blanche had to depend on those present at the royal deathbed to support her claim *in absentia*. Since Louis VIII had prepared his testament more than a year before his death, it was not seen to be sufficient to guarantee succession arrangements when the king knew he was dying. Louis called twenty-six leading magnates and prelates to a deathbed council on 3 November 1226.⁴⁰ All these men were travelling with the king's army, similarly to John's 'ordinatores' in 1216. Like John, Louis VIII considered it essential to have both ecclesiastical and secular lords present at this sensitive moment. As will be seen in the final section of this chapter, and throughout the rest of this thesis, collaboration between ecclesiastical and secular magnates was imperative to secure a child on the throne and for stability in his reign. A letter issued shortly after Louis VIII's death in 1226 claimed to record the events at his deathbed by men who had been present and listened to the king's words themselves.⁴¹ Walter Cornut, archbishop of Sens, and the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais stated that Louis asked for the son who succeeded him in the kingship, for the kingdom itself, and for all their other children

³⁷ See p. 108 n.32 above.

³⁸ Although no record of Henry I's deathbed attendees survives, Anne and Philip I both appear in Henry's last surviving charter, issued in Paris in 1060. See *RHGF* 11, pp. 605-6. Note that Baldwin V of Flanders does not appear in this act. See Roger Hallu, *Anne de Kiev, reine de France*, Pratsi Filosofichno-humanistychnoho fakul'tetu 9 (Rome, 1973), p. 82, for a romanticised portrayal of Henry's deathbed scene.

³⁹ See *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 152, for evidence that Isabella and Henry III may have been together for at least some of the war.

⁴⁰ Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 47, who lists the men present.

⁴¹ 'in lecto sue egritudinis, presentibus nobis et audientibus', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102.

– until they came of age or died – to be under Blanche’s guardianship.⁴² Whilst Louis VIII’s 1225 testament had distinguished between his son who would succeed him in rule, ‘in regnum’, and the notion of the kingdom, ‘totum regnum Francie’, fifteen months later Louis knew that both entities needed to be entrusted to his wife’s guardianship and tutelage (‘filius eius, qui ei in regno succederet, cum ipso regno’).⁴³ Louis VIII’s sharp differentiation between the care of his child and the government of the kingdom provides clear evidence to reject Félix Olivier-Martin’s opinion that this distinction had disappeared by the thirteenth century.⁴⁴ Simply because Louis believed Blanche to be the most able overseer of both charges did not mean that the two responsibilities were conceived as one. Olivier-Martin did, however, dispel the idea espoused by previous scholars that the letter issued by Walter Cornut and the bishops was a later creation to legitimise Blanche’s position as legal guardian.⁴⁵ I agree with his argument but, for my purpose here, it is superfluous whether the king believed that his opinion regarding guardianship arrangements would carry weight after his death, or the prelates believed that such an assertion would strengthen Blanche’s claim. Both scenarios imply the authority of the dying king’s recommendation and show magnate support for the queen’s guardianship of king and kingdom.⁴⁶ In this respect, Blanche’s situation can be juxtaposed against the cases of other thirteenth-century queens. Neither Isabella of Angoulême nor Marie de Coucy had the backing of the episcopate or their husband’s deathbed recommendation to bolster any attempt to secure a role in royal governance alongside their sons.

Ecclesiastical or papal support at the royal deathbed was important, even when a king was not leaving his son and kingdom in his wife’s care. In Scotland, David I took the advice of religious

⁴² ‘filius eius, qui ei in regno succederet, cum ipso regno et pueris ipsius aliis, essent sub ballo sive tutela karissime nostre domine B. (Blanche) regine’, *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102. See ‘Ex chronico Turonensi: auctore anonymo, S. Martini Turon. canonico’, *RHGF* 18, ed. Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial (Paris, 1879), pp. 290-320 (at p. 317), where the Tours chronicler similarly records Louis leaving his kingdom and children to Blanche.

⁴³ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710, pp. 54-5; no. 1828, p. 102.

⁴⁴ Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 62. I would similarly refute Olivier-Martin’s suggestion that Henry I of France (in the eleventh century) made a much clearer distinction between the care of the king’s body and the administration of the kingdom since his argument is based on a misguided interpretation of Anne of Kiev’s role at the start of Philip I’s reign.

⁴⁵ Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, pp. 49, 52. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 77, 80, who leaves the issue of the letter’s construction open. For scholars who suggested that the letter was produced later in time as justification of Blanche’s position, see: Gérard Sivéry, *Saint Louis et son siècle*, Figures de proue (Paris, 1983), pp. 28-9; Le Goff, ‘Blanche de Castille’, p. 62.

⁴⁶ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 712.

men ('religiosi') when making decisions regarding the affairs of the kingdom on his deathbed.⁴⁷ In England, John believed the best chance for his son's succession was to secure the support of the papacy. Rather than writing his desire for papal provision for his son into his testament, however, John instead sent a letter directly to Pope Honorius III, on 15 October 1216, in which he offered 'our kingdom and our heir... to both divine and your protection'.⁴⁸ Under papal care, John hoped Henry would be helped to succeed to his paternal inheritance.⁴⁹ As we can tell from Honorius's correspondence with the legate Guala early in 1217, the pope fully embraced his responsibility for John's son and kingdom.⁵⁰

In contrast to the approval kings provided for their wives' guardianship, and their reliance on the support and facilitation of the clergy and papacy, there is little evidence that kings in this period ever intended royal authority to be placed in the hands of a single magnate when their young son succeeded to the throne. The king's deathbed maintained an enduring political significance, but its importance for the appointment of a magnate as guardian was more the construct of medieval chroniclers than a reality. Entirely ignoring Anne of Kiev's more prominent role at the start of her son's reign, later twelfth-century authors fabricated the story that Henry I of France, on his deathbed, nominated Baldwin V of Flanders to care for Philip I and the kingdom.⁵¹ Modern historians followed these later accounts, assuming that the chroniclers were authoritative without assessing the reliability of their information.⁵² Whilst eleventh-century accounts of Philip I's early reign emphasised Baldwin's guardianship role, they never suggested that Henry had arranged this provision himself before his death. Near-

⁴⁷ 'et religiosorum consilio quae de regni negotiis ordinanda videbantur, paucis sermonibus ordinavit', Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis*, ed. Pinkerton, p. 451; translated in *Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed./trans. Freeland and Dutton, p. 62.

⁴⁸ 'Nos igitur ipsum regnum nostrum et heredem nostrum ipsis presentibus protectioni divine et vestre obtulimus', *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 140b, p. 106. Vincent sees these letters as the clearest evidence that John relied upon the papacy to support his son's succession.

⁴⁹ 'ad ipsius heredis nostri successionem in paternam hereditatem', *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 140b, p. 106.

⁵⁰ 'cum saepedictus Johannes rex Anglorum, positus in extremis, nobis et ecclesiae Romanae commiserit regnum et filios', Shirley, i, Appendix V, no. 1, pp. 527-9 (at p. 528).

⁵¹ For twelfth-century sources which emphasise Henry's choice of Baldwin as guardian see: Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, ed. Waitz, p. 389; *The gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed./trans. van Houts, ii, pp. 152-3; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical history*, ed./trans. Chibnall, ii, pp. 88-9; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 436-7. I have set out the argument which follows in more detail in Ward, 'Anne of Kiev and a reassessment of maternal power', 435-53.

⁵² For example, see: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, p. xxix; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, p. 16; Georges Duby, *France in the Middle Ages, 987-1460: from Hugh Capet to Joan of Arc*, trans. Juliet Vale, History of France 1 (Oxford, 1991), p. 117.

contemporary Flemish annals and the acts from the first two years of Philip's reign reveal completely different arrangements.⁵³ Baldwin does not appear prominently in Philip's acts until August 1063, when he consented to a royal concession to the abbey of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons as one of Philip's 'fideles'.⁵⁴ That same year, Philip and Baldwin began to be addressed together as a ruling partnership, and the count remained prominent in royal acts henceforth until his death in 1067.⁵⁵ Baldwin defined his own position as Philip's administrator and guardian ('procurator et baiulus') in 1066.⁵⁶ No eleventh-century evidence corroborates Baldwin's presence at Henry's deathbed, let alone suggests that it was here that the king entrusted his son and kingdom to the count's care. Instead, Philip's mother, Anne of Kiev, who was likely at her husband's side when he died, appeared most prominently in the first acts her son issued as sole king. Besides the importance of this conclusion for understanding maternal involvement in vice-regal guardianship, this finding also affects our insight into how medieval writers perceived magnate involvement. It was the twelfth-century chronicler William of Malmesbury who invented a scene in which Henry, as he lay dying, bestowed his son and kingdom upon Baldwin.⁵⁷ This was evidently a fiction. William's story in turn invites us to doubt the reliability of later monastic sources who recorded twelfth-century deathbed expectations rather than mid-eleventh-century realities. Later commentators created and embellished the story of Baldwin's nomination because they expected a male magnate to be appointed guardian when a dying king anticipated that he would be leaving his kingdom to a child.⁵⁸

⁵³ See especially *Annales Blandinienses*, in *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Grierson, p. 27, where the annalist places Baldwin's guardianship in 1061. This dating is not changed in either *Annales Elmenses*, p. 92 or *Annales Formoselenses*, p. 127. See also *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 2 and 3, pp. 3-7, 8-13, where Baldwin is only mentioned in two of the first thirteen charters of Philip I's reign.

⁵⁴ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 16, p. 48. See also Chapter Five, p. 161.

⁵⁵ 'coram inclito marchione Balduino et rege adhuc puero Philippo', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 17, p. 50. Contrast this with no. 15, p. 46, where Baldwin appears only as a supporter of justice and peace alongside his wife, Adela ('Haec ideo praemisimus quoniam comes Balduinus, justitiae et pacis cultor, instinctu suae conjugis et amitae nostrae Adelaidis').

⁵⁶ 'Philippi, Francorum regis, ejusque regni procurator et bajulus', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 25, p. 71. See also no. 27, p. 83, probably issued the same year, in which Philip referred to Baldwin as 'mei tutoris'.

⁵⁷ 'Rex moriens Balduino comiti Flandriae tutelam admodum paruuli Philippi filii delegavit' ('On his deathbed the king appointed as guardian of his young son Philip Baldwin count of Flanders'), William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 436-7.

⁵⁸ We should likewise question whether Philip of Flanders was paternally appointed as Philip II's counsellor or guardian whilst Louis VII lay dying in the autumn of 1179. See Yves Lefèvre, 'L'image du roi chez les poètes', in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 133-44 (at p. 138) and Thérèse de Hemptinne, 'Aspects des relations de Philippe Auguste avec la Flandre', in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 255-

There is significant evidence from thirteenth-century England that kings deliberately avoided appointing a secular magnate as their child's sole guardian, instead preferring more collaborative arrangements. As we have seen, John entrusted his kingdom and heir to Pope Honorius III's protection in October 1216.⁵⁹ The claim of William Marshal's biographer that, in the presence of other magnates, John selected the earl of Pembroke to take charge of Henry III and govern the English kingdom is yet another fabrication.⁶⁰ According to the biographer, William was in Gloucester and was not present at John's deathbed, although his nephew John Marshal was there.⁶¹ No extant record confirms the king's nomination of the Marshal, unlike Blanche of Castile's appointment in France a decade later. John's testament only named William as one of his thirteen 'ordinatores'. William's biographer intended his record of the dying king's nomination further to legitimise the earl's guardianship, but in reality, John never planned for the Marshal to have sole control of his son and kingdom. William's ability to assert his position quickly and secure custody of Henry was imperative, as was the support 'by common counsel' of royalist magnates at an assembly in November.⁶² From 1216, William Marshal attested royal letters almost consistently until his death in May 1219, often with his own seal. He used his own letters to conduct government business, and, on rare occasions, issued administrative writs in his own name.⁶³ The case studies of Count Baldwin and William

62 (at p. 255). There is little contemporary evidence to support the count's paternal designation. See also Introduction, p. 50, and Chapter Four, pp. 131-2.

⁵⁹ *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, pp. 105-6.

⁶⁰ 'Por ce que plus me fi en lui / De lealté que a nului, / Vos pri qu'il ait mon fiz en garde / E que toz dis s'en tient e garde, / Kar ja mes terres par nulli / Ne maintendra, se n'est par lui' ('Because I place my trust in him as regards loyal service more than in any other man, I ask you to see that he takes charge of my son and always keeps him under his care, for my son will never govern these lands of mine with the help of anyone but the Marshal'), *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 260-1. See also *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 180; Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 158-60; *The acts and letters of the Marshal family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145-1248*, ed. David Crouch, Camden Fifth Series 47 (Cambridge, 2015), p. 13.

⁶¹ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 258-63. See Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 159, for the presence of a 'Marshal party' at John's deathbed. See also Church, 'King John's testament', p. 521.

⁶² 'ex communi consilio', 'Barnwell' chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 233. It has now been shown that the 'Barnwell' annals were part of a larger chronicle written at Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire. See Cristian Nicolae Ispir, 'A critical edition of the Crowland Chronicle', unpublished PhD thesis (King's College London, 2015); Richard Kay, 'Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell chronicle', *Traditio*, 54 (1999), 141-67. See also Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 160, who downplays the role of magnate consent.

⁶³ For select examples, see: *The acts and letters of the Marshal family*, ed. Crouch, nos. 39 and 58, pp. 101, 129; Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 52; Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', p. 268. See *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 1, for examples of William sealing royal documents with his own seal.

Marshal, although geographically and chronologically distinct, both warn against accepting chronicle accounts at face value when they claim a secular magnate's deathbed appointment as a boy king's guardian. Royal selection was not inconsequential for magnates, but it was more likely to be asserted either by later authors writing without full command of the facts or near-contemporaries seeking to legitimise a magnate's promotion as guardian retrospectively.

Narrative accounts attest to the enduring significance of the royal deathbed in initial provisions made for a child king's guardianship, and suggest respect for the predecessor's choice. Yet, regardless of whether the king had nominated a guardian prior to his death, or on his deathbed, he could no longer enforce these wishes after his demise. Without firm evidence of deathbed nomination, we should be wary of assuming this was the only way in which a magnate could step into a guardianship role, even at the very start of a child king's reign. Assertion of a right to the position was more important, as was securing the support of other magnates. The collaborative involvement of magnates was particularly important in the thirteenth century, due to the heir's geographical location; he was not travelling with his father and thus not at the deathbed. Equally important was prioritising the heir's inauguration since, with the decline of associative coronation, eldest sons were not yet king when their fathers died.

iii. Inauguration, childhood, and ritual

Associative coronation conveyed the title of 'rex' upon young children but, in some cases, a child's position as king needed reconfirmation after his father's death. Pope Victor II escorted Henry IV to Aachen in 1056 after Emperor Henry III's death and placed him on the royal seat.⁶⁴ The annals which recorded this event made it clear that, whilst Henry was 'rex' prior to the Aachen trip, the pope, and possibly other counsellors, deemed it necessary to re-assert the boy king's status. Enthronement (probably accompanied by coronation) was part of the recognition that Henry IV was now sole king. Victor's presence showed the German princes that an implicit threat of papal condemnation faced those who refused to accept the child as king. Unlike Henry, boys who had not received inauguration during their childhood were not yet recognised as 'rex' when their predecessor died. Inauguration was central to securing their position and cementing

See also West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 234, who notes an administrative writ issued in William's name ('ad negotia domini regis facienda Per breve Willelmi Marescalli').

⁶⁴ 'Rex vero Henricus per dominum papam ad Aquasgrani deducitur et in sede regali collocatur', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 53.

their place in the royal succession, especially for the thirteenth-century child heirs Henry III, Louis IX, and Alexander III. For these children, the period between their fathers' deaths and their own inaugurations became part of their preparation for succession and progression from child heir to child king.

The speed of inauguration was more decisive when the heir to the throne was an uncrowned child, especially in kingdoms such as England where it was usually the ceremony, rather than the king's death, which marked the start of a new king's reign.⁶⁵ Speedy inauguration was also common in the Scottish kingdom in the central Middle Ages. Malcolm IV's inauguration may have taken place as early as 27 May 1153, only three days after David I's death.⁶⁶ Alexander III's inauguration took place at Scone five days after Alexander II's death.⁶⁷ The speed with which the ceremony occurred was primarily due to the rapid action of men who had been at the royal deathbed and the individuals closest to the child heir. They feared that any delay could be disastrous for the boy's chances of securing the throne. The men who had been present at John's deathbed in October 1216 were anxious that, if they waited too long to crown Henry III, they might end up with nothing, i.e. Louis might be crowned in Westminster.⁶⁸ Speed had been crucial, though not always possible, to securing kings on the English throne since the Norman Conquest.⁶⁹ Crowning Henry swiftly assuaged some of the magnates' uncertainty by limiting the period of *interregnum* and maintaining continuity with the child's predecessor. In Henry's case, the rival bid for the throne from the French king's son cemented the need for speed.

⁶⁵ *English coronation records*, ed. Legg, pp. xv-xvi. See Stephen Church, *King John: England, Magna Carta and the making of a tyrant* (London, 2015), pp. 67-9, for John's regnal year, which was always reckoned from the moveable feast of Ascension Day (the day on which he had been crowned). Philip II dated his reign from his associative coronation in 1179 rather than his father's death in 1180. See Léopold Delisle, 'Sur la date de l'association de Philippe, fils de Louis le Gros, au gouvernement du royaume', *Journal des savants* (1898), 736-40 (at p. 737). By contrast, see Reid, 'The political role of the monarchy in Scotland', pp. 5, 468-9, who argues for dating Alexander III's regnal year from the date of Alexander II's death.

⁶⁶ Contemporary chronicles do not record the exact date of the inauguration ceremony. See Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 71, who discusses the ceremony's dating based on Malcolm's reign length.

⁶⁷ Similarly, Alexander II's inauguration was held on 4 December 1214, the day after the death of his father, William the Lion, and before William's body had been buried. See Duncan, 'Before coronation', p. 140.

⁶⁸ 'quer de trop attendre / Nos porriens al naint prendre', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 266-7.

⁶⁹ Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 114-5, 137-41, who emphasises the importance of speed in coronation arrangements in England. See also Stephen Church, 'Aspects of the English succession, 1066-1199: the death of the king', *ANS*, 29 (2007), 17-34 (at pp. 32-3), for the link between uncertainty on the death of a king and a quick succession.

Medieval coronation implied divine choice in a ruler's election, meaning that it became harder for a contender to the kingship to displace even a boy king after inauguration.

Although haste could have negative connotations for adult heirs and royal claimants, the quick inaugurations of child kings seem to have been viewed positively.⁷⁰ Speed was less crucial in some kingdoms. Louis VIII wrote from his deathbed at Montpensier, on 3 November 1226, to various French prelates and magnates obliging them to render their homage and fidelity to his eldest son, and to crown him in the kingdom.⁷¹ Considering the Capetian king's firm prioritisation of his son's coronation we might have expected haste to have been at the forefront of the minds of those around the young Louis. Yet, a speedy inauguration was not so critical in France. French historians have tended to see Louis IX's inauguration on 29 November 1226 as hurried, but the ceremony did not occur until three weeks after Louis VIII's death on 8 November.⁷² Some delay can be attributed to the distance of more than 400km between Reims and Montpensier, where Louis VIII died. Matthew Paris suggested that those around the young Louis IX were fearful 'lest a delay brought forth danger'. Yet, in comparison to the speed with which magnates organised inaugurations for other thirteenth-century child kings, Blanche and her counsellors had the leisure to prioritise the location of Louis's ceremony, in Reims cathedral.⁷³

Inauguration ceremonies were ritualised liturgical occasions at which the king promised to uphold good kingship, surrounded by his household, ecclesiastical and lay magnates. The ceremony was also a rite of passage, a recognition of the individual's increased status and power.⁷⁴ But these ceremonies were not designed with children in mind nor tailored to a child's

⁷⁰ Björn Weiler, 'The *rex renitens* and the medieval ideal of kingship, ca. 900 – ca. 1250', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 1-42 (at pp. 13-15), for the link between a rushed succession and accusations of usurpation, as when Philip of Swabia accepted the election of the German princes following Henry VI's death.

⁷¹ 'quam cito poterimus, ad filium suum majorem natu, videlicet Ludovicum, personaliter accedemus, et ei hommagia et fidelitates debitas, tanquam domino nostro et regi Francie, faciemus, et laborabimus bona fide quod ipse, quamcito commode poterimus, coronetur in regem', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1811, p. 96. From the original document in Paris, Arch. Nat., J 363, no. 1. A precautionary measure noted that the second son, Robert (*d. 1250*), should receive homage and coronation if Louis IX died. See Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 47.

⁷² Régine Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Henry Noel (London, 1975), p. 113; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 95-6. By contrast, see Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 78, who emphasises that Louis's coronation was no more rushed than that of the previous (adult) king.

⁷³ 'metuens ne mora periculum pareret', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 118.

⁷⁴ Jacques Le Goff, 'A coronation program for the age of Saint Louis: the Ordo of 1250', in *Coronations: medieval and early modern monarchic ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 46-57 (at p. 52).

physicality. Ceremonies of inauguration which took place after the king's death relied on magnate co-operation and participation.⁷⁵ Much as in chronicle accounts of associative events, contemporaries rarely acknowledged the presence of mothers at their sons' inaugurations. Since there was no official maternal duty in the ceremony or liturgy, a queen's attendance at her son's coronation may not have been considered worthy of comment.⁷⁶ We cannot be certain whether Isabella of Angoulême was present at Gloucester cathedral in 1216, or Marie de Coucy at Scone in 1249, although both women remained in their sons' kingdoms until after their boys had been crowned. Inauguration thus differs from other ceremonial events, such as a child king's marriage, at which a queen mother's presence could be highly significant. Matthew Paris claimed that Henry III of England expressly called Marie de Coucy from 'foreign parts' (France) to attend her son's wedding to Henry's daughter, Margaret, in 1251.⁷⁷ Marie's presence may have been required to provide parental consent for the ten-year-old Alexander, but the queen mother's attendance was also an advantageous dynastic confirmation at the joining of the English and Scottish royal houses. A mother's dynastic connections were less valued at a young king's inauguration. Only Blanche of Castile's role in arranging and attending Louis IX's coronation merited mention in the eyes of near-contemporary commentators. Even the English chronicler Matthew Paris, writing from St Albans abbey, recognised Blanche's central organisational role in assuring her son's coronation went ahead, and he claimed that she took counsel from the legate, Romano Frangipani, before proceeding.⁷⁸ A later source, William of Nangis (*d.*1300), praised Blanche's industry and wisdom in securing Louis's coronation.⁷⁹ Since Blanche was not present at her husband's deathbed, she may not have determined the details of her son's coronation, but the queen rallied French magnates to attend and proceeded

⁷⁵ As did ceremonies of knighthood, especially in the thirteenth century. See Chapter Four, pp. 137-48.

⁷⁶ This was almost certainly the case with associative coronations. See Chapter One, p. 56.

⁷⁷ 'ob hoc vocata ex partibus transmarinis', *Chron. Maiora*, v, pp. 265-6; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 364. For records of the wedding ceremony more generally which do not mention Marie's presence, see: *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 56r.; *Burton annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 296; *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Stevenson, p. 57.

⁷⁸ 'Regina vero de consilio legati, metuens ne mora periculum pareret, convocato regni clero, et paucis ex proceribus, quos habere poterat, fecit filium suum, puerum scilicet vix decennem, in regem die Sancti Andreae Apostoli coronari', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 118.

⁷⁹ 'et per industriam et prudentiam venerabilis matris suae Blanchae reginae infra mensem post patris obitum, prima scilicet Dominica Adventus, Remis per manum episcopi Suessionensis, vacante sede Remensi coronatur, anno aetatis suae quartodecimo non impleto', William of Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, p. 544. But see Gérard Sivéry, 'L'équipe gouvernementale, Blanche de Castille et la succession de Louis VIII en 1226', *Information historique*, 41 (1979), 203-11 (at p. 203), who argues that Blanche's participation in preparations for her son's coronation should not be overstated.

with the ceremony even when important men were absent.⁸⁰ Louis travelled from Paris to Reims cathedral with his mother, a journey possibly depicted in the fourteenth-century *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre*.⁸¹ Nevertheless, Blanche is the exception among the mothers of child kings. Ritual and ceremonial dictated that it was male magnates, not mothers, who took precedence in preparing a child to become king through coronation.

Children depended on support from both prelates and secular magnates to ensure their inaugurations proceeded smoothly. These men could incorporate changes to ritual and ceremonial to allow for the king's childhood. Previous scholars have not appreciated the extent of these changes, despite the rich historiography on coronation and ritual.⁸² Explicit record of a child's age at inauguration drew attention to infancy and youth as something out of the ordinary.⁸³ But few writers concerned themselves with how those organising and participating in inaugurations compensated for a child's age, or for their mental and physical (in)capacity. These problems were not new to the central Middle Ages. When Charlemagne placed his three-year-old son Louis on the Aquitanian throne in 781, the child had to be carried to Orléans in a litter. Outside the city, his retinue supplied him with weapons fitting for his age before his regal entrance into Aquitaine.⁸⁴ Nearly four and a half centuries later, in England, William Marshal's biographer recorded that Henry III wore small royal robes for his 1216 coronation, recognising

⁸⁰ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 118; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 79.

⁸¹ Paris, BnF, MS NAL 3145, fol. 97r. Image can be viewed online at *Mandragore*, <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08001378&E=1&I=78609&M=imageule> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also Martin Kauffman, 'The image of St Louis', in *Kings and kingship*, ed. Duggan, pp. 265-86 (at p. 280).

⁸² See Gerd Althoff, 'The variability of rituals in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval concepts of the past: ritual, memory, historiography*, eds. Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 71-87, who discusses changes to coronation rituals without mentioning the king's age as a factor. See also Geoffrey Koziol, 'England, France and the problem of sacrality in twelfth-century ritual', in *Cultures of power: lordship, status and power in twelfth-century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 124-48; Philippe Buc, 'Text and ritual in ninth-century political culture', in *Medieval concepts of the past*, eds. Althoff, Fried, and Geary, pp. 123-38.

⁸³ A few select examples include: 'Ex chronico S. Petri Catalaun', *RHGF* 11, p. 344, for Philip I; John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 331, for Malcolm IV; Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 128, for Philip II; *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 182, for Henry III; William of Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, p. 544, for Louis IX.

⁸⁴ 'Qui usque Aurelianam urbem cunali est vectus gestamine, sed ibi congruentibus eius evo armis accinctus, equo impositus et in Aquitaniam est Deo annuente transpositus', Astronomus, *Vita Hluodowici imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hannover, 1995), pp. 279-555 (at p. 294).

the need for smaller state clothing for a child.⁸⁵ Henry's men removed the robes as soon as possible after the ceremony since they were heavy for such a young boy to wear for long.⁸⁶ Royal regalia – crowns, swords, and rings – were constructed for adult kings not for children. They needed adjustment or to be supported or held when a child wore them.⁸⁷ The English chronicler Roger of Howden claimed that, at Philip II's coronation in 1179, Henry the Young King held the crown because Philip was still 'puer'.⁸⁸ The accuracy of Roger's account of the coronation, and his representation of Philip as a child, are highly suspect. Emphasising Philip's childhood undermined the French king's authority, whilst the notion that he owed his crown to the support of an English king denoted political subjection which the Capetians would have adamantly rejected. Nevertheless, Roger's narrative suggests a general acceptance of a child's incapability to bear a crown without additional aid.⁸⁹ The physical exertions of a medieval coronation ceremony would have been demanding enough for adult men, let alone for children.⁹⁰ Exhausted by the day's proceedings, the nine-year-old Henry III processed out of the cathedral church so slowly that his knights decided to carry him instead.⁹¹ In the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the nobleman Balian of Ibelin carried the child king, Baldwin V (1177-1186), on his shoulders as the king processed from the Holy Sepulchre to the Templum Domini after his crown-wearing in 1185.⁹² The ritual of inauguration ceremonies reinforced royal power

⁸⁵ 'E il li ourent tote veie / Vestuz ses petiz dras realz; / Chivalier fu petiz e bealz', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 266-8.

⁸⁶ 'Des qu'en la chambre le porterent; / Ses reals dras la li osterent, / Qui trop peserent, e bien firent, / D'autres garnemenz le vestirent', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, p. 268.

⁸⁷ *The Anonimale chronicle, 1333-1381: from a manuscript written at St Mary's Abbey*, ed. V. H. Galbraith, Publications of the University of Manchester 45 (Manchester, 1927), p. 114, which records that the ten-year-old Richard II of England lost a shoe on the way to his coronation because it was too big. The crown had to be held above Richard's head by one of his earls because it was 'too heavy and ponderous for his tender age'. Cited in Gransden, 'Childhood and youth', p. 8.

⁸⁸ 'Henricus vero rex Angliae, filius Henrici regis filii Matildis imperatricis, praeibat illum gestans coronam auream in manibus suis, qua ille puer coronandus erat', *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 242.

⁸⁹ Even the adult king, Richard I of England, had required two earls to hold his crown, according to Roger of Howden. See *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, iii, p. 11.

⁹⁰ *English coronation records*, ed. Legg, p. lxiii, who notes how draining the ceremony must have been for adults but does not mention children.

⁹¹ 'Quant il fu coronés e sacrez / E li services fu finez, / Si ne se voldrent pas atendre / A l'enfant, qui trop esteit tendre, / Li chivalier, einz le porterent / En lor braz cil qui lainz erent' ('Once he had been crowned and anointed, and the service had come to an end, the knights had no desire to follow the slow pace of a child of such tender years. Instead, those inside the cathedral carried him out in their arms'), *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 268-9.

⁹² 'Quant ensi fu atiriés li affaires, si comanda li rois que l'on coronast l'enfant, et l'en le menast au Sepulchre et le corona l'on, et le fist l'on porter a un chevalier entre ses bras jusques au Temple Domini porce que il estoit petis, que il ne voloient mie que il fust plus bas d'iaus, et le chevalier estoit grans et levés. Cil avoit non Balian d'Ibelin, et si estoit un des barons de la terre', *La continuation de Guillaume*

and authority but we cannot assume that young children fully comprehended such meanings. When Archbishop Gervais of Reims noted that the seven-year-old Philip I read aloud a declaration of faith and signed ('subscribere') the document at his associative coronation in 1059, he only alluded to an amendment of the declaration to compensate for the king's young age.⁹³ Philip swore to uphold his coronation promises 'as far as I am able', suggesting that, even in the ritual liturgy of coronation, the representation of a king's abilities could depend on contemporary notions of maturity.⁹⁴ Since the document was almost certainly in Latin, it also provides an interesting indication of the boy's early education. Although there are few surviving insights into the reality of inaugurating an infant or young child as king, we can be certain that the ceremonies would have been a manifest demonstration of the new king's incapacity to uphold his coronation promises alone. Inauguration became even more important as a means of uniting magnate support behind the young king.

The necessity of ensuring a boy's succession demanded flexibility in arrangements for crowning and anointing. Cathedral-based ceremonies occurred across all kingdoms, except Scotland, meaning an archbishop usually had the foremost role in officiating.⁹⁵ The archbishop's hands performed the physical act of legitimisation which made the child a king. Sometimes coronations proceeded without the kingdom's leading archbishop, but the alternative was always another ecclesiastical officiant: archbishop, bishop, or papal legate. Necessity occasionally demanded the modification of more traditional choices of personnel or location. In England, Henry III's coronation was held at Gloucester on 28 October 1216 since Westminster was occupied by Henry's enemies.⁹⁶ Furthermore, because Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was absent from the kingdom, the papal legate Guala officiated,

de Tyr (1184-1197), ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades* 14 (Paris, 1982), p. 21. Translated in *The conquest of Jerusalem and the third crusade: sources in translation*, trans. Peter W. Edbury, *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 15. See also Hamilton, *The leper king*, pp. 208-9, for the political significance of Balian carrying the young king. My thanks go to Simon John for providing me with this comparison to a child king in Latin Jerusalem.

⁹³ *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, p. 227. See also Chapter Two, p. 87.

⁹⁴ 'quantum potuero', *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, p. 228.

⁹⁵ Even by Alexander III's inauguration in 1249, Scottish ceremonies of enthronement still took place out doors at Scone. See Broun, *Scottish independence*, pp. 161-88, especially at p. 181, for the unique location of Alexander III's enthronement underneath a cross in the graveyard of Scone Abbey, not on Moot Hill. See also Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, pp. 127-31.

⁹⁶ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 197.

crowning and anointing the child with the help of other members of the English episcopate.⁹⁷ Henry's coronation at Guala's hands did not attract the same criticism as had Henry the Young King's associative inauguration, performed unusually by Roger, archbishop of York, due to Becket's exile in France.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Scottish chroniclers commenting on the English situation claimed that both the choice of Gloucester and absence of the archbishop caused objection in 1216, even if these arrangements were made from necessity.⁹⁹ Due in part to these less-than-ideal circumstances, a second coronation was deemed essential a few years later and, at the request of the legate Pandulph and Archbishop Stephen, received papal approval.¹⁰⁰ When Henry was crowned for a second time on 17 May 1220, the feast of Pentecost, the ceremony was at Westminster with the archbishop of Canterbury presiding. Necessity also dictated the choice of officiant at Louis IX's inauguration on 29 November 1226, since the archbishop of Reims had recently died. Jacques de Bazoches, bishop of Soissons, officiated but, in contrast to Henry III less than a decade earlier, there was no suggestion that Louis ever required a second coronation.¹⁰¹

Ecclesiastical involvement in a child king's inauguration was less visible in the Scottish kingdom since the kings of Scots were only granted the privilege of royal unction at episcopal

⁹⁷ 'convenerunt apud Gloucestr'...ubi...per manus domini G. tituli Sancti Martini presbyteri cardinalis, et apostolice sedis legati in Anglia, et episcoporum tunc presentium, invocati Spiritus Sancti gratia, puplice fuimus in Regem Anglie inuncti et coronati', *Foedera*, i, pt. i, p. 145. Similarly, see *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 8a, p. 7; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams, Rolls Series 20 (London, 1860), pp. 73-4; *Tewkesbury annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 62; *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 181. For the suggestion that Peter des Roches crowned Henry in 1216, see Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 198. See also Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', p. 246; *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 36, pp. 28-9.

⁹⁸ Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 78-94.

⁹⁹ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 33v.; translated in *Mediaeval chronicles of Scotland*, trans. Joseph Stephenson (Lampeter, 1988), p. 46. See Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Watt et al., v, pp. 88-9, for a later source which also mentions the complaints. See also *Margan annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 16, which record that monks from Westminster demanded assurance that their rights would not be prejudiced in this case.

¹⁰⁰ 'litteras domini papae praedicto Pandulpho legato suo et Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, praecipiens mandavit, ut rex Henricus, regis Johannis primogenitus, secundum consuetudinem regni debita sollemnitate secundo in regem sublimaretur', '*Barnwell' chronicle*, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 244. See Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, pp. 252-3. See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 187-91, who argues that the second coronation was a turning point in the political history of the minority.

¹⁰¹ Similarly, at Philip III's coronation, another bishop of Soissons, Miles de Bazoches, crowned the king after the death of the archbishop of Reims on crusade in 1270. See Picó, 'The bishops of France in the reign of Louis IX', p. i.

hands by a papal bull of 1329. The sacral element conveyed through anointing was therefore absent from Malcolm IV and Alexander III's inaugurations.¹⁰² These ceremonies also lacked an archiepiscopal presence since the Scottish kingdom had no metropolitan see. Of course, bishops were not entirely absent from the inaugurations of the child kings of Scots.¹⁰³ David I's consultations with religious men on his deathbed may have involved them in preparations for Malcolm's succession, including inauguration.¹⁰⁴ John of Hexham's claim that 'all the people of the land' ('omnis populus terrae') raised Malcolm up as king suggests ecclesiastical attendance at the ceremony, as does the clerical and episcopal presence in royal acts issued early in Malcolm's reign.¹⁰⁵ The continuation of version F of the *Chronicle of the kings of Scotland*, written into the St Andrews *registrum* only after David II's coronation in 1331, attributed the act of crowning Alexander III in 1249 to the bishop of St Andrews, David of Bernham (d.1253).¹⁰⁶ Episcopal participation in fourteenth-century royal inaugurations may have influenced this later source, since coronation was not yet part of the mid-thirteenth-century Scottish ceremony. But the *Gesta Annalia I*, a source we can now date with some certainty to the mid-1280s, corroborates the bishop of St Andrews' role.¹⁰⁷ The customary location for Scottish inaugurations was at the royal palace of Scone, rather than in a cathedral, and the secular setting emphasised the role of secular magnates over that of prelates.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Although see Broun, *Scottish independence*, p. 181, who suggests the act of nobles strewing their coats at Alexander's feet could have been to show the king's position as 'anointed by God'. See *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 294.

¹⁰³ In this I agree with John Bannerman, 'The King's poet and the inauguration of Alexander III', *SHR*, 68 (1989), 120-49 (at p. 127). Bannerman argued for a longer history of clerical involvement in Scottish royal inauguration than had previously been suggested in A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: the making of the kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 557-8. Although see Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 66, for his later agreement that episcopal participation was already important at David's inauguration.

¹⁰⁴ Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis*, ed. Pinkerton, p. 451.

¹⁰⁵ John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 331; *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁶ 'Alexander filius puer septem annor. coronatus apud Sconam 3 Id. Julii a Davide Epo S. Andreae 1251', Anderson, *Kings and kingship in early Scotland*, pp. 277-8, who suggests this is the same date that the word 'coronatus' was inserted in the outer margin alongside Alexander III's name. Translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, p. 562.

¹⁰⁷ 'episcopus Sancti Andreae et ceteri coadjuvantes in regem, ut decuit, consecrarunt', *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 294. See Introduction, p. 19, for the revised dating of this source. By contrast, the Melrose chronicler only noted that 'magnates' appointed Alexander as king in the ancestral custom ('patrio more'). See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 55v.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, pp. 558-9. See also Broun, *Scottish independence*, p. 179, for the lack of a crown in 1249. Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, pp. 138-9, suggests the presence of a crown at Alexander III's inauguration but emphasises that this did not constitute a coronation.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Owen Clancy, 'King-making and images of kingship in medieval Gaelic literature', in *The stone of destiny: artefact and icon*, eds. Welander, Breeze, and Clancy, pp. 85-105 (at p. 102).

The practicalities of a child king's inauguration required the co-operation of secular magnates even though ecclesiastical men led and officiated at most of the ceremonies. Extant letters record the summons of important prelates and magnates to attend Louis IX's coronation on 29 November 1226.¹⁰⁹ Twelve men – the archbishops of Bourges and Sens; bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, and Chartres; counts of Boulogne, Blois, Montfort, and Sancerre; lords of Coucy and Bourbon; and the count of Soissons' son – affixed their seals to these letters, demonstrating their collaborative support for Louis's succession and coronation. The presence of secular nobles at a child's inauguration was so vital that other magnates considered delaying the ceremony if they had not yet arrived. After John's death in October 1216, men around his young son contemplated postponing Henry's coronation to wait for the earl of Chester; although necessity determined that the ceremony proceeded without the earl.¹¹⁰ Chroniclers highlighted the attendance of royal visitors or prominent barons, as when Henry the Young King and other sons of Henry II attended Philip II's inauguration.¹¹¹ Their presence implied feudal obligation but they also embodied crucial aristocratic support for Philip, illustrating the new king's status. Verbal proclamation of a child as king emphasised the group role for magnates in assenting to the boy's election or recognition.¹¹² Performances of homage after inauguration ceremonies epitomised the support of secular magnates through ties of lordship and fidelity.¹¹³ In France, homage was to be performed to Louis IX as lord and king, in the same way as the magnates had

¹⁰⁹ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, no. 1823, p. 101. See nos. 1824-7, pp. 101-2, for similar letters sent at the same time. See also *Le siècle de Saint Louis*, ed. Régine Pernoud (Paris, 1970), p. 160, for an image of this act with some of the seals still attached.

¹¹⁰ 'Li un distrent qu'en l'atendist / E li autre qu'il entendist / Al rei faire hastivement, / Quer nul ne set qu'a l'oïl li pent', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 266-7.

¹¹¹ 'Interfuerunt huic consecrationi domini sui tres filii Regis Angliae Henrici, primogenitus scilicet eius Henricus aequivocus patri, omnium sui temporis amantissimus, qui pridem fuerat in Regem Angliae sublimatus, et Rex Angliae et Dux Normanniae vocabatur: hic sororem Philippi Regis duxerat in uxorem', 'Ex chronicon anonymi canonici, ut videtur, Laudunensis', *RHGF* 13, ed. Dom Martin Bouquet (Paris, 1869), pp. 677-83 (at p. 683). See Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 126, who claimed erroneously that Henry the Young King placed the crown on Philip's head.

¹¹² For an example from Henry IV's associate coronation, see: 'filium quoque suum Heinricum Romani pontificis cunctorumque pontificum et principum regni electione regem constituit', Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 72. See also *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, ed. Waitz, p. 31. For a later thirteenth-century example, see: 'omnis clerus et populus, una voce ipsum in regem erigere consensum praebuerunt et assensum', *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 293, where the clergy and people assent to Alexander III as king 'with one voice'.

¹¹³ 'fidelitate et homagio omnium illorum nobis exhibitis', *Foedera*, i, pt. i, p. 145, for fidelity sworn to Henry III following his inauguration. See *English coronation records*, ed. Legg, p. lv. See also Chapter Six, pp. 188-91, for the involvement of guardians in homage and fidelity.

owed it to his father.¹¹⁴ In the circumstances of child kingship, when signs of support for the new king were particularly crucial, magnates sometimes used their attendance at inaugurations as a bargaining tool. Matthew Paris claimed that the French princes exploited their attendance at Louis IX's coronation as leverage to force his guardian, Blanche of Castile, to release captive magnates from imprisonment.¹¹⁵ In reality, headway had already been made in negotiating for the release of Ferdinand of Flanders prior to the ceremony, but the chronicler's comments reveal an expectation that magnates would attempt to haggle over their presence at the king's coronation.¹¹⁶ In addition to group functions of assent and fidelity, individual magnates figured in ceremonial roles. Philip, count of Flanders, bore the sword in front of Philip II at his coronation and also, a year later, at the ceremony in which Philip's new wife, Isabella of Hainault, was anointed as queen.¹¹⁷ An ongoing dispute between Flanders and Champagne regarding the right to bear the sword at the king's coronation led to Philip Hurepel, count of Boulogne and natural-born son of Philip II, performing the role at Louis IX's inauguration, as he had done at the coronation of Louis's parents only three years before.¹¹⁸ Although the privileges of ceremonial roles were sought after and contested, neither secular nor ecclesiastical functions at inaugurations became explicitly linked to the arrangements for vice-regal guardianship.

Ceremonial events crucial to a child heir's preparation for kingship and recognition as king, such as inauguration, would have been impossible without male aristocratic support. The changes which had to be made to these ceremonies to allow for an underage king demonstrate that magnate collaboration was more important than individual initiatives, not only by ensuring the events went ahead but also by achieving the social and public impact appropriate to the recognition of a new king. Even in the initial stages of preparation, before a boy's reign had really begun, child kingship depended on aristocratic consensus and collaboration rather than

¹¹⁴ 'bona fide fidelitates et hominagia faceremus Ludovico filio eius majori tanquam domino et regi', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1823, p. 101.

¹¹⁵ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 118.

¹¹⁶ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 74.

¹¹⁷ 'Ad hoc coronamentum et regis edictum, cum omnes Francie principes accederent, Philippus Flandrie et Viromandie comes potentissimus, qui in gestamine gladii regalis jus reclamabat, cum armis et militibus multis venit', Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 127; translated in Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 73. See Chapter Four, pp. 132, 134.

¹¹⁸ Jean Richard, *Saint Louis : roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983), ed. Simon Lloyd and trans. Jean Birrell as *Saint Louis: crusader king of France* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 12. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 62.

on individual actions. Inauguration ceremonies demonstrated the unity between different groups of magnates, the prelates and the princes, emphasising their collective support for a child as he received confirmation as king. Yet, magnate demands in return for their participation in inauguration ceremonies and – as I will analyse in Chapter Four – debates over the order of inauguration and knighting, revealed that tensions were never far from the surface.

When the king knew he would be leaving an underage child to succeed, the royal deathbed became an important site of preparation, whether this was Emperor Henry III confirming magnate fidelity to his son in the eleventh-century, or King John, in 1216, asking for papal aid for his sons and drawing up a testament requesting the support of ‘faithful men’. One of the most obvious changes in the circumstances of royal death was the rise in prominence of written testaments. Royal death away from court removed queen mothers from their husbands’ deathbeds. Although these circumstances did not entirely eradicate a woman’s access to vice-regal guardianship, the queen’s absence from her husband’s side in the thirteenth century was a further impediment to her involvement in governance. As I will show in later chapters, this reflects other structural changes in society across the central Middle Ages which similarly posed additional challenges to a queen mother’s rule alongside her son. Secondly, royal testaments and the assembly of men around the king’s deathbed encouraged the collaborative involvement of male magnates at the death of the king. The men at thirteenth-century royal deathbeds then proceeded, on the king’s death, to take co-operative responsibility for securing the child heir on the throne through inauguration. These changing deathbed circumstances may even have fostered ideas of conciliar guardianship, something I shall examine in more detail in Chapter Five.

In Part I of this thesis, I have demonstrated that the preparation for child kingship can be traced back to the reign of a boy king’s predecessor. Regardless of how far in advance the king and his entourage realised that the heir to the throne would be underage when he succeeded, some degree of preparation was integral to the boy’s upbringing and education. Kings laid important groundwork for a child’s succession, and mothers also had a significant role at this foundational stage, especially before the late twelfth century. The decline in associative coronation and changes in the circumstances of royal death by the thirteenth century increasingly involved

magnates, and less frequently queen mothers, in the immediate preparations for a child's succession after the king's death. A dying king's final actions could reinforce magnate and maternal roles into the new reign but royal testaments rarely detailed visions for guardianship arrangements with any precision, even in documents issued from the royal deathbed. Fathers never imposed terminus dates for when they believed their son should come of age, or dictated when the guardianship of king or kingdom should cease. In keeping arrangements vague, kings acted for their sons' benefit, hoping to prevent magnates from holding too much control over young rulers. As we shall see in Part II, changing notions of maturity and increasing legal influences affected child kingship and led to greater magnate control of guardianship arrangements.

PART II

Guardianship: Care of King and Kingdom

CHAPTER FOUR

Maturity and Adolescence

As in the modern world, maturity in the Middle Ages was not attached to a set age. A child king's progression into adulthood was personal and on a sliding scale which differed from king to king. Rites of passage could include the end of guardianship arrangements, military leadership, knighting, marriage, or the birth of a child.¹ Despite these variations, the arrangements made for child kings and for the administration and rule of their kingdoms shows a surprising consistency in views of maturity across north-western Europe. In the first section of this chapter, I use the case studies of Malcolm IV of Scotland and Philip II of France, who succeeded as kings on the cusp of adolescence, to analyse how decisions regarding vice-regal guardianship depended on contemporary notions of maturity. As I will show in the second part of this chapter, the transformation of a child king's knighting by the early thirteenth century reveals most perceptibly that ideas of maturity were changing. Acceptance of military arms went from being a ceremony associated with a child king's progression to adulthood to part of his preparation for kingship, carried out as a prerequisite to coronation or, in Alexander III's case, his marriage. It has been argued, especially in modern French scholarship, that changing the order in which a boy king received knighting and coronation was a deliberate assertion of the 'legal fiction' of child kingship and a recognition that the king was not bound by legalistic concepts of maturity or guardianship. By comparing parallel circumstances in north-western Europe, I argue instead that changes to royal knighting ceremonies need to be placed in a wider context of the development of knighthood over the central Middle Ages. The immediate necessity of representing the king as a competent military leader, equipped with arms to defend his kingdom and the church, trumped considerations of a child's immaturity in the first half of the thirteenth century. Knighting a child prior to coronation distanced the ceremony from any role in defining a boy king's rite of passage to adulthood. Instead, knighting became more influential in the initial arrangements for how king and kingdom would be cared for until the child ruler reached maturity.

¹ W. Mark Ormrod, 'Coming to kingship: boy kings and the passage to power in fourteenth-century England', in *Rites of passage: cultures of transition in the fourteenth century*, eds. Nicola F. McDonald and Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 31-49, who discusses fourteenth-century rites of passage with comparison to other English cases of child kingship. See also, Neville, 'Preparing for kingship', pp. 155-72.

i. Maturity and the absence of guardianship

Childhood and adulthood are not black and white categories. The lack of demarcation between the two causes problems for any modern examination of medieval child kingship. The point at which a king came of age was also a pressing question for young kings themselves and for those around them. Contrary to commonly-held views of child kingship, arrangements did not always have to be put in place for the care of king and kingdom when a child succeeded, but this was highly dependent on the view contemporaries took of his maturity. In the twelfth century, two boys succeeded as kings on the cusp of adolescence, usually defined by medieval scholars as beginning at age fourteen or fifteen.² Malcolm IV became king of Scots at the age of twelve in May 1153, and Philip II of France became junior king aged fourteen on 1 November 1179, then sole king a year later. Whilst contemporaries did not yet consider Malcolm and Philip to have entered adulthood by the time of their successions, their maturity removed the necessity for vice-regal guardianship arrangements. Contrary to Donald Watt's suggestion that Malcom was regarded as 'fully adult' when he succeeded, monastic commentators with connections to the Scottish kingdom explicitly acknowledged Malcolm's childhood in relation to his accession.³ John of Hexham, writing circa 1170, reported the appointment of 'the boy as king [in David's place] although he was only twelve years old'.⁴ In the *Eulogium Davidis*, composed shortly after David's death, Ælred of Rievaulx (d.1167) compared Malcolm's rule to the biblical precedent of Jehoshaphat, who was seven years old when he began to reign in Jerusalem.⁵ In the French kingdom, allusions to Philip II's childhood at his inauguration were less conspicuous. Consequently, historians tend to exclude Philip from discussions of child kingship.⁶ Yet Robert of Auxerre, writing at the request of Milo de Trainel (d.1202), abbot of St Marianus in Auxerre,

² For a discussion of the legal precedents and theory underpinning this age, see Introduction, p. 15, Chapter Three, p. 87, and below, pp. 136-8.

³ Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III', p. 1.

⁴ 'Tollens igitur omnis populous terrae Melcholmum filium Henrici comitis, filii ipsius David regis, apud Scotiam, sicut consuetudo illius nationis est, puerum admodum duodennem constituerunt regem pro David avo suo', John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 331; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 232. See also 'Die Sancti Leonardi Sumerled et nepotes eius insurgunt in malcolmum regem puerum', Paris, BnF, MS NAL 692 (*Liber de gentis Anglorum*), fol. 60r., transcribed in Todd and Offler, 'A medieval chronicle from Scotland', p. 158; *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 19r.

⁵ London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. XI, fol. 112v. 'Sicut in sacra scriptura legimus Joas septem erat annorum, cum regnare cepisset in Jerusalem', Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis*, ed. Pinkerton, p. 449. See also *Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed./trans. Freeland and Dutton, p. 61. See Chapter Five, p. 162.

⁶ For example, Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 30, who sees Philip as an adult from before the start of his reign.

unmistakeably considered Philip still to be a boy, ‘puer’, at his coronation.⁷ By the time the fifteen-year-old Philip succeeded as sole ruler after Louis VII’s death on 19 September 1180, the king’s age attracted little direct comment, but his youth still may have caused concern. Guy de Bazoches (c.1140-1203) hinted at the struggles facing the youthful Philip, although he asserted that the king had faced these challenges confidently. Alluding to Psalms 143:12, a psalm of David against Goliath, Guy claimed that Philip ‘although still a new plantation (‘nouella plantatio’), neither small, nor timid, more by [his] soul than [his] strength, embraced not leisure but the business of war’.⁸ As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, Bertran de Born did not label the king a child, but his mocking jibe at ‘del pauc rei’ cast a more negative aspersion on the limits of Philip’s royal power than did Guy.⁹ Uncertainty regarding Philip’s ability to rule alone led his panegyrist, Rigord, writing sometime before 1204, to choose his terminology carefully when describing the young king. Recalling the early years of Philip’s reign, Rigord claimed that the knights of all of France, the citizens, and other townspeople regarded the king as an adolescent of innately good character and thanked God for providing them with such a powerful ruler.¹⁰ Rigord’s assertion of Philip’s adolescence was almost certainly intended as a strong rebuke to those who had doubted the young boy would make a successful ruler. His exaggeration of the support for Philip suggests that contemporary doubts revolved around perceptions of the young king’s maturity.

The realities of Malcolm and Philip’s involvement in governance are unclear. For the first year of his reign, Malcolm received some form of support from Duncan I, earl of Fife, a prominent Scottish magnate. Likewise, at the start of his reign before their relationship soured over the Vermandois inheritance, Philip II relied on the advice and counsel of Count Philip of Flanders.

⁷ ‘Hoc etiam anno in sollempnitate omnium sanctorum Phylippus puer, prefati regis filius, [cum esset annorum 14], Remis a Guillelmo eiusdem urbis archiepiscopo in regem ungitur et regio diademate insignitur’, Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 242. See p. 224, for the dating of the marginal notation.

⁸ ‘Philippus in regni Francorum solio, novella quamvis adhuc plantatio, nec pusillus, nec pusillanimis, plus animis quam lacertis, non otium sed negotium amplexus armorum’, Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 856, where Aubri acknowledges he is quoting an extract from Guy de Bazoches.

⁹ *The poems of the troubadour Bertran de Born*, eds. Paden, Jr., Sankovitch, and Stäblein, p. 115. See Introduction, p. 28.

¹⁰ ‘Videntes autem milites tocius Francie et cives et alii burgenses opera regis miraculosa que tempore ipsorum, Deo ordinante, fiebant, regem bone indolis adolescentem contemplantes et opera ipsius admirantes, benedixerunt Deum qui talem potestatem dedit hominibus’, Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 154.

Historians have interpreted the involvement of Duncan and Philip of Flanders as evidence that they were acting as vice-regal guardians, but this was not the case.¹¹ Both men were close to child heirs in the year preceding their fathers' deaths and as they succeeded to their kingdoms. Duncan was regularly at the Scottish court and appears as a witness to thirty-seven of David's acts.¹² Philip of Flanders was occasionally at the royal court during Louis VII's reign, and certainly petitioned the king to confirm gifts he and his wife Elisabeth made to the abbeys of Fontevraud and Saint-Médard.¹³ He rose to greater prominence in the year that Louis was incapacitated, carrying the sword in front of Philip at his coronation in November 1179.¹⁴ These high-ranking secular magnates who had a good relationship with the child's predecessor, and valuable administrative and military experience, were exactly the sort of men who would have been involved in vice-regal guardianship if it had been deemed necessary. Critically, however, whilst they provided support to the young kings when they succeeded, there is no evidence that either Duncan or Philip of Flanders acted with the same vice-regal responsibilities as men such as Baldwin V of Flanders or mothers such as Blanche of Castile.

By the time Wyntoun wrote his metrical *Original Chronicle* in the early fifteenth century, Duncan's position alongside Malcolm in the year prior to David's death was interpreted as a sign of the earl's guardianship of the boy, and his governance of the realm in the first year of Malcolm's reign.¹⁵ Scant contemporary evidence suggests that Duncan's responsibilities extended this far. Claims that David intended Duncan 'to exercise an office similar to regent' rely on a unique passage from John of Hexham (*d.* before 1209) in which the chronicler described Duncan as 'rector'.¹⁶ John, as prior of Hexham, was well-informed about the Scottish

¹¹ Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 42, 46. See also C. Dareste, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 3rd edn, 9 vols. (Paris, 1884-5), ii, p. 96, who went one step further and claimed that Philip of Flanders shared the governance of the realm with Philip's mother, Adela of Champagne.

¹² *The charters of King David I*, ed. Barrow, p. 21. Duncan also witnessed three acts for Earl Henry, Malcolm's father.

¹³ *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, nos. 719, 723, and 751, pp. 456-9, for Louis VII's confirmations of Philip's gifts between April 1177 and March 1179.

¹⁴ 'Et Philippus comes Flandriae praeibat, ferens ante illum gladium regni', Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 194; Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 127; Luchaire, *Philippe-Auguste et son temps*, p. 98.

¹⁵ 'And gert pronowns [hym] thare be crye / Thare Prynce and Kyng off lauch to be / And als he depute hys Counsale / The Erle off Fyffe mast specyalle / All governyd by hym to be / In his state and hys reawté', *Annals of the reigns of Malcolm and William*, ed. Lawrie, p. 2.

¹⁶ Oram, *David I*, p. 201, for the suggestion that Duncan was to be regent for Malcolm. 'Rex au(tem) dauid dissimulato merore sup(er) int(er)itu regine Anglie neptis sue et filii sui unici tulit [continuo – inserted above the line of text] melcholmu(m) p(ri)mogenitu(m) filii sui et dato ei rectore dunecan comite

kingdom and probably knew Ælred of Rievaulx, a native of Hexham who could have provided him with additional first-hand details from court. John's sole reference to Duncan as 'rector' came before David's temporary departure from the kingdom to escort his second eldest grandson, William, to Newcastle, where the boy was recognised as earl of Northumbria. David was not departing on crusade or an extended military campaign, and any role Duncan had alongside Malcolm was unlikely to have been binding *post obitum*. John of Hexham never described Duncan as 'rector' after Malcolm's succession. Instead, his account endorses David calling on Duncan to deputise for him whilst he was absent from the kingdom in 1152. Anglo-Norman precedents for the deputising of vice-regal power in a king's absence could have inspired David's action. David had spent time in Henry I's household and was familiar with the Anglo-Norman court. He may have witnessed how his own sister, Edith/Matilda (*d.*1118), Henry I's queen, carried out royal duties in her husband's absence.¹⁷ Since David's queen, Matilda de Senlis, died in 1131, the king needed to trust one of his most loyal magnates as 'rector' when he left the kingdom. It is pushing the evidence too far to argue that this was an early demonstration of the earl of Fife acting as justiciar, as both John Bannerman and G. W. S. Barrow have previously suggested.¹⁸ Duncan was central to supporting Malcolm's recognition as heir and, in all likelihood, vital in reinforcing David's choice of successor among the magnates when the king died on 24 May 1153.¹⁹ Despite this, the role Duncan played in 1152 was unlikely to have been intended as a formal position alongside Malcolm after David's death. Malcolm's acts, although notoriously difficult to date with any precision, provide little evidence to support a guardianship role for Duncan before he died in 1154.

cu(m) exercitu copioso iussit eunde(m) pueru(m) p(er) p(ro)uincias scotie c(ir)cu(m)duci et p(ro)clamari herede(m) regni', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139, fol. 145v. See also John of Hexham, *Continuata*, in *Symeonis monachi opera*, ii, p. 327. For use of the title 'rector' more generally, see Introduction, pp. 44-5.

¹⁷ Bates, 'The origins of the justiciarship', p. 10; Bates, 'The representation of queens and queenship', pp. 291-9.

¹⁸ Bannerman, 'MacDuff of Fife', p. 23, and G. W. S. Barrow, *The kingdom of the Scots: government, church and society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 85, both of whom suggest that Duncan may have acted as justiciar. See Taylor, *The shape of the state*, pp. 218-24, who contradicts this, arguing that the origins of a thirteenth-century regional justiciarship cannot be found in Malcolm IV's reign. Since the justiciar did not act as the English king's deputy when he was absent from the kingdom with any regularity until later in the twelfth century, it would be surprising to find this so early in the kingdom of the Scots. See West, *The justiciarship in England*, especially pp. 31-5, 45-53. See also Chapter Five, pp. 172-3.

¹⁹ See Broun, *Scottish independence*, pp. 171-3, for the earl of Fife's later role in Scottish royal inauguration ceremonies, as at Alexander III's ceremony in 1249.

It is probably in a similar role as Duncan, as a counsellor and advisor rather than guardian of king and kingdom, that we should see Philip of Flanders at the start of Philip II's reign. Gerald of Wales emphasised that Count Philip provided support ('auxilium' – a recognised feudal term to indicate counsel and assistance) to Philip II after his coronation; support which was particularly important following his father's death.²⁰ The count's influence was not always viewed positively. Roger of Howden blamed the count's advice for encouraging the young king to exercise tyranny over his people.²¹ Count Philip's arrangements for the king's marriage to his niece, Isabella of Hainault (1170-1190), daughter of his sister, Margaret, and Baldwin V of Hainault, show the count's power at the king's side in 1179 and 1180.²² Gilbert of Mons, writing shortly after 1195, described Philip of Flanders as one of Philip II's 'familiares et consilarii'.²³ Although Gilbert, Baldwin of Hainault's court chaplain and then chancellor, had a vested interest in extolling Isabella's relations, the author implied that it was the youth of both the king and Isabella which permitted the count of Flanders to step into the matchmaker's role. The count's kinship to Isabella, his niece, gave him further grounds to act as broker for her marriage to Philip, and he bore the sword in front of the king again at Isabella's coronation as queen at Saint-Denis.²⁴ Since tenurial guardians had the authority and right to arrange a ward's marriage, it is easy to see how the Flemish count's involvement in Philip's marriage may have been perceived as a Flemish aspiration to control the king and his kingdom.²⁵ Opposition to the marriage from Philip's maternal family needs to be seen in this light.²⁶ Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that anyone in the late twelfth century sought a precedent for a Flemish count's

²⁰ 'In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandriensum comitis praecipue fultus auxilio (puta cuius neptem ex sorore, filiam videlicet comitis de Henou, patre adhuc superstite et id procurante, in uxorem duxerat)', Gerald of Wales, *Liber de principis instructione*, p. 228. See Bautier, 'Philippe Auguste: la personnalité du roi', p. 52, for the suggestion that the count was Philip II's godfather ('parrain'). Whilst the count's role as King Philip's godfather is stated frequently in secondary literature, there is little contemporary evidence to support this.

²¹ 'Eodem anno Philippus rex Francorum, videns quod pater suus morbo laboraret paralytico, adhaesit in omnibus consilio Philippi comitis Flandriae', Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 196. See also *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 244.

²² 'Ex chronicon anonymi canonici, ut videtur, Laudunensis', *RHGF* 13, p. 683.

²³ Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 129; translated in Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Napran, p. 74.

²⁴ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 138-40; Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 130.

²⁵ Noël James Menuge, *Medieval English wardship in romance and law* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 82-100, for issues of wardship and marriage in regard to female wards. See Chapter Six, pp. 198-200, for the involvement of vice-regal guardians, especially mothers, in marital negotiations.

²⁶ 'et contra consilium omnium amicorum suorum de regno Franciae, cepit in conjugem filiam comitis de Eainou', *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 245; Gervase of Canterbury, *The historical works*, ed. Stubbs, p. 294.

involvement alongside a young king in the earlier case of Baldwin V's guardianship of Philip I, Philip II's great-grandfather. Philip of Flanders did not act alone and other royal counsellors and advisers were part of Philip II's inner circle, such as Robert Clement and the constable, Raoul count of Clermont (*d.*1191).²⁷ The author of a continuation of the *Flandria generosa*, possibly writing at the Flemish count's court, viewed Philip of Flanders as one of the most noble princes of the kingdom, but even he did not go as far as to suggest that Philip had custody of the king or governed the French kingdom.²⁸ A young adolescent had more control from his succession over the arrangements made for his kingdom. Thus, we should not rule out fifteen-year-old Philip II's agency in his marriage.²⁹ Philip had much to gain from the match with Isabella. Following their marriage at the château de Bapaume in Isabella's dowry lands on 28 April 1180, he secured the county of Artois, a rich strategic base against the English king, and the promise of more land if the Flemish count should die without heirs.³⁰ The transition between childhood and adulthood required the king's inner circle – whether that was vice-regal guardians, counsellors and advisors, or maternal kin – to tread delicately as the adolescent boy renegotiated his reliance on and independence from those around him.³¹

One of the main problems we encounter in any analysis of child kingship is how we define a king's entry into adulthood. Was it the stage at which a king perceived himself to be governing

²⁷ Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, p. 129, who suggests other counsellors were involved in the marriage negotiations. See Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 246, for Robert Clement's prominent position in Philip II's counsels. See *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, i, pp. 246-7, who notes the prominence of Robert Clement and Raoul, count of Clermont, in 1180. See also Bautier, 'Philippe Auguste: la personnalité du roi', pp. 53-4.

²⁸ 'ubi affuit comes Philippus et pre aliis principibus gloriosus apparuit, ferens gladium coram rege, qui ferri debet a nobiliori principe regni', *Genealogiae Comitum Flandriae continuatio Claromariscensis Flandriae generosa*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1951), pp. 326-34 (at p. 327). See Jean-Marie Moeglin, 'Une première histoire nationale Flamande : *L'Ancienne chronique de Flandre* (XIIe – XIIIe siècles)', in *Liber largitorius : études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, eds. Dominique Barthélemy and Jean-Marie Martin, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 84 (Geneva, 2003), pp. 455-76, for the provenance of this continuation.

²⁹ 'Non multis vero interiectis diebus contigit, ut rex Philippus peteret a comite, in uxorem dari sibi neptem eius, filiam scilicet sororis ipsius, videlicet Margarete Hainonensis comitisse', *Genealogiae Comitum Flandriae continuatio*, ed. Bethmann, p. 327, where Philip's initiative to marry Isabella is stressed. See Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste', pp. 17-19.

³⁰ Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 856; Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, pp. 129-30. See Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste', p. 20, who discusses the exact limits of the territory Philip II received. See also de Hemptinne, 'Relations de Philippe Auguste avec la Flandre', p. 257.

³¹ See Chapter Six, pp. 209-10, for examples of the importance of this transition to maturity in the relationships between a child king and his guardians.

his kingdom and, if so, how can we identify it? Or, was it the point when contemporaries recognised the king to be out of childhood? Malcolm and Philip's early experiences of kingship demonstrate that childhood and adulthood were not entirely separate stages of life. There was a transitional phase in which contemporaries viewed their king as young and inexperienced but without the boy necessarily needing to be under a guardian's custody or care. Elsewhere than Scotland, a boy king's fifteenth year held a consistent importance, as we can see from Rigord's description of Philip's age at his inauguration. Rigord not only emphasised that Philip had turned fourteen at the previous feast of the Christian martyrs Symphorian and Timotheus, but felt it necessary to clarify that Philip had entered his fifteenth year and was thus anointed as king in the fifteenth year of his life.³² There would have been no need for Rigord to stress the point so repetitively if this age held little significance to the royal and aristocratic audience for whom he wrote. The author's comments reveal continuity from the eleventh century, and earlier, when a child king's fifteenth year often marked the end of vice-regal guardianship arrangements. Philip I of France explicitly stated that he had withdrawn himself from the tutelage ('mundiburdium') of Count Baldwin V of Flanders in acts issued before the end of 1066, the year the king turned fourteen, marking the start of his independence from his guardian.³³ William of Malmesbury, writing from a less informed perspective on the French court, attributed the agency of this decision to the count, who he claimed returned the kingdom to Philip.³⁴ A boy's fifteenth year maintained some of its former significance even into the early thirteenth century when other notions of maturity were beginning to take prominence (as I will show in Chapter Five). In England, letters patent of October 1216 directed Brian de Lisle to deliver the castle of the Peak to William de Ferrières, earl of Derby, to hold until Henry III had completed the fourteenth year of his life.³⁵ This reveals that original plans forecast Henry's

³² 'Cuius etas fuerat annorum XIII in festivitate Timothei et Simphoriani preterita. Et tunc inceperat volvi annus XV, ita quod in anno quinto decimo sue etatis in regem est inunctus in festo scilicet Omnium sanctorum', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 128. For the various stages of composition of Rigord's text and its panegyric nature see pp. 68-75.

³³ 'exeunte me de Flandrensiu comitis Balduini mundiburdio', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 28, p. 85. See also no. 27, p. 80. For Prou's precise dating of Philip's exit from Baldwin's tutelage to between 1 October and 31 December 1066, see pp. 83-4, n. 1. See also Introduction, p. 50.

³⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 336-7, who saw this as a demonstration of the count's integrity and loyalty. See also Raoul Tortaire, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. de Certain, p. 314.

³⁵ 'Sciatis quod tradidimus dilecto et fideli nostro W. comiti de Ferariis castrum nostrum de Pecco, cum homagiis et aliis pertinenciis suis, tenendo et habendo usque in quartumdecimum annum etatis nostre completum', *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 1. See also pp. 1, 23, 26, 64, 72, 76-7, 100, 107, 112, 132, for examples of Henry granting confirmations or concessions to last until the king's fourteenth birthday on 1 October 1221 ('usque ad quartumdecimum annum etatis nostre completum'). This form of dating

minority to end at a date which coincided with entry into his fifteenth year. Henry's guardians later adapted these plans, as we shall see, but it was around Henry's fourteenth birthday in 1221 that Peter des Roches's custody of the king ended.³⁶ The significance of this age as the terminus of the king's custody has usually been associated with the end of tutelage under Roman law, but we should not underestimate the contemporary social and cultural importance of a boy's fifteenth year, even into the thirteenth century.³⁷ By this date, however, knighting had been entirely detached from any connection to a boy king's fifteenth year or his progression to adulthood.

ii. A king must be a knight?

Whilst much modern scholarship approaches knighting as a marker of male maturity, military capability, and status, both for the sons of kings and in a wider noble context, the relationship between child kingship and knighting presents a more complicated picture.³⁸ Max Lieberman recently emphasised the need for further analysis of whether knighting remained, for the sons of kings, a rite of passage to adulthood, as he showed it had been in the eleventh century.³⁹ I argue here that the first half of the thirteenth century introduced two novelties to the knightings of child kings. Firstly, Henry III of England and Louis IX of France were knighted prior to coronation. Secondly, the tender age at which these children, and Alexander III of Scotland, were girded with arms removed knightings from their prior association with male adolescence and the assertion of independence from guardianship.

Knighting took place after a child's coronation and several years into his reign in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, usually during the boy's fifteenth year. This was the case in Germany for Henry IV and almost certainly in France for Philip I and Philip II. At the Easter court at Worms

appeared only in the first two years of his reign before dropping out of use in favour of the 'ad etatem' clause. See Chapter Five, p. 178. See Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', pp. 280-1.

³⁶ 'Barnwell' chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, pp. 259-60.

³⁷ Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', p. 2, who notes the legal significance of this age in Roman law. See also Crook, *Law and life of Rome*, pp. 113-7. The significance of age fourteen can also be seen in early medieval law codes like the *Lex Ribuariorum*. See *Lex Ribuariorum*, eds. Franz Beyerle and Rudolf Buchner, MGH LL nat. Germ. 3.2 (Hannover, 1954), ch. 84, p. 130; *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, MGH LL nat. Germ. 2.1 (Hannover, 1892), pp. 108, 153-4.

³⁸ Jean Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie XIe – XIIe siècles* (Geneva, 1986); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), pp. 66-7.

³⁹ Max Lieberman, 'A new approach to the knighting ritual', *Speculum*, 90 (2015), 391-423 (at pp. 401, 412-13, 423).

in 1065, Henry IV, aged fourteen, was girded with his sword ('gladium cinxit'), marking his progression to maturity and power.⁴⁰ The origins of the link between the acceptance of arms and a boy's coming of age have been much debated. According to Tacitus, Germanic custom marked maturity with the presentation of a spear and shield in a public forum, although Maurice Keen warns against a direct comparison between this much earlier ceremony and the medieval circumstances.⁴¹ Girding with arms was not the only way in which a boy made the transition to adulthood in antiquity. The Roman rite of passage took the form of a boy casting off the *toga praetexta* with its a purple stripe and putting on the all white *toga virilis*, an event which usually occurred before his seventeenth birthday, marking him as an adult citizen.⁴² A youth's first shaving of his beard could also be imbued with significance for his progression to adulthood in the Roman world.⁴³ In Henry's case, being girded with his sword increased his political momentum, evidenced by the fact that he issued more documents this year than during any other of his reign.⁴⁴ Other political changes ran parallel to Henry's ritual acceptance of arms, and it was only after this event that his mother, Agnes of Poitou, left the kingdom to travel to Rome.⁴⁵ Dating Philip I's entry into knighthood is more problematic. Despite the scarcity of references, we know Baldwin VI of Flanders (*d.* 1070) knighted Philip, since the count's son, Baldwin de Mons, described himself in 1087 as the son of the man who knighted the king.⁴⁶ Incidentally, this reveals the contemporary significance of a magnate's participation in knighting a king, and its lasting familial memorialization. The most likely date for Philip's knighting would have been

⁴⁰ 'Heinricus quartus in tertia feria paschae gladium cinxit Wormaciae, Heberhardo archiepiscopo Treverensi benedicente', *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 53; 'Ibi per concessionem eiusdem archiepiscopi primum se rex arma bellica succinxit', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 93; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 198, who claimed, incorrectly, that Henry was knighted in his fourteenth year. See also Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, pp. 56-8.

⁴¹ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 66-7. For a similar warning, see Lieberman, 'A new approach', p. 412.

⁴² *Growing up and growing old in ancient Rome: a life course approach*, eds. Mary Harlow and Ray Laurence (London, 2002), pp. 67-9.

⁴³ *Growing up and growing old in ancient Rome*, pp. 72-5. And see Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic meanings of hair in the Middle Ages', *TRHS*, 4 (1994), 43-60 (especially at pp. 44, 47-8), for the association of beards (and hair cutting) with age in the Middle Ages.

⁴⁴ Henry issued 36 diploma this year. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, pp. xx-xxi.

⁴⁵ Tilman Struve, 'Die Romreise der Kaiserin Agnes', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 105 (1985), 1-29 (especially pp. 10-12), who dates the visit to Rome to May 1065 at the earliest; Mechthild Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes (1043-1077): quellenkritische Studien*, Münstersche historische Forschungen 7 (Cologne, 1995), pp. 34-5. See also Chapter Six, p. 210, and Chapter Seven, p. 235.

⁴⁶ 'Ego Balduinus, Valentianarum comes, filius Balduini junioris qui Philippum regem regalis insignivit militia armis', André du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Béthune : iustificée par chartes de diuerses églises et abbayes, arrests du Parlement, titres particuliers, epitaphes, chroniques et autres bonnes preuues* (Paris, 1639), p. 361.

in his fifteenth year (23 May 1066 x 23 May 1067), during the period of political change attached to his exit from Baldwin V's guardianship.⁴⁷ The age of fourteen was socially and culturally ingrained as the end of male childhood, 'pueritia', and marked the canonical age at which boys could consent to marriage, indicating their entrance into marital, and thus sometimes also sexual, maturity.⁴⁸ Knighting a child king during their fifteenth year was in keeping with the age at which many young noble and aristocratic men entered knighthood.⁴⁹ Furthermore, being equipped with arms at age fourteen or fifteen was a recognition of military maturity. For child kings, however, knighting was not always a precursor to military involvement.⁵⁰ Henry IV's first military expedition was in 1063, two years before his knighting, when Archbishop Adalbert took the boy with an army to support the young king Solomon of Hungary (1053-1087).⁵¹ Henry's knighting was fixed to his maturity not to the reality of his military track record. Henry IV and Philip I accepted arms several years after their associative coronations, which – as I discussed in Chapter Two – took place during their fathers' lifetimes.⁵² Their knightings thus occurred many years after they had succeeded to their thrones; distinct from their preparation for kingship. Insufficient evidence survives to date Philip II's entry into knighthood, but Alexander Cartellieri plausibly suggested that it took place at a tournament celebrated at Arras on the day of Pentecost, 8 June 1180.⁵³ This was during Philip's fifteenth

⁴⁷ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, p. xxxiv. See Olivier Martin, *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1922-6), i, p. 172, who argues for the connection between knighting and exit from feudal guardianship although, as I will show, this was not the case by the thirteenth century.

⁴⁸ Hamilton, *The leper king*, p. 30, for the circumstances in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, where the age of majority was fifteen through to the late twelfth century.

⁴⁹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, p. xxxiv. Duke William of Normandy was probably knighted around the same age in the mid-eleventh century. See William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed./trans. Davis and Chibnall, pp. 6-7; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 53-4, 70-1, who links William's knighting to military involvement, noting that William was knighted as soon as possible, probably around 1042 when he was roughly fourteen. See Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France* (Paris, 1902), pp. 418-9, who sees fifteen as young to be knighted, suggesting a more typical age of around twenty-one. See also Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, p. 15; LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois', p. 25.

⁵⁰ Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 409.

⁵¹ 'Cuius satellicio functus in Ungaricam tunc expeditionem quasi magister regis et princeps consiliorum profectus est, relicto super negotia regni Coloniensi archiepiscopo. Restituto autem in regno Salemone, quem Belo expulerat, pontifex noster cum rege puero victor ab Ungria regressus est', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SS rer. Germ. 2 (Hannover, 1917), p. 186. See *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 62; *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127. See also Chapter Six, pp. 198-9.

⁵² Chapter Two, pp. 86-92.

⁵³ Cartellieri, 'L'avènement de Philippe Auguste', p. 14. See Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, eds. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, and George F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861-91), i, p. 50, for details of this tournament.

year, shortly after his marriage to Isabella of Hainault in April 1180 and his crown-wearing alongside her.⁵⁴ If we accept Cartellieri's theory – which, it must be noted, is based only on conjecture – then, even by the later twelfth century, knighting was not yet perceived to be a precursor to a boy's associative coronation.⁵⁵ Contemporary chroniclers saw nothing unusual in a child king's knighting taking place several years after his succession. Régine Pernoud's suggestion that 'a king must be a knight' is thus not tenable for the eleventh or twelfth centuries.⁵⁶ Instead, prior to the thirteenth century, a child king's entry into knighthood was linked to his progression into adolescence or adulthood, acquisition of greater control over the kingdom's administration, and, in some cases, married life or an increased martial role. In the kingdom of the Scots, additional factors such as tradition and lordship had to be taken into consideration when knighting a king.

Connections between knighting and marital or military responsibility were still important to child kings of Scots, but there was no suggestion in Scotland that knighthood should be tied to a specific year of the king's life. Instead, uniquely, entry into knighthood depended more on the whim of another ruler: the English king. Although knighting was relatively newly associated with ideas of rulership in twelfth-century Scotland, Malcolm IV, as in other eleventh-century case studies, did not receive arms until many years after inauguration and after his first military action.⁵⁷ Malcolm was eighteen when Henry II of England girded him with his sword at Périgueux around St Martial's Day [30 June] 1159 on their return from the military campaign

⁵⁴ Later in Philip's reign, the adult king similarly knighted the fifteen-year-old Arthur of Brittany (*b.* 29 March 1187) at Gournay in July 1202, a few months after Arthur's betrothal to his daughter, Marie, at Easter. See *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, no. 647, p. 236, for the homage Arthur swore to Philip for his lands following his knighting. See also Michael Jones, 'Arthur, duke of Brittany (1187–1203), prince', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁵⁵ This is supported by contemporary German circumstances. Frederick Barbarossa's eldest son, Henry, was knighted aged eighteen at the 1184 *Hoftag* in Mainz after he had already been made associate king in 1169. See Richard Mortimer, 'Knights and knighthood in Germany in the central Middle Ages', in *The ideals and practices of medieval knighthood: papers from the first and second strawberry hill conferences*, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 86–103 (at p. 99).

⁵⁶ Speaking of Louis IX's knighting in Soissons prior to his coronation: 'He was young for it, as we have seen, especially since it implied skill in handling arms; but a king must be a knight', Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Noel, p. 115. Similarly, see Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 397 and n.13 ('Normalement, on ne couronnait un roi mineur qu'après l'avoir adoubé'). Guilhiermoz makes little reference to associative coronations.

⁵⁷ Crouch, *The image of aristocracy in Britain*, pp. 116–7.

to Toulouse.⁵⁸ The king of Scots may have attempted to secure knighthood a year earlier when he met Henry at Carlisle, but the Melrose chronicler noted that this initial meeting ended badly, suggesting that Henry turned down Malcolm's request.⁵⁹ In May 1149, before his accession as king of England, Henry II had himself been knighted at Carlisle by Malcolm's grandfather, David. Several years later, Henry withheld the honour of knighthood from the Scottish king until it best suited his own agenda.⁶⁰ The words 'know that after I received the arms of knighthood' prefaced several of Malcolm's acts issued after 1159, demonstrating the personal importance with which the young man viewed his knighting.⁶¹ Barrow's claim that Malcolm took 'almost pathetic pleasure' from having been knighted is unnecessarily pejorative, and detaches the event from its significance to an adolescent king fighting in a foreign land.⁶² We can also see the English king's influence in the timing and location of Alexander III's knighting at Henry III's hands at York on Christmas Day 1251.⁶³ The Lanercost chronicler drew specific attention to the fact that Alexander was only ten years old, suggesting the author saw this as unusually young for knighting.⁶⁴ Alexander's entry into knighthood was not linked to his fifteenth year, nor was it associated with military campaigning. Instead, it was a prerequisite of his marital maturity. The ceremony took place the day before his marriage to Margaret, Henry III's daughter.⁶⁵ Matthew Paris, who may have been an eyewitness at York in 1251, implied

⁵⁸ 'Regemque Scotorum Henricus apud urbem Petragoricam in prato Episcopali militiae cingulo redimivit', Geoffrey of Vigeois, 'Chronica', *RHGF* 12, p. 439; *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 132-3; *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 19v.

⁵⁹ 'Rex anglie h(enricus) et malcolm(us) r(ex) scot(torum) ap(u)d carlel (con)uenerunt s(ed) non b(e)n(e) pacificati ab inuice(m) discesserunt', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 19r. See also Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 216.

⁶⁰ Similarly, Henry II may have kept his own son, Henry the Young King, un-knighted deliberately. See Smith, 'Henry II's heir', p. 306. See also Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 82-4, 154-5, for the dispute over the dating of Henry the Young King's knighting. See below, p. 144.

⁶¹ 'Sciatis me posteaq(ua)m arma suscepi concessisse', Edinburgh, NLS, Ch 14319. See also *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, nos. 183, 184, 195, 198; Barrow, *The kingdom of the Scots*, p. 286.

⁶² Barrow, *The kingdom of the Scots*, p. 255.

⁶³ A later fifteenth-century source suggested that the bishop of St Andrews girded Alexander with the belt of knighthood in 1249 prior to his inauguration, but this was almost certainly a reflection of the author's own expectations rather than the thirteenth-century reality. See Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Watt et al., v, pp. 292-3.

⁶⁴ 'Et in natalitio Domini die suscepit rex Alexander, annorum decem, a rege Angliae arma militaria', *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Stevenson, p. 57.

⁶⁵ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fols 56r.-v. See Guilhaumez, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 397 n.12, for the general notion that men had to be knighted prior to marriage. See also Björn Weiler, 'Knighting, homage, and the meaning of ritual: the kings of England and their neighbors in the thirteenth century', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 275-99 (at p. 283), who argues that Alexander II's marriage similarly symbolised his ability to marry.

that Alexander had a choice as to who would gird him with his sword, but this seems doubtful.⁶⁶ Rather than a demonstration of the reverence and honour Alexander felt for Henry, it is far more likely that Henry pre-meditated knighting the young king of Scots to emphasise aspects of English (over)lordship in a large social event attended by magnates from both kingdoms. Henry claimed homage from Alexander for his English lands. According to Matthew Paris, Henry also attempted to secure homage for Alexander's Scottish lands.⁶⁷ Both Malcolm's and Alexander's experiences of receiving arms fitted into something of a 'family tradition' in which kings of Scots and their sons were often knighted at the hands of the English monarch.⁶⁸ Whilst Anglo-Scottish relations added a unique aspect to Scottish royal knighting ceremonies, we should not exaggerate these differences. Changing ideas of kingship and maturity affected the experience of knighting a child king of Scots much as they did elsewhere in north-western Europe, cementing the notion that, by the first half of the thirteenth century, immaturity was now compatible with knighthood.

Circumstances of thirteenth-century child kingship acted as a catalyst for discussions regarding which should come first, kingship or knighthood, and saw the comprehensive removal of a child king's knighting from any association with maturity.⁶⁹ Entry into knighthood became a prerequisite to inauguration in both the English and French kingdoms, celebrating the king's ritual recognition as a military leader and separating knighting from its earlier association with a boy king's fifteenth year. The nine-year-old Henry III of England was girded with arms before his coronation at Gloucester cathedral in October 1216, as two vernacular sources recorded.⁷⁰ A decade later, the twelve-year-old Louis IX of France was 'promoted' as a knight ('promotus in militem') at Soissons as he travelled to Reims for his inauguration in November 1226; an

⁶⁶ 'sed ob reverentiam et honorem tanti principis, domini et vicini sui, ac soceri tanti, maluit ab ipso rege Angliae cingulo donari militari quam ab aliquo alio', *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 269; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 366.

⁶⁷ *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 268. See Kay Staniland, 'The nuptials of Alexander III of Scotland and Margaret Plantagenet', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 30 (1986), 20-45, for Matthew Paris's reliability for the narrative of Alexander and Margaret's wedding.

⁶⁸ For example, Henry I of England had knighted David I of Scotland when David was in his thirties but before he became king. John knighted Alexander II on 4 March 1212 when Alexander was thirteen. See Oram, *David I*, p. 285.

⁶⁹ M. D. Legge, 'The inauguration of Alexander III', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 80 (1948), 73-82 (at p. 77), who notes a lack of definition regarding the interrelationship between knighting and coronation. See Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie*, pp. 339-40, and Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 71-7, for comparisons between knighting and coronation.

⁷⁰ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 181; *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 266-9.

event only chronicled by William of Andres, writing almost contemporaneously.⁷¹ In both cases, those around the young heirs – magnates, royal counsellors, and, in Louis’s case, his mother Blanche of Castile – made a conscious but novel decision that knighting should be part of a boy’s preparation for kingship and thus precede his coronation, despite his youth. In Scotland, although Alexander’s knighting took place two years after his inauguration in July 1249, the Scottish magnates seriously debated the order in which the boy’s knighting and inauguration should occur. According to the author of the *Gesta Annalia I*, the arguments of Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, who claimed that ‘he himself had seen a consecrated king who was not yet a knight, and he had also often heard of kings consecrated, who were not knights’, may have swayed the assembled magnates to prioritise raising Alexander as king.⁷² In the English and French cases, the changed timing of Henry III and Louis IX’s knightings revealed a new emphasis on a king’s military capability. This, in turn, affected ideas regarding the child king’s care and the guardianship of his kingdom. Hence, it is important to examine the circumstances of Henry and Louis’s knightings in more detail.

Henry III’s knighting took place swiftly after John’s death (‘tost apriès le mort le père’) according to the Anonymous of Béthune, probably a member of the retinue of Robert de Béthune writing from France around 1220.⁷³ Not only was it important that Henry received coronation as quickly as possible, it was also crucial that the magnates recognised the child as an active military leader. The ongoing baronial war and the presence of Louis (later Louis VIII of France) in England as a rival to Henry’s kingship meant that military leadership was arguably the new king’s most important responsibility. Weiler thus suggested that Henry’s knighting ceremony was symbolic of the child’s readiness to perform his royal duties.⁷⁴ This certainly

⁷¹ ‘Ludovicus adhuc duodennis, dicti Ludovici filius, Suessionis promotus in militem, Remis a domino Iacobo Suessionensi episcopo, quia sedes Remensis vacabat, in regem sollempniter consecratur’, William of Andres, *Chronica Andrensis*, ed. Johann Heller, MGH SS 24 (Hannover, 1879), pp. 684-773 (at p. 766).

⁷² ‘Quibus ponentibus, vir providus in consilio et perspicuus dominus Walterus Comyn, comes de Menteth, respondit, dicens, se vidisse regem consecratum non tamen militem, sed et saepius audisse reges consecratos, qui non fuerunt milites’, *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 293. See Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 132, who identified problems with Skene’s translation of this passage and suggested an alternative, which I have followed here. See also Duncan, ‘Before coronation’, p. 141. And see Broun, ‘A new look at the *Gesta Annalia*’, especially pp. 13-17, who shows *Gesta Annalia I* to be based on a work from the 1280s.

⁷³ ‘Henris, li ainsnés fils le roi, fu fais chevaliers tost apriès le mort le père; puis fu couronnés à roi, del legaut’, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 181.

⁷⁴ Weiler, ‘Knighting, homage, and the meaning of ritual’, p. 279.

made sense in the circumstances of October 1216, but the timing of Henry's knighting was entirely unprecedented in a situation of child kingship. It was an innovative shift from earlier ideas according to which, as we have seen, those around a boy king prioritised the customary attachment of knighthood to male maturity even if this was many years after coronation. William Marshal's biographer deliberately understated the novelty of Henry III's knighting at such an immature age by transferring attention to Henry the Young King's knighting over forty years earlier. In claiming that he had to justify to men of reason why the Young King had been made king first and knight later, the author was trying to convince his audience that this had been the atypical knighting ceremony, insinuating that Henry III's knighting had been entirely conventional.⁷⁵ Contemporary sources were confused over whether the Young King's knighting came before or after his first coronation. Whilst William Marshal's biographer claimed that the Marshal dubbed Henry hastily at the outbreak of his first rebellion against his father in 1173, Gervase of Canterbury maintained that Henry II knighted his eldest son before his coronation in June 1170.⁷⁶ Matthew Strickland even suggests a compromise solution in the possibility that the Young King was knighted twice.⁷⁷ As far as I am aware, this would have been entirely unparalleled in a royal context in north-western Europe, and seems highly unlikely.⁷⁸ We will probably never know whose account of the Young King's knighting is correct. However, since he was born on 28 February 1155 and turned fifteen several months before his coronation, we can state with certainty that, even at its earliest possible date, the Young King's knighting took place after he had reached a customary age of maturity. The situation in 1216, when William Marshal knighted Henry III as a child, was the novel one when compared with earlier precedents, but it was not 'exceptional', as one early twentieth-century historian claimed.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ 'Si deit bien ester mostré / A alcun de dreite reison, / Coment e par quele achaison / Il fu reis einz que chevalers', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, i, pp. 108-9.

⁷⁶ 'Ipsa die Henricum filium suum, qui eadem septimana de Normannia venerat, militem fecit, statimque eum, stupentibus cunctis et mirantibus, in regem ungui praecepit et coronari', Gervase of Canterbury, *The historical works*, ed. Stubbs, i, p. 219. See Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 51-2, who settles on 1170 as the correct date, based on the testament of one of Thomas Becket's correspondents. See also Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, pp. 82-4; Weiler, 'Knighting, homage, and the meaning of ritual', p. 279, who emphasises that a knighting in 1173 would have symbolised the Young King's preparation for military leadership.

⁷⁷ Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, p. 84.

⁷⁸ Double knightings may have been more common in an Iberian context, but only because kings sometimes re-knighted themselves to avoid having received arms from a magnte. See Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 132 n.21.

⁷⁹ Guilhaumez, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 418 n.74, who sees Henry III's knighting as 'un fait absolument exceptionnel'. In the context of Louis IX and Alexander III, Henry's age at knighting was unprecedented but not 'exceptional'.

Louis IX's knighting was similarly squeezed hastily into the child heir's itinerary. Like King John, Louis's father had died on military campaign and the boy's knighting needed to symbolise military preparedness.⁸⁰ In both cases, knighting further demonstrated readiness to act as crusading kings. Henry took the cross a few days after his coronation and Louis's succession as king unavoidably involved him in the ongoing crusade in the Languedoc on which his father had died.⁸¹

Jean Richard's suggestion that Louis was knighted for political reasons which trumped considerations of age is almost certainly correct.⁸² What cannot be so easily accepted is Richard's expansion of this claim to suggest that Louis's knighting prior to his coronation marked his 'émancipation', demonstrating that he was legally no longer a minor and that neither he nor his kingdom was under guardianship henceforth.⁸³ This misconceived argument stems from an attempt to apply aristocratic models directly to the royal situation in 1226, and revolves around the fact that Louis's acts were sealed with his seal of majesty from the start of his reign.⁸⁴ The king's sealing practices contrasted with contemporary aristocratic examples in which a child's legal guardian affixed their own seal to documents, as in Burgundy where Alix de Vergy was governing for her young son.⁸⁵ Yet, as Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has emphasised, the seals of Capetian queens were usually kept for their private and domestic matters, so there was little precedent in France for a queen mother to seal her son's documents.⁸⁶ Furthermore, knighting was only sometimes a prerequisite to possessing a seal. English examples in which this was the case can mostly be dated before the end of the twelfth century, although a letter from William

⁸⁰ See Le Goff, 'The Ordo of 1250', especially pp. 50, 55, for the integration of the rite of knighting into the French coronation ritual by 1250. See Chapter Three, p. 101, for Louis VIII's death.

⁸¹ 'Henricus filius eius coronatus est apud Gloverniam in festo apostolorum Simonis et Jude, procurante hoc Walone legato et inducente diligenter regem, ut crucem acciperet, ad maiorem ipsius regniue tuicionem', *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. Thomas Stapleton (London, 1849), p. 7. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 13.

⁸² Jean Richard, 'L'adoubement de Saint Louis', *Journal des Savants*, 1 (1988), 207-17 (at p. 209).

⁸³ Richard, 'L'adoubement de Saint Louis', p. 210. In this, Richard follows de Wailly, 'De naissance de saint Louis', p. 108.

⁸⁴ See Guilhaumez, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 396 and n.11, for the connection between knighting and possessing a seal in aristocratic and noble cases.

⁸⁵ Richard, 'L'adoubement de Saint Louis', p. 215; Jean Richard, 'Les conseillers de Saint Louis. Des grands barons aux premiers légistes : au point de rencontre de deux droits', in *A l'ombre du pouvoir : les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, eds. Alain Marchandisse and Jean-Louis Kupper (Liège, 2003), pp. 135-47 (at p. 135).

⁸⁶ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Women, seals and power in medieval France, 1150-1350', in *Women and power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Erler and Kowaleski, pp. 61-82 (at p. 64). See also Dale, 'Inauguration and images of kingship', pp. 241-2.

the Lion to King John in 1211 or 1212 suggests that William's son, Alexander (later Alexander II), may have been prevented from using a seal before he was knighted.⁸⁷ Even one of the examples Richard provides, from 1235, emphasises that knighting was not the only way to secure a seal; taking a wife could achieve the same goal.⁸⁸ These were not fixed rules and did not apply to underage kings in the same way as to underage noble or aristocratic boys.

The second, more substantial, problem with the argument that Louis's knighting marked his 'émancipation' from guardianship is that it runs completely contrary to the surviving evidence. Louis VIII left his young son explicitly under Blanche of Castile's 'ballum' and 'tutela', as I have shown.⁸⁹ Blanche's involvement in oaths, peace treaties, and other guardianship responsibilities – which I will analyse in later chapters – also demonstrated that this was how she and others conceived her role.⁹⁰ Richard admits Blanche's role causes problems for his perception of Louis IX's knighting but he sees this as a contradiction which needs justification in an attempt to combine the two opposing views.⁹¹ Instead, a far more straightforward solution is to accept that a child's knighting prior to royal inauguration *was not* a recognition of his freedom from guardianship arrangements, or a statement that he was no longer underage. There was no expectation that Henry III's knighting in 1216, only a decade before, marked his release from guardianship. Instead, Henry's initiation into knighthood was a social one.⁹² It was a demonstration to the magnates present that the king, although a child, could perform his roles as military leader and provider of justice, and bear arms against an adult rival for the throne. Combined with his coronation, Henry's initiation into knighthood added authority to his rule

⁸⁷ Nicholas Vincent, 'Warin and Henry Fitz Gerald, the king's chamberlains: the origins of the FitzGerald revisited', *ANS*, 21 (1998), 233-60 (at pp. 237, 253-4), for an award granted by Geoffrey de Mandeville the younger to which his steward's seal is attached since he had not been knighted and had not received his own seal. See Smith, 'Henry II's heir', p. 306 n.2; *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 26-7, for the example of Alexander II. See also Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 396 n.11, for examples later in the thirteenth century.

⁸⁸ 'Quia vero sigillum non habebam cum nondum miles nec uxoratus essem, ad majorem huius rei firmitatem hanc presentem cartam sigillo nobilis viri Archenbaudi, domini Borbonensis, karissimi avunculi mei', *Chartes du Bourbonnais (918-1522)*, eds. Jacques Monicat and Bernard de Fournoux et al. (Moulins, 1952), p. 167. Cited in Richard, 'L'adoubement de Saint Louis', p. 210.

⁸⁹ 'sub ballo sive tutela karissime nostre domine B. (Blanche) regine, genitricis eorum', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102. See Chapter Three, pp. 109-10 and Chapter Five, p. 158.

⁹⁰ See especially Chapter Six.

⁹¹ Richard, 'L'adoubement de Saint Louis', pp. 210-1, 215-6.

⁹² Joachim Bumke, *The concept of knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson, *AMS Studies in the Middle Ages 2* (New York, 1982), pp. 72-106, especially at pp. 85-8, who emphasises the idea of knighting ceremonies as social events.

and prepared him for kingship, even though those around the child were fully aware that Henry was not able to govern alone. Wardship of underage children may have tended to end at their knighting in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as Menuge and Walker have shown for the English kingdom, but as aristocratic notions of maturity evolved so too did the relationship between knighthood, legal majority, and guardianship.⁹³ In England, an amendment to the provisions for underage heirs in the 1216 Magna Carta added ‘that if he [a ward] is made a knight while still under age, the land nevertheless shall remain in his lord’s wardship for the full term’.⁹⁴ This was a public legal recognition that knighting no longer ended the arrangements for the care of a boy’s inheritance and would surely have reflected the very recent circumstances of Henry III’s own acceptance of arms.⁹⁵ Two single sheet copies of the 1216 Magna Carta survive in the French royal archives, written in different hands but both probably dating to 1216, or shortly afterwards.⁹⁶ It has been argued that these copies were taken to France in 1217 when Prince Louis, Louis IX’s father, left England following his campaign there.⁹⁷ When Louis IX succeeded in 1226, many of the magnates who had accompanied his father on the English campaign ten years before were still alive and influential at court, such as Stephen II of Sancerre and Enguerrand III of Coucy.⁹⁸ It is conceivable that they were able to recount stories they had heard of Henry III’s knighting prior to his coronation. More cautiously, one could even suggest that some of these magnates would have been familiar with the new amendments to legal ideas regarding knighting underage wards found in the 1216 Magna Carta. Henry III’s case in

⁹³ Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*, p. 62; Sue Sheridan Walker, ‘Royal wardship in medieval England’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago (1966), p. 196. See Chapter Five, pp. 169-84, for further consideration of changing ideas of maturity.

⁹⁴ *English historical documents: volume iii, 1189-1327*, ed. Harry Rothwell (London, 1975), Magna Carta 1216, chapter 3, p. 327. ‘Si autem heres alic(uius) taliu(m) fu(er)it infra etatem Dominus eius non [h(ab)eat custodiam eius] nec t(er)re sue anteq(uam) homagium eius cep(er)it, et postq(ua)m talis heres fu(er)it in custodia [cum] ad etatem p(er)uen(er)it, sc(i)l(ice)t uiginti [uni(us) ann(i)] h(ab)eat h(er)editatem suam s(i)n(e) releuio et s(i)n(e) fine’, *The statutes of the realm: from original records and authentic manuscripts*, 11 vols. (London, 1810), i, p. 14. The clause remained the same in the issues of Magna Carta in 1217 and 1225.

⁹⁵ See Flori, *L’essor de la chevalerie*, pp. 12, 23, who shows a more general change in the first half of the thirteenth century in the legal weighting of knighthood, leading the ceremony to be delayed much later in life in aristocratic and noble cases in the later half of the century.

⁹⁶ *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, p. 411; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, pp. 434-7.

⁹⁷ D. A. Carpenter, ‘Feature of the month: May 2015 – the copies of Magna Carta 1216 in the Archives Nationales in Paris and the 1216 Irish Magna Carta’, *The Magna Carta Project*, http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature_of_the_month/May_2015_4 [accessed 13 December 2017]; John W. Baldwin, ‘Master Stephen Langton, future Archbishop of Canterbury: the Paris schools and Magna Carta’, *EHR*, 123 (2008), 811-46 (at pp. 841-3).

⁹⁸ See McGlynn, *Blood cries afar*, pp. 164-5, for a discussion of the men who accompanied Louis on the English campaign.

England explains better why in France, only ten years later, Louis had to be knighted on the way to his coronation despite his young age.

The changed circumstances of knighting in north-western Europe clearly severed the ceremony from its former association with a boy king's maturity, but this only served to strengthen an individual's position as guardian. William Marshal's involvement in knighting Henry III helped him to consolidate his position as 'rector regis et regni'.⁹⁹ In Scotland, the magnates present at Alexander III's inauguration similarly recognised an intimate connection between knighting a child king and the assertion of one magnate's dominance in governance. The dissension which arose among the Scottish magnates in July 1249 emanated from Alan Durward's wish to knight the king himself, on the same day as Alexander's inauguration.¹⁰⁰ Durward had been Alexander II's close advisor, and was justiciar of Scotia, but his desire to knight the boy king was almost certainly inspired by a wish to be recognised as guardian of king and kingdom. Modern Scottish historians, noting the comparison with Henry III's knighting ceremony only a few decades before, suggested that Durward based his expectations and actions in 1249 on the English example of William Marshal.¹⁰¹ Blanche's management of Louis IX's knighting in 1226 would similarly have helped to reinforce her role alongside her son. The ceremony had her blessing, and we can assume she approved the personnel involved in knighting her son. In the early thirteenth century, a child's knighting at a definite age of immaturity meant that the ceremony no longer demonstrated his political independence from those responsible for his care. Nor was it a legal statement that he had reached his majority. Developments over the central Middle Ages meant that a young king's knighting prior to his coronation increased the opportunities for magnate involvement in the child's preparation for kingship and, at least in the English and Scottish kingdoms, and probably similarly in France, entwined the act of knighting with arrangements for the child's guardianship rather than his exit from a guardian's care.

⁹⁹ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 181, where the Anonymous of Béthune links Henry's knighting in one sentence with the choice of William Marshal as guardian in the next. See also Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 160; Weiler, 'Knighting, homage, and the meaning of ritual', p. 281.

¹⁰⁰ 'non propter diem Egiptiacum, dictum est, sed quia dominus Alanus Dorwart, totius tunc Scocie justiciarius, ipsum eo die cingere voluit gladio militari', *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 293.

¹⁰¹ Duncan, 'Before coronation', p. 141; Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III', p. 7.

Rather than leading to political stagnation, a child on the throne often demanded greater innovation from those around the young king as they grappled to reconcile contemporary notions of maturity and kingship. Any changes which magnates imposed upon ritual and ceremony, such as the decision to knight the child prior to his coronation before he had reached an age of maturity, could affect the nature of kingship going forwards. As we have seen, the circumstances in the first half of the thirteenth century, and the communication between the kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland during these decades, meant that how one kingdom chose to integrate childhood and kingship influenced those approaching a similar problem elsewhere. Geographically, Scotland stands out from the other kingdoms in not attributing any significance to a child king's fifteenth year in either the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The king's inner circle was probably guided more by ability than by maturity in Malcolm IV's case, although the sparse nature of the evidence means we may also be missing important details regarding arrangements made for the administration of the Scottish kingdom. Elsewhere in north-western Europe, changing ideas regarding the link between a boy king's fifteenth year, his knighting, and his ability to rule his kingdom alone demonstrate, yet again, a clear split between the experiences of child kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from those in the early thirteenth. Contemporary attitudes to maturity and childhood were changing over the course of the central Middle Ages and this affected the guardianship arrangements made for child kings. Attitudes to kingship were also changing. I have argued in this chapter for an increasing emphasis on the military status of child kings by the thirteenth century. In the next chapter, I will show that child kingship and vice-regal guardianship adapted to incorporate changing ideas of legal wardship and royal counsel, which may have presented additional challenges to mothers acting as the guardians of underage kings.

CHAPTER FIVE

Logistics of Guardianship

Looking comparatively at child kingship over the central Middle Ages shows that the logistics of guardianship were not static; they were constantly evolving to accommodate new ideas and allow for contemporary political circumstances. Even by the mid-thirteenth century, vice-regal guardianship was not yet a formalised office. There were still no fixed rules regarding the individual(s) who could occupy the position of guardian. Over the central Middle Ages, the care of child kings and their kingdoms was variously held by queen mothers, counts, earls, archbishops, bishops, councils of magnates, and household officials.¹ Despite the variance in arrangements, general trends over this period influenced the provision for royal governance during a period of child kingship. This chapter deals primarily with two such trends which impacted on guardianship arrangements for boy kings: the increasing legal influence on kingship and the turn towards more conciliar kingship by the early thirteenth century. As I shall show in the first part of this chapter, new legal ideas began to prioritise lordship over kinship in the customary guardianship of noble and aristocratic children, influencing contemporary ideas regarding a child king's care. This went hand-in-hand with the development of more conciliar arrangements in situations of child kingship, a change which I will analyse in the second part of this chapter. Both trends incorporated an explicit move away from a mother's involvement in her son's guardianship. Although queens had never been 'automatically' accepted as guardians based solely on their royal or maternal position, from the late twelfth century onwards, contemporary magnate opinion increasingly favoured guardianship arrangements which did not involve the king's mother. I argue that, although this did not mean the exclusion of women from vice-regal guardianship by the thirteenth century, these trends made it increasingly harder for the queen to become involved in administering her son's kingdom. Legal and conciliar influences on kingship not only affected the logistics of vice-regal guardianship, they also impacted on contemporary conceptions of child kingship. Child kingship was always a time of uncertainty and experimentation, but – as I contend in the final section of this chapter – an increasing desire to regulate child kingship, guardianship, and the king's progression to full royal authority accompanied legal and conciliar changes.

¹ Wolf, 'Königtum Minderjähriger', pp. 101-2, for the variety in guardianship arrangements across Europe more broadly between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

i. Guardianship: from kinship to lordship?

That the act of caring for a child king and his kingdom was never an official, formalised position throughout the central Middle Ages fostered flexible guardianship arrangements decided on a case-by-case basis. Despite the prominence of many queen mothers during their sons' early childhood and upbringing, the queen did not automatically become responsible for the care of her son and his kingdom when her husband died. Maternal access to guardianship depended largely on contemporary recognition both of a mother's right to act in this way and her ability to manage the child's inheritance on his behalf. Customary arrangements and magnate support were thus crucial to determining a mother's acceptance in royal rule alongside her son. Well-defined conventions on maternal guardianship did not exist in north-western Europe between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, but especially from the mid-twelfth century onwards, legal evidence suggests that non-royal mothers were not always seen as the natural choice as guardian for their underage children, let alone for their inheritance.² Lordship came to be increasingly prioritised over kinship in arrangements made for aristocratic guardianship. These legal and cultural changes influenced the provisions made for child kingship.

The mothers of the child kings discussed here were all alive to see their young sons succeed to the throne and for many years into their reigns.³ Although aristocratic female life expectancy was rising over this period, the survival of these mothers is particularly striking considering the common paternal loss suffered by these children early in their lives.⁴ Widows when their sons came to the throne, queen mothers were in the most powerful stage of the female lifecycle, noted for the level of autonomy it could provide.⁵ Yet, of the seven mothers, only Blanche of Castile maintained her position of guardianship without being replaced or removed before her

² Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*, p. 102.

³ This was not always the case in situations of child kingship beyond north-western Europe. Frederick II (b.1194) succeeded to the Sicilian throne on his father's death in 1197 but his mother died just over a year later. The mother of James I of Aragon (b.1208) died on 21 January 1213, predeceasing her husband, James's father, who died on 12 September the same year.

⁴ David Herlihy, 'The natural history of medieval women', in *Women, family and society in medieval Europe: historical essays, 1978-1991*, ed. Herlihy (Oxford, 1995), pp. 57-68 (at pp. 61-2), for medieval female life expectancy.

⁵ Facinger, 'A study of medieval queenship', p. 47, who, as early as 1968, highlighted the 'interesting' nature of the period when royal women were widows. See, more recently: *Upon my husband's death: widows in the literature and histories of medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer (Ann Arbor, 1992); *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993); *Widowhood in medieval and early modern Europe*, eds. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner (Harlow, 1999); Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, p. 41.

son, Louis IX, reached maturity. In twelfth-century France, Philip II's mother, Adela of Champagne, was unable to gain greater influence with her son than the count of Flanders.⁶ Later, in the thirteenth century, magnates around the boy kings Henry III and Alexander III may have actively denied Isabella of Angoulême and Marie de Coucy places in their sons' governments. Accordingly, we must reassess two misconceptions found in modern scholarship: firstly, that a queen mother was automatically considered suitable as her underage son's guardian when he succeeded to the throne and, secondly, that it became 'increasingly standard practice' after the late twelfth century for the mother of a minor successor to act as guardian.⁷ In the central Middle Ages, a position of guardianship did not belong to anyone indisputably, mother or magnate. Amalie Föbel contends that, in Germany, it was 'beyond dispute' that Agnes of Poitou would be guardian for her son, Henry IV, on the grounds that, firstly, Emperor Henry III had made this decision before his death and, secondly, there was a tenth-century Ottonian precedent in the involvement of a grandmother and mother, Adelheid (931-999) and Theophanu (c.950-991), when Otto III (980-1002) was a child ruler.⁸ Discussions regarding guardianship arrangements undoubtedly took place before Henry III died, as I established in Chapter Three.⁹ If we believe Lampert of Hersfeld, the emperor may even have placed their son under Agnes's care during these deliberations.¹⁰ Nonetheless, Otto III's reign was hardly the ideal precedent for a queen mother's guardianship. Henry 'the Quarrelsome', duke of Bavaria (d.995), had taken the child king and then plotted to take the throne himself, only relinquishing Otto to his mother a few months later.¹¹ As with Theophanu, Agnes's position as guardian after her husband's death was open to challenge and required support from the German magnates. Monastic authors such as Bruno of Merseburg and Berthold of Reichenau – both writing within a couple of decades of the events they describe, but the former from northern Germany, close to Saxony, and the latter from the southern duchy of Swabia – emphasised aristocratic influence in the magnates' decision to entrust the empress with the guardianship of her son and the

⁶ See Chapter Four, pp. 131-35, for the count's central role at the start of Philip II's reign.

⁷ Föbel, 'The political traditions of female rulership', p. 79. See also Church, *King John: the making of a tyrant*, pp. 250-1, who, when contrasting Isabella of Angoulême's lack of involvement in Henry III's reign with Blanche of Castile's role alongside Louis IX, implies an expectation that queen mothers would take a principal role in their sons' governments.

⁸ Föbel, 'The political traditions of female rulership', p. 78.

⁹ Chapter Three, pp. 102, 108-9.

¹⁰ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 353.

¹¹ Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Jestice, especially pp. 28-51. See also Franz-Reiner Erkens, 'Die Frau als Herrscherin in ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, eds. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1991), ii, pp. 245-59 (especially at p. 254).

kingdom.¹² Similarly, two centuries later in France, although the grounds for Blanche's guardianship was her husband's nomination, Louis VIII's decision still had to be confirmed by the men who had been present at his deathbed, as I have argued.¹³ Maternal guardianship was one of the available options when a child was king but, when mothers did not take on this role, contemporaries did not level criticism at women because they were not acting prominently enough in royal governance. In fact, usually quite the opposite was true.¹⁴

Contrary to many preconceptions, some of which endure in modern scholarship, direct kinship with the child king was not as important for potential guardian(s) in the central Middle Ages as the predecessor's nomination or recognition by the kingdom's magnates. Weiler claimed that it was '[c]ommon practice in most kingdoms of the medieval West' that 'an infant ruler's closest male relative (or, sometimes, mother) would act as regent'.¹⁵ Contrary to this, however, I have found that, in cases of child kingship across north-western Europe, contemporaries gave little indication that male relatives (maternal or paternal) were an 'expected' or 'common' choice as the infant's protector and governor of his realm.¹⁶ Customary law codes – as I will show below – actively warned against kin as feudal guardians for underage children.¹⁷ Later literary texts confirmed that paternal uncles were far more likely to be portrayed as harmful to young heirs than they were to be encouraged in guardianship roles.¹⁸ In the cases of child kingship under consideration in this thesis, except for Baldwin V of Flanders during Philip I's reign, no child

¹² 'Quod quia adhuc decenter, utpote puerulus quinquennis, gubernare non potuit, ipsum cum regni cura curandum cunctorum iussu principum mater ipsius Agnes venerabilis imperatrix accepit', Bruno of Merseburg, *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. Lohmann, p. 13; 'Filius autem eius Heinricus quartus, iam a patre rex factus, tunc septennis, a primoribus regni matri imperatrici ad educandum commendatus, cum matre cepit regnare', Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken [Zweite Fassung]*, ed. Robinson, p. 182; translated in *Eleventh-century Germany*, ed. Robinson, p. 114.

¹³ Chapter Three, pp. 109-10.

¹⁴ As I will show in Chapter Seven, pp. 226-32.

¹⁵ Weiler, 'Knighting, homage, and the meaning of ritual', p. 281.

¹⁶ This may not have been the case elsewhere in Europe. For example, in Aragon, James I's great-uncle Sancho of Provence was chosen as 'procurator' for the child and his kingdom. See Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', pp. 304-6.

¹⁷ See Scott L. Waugh, *The lordship of England: royal wardships and marriages in English society and politics, 1217-1327* (Princeton, NJ, 1988), especially pp. 194-207, where he suggests that grants of wardships to male kin were not common at an aristocratic level.

¹⁸ See Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*, especially pp. 28, 73-81, for relevant literary references such as the fourteenth-century English text *William of Palerne*, in which William was stolen from his parents by a werewolf to prevent the child's murder by his uncle. See also Gilles Lecuppre, 'L'oncle usurpateur à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *La Parenté déchirée : les luttes intrafamiliales au Moyen Âge*, ed. Martin Aurell, *Histoires de famille* 10 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 147-56, who considers uncles in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

king's uncle (or, for that matter, aunt) became involved in the arrangements for their nephew's guardianship. Georges Duby suggested, entirely incorrectly, that Philip I's 'closest male relative was appointed guardian' when Philip came to the throne in 1060.¹⁹ Whilst Baldwin was Philip's uncle through his marriage to Philip's paternal aunt, Adela, the Flemish count was not Philip's nearest kinsman by blood. Philip's biological uncle, Robert, duke of Burgundy (*d.*1076), was alive in 1060. If guardianship choice went by kin connections alone, he had the superior claim.²⁰ Yet, Robert had challenged his older brother for the French throne with the support of their mother, Constance (*d.*1032), when Henry I, Philip's father, succeeded in 1031, making it highly unlikely that the duke was considered an appropriate guardian for his nephew three decades later. Biological practicalities ruled out an appeal to male kin in most cases since only the Capetian kings Philip I, Philip II, and Louis IX had paternal uncles still alive at their successions. In these French cases, uncles may have been regarded as a potential or actual threat to a boy king's rule. The *Très Ancien Coutumier* – a private work of Norman customary law in two parts (the first dating *c.*1200, the second dating *c.*1220) – condemned blood relatives acting as guardians because they would desire the child's death to secure his inheritance themselves.²¹ Wariness towards uncles acting as vice-regal guardians was for good cause in France. There had been an attempt to install Robert, count of Dreux (*d.*1188), as king whilst Louis VII, Robert's brother, was absent from the French kingdom on the Second Crusade.²² There is little evidence in these royal cases that uncles ever went so far as to plot to kill their nephews. But even when paternal kin did not seek the throne themselves, they could still challenge the kingdom's stability, as in the case of Philip Hurepel, Louis IX's paternal half-uncle and count of Boulogne.²³ Although Philip was an adult male from the royal kin, previous scholars have given too much weight to the claim that he was the 'natural choice' as Louis's guardian.²⁴ That Philip Hurepel joined with other barons against Blanche solely to pursue his guardianship right

¹⁹ Duby, *France in the Middle Ages*, trans. Vale, p. 117.

²⁰ See Constance Brittain Bouchard, 'The kingdom of the Franks to 1108', in *The new Cambridge medieval history. Volume 4: c.1024 – c.1198, part 2*, eds. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 120-53 (at p. 125), who suggests Robert would have been 'a more obvious selection'.

²¹ 'Quis igitur custodiet eum? – Consanguinei eius. – Non. – Quare? – Ne forte morti eius inhyantes et hereditatem eius cupientes opprimerent innocentem', *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Tardif, i, p. 11. See Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*, for the implications of this legal text in the English kingdom.

²² Luchaire, *Philippe-Auguste et son temps*, p. 37.

²³ I will consider his involvement in rebellion at greater length in Chapter Eight, pp. 248-9. See also Chapter Six, p. 193.

²⁴ Gérard Sivéry, *Louis IX : le roi saint*, France au fil de ses rois (Paris, 2002), p. 22; Sivéry, 'L'équipe gouvernementale', p. 207.

is an unconvincing interpretation. If Louis's half-uncle had wanted to assert a claim to vice-regal guardianship, there would have been no better place to do this than in the presence of the magnates immediately after the king's death at Montpensier, when Blanche was many miles away in Paris. Philip made no move at Louis VIII's deathbed, and we must find an alternative motive for his participation in baronial unrest. A more convincing suggestion is that he hoped to capitalise on opportunistic action.

Male kin were still expected to provide counsel and advice to a young king even if there was little contemporary expectation that they should be responsible for the care of king and kingdom. The early years of Philip II's reign was the only occasion in my case studies when a child king's maternal uncles involved themselves intimately with their nephew's early kingship.²⁵ The reason they did so derived not from kinship alone, however. As we have seen, Philip's mother, Adela, came from the family of the counts of Champagne. Her brothers – Henry I count of Champagne, William archbishop of Reims, Theobald V count of Blois and Chartres, and Stephen count of Sancerre – were territorial lords whose lands bordered the French royal domain. Philip expected good and loyal counsel from his uncles and mother primarily through their ties of kinship, but also because of the bonds of kingship and lordship. He stated his disappointment that his expectations had not been met when he wrote to Count Henry in the first year of his reign, probably during the time Louis VII was ill.²⁶ Philip lamented the failure of the rest of his maternal family to meet kinship expectations. Because of their actions, 'my mother has changed into a stepmother and those who were my maternal uncles have become stepfathers'.²⁷ Philip appealed to his uncle Henry, in whom he had especial faith ('precipuum in vobis fiduciam'), to return from Jerusalem to the French kingdom to provide him with counsel and aid.²⁸ Even in this case, there was no suggestion that Philip's maternal uncles had any right

²⁵ See Jean-Louise Kupper, 'L'oncle maternel et le neveu dans la société du Moyen Âge', *Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 15 (2004), 247-62, for the special relationship between maternal uncles and their nephews in literature and reality.

²⁶ 'Expectabam consilium a meis patruis et a matre mea favorem fidei', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste. Tome VI : Lettres mises sous le nom de Philippe Auguste dans les recueils de formulaires d'école*, ed. Michel Nortier (Paris, 2005), no. 21, p. 47. Nortier follows Alexander Cartellieri's dating of the letter.

²⁷ 'sed quod malle mentiri quam verum dicere: mater mea conversa est in novercam et sunt facti qui erant avunculi vitritantes', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste : lettres mises*, ed. Nortier, no. 21, p. 47. The final word here appears to be a hapax. Nortier corrects it to 'vitricantes' and suggests this derived from 'vitricus' meaning step-father, which would fit with the first half of the phrase (at p. 47 n.2).

²⁸ 'Habens ergo precipuum in vobis fiduciam, attente vos commoneo quod ad partes Francie veniatis celerius, inpensurus mihi consilium et iuvamen', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste : lettres mises*,

to a vice-regal guardianship position. Only Adela, as Philip's mother, might have had a customary claim to her son's guardianship through Champenois custom if she still deemed her son to be underage.

Customary law in parts of the French kingdom implied an expectation that mothers would be involved with their child's 'garde' or 'tutela', at least at an aristocratic level.²⁹ In Champagne, aristocratic women had 'absolute custody' of their minor children, as Theodore Evergates has shown.³⁰ In part, this was a natural assumption of maternal care; the mother would be a good guardian because of her concern for her child's welfare. But this was not an assumption shared across north-western Europe, or even within other regions of France. The Champenois custom helps to explain the dissatisfaction of Philip II's mother and other members of her kin with the prominence and influence of Philip of Flanders. Adela of Champagne's older sister, Agnes, countess of Bar-le-Duc (*d.*1206), acted as guardian for her son, Henry, when she was widowed in 1170 and provided a recent precedent of maternal guardianship for her sister.³¹ If contemporaries perceived Philip II still to require a tutor himself and a protector for his kingdom, the experience of his maternal kin was of a mother's right to her son's wardship. Philip of Flanders could have been seen to be supplanting Adela's right even if, in a legally pluralist society, things were not so straightforward.³² Adela's prominent involvement in royal actions during her husband's reign, issuing acts in her own right as queen of France, may have further encouraged the queen mother to resist the count's influence over her son.³³ Her experience as queen consort, added to her knowledge of the customs of Champagne from the

ed. Nortier, no. 21, p. 48. See p. 47, where Nortier notes that Henry was probably in Palestine at the time the letter was written.

²⁹ Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume? Régentes en temps de guerre (France-Castille, XIIIe siècle)', in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, eds. Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996), ii, pp. 9-22 (at p. 13), who suggests this right had been conferred on mothers in the Île-de-France since the twelfth century. In this, Vones-Liebenstein explicitly disagrees with Kölzer (p. 13 n.26). See Kölzer, 'Das Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 314.

³⁰ Theodore Evergates, 'Aristocratic women in the county of Champagne', in *Aristocratic women in medieval France*, ed. Evergates, pp. 74-110 (at p. 109).

³¹ Michel Parisse, 'Des princesses douairières en Lorraine au XIIe s.', in *Isabelle d'Angoulême*, eds. Bianciotto, Favreau, and Skubiszewski, pp. 71-9 (at p. 77). Agnes's husband was Renaud II.

³² Philip of Flanders had no direct kin connections to the Capetian royal house except through his wife, Elisabeth of Vermandois. She was granddaughter of Hugh (*d.*1101), brother to King Philip I, who had been count of Vermandois by right of his wife, another Adela. See Van Houts, 'The Warenne view of the past', p. 121, appendix two, for the Vermandois family tree.

³³ See Chapter One, pp. 60-1, for Adela's prominence in her husband's reign.

first twenty years of her life before she married Louis VII in 1160, led Adela to expect more influence in governance and administration than she was permitted in 1179.³⁴

Developments in customary law increasingly came to undermine a mother's choice as her son's guardian and, from the later twelfth century, further to prioritise a lord's right to tenurial wardship over the rights of the boy's kin. These customary legal notions must have stemmed from societal attitudes, although these are harder to ascertain. As attitudes became more widely spread, they further contributed to the negative perception of maternal wardship. The role of mothers in feudal wardship has been particularly well-studied for the English kingdom. In the early twelfth century, Henry I's coronation 'charter' suggested that a child's legal representative ('custos') could either be his father's widow or another relative with a better right.³⁵ What determined the superior right of the 'propinquarius' was not stated. In aristocratic and noble cases, whilst mothers often continued the daily care of their child, this had to receive approval from the *de iure* guardian responsible for guarding the child's inherited property.³⁶ In some cases, as in the *Très Ancien Coutumier*, a mother's wardship was presented as the worst possible option due to the likelihood that she would remarry, have children by that husband, and thus threaten the security of her children by her first husband.³⁷ Instead, the Norman customary recommended choosing a guardian connected to the child's father by fidelity and bound by

³⁴ Adela did, however, share in the administration of the kingdom during Philip II's absence on crusade from 1190. See *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 345, pp. 416-20. See also Chapter Three, pp. 105-6. Additionally, Adela later held her nephews' [sons of Stephen of Sancerre] lands in wardship whilst they were underage, relinquishing the lands to another of her nephew's, Count Theobald III of Champagne [son of Henry I of Champagne], in 1199. See *Littere baronum: the earliest cartulary of the counts of Champagne*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Toronto, 2003), no. 68, p. 107.

³⁵ 'Et terrae et liberorum custos erit siue uxor siue alius propinquarius qui iustius esse debeat', *The laws of the kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed./trans. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), p. 278. Discussed in Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'Changes of aristocratic identity: remarriage and remembrance in Europe 900-1200', in *Memory and commemoration in medieval culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (Farnham, 2013), pp. 221-41 (at p. 228). See also Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 105-9, who argues that this document should be described as an 'edict' rather than a charter.

³⁶ Noël James Menuge, 'A few home truths: the medieval mother as guardian in romance and law', in *Medieval women and the law*, ed. Menuge (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 77-103 (at pp. 77, 80), and Sue Sheridan Walker, 'Widow and ward: the feudal law of child custody in medieval England', *Feminist Studies*, 3 (1976), 104-16 (at pp. 161, 163).

³⁷ 'Orphanus heres, quoniam debet esse in custodia alicuius, quis eum custodiet? – Mater. – Non. – Quare? – Quia sponsum accipiet et inde filios habebit; filii, propter cupiditatem hereditatis habende, possent occidere fratrem primogenitum vel heredem, vel sponsum occidere filiastrum suum, ut daret hereditatem filiis propriis', *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Tardif, i, pp. 10-11. See J. C. Holt, 'Feudal society and the family in early medieval England: III. Patronage and politics', *TRHS*, 34 (1984), 1-25 (at p. 17).

homage.³⁸ The issues of Magna Carta in 1216, 1217, and 1225 all assumed children from land-holding classes would be under their lord's wardship, saying nothing regarding the role of either mother or kin.³⁹ Anglo-Norman customs on non-royal child heirs may have been followed to an extent in England by those around the child king, Henry III, since he was prevented from making irrevocable gifts of land during his minority, like any noble ward.⁴⁰ These customs could also have justified the exclusion of Henry's mother, Isabella, in preference for the guardianship of a male magnate tied to the king through a hierarchy of lordship.

Faced with these changing legal circumstances, there was an increasing need for mothers to specify their claim to guardianship through recognisable terms of lordship. In France, the archbishop of Sens and the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais confirmed in November 1226 that Louis VIII's children, and the French kingdom, were to be 'under the administration, or guardianship, of our dearest lady, queen Blanche, their mother, until they arrive at a legitimate age'.⁴¹ Blanche's nomination as guardian stemmed from her position as queen, 'regina', and from her biological relationship to the heir to the throne, 'genitrix'.⁴² A queen mother's status was certainly important in respect to her guardianship of her underage children, but royal rank alone was not enough to guarantee her a position of governance.⁴³ The bishops prominently referred to Blanche as 'domina', a term emphasising lordship. The document employed legal terminology from both feudal law, 'ballum', and Roman law, 'tutela', to support her claim.⁴⁴ I believe the evidence for Blanche's guardianship robustly refutes the arguments made, especially by modern German scholars for the earlier Middle Ages, that queen mothers only exercised

³⁸ 'Ad huiusmodi infidelitatem et crudelitatem evitandam, statutum est orphanum esse in custodia eius, qui patri orphani fide connexus fuerat per homagium et ligatus', *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Tardif, i, p. 11.

³⁹ *English historical documents, 1189-1327*, ed. Rothwell, pp. 327-8, 332-3, 341-2. See also A. W. B. Simpson, *A history of the land law*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1986), pp. 18-9.

⁴⁰ Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', p. 280. See below, p. 181.

⁴¹ 'voluit et disposuit quod filius eius, qui ei in regno succederet, cum ipso regno et pueris ipsius aliis, essent sub ballo sive tutela karissime nostre domine B. (Blanche) regine, genitricis eorum, donec ad etatem legitimam pervenirent', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 77, 80.

⁴² It is worth noting here the absence of stepmothers in the case studies under consideration. Unlike earlier (and some later) medieval cases, none of the children discussed here had to contend with the figure of a stepmother either before or after their succession.

⁴³ In this I disagree with Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, p. 82, who suggested that Anne of Kiev acted as her son's guardian *only* because she was a crowned queen.

⁴⁴ Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, pp. 49-53. See Introduction, p. 49, for the term 'tutela'.

‘faktische Regentschaft’, acting only as *de facto* guardians for their underage sons.⁴⁵ Crucially, even from the start of Louis IX’s reign, those around the young king sought to express his mother’s guardianship not only in the vocabulary of lordship but also in *de jure* terms of legal wardship. The circulation of new legal ideas among the aristocracy made both the feudal and legal justifications of a queen mother’s position increasingly important.

Magnate guardians were always men who had been prominent at the royal court during the reign of the child king’s predecessor. Their previous experience of governance crucially emphasised their loyalty to the king. Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, undertook several services for Emperor Henry III before his death, although Adam of Bremen’s claim that the emperor retained Adalbert as his ‘chief advisor in all concerns of the realm’ verges into exaggeration.⁴⁶ In France, praise for Count Baldwin’s guardianship of Philip I and his kingdom lauded his loyalty and wisdom.⁴⁷ Earlier administrative, military, or political responsibilities demonstrated a magnate’s trustworthiness and his proven fidelity to the institution of kingship and the dynasty of which the child king was part. In the thirteenth century, contemporary authors placed greater emphasis on a magnate guardian’s loyalty to ties of lordship. William Marshal’s biographer heaped praise upon him for remaining steadfast in his faithfulness to John as his lord.⁴⁸ Feudal loyalty was a sign that guardians would remain faithful to the child on the throne, as epitomised in the response Matthew Paris attributed to Hubert de Burgh when, after

⁴⁵ Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, pp. 312-5. See also Erkens, ‘Die Frau als Herrscherin’, p. 253. See also Zajac, ‘Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna’s queenship’, p. 41, who sees Anne of Kiev as only able to act as *de facto* guardian. This may have been truer of queen mothers in the eleventh century, but we should not ignore that Baldwin V of Flanders was, similarly, only *de facto* guardian for Philip I. See below, pp. 172-4. See also Introduction, p. 41.

⁴⁶ Adam of Bremen, *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan and ed. Timothy Reuter, Records of Western Civilization (New York, 2002), p. 119; ‘ad omnia publicae rei consilia virum habere maluerit vel primum’, Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 147. See Edgar N. Johnson, ‘Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen: a politician of the eleventh century’, *Speculum*, 9 (1934), pp. 147-179, for a more balanced account of Adalbert’s involvement in Henry IV’s reign.

⁴⁷ ‘virum sibi fidelissimum et honestum’, Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus*, ed. Waitz, p. 389; ‘Is erat fide et sapientia aequae mirandus, preuiridantibus membris incanus’, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, i, pp. 436-7. Less evidence is available for Baldwin’s involvement at court but see *Catalogue des actes d’Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, no. 50, pp. 43-7, for Baldwin and Adela approaching Henry I to confirm their gifts to the abbey of Saint-Pierre au Mont Blandin in Ghent in 1037.

⁴⁸ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 256-61.

John's death, Hubert declined to surrender Dover castle to Louis because of his fidelity to his lord's children: 'If my Lord is dead, he has sons and daughters, who ought to succeed him'.⁴⁹

Whilst legal developments over the central Middle Ages reveal the increasing prioritisation of lordship over kinship, another change was taking place simultaneously which placed greater emphasis on the co-operative role of counsel in circumstances of child kingship. In turn, this encouraged the development of guardianship councils from the mid-thirteenth century.

ii. A rise in conciliar guardianship?

Modern historians have traditionally seen Henry III of England's minority to be of constitutional importance in introducing the practice of securing common consent from great councils.⁵⁰ Although, as we will see, it is undeniable that Henry's minority further encouraged the royal council's inclusion in decisions which directly affected the king, periods of child rulership had always demanded greater recourse to collaborative government to ensure magnate co-operation. Conciliar guardianship of a child king and his kingdom only appeared at the end of the period studied here, in Scotland during Alexander III's minority, but the need for consent was not novel to the thirteenth century, nor was the idea of royal counsel.⁵¹ We can find the origins of these arrangements far earlier than the thirteenth century.

Small groups of magnates consented to the decisions of boy kings in the second half of the eleventh century, but royal counsellors are rarely named. Regardless of actual events, royal documents only intermittently acknowledged the child king's reliance on 'consilium'. At the age of eleven, Philip I of France issued a charter to the abbey of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons with the consent ('cum consensus') of his faithful men and others 'by whose counsel

⁴⁹ 'Si dominus meus mortuus est, habet filios et filias, qui ei succedere debent', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 5. See *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, p. 407, for the emphasis on ideas of fidelity and constancy during Henry III's minority.

⁵⁰ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 55.

⁵¹ For the importance of consensus in early medieval kingship: Althoff, *Political and social bonds in medieval Europe*, especially pp. 10-13, 102-35, 139-46; Stuart Airlie, 'Talking heads: assemblies in early medieval Germany', in *Political assemblies in the earlier Middle Ages*, eds. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 7 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 29-46; Janet L. Nelson, 'How Carolingians created consensus', in *Le monde Carolingien : bilan, perspectives, champs des recherches : actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 18-20 novembre 2004*, eds. Wojciech Falkowski and Yves Sassier, *Culture et société médiévales* 18 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 67-81.

my court/palace was ruled.⁵² Prominent clergy, powerful secular men, and Philip's kin were named as his 'fideles': Gervais, archbishop of Reims; Robert, Philip's younger brother; Count Baldwin V of Flanders; Elinand, bishop of Laon; and Count Raoul, Philip's step-father. It is revealing that Philip did not name his mother, Anne of Kiev, as part of his masculine counsel, despite the visual demonstrations of her collaboration in the form of her monogram and her signature in Russo-slavic characters.⁵³ Anne had, however, been named in Philip's counsels earlier in his reign.⁵⁴ In Germany, one of Henry IV's acts dated to the same year similarly stated that the king resolved to consent to a petition with the counsel of his faithful men.⁵⁵ Unlike Philip, Henry was not explicit in specifying that he had sought his magnates' consent, suggesting geographical differences between French and German conceptions of attaining consent to royal actions. The two acts are comparable, however, in that they both named the small inner circle around the king and emphasised the importance of collaborative lay and clerical counsel. Fleeting instances where we can perceive counsel by named individuals to child kings before the thirteenth century show small groups of no more than about eight men. Other examples from Henry's minority confirm that he irregularly relied on the counsel, 'consilio', of unnamed groups of 'fideles' or 'principes'.⁵⁶

Informal counsels almost certainly advised Malcolm IV and Philip II as young kings on the cusp of adulthood in the twelfth century. The prominence of a small group of magnates around Malcolm suggests their involvement in royal counsel, but there are no explicit references to

⁵² 'cum consensus fidelium meorum...ceterorumque quorum consilio meum regebatur palatium', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 16, p. 48. The original act is extant in Paris, BnF, Collection de Picardie, vol. 294, pièce no. 38.

⁵³ An image of Anne's signature and monograph can be found online at *Sainte Russie : l'art russe, des origines à Pierre le Grand* (Paris, 2010), http://mini-site.louvre.fr/sainte-russie/COMMUN/zoom_png/7.png [accessed 25 July 2017]. The charter is extant as Paris, BnF, Collection Picardie 294, pièce 38. See also Zajac, 'Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship', pp. 49-50.

⁵⁴ 'consilioque dilectissime matris Anne et fidelium nostrorum rogatu', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 10, p. 31.

⁵⁵ 'Honestae igitur petitioni nostrorum consilio fidelium, videlicet dilecti magistri nostri Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis, Sigefridi archiepiscopi Mogontini, Bvrchardi Halberstedensis episcopi, Ottonis marchionis consentire decernentes', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 103, p. 136. Three other documents from Henry IV's minority (nos. 108, 112, 113) use the phrase 'consentire decernentes', all issued between 27 June and 24 October 1063.

⁵⁶ 'ob petitionem fidelis nostri Einhardi sanctae Spirensis ecclesiae episcopi ceterorumque regni nostri principum episcoporum ducum comitum consilio atque interventione', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 100, p. 132. See also nos. 32, 103, 108, 128 and 129.

counsel in his acts.⁵⁷ Instead, we rely on a perspective from outside the royal household to indicate that this is how contemporaries viewed the role of the men (and women) around the king. When comparing Malcolm's rule to the biblical precedent of Jehoshaphat in his *Eulogium Davidis*, Ælred of Rievaulx claimed that the king of Judah had ruled better as a child with the counsel of the high priest and the nobles than he did on his own as an adult.⁵⁸ Using a biblical precedent from 2 Kings 12, Ælred here justified the reign of a child king. Dispelling the unspoken suggestion that a child was incapable of rule, he emphasised that the collaborative support of ecclesiastical and lay magnates would result in good rule under a child king. Writing shortly after King David's death, and with an intimate knowledge of the Scottish court, Ælred may have been hinting here at the governance arrangements early in Malcolm's reign, or writing in the hope of encouraging similar co-operation among the Scottish magnates. In thirteenth-century France, Louis IX's hagiographers emphasised a comparable affinity between the young king and the biblical Josiah, who came to the throne of Judah aged eight.⁵⁹ Using passages from 2 Chronicles 34 and 2 Kings, they entwined Louis's childhood with that of Josiah, comparing the devotion of both kings to God. The liturgical offices for Louis's canonisation similarly recalled Josiah's childhood.⁶⁰ Vincent of Beauvais's educational tract for the French royal children, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, deployed a range of positive biblical examples of childhood which, as Le Goff showed, invited explicit comparisons with Louis's succession and kingship.⁶¹ Positive biblical models of child kingship, in which young boys ruled with the help of wise counsel or divine support, provided exegetical counterparts to the more negative biblical representations of misfortune under a child ruler (to which we will return in Chapter Eight).⁶² Turning back to Scotland, Bishop Robert of St Andrews (*d.*1159) recorded a more tangible magnate presence advising the young king when, sometime before 1159, he granted the church of Tranent as Malcolm had granted it 'with the counsel of his barons'.⁶³ The witness list to the

⁵⁷ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, p. 6.

⁵⁸ London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. XI, fol. 112v. 'Sicut in sacra scriptura legimus Joas septem erat annorum, cum regnare cepisset in Jerusalem, a pontifice Joiada consensus cleri et populi sublimatus in regem; meliusque consilio pontificis et procerum in inbecilliore etate, quam in fortiori suo consilio et virtute regnavit', Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis*, ed. Pinkerton, p. 449; translated in *Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed./trans. Freeland and Dutton, p. 61.

⁵⁹ Geoffrey of Beaulieu, 'Vita et sancta conversatio', *RHGF* 20, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁰ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 396-9.

⁶¹ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 396; Le Goff, 'Le roi enfant dans l'idéologie monarchique', pp. 241-9.

⁶² See Chapter Eight, pp. 254-65.

⁶³ 'Sic(ut) rex Malcolm p(re)dicta(m) eccl(esi)am d(e) t(ra)uerne(n)t eccl(esi)e s(anc)te crucis et canonicis ibidem d(e)o serui(e)n(t)ib(us) co(n)silio baron(um) suo(rum) d(e)dit et carta sua

corresponding act issued by the king reveals possible names of these ‘barones’: his mother, Ada de Warenne; the constable, Hugh de Moreville (*d.*1162); the chancellor, Walter de Bidun (*d.*1178); and Walter the Steward, son of Alan (*d.*1177).⁶⁴ Malcolm’s witness list provides a good initial indicator of who contemporaries may have seen as the king’s inner circle and demonstrates his reliance on men appointed to positions of responsibility in his household.⁶⁵ In twelfth-century Scotland, attempts to argue for the importance of any specific individual are problematic since most royal acts are without dating clauses. Bannerman founded his argument for the prominence of Ferteth, earl of Strathearn (*d.*1171), on the fact that nine of the ten royal acts the earl witnessed appeared in or around the first few years of Malcolm’s reign.⁶⁶ However, most of the acts in which Ferteth appeared should be dated far more broadly. Malcolm’s confirmation of a grant to the Hospital of St Andrews can only be dated by the *terminus post quem* of 24 May 1153, David I’s death, and the *terminus ante quem* of 9 December 1165, his own death.⁶⁷ Other acts in which Ferteth appeared date to the late 1150s or early 1160s, when Malcolm was at least eighteen years old. Ferteth may have been prominent in Malcolm’s counsels but we cannot assume his appearances in royal acts related to the circumstances of child kingship. The formalisation of royal counsel occurred at different speeds in different realms. Mid-twelfth-century non-royal documents in Scotland only implied magnate counsel to a young king, whereas the acts of French and German boy kings acknowledged counsel, albeit sporadically, at least a century earlier. French arrangements for royal counsel were more in place by the early years of Philip II’s reign, a period when the function of ‘le conseil’ was becoming more distinct and providing a greater role for French magnates in counsel than earlier in the twelfth century.⁶⁸ When, in 1180, Philip asked all of his barons to come to his Paris court

(con)firmat(it)’, Edinburgh, NRS, GD 45/13/230/1. See also *Scottish episcopal acts: volume I, the twelfth century*, ed. Norman F. Shead, Scottish History Society 6th series (Aberdeen, 2016), no. 128.

⁶⁴ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, no. 127, p. 190. It is unlikely that the two other witnesses to this act – the clerk Nicholas of Roxburgh and a chaplain of King David named Waleran – would have been referred to as barons.

⁶⁵ See Stringer, ‘The Scottish “political community”’, pp. 54-5, who demonstrates the problems inherent in identifying standing or status at court through witness lists with reference to Alexander II’s charters. See also Broun, ‘The presence of witnesses’, pp. 235-90, for a recent analysis of the distinction between transaction and charter. See especially p. 237, for the general acceptance that witnesses to royal acts were present.

⁶⁶ Bannerman, ‘MacDuff of Fife’, p. 37. The acts Bannerman identifies are: *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, nos. 118, 131, 138, 157, 159, 173, 176, 226, 227.

⁶⁷ *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, no. 138.

⁶⁸ Éric Bournazel, ‘La familia regis Francorum’, in *A l’ombre du pouvoir*, eds. Marchandise and Kupper, pp. 115-33 (at pp. 127-8). See also John W. Baldwin, ‘L’entourage de Philippe Auguste et de la famille royale’, in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Bautier, pp. 59-75. But see J. R. Maddicott, *The origins*

for a crown-wearing, he explicitly expressed his need for ‘their counsel on confidential matters’.⁶⁹ Counsel was an important support to young kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but it was still rather informal until the later twelfth century.

Developments in royal counsel in England affected the arrangements made for the kingdom’s governance under a child king and encouraged the appearance of a more formalised royal council. From the early thirteenth century onwards, no one individual could dominate English royal administration.⁷⁰ Similar trends towards conciliar administration can be seen in other kingdoms in north-western Europe, but other modern European languages do not reflect the same terminological distinction found in modern-day English between ‘counsel’ and ‘council’. Nor does medieval Latin make such a distinction. ‘Consilium’ and ‘concilium’ are usually used interchangeably, even by the fifteenth century.⁷¹ Nevertheless, even allowing for modern linguistic differences and variations between medieval record evidence in early thirteenth-century England and elsewhere, the workings of the king’s council became far more obvious during Henry III’s minority. Henry’s ‘consilium’ gained greater power in administrative affairs and official actions. Alongside named vice-regal guardians such as William Marshal, Pandulph, Peter des Roches, and Hubert de Burgh, the council made decisions regarding day-to-day governance which directly affected the child king. It was ‘through the common counsel of our kingdom’ that Henry was restricted from issuing charters and patent letters in perpetuity until he came of age.⁷² Henry received his first seal with the council’s agreement in November 1218.⁷³ In addition, the king’s council appeared, every now and again, with responsibility for

of the English parliament, 924-1327 (Oxford, 2010), p. 391, who sees the early years of Philip II’s reign as an exception in an overriding trend towards familiar counsel in France.

⁶⁹ ‘ut in crastino eiusdem festivitatis de quibusdam secretis vobiscum consilium habeamus’, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste : lettres mises*, ed. Nortier, no. 68, p. 98.

⁷⁰ West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 179.

⁷¹ The editors of the *DMLBS* note that it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two, especially in terms of a king’s advisory council. See ‘concilium: 3. king’s advisory council’ and ‘consilium: 4. advisory body, council’ in *DMLBS*, <http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/Default.aspx> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also Watts, ‘The counsels of King Henry VI’, p. 279 n.2.

⁷² ‘Sciatis quod provisum est per commune consilium regni nostri quod nulla carta, nulle littere patentes de confirmacione, alienacione, vendicione, vel donacione, seu de aliqua re que cedere possit in perpetuitatem, sigillentur magno sigillo nostro usque ad etatem nostram completam’, *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 177. See Powicke, ‘The chancery during the minority of Henry III’, pp. 222-3. See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 23, for the unusual nature of Magna Carta 1216 in that it was granted by Henry and his heirs in perpetuity.

⁷³ ‘et dominus Henricus rex Angliae primo proprium sigillum obtinuit per consilium regni sui’, Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Stevenson, p. 187.

exercising justice.⁷⁴ Increased reliance on counsel (and, consequently, a council) in England was due to the baronial demand to have greater influence over royal decision-making, especially to prevent kings abusing aristocratic rights in favour of the royal prerogative.⁷⁵ This is seen most clearly in chapter sixty-one of the 1215 Magna Carta, which had insisted on the role of twenty-five barons in keeping the peace and achieving consensus.⁷⁶

Far less evidence is available for other contemporary royal councils. In France, although Louis IX and Blanche had a group of counsellors around them, royal petitions only occasionally mentioned the king's unnamed 'consiliariis'.⁷⁷ When Louis issued a statute concerning the Jews (the Ordinance of Melun) in December 1230 with the common counsel of the French barons, the 'barones' featured as an unnamed group whose consultation was sought only in exceptional circumstances beyond the regularity of a more formal royal council.⁷⁸ The sporadic nature of references to French royal councils may be partly due to the nature of the surviving evidence. Jean Richard's research shows that Louis IX inherited a group of counsellors which was unchanged since his father's death and whose membership did not change for fifteen years, except in instances of death or departure.⁷⁹ Lindy Grant's study of Blanche of Castile confirms these findings, emphasising the loyalty of a close circle of administrators to the queen mother:

⁷⁴ *Curia Regis rolls of the reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 3-4 Henry III* (London, 1938), p. 74, for a case to be heard before the council and action taken on order of the council; p. 225 ('per petitionem domini regis et consilii sui'); p. 278, for merciful judgement on the advice of the council; p. 343 ('provisum est a consilio domini regis'). See also *Pipe Roll 62*, ed. Ebdon, p. 42, for an example of the council's role in judgement and justice.

⁷⁵ For example, see *The acts and letters of the Marshal family*, ed. Crouch, no. 57, p. 128, where William Marshal notes that scutage had been imposed by the common counsel of the realm ('ad reddendum ei scutagium scilicet de scuto .ii. marcarum quod positum est per commune consilium regni'). See also the discussion in Maddicott, *The origins of the English parliament*, pp. 109-19, for the council's development over the reigns of Richard I and John.

⁷⁶ *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, Chapter 61, Magna Carta 1215, pp. 62-6. Chapter 14 also set out the process by which the common counsel of the kingdom had to be secured to assess an aid ('Et ad habendum commune consilium regni de auxilio assidendo', p. 44). Neither of these clauses were included in the re-issues of Magna Carta in 1216, 1217, or 1225. See West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 233. For the role of taxation in the development of conciliar consent in England, see Maddicott, *The origins of the English parliament*, pp. 119-26. See also *Documents of the baronial movement of reform and rebellion, 1258-1267*, eds. R. F. Treharne and I. J. Sanders, OMT (Oxford, 1973), especially pp. 2-12, for the council's later development in England.

⁷⁷ For example, 'una cum aliis consiliariis illustris regis Francorum Ludovici et dominae reginae matris eius', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 2045, pp. 173-4.

⁷⁸ 'de communi consilio baronum nostrorum', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 2083, pp. 192-3. See Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish relations*, pp. 78-9. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, p. 105, for the prominence of the regency council later in Louis IX's reign, whilst he was on crusade.

⁷⁹ Richard, 'Les conseillers de Saint Louis', pp. 135-6.

men such as Guérin, bishop of Senlis (*d.*1227), Walter Cornut, archbishop of Sens, the chamberlain Bartholomew of Roye, and the constable Matthew of Montmorency.⁸⁰ This was perhaps not a formal ‘council’ around Louis IX and his mother, but we should remember that, even in England, the royal council was still not a prescribed formal body. James Baldwin and David Carpenter have shown how Henry III’s council consisted of magnates, knights, ministers, and justices who met on an irregular basis. The council’s membership fluctuated over his minority.⁸¹ Current scholarship on German royal councils similarly refutes modern historians’ earlier acceptance of the existence of a permanent council with stable membership around the thirteenth-century child king, Henry (VII).⁸² Christian Hillen shows that, instead of the rigid arrangements implied by the use of modern German vocabulary, the close circle of magnates around Henry had no fixed membership or set responsibilities.⁸³ The English system of royal counsel at the start of the thirteenth century may have been more established than elsewhere in north-western Europe but, even in England, although the council took actions during Henry’s minority which impacted directly on royal rule, the circumstances of child kingship did not create the council or dictate its continued existence.⁸⁴ It exercised similar administrative and judicial powers even after Henry III came of age. Royal councils/counsels were not created specifically to exercise vice-regal guardianship in situations of child kingship even by the early thirteenth-century. They worked alongside the child’s guardian(s) for the governance of the realm, and their powers could be expanded during a period of minority (as in England), but they never had an overt guardianship role.

⁸⁰ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 82. See also pp. 85-6, for Blanche holding council with the French barons to discuss action to be taken against the viscountess of Châteaudun.

⁸¹ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 54. See James F. Baldwin, ‘The beginnings of the king’s council’, *TRHS*, 19 (1905), 27-59 (at pp. 57-9), who lists the council’s membership during Henry’s minority. For the development of institutionalised features of council during Henry VI’s minority, see Watts, ‘The counsels of King Henry VI’, especially p. 284. But note that Watts attributes this to the prolonged nature of crisis rather than an increasing institutionalisation of council more generally.

⁸² Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, p. 297; Hillen, ‘Minority government for German kings’, pp. 33-5.

⁸³ It is modern terms such as ‘Vormundschaftsrat’, ‘Regentschaftsrat’, ‘Erziehungsrat’, ‘geheimer Rat’, and ‘Reichsrat’, of which Hillen is particularly critical. See Hillen, ‘Minority government for German kings’, p. 34. See also *Casus Sancti Galli. Continuatio III auctore Conrado de Fabaria*, ed. I. von Arx, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), pp. 165-83 (at p. 180), where Conrad of Fabaria describes the conciliar arrangements around Henry (VII) more fluidly.

⁸⁴ Baldwin, ‘The beginnings of the king’s council’, pp. 28, 30, who dates the stable character of the king’s council to John’s reign. See West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 232, who sees the council during Henry III’s minority as a vague and unstable group.

Only in mid-thirteenth-century Scotland during Alexander III's minority do we have evidence for a royal council created with the explicit duty of providing for a child king's custody and the guardianship of his kingdom. As I have shown, a close group of magnates surrounded Malcolm IV as a young king, and Alexander's guardianship council almost certainly developed out of earlier practices of Scottish royal counsel. Nevertheless, the Scottish magnates had not considered conciliar arrangements necessary when the sixteen-year-old Alexander II succeeded in December 1214.⁸⁵ Thus, Alexander III's council had a new purpose unequivocally linked to the king's young age. Anglo-Scottish interactions in the 1250s also influenced the appearance of a more formalised guardianship council during Alexander's early reign, but this does not mean we should necessarily see the council as an English 'creation' or 'custom', as some modern scholars suggest.⁸⁶ It was based on a magnate council which had existed in Scotland since Alexander's succession as king (if not before). The first surviving act from Alexander III's reign, issued at Edinburgh on 1 June 1250, eleven months after his father's death, invoked the advice or counsel of the Scottish magnates to give licence to the abbot and convent of Paisley to repair a fishpond.⁸⁷ This is the only surviving act from Alexander's minority claiming to have been issued *on the advice of* the magnates. It bears some resemblance to the wording of Louis IX's 1230 statute, mentioned above, since neither document named the magnates providing this advice. Alexander's act survives only in a later manuscript copy, and it is possible that the transcription changed or amended the original text in some way. Alternatively, and more likely, the early dating of Alexander's act highlights uncertainty from those around the child as to how to proceed with governance, or possibly scribal doubts concerning how to record the arrangements being made for an eight-year-old boy king. Alexander made no further reference in royal acts to his magnates until 17 December 1253 when a widow, Emma, daughter and heir of Gilbert of Smeaton, renounced all rights and claim to land of Dunfermline Abbey in the presence of the king and his magnates.⁸⁸ Although Alexander's acts maintained his royal

⁸⁵ Stringer, 'The Scottish "political community"', p. 74.

⁸⁶ Reid, 'The political role of the monarchy in Scotland', p. 47, who claims that pre-arranged guardianship was an English custom. Yet, as I have shown earlier in this chapter, English 'custom' had not yet associated a royal council explicitly with a child king's guardianship. This was a new aspect in Scotland in the 1250s.

⁸⁷ 'Sciatis nos de consilio magnatum nostrorum', *Paisley Abbey Cartulary*, Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.14, fol. 131r. Transcription in *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, no. 1, p. 57.

⁸⁸ 'in presencia nostra et magnatum de nostro consilio', *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, no. 18, p. 67. Neville and Stringer translate this literally as 'in the presence of the king and the magnates of his council', although there is some ambiguity in the phrase, which could simply mean that the magnates were acting on the king's advice.

authority, depicting the boy judging, granting, conceding, and gifting alone from the age of eight, writers were aware of the presence of magnates counselling the king, and the need to factor these arrangements into day-to-day governance, even before the English king became involved more unmistakably.⁸⁹

More obvious arrangements were made for a guardianship council to support Alexander III in 1255, when he issued a letter at Roxburgh on 20 September – for which we rely on a copy written into English royal records – announcing changes in the royal council’s membership.⁹⁰ Using the exact phrase which had appeared in his first surviving act, Alexander removed twenty-six named magnates from his council *on the advice of* Henry III and twenty-five other named magnates.⁹¹ The record of names further supports the idea that some form of royal council had existed before 1255. The identical wording suggests that clerks from the Scottish king’s chapel participated in drawing up the Roxburgh document. William, bishop of Glasgow, and Gamelin, bishop-elect of St Andrews, were included in both the list of magnate advisors and the list of magnates being removed, which E. L. G. Stones claimed could only be an error.⁹² But there is another more plausible reason. The number twenty-five was highly significant, recalling the number of barons cited in chapter sixty-one of 1215 Magna Carta.⁹³ Since it was at the instance of the English king and the Scottish magnates that the old council had been disbanded, William and Gamelin’s inclusion in both lists could imply a conscious imitation of the English precedent.⁹⁴ Contemporary authors similarly recognised Henry III’s part in fashioning Alexander’s new council.⁹⁵ Alexander’s letter appointed a new guardianship council of fifteen men to rule on his behalf, three years before Henry had to approve his own Council

⁸⁹ *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, p. 5.

⁹⁰ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 60-9. See also *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, no. 22, pp. 71-4.

⁹¹ ‘nos ad instanciam ipsius regis et de consilio magnatum nostrorum’, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, p. 60.

⁹² *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, p. 61 n.3.

⁹³ The text of Magna Carta was itself possibly evoking St Augustine’s gloss on John 6:19 linking the number twenty-five to the divine law. See Nicholas Vincent, ‘The twenty-five barons of Magna Carta: an Augustinian echo?’, in *Rulership and rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c.1066-c.1216: essays in honour of Professor Edmund King*, eds. Paul Dalton and David Luscombe (Farnham 2015), pp. 231-51.

⁹⁴ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 60-1.

⁹⁵ The Melrose chronicler claimed that it was the English king’s brief visit in 1255 which led to the king and the realm being entrusted to Patrick, earl of Dunbar (listed second of the earls among Alexander’s counsellors in the 1255 document after Malcolm, earl of Fife), and his accomplices. See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fols 57v.-58r.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, p. 583. See also Reid, ‘The political role of the monarchy in Scotland’, p. 10, for Henry’s involvement.

of Fifteen in the Provisions of Oxford.⁹⁶ Alexander appointed the fifteen men ‘to our council, the government of our realm, and the guardianship of our body, and of that of our queen’, explicitly defining their collaborative role as the officially appointed guardians of king, queen, and kingdom.⁹⁷ More specific conciliar duties included protecting royal rights such as wardships and escheats, and responsibility for replacing sheriffs, foresters, and other lesser officials if or when a vacancy arose.⁹⁸

References to royal counsel during periods of child kingship had appeared sporadically before the early thirteenth century, when counsel usually meant a small group of ecclesiastical and secular magnates whose membership was not fixed and whose roles remained unspecified. A more authoritative position for a king’s council developed in England during Henry III’s minority, but it was not until the mid-1250s in Scotland that, through a guardianship council, a group of magnates held joint responsibility for the care of king and kingdom. The move towards more conciliar arrangements for guardianship reflects late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century developments. Kingship now encompassed a greater administrative burden and required more specialised management of royal households. This was also a period which saw increasing calls for baronial representation and the protection of aristocratic rights from royal interference, especially in England. In the circumstances of child kingship, which had always relied by necessity on magnate collaboration, these developments in royal power and authority allowed magnate guardians to introduce greater formality to vice-regal guardianship arrangements, including changes to legal concepts of age and maturity, as I will now show.

iii. Child kingship: a ‘legal fiction’?

Studies of noble guardianship and wardship have tended to concentrate on the legal status of underage heirs and the canon, common, customary, or Roman law basis for the provision of

⁹⁶ For Henry’s Council of Fifteen, see *Documents of the baronial movement*, eds. Treharne and Sanders, pp. 10-13, 110-11.

⁹⁷ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; ‘ad consilia nostra et gubernacionem regni nostri et custodiam corporis nostri et regine sponse nostre’, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 64-5. See Introduction, p. 45.

⁹⁸ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; ‘Preterea de feodalibus custodiis vel escaetis nostris nichil fiet nisi de consilio et consensu dictorum consiliariorum nostrorum, seu eisdem modo predicto substituendorum et nostro’, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 64-5.

guardians.⁹⁹ But *a priori* assumptions regarding wardship could vary widely between different legal traditions. Canon law collections in the twelfth and early thirteenth century such as Gratian's *Decretum* did not even mention the definition and regulation of the guardianship of children.¹⁰⁰ In England, the role of the king, from whom all land derived, was particularly important in situations of aristocratic wardship. As S. F. C. Milsom demonstrated, the king's prerogative wardship was an old royal right which continued unregulated until the thirteenth century, when additions and changes to Magna Carta in 1216 and 1217, and negotiations with English magnates in 1222 before Henry III took the fifteenth, introduced limitations to the royal prerogative.¹⁰¹ Regional distinctions in custom were also important. In France, even the terminology of guardianship differed according to locality. Normandy, for example, tended to use the expressions 'garde royal' or 'garde seigneuriale' whilst, in Brittany, the preference was for 'bail'.¹⁰² Although we must often resort to customary law texts which only survive in later thirteenth-century manuscripts as an indication of these local differences in France, it is evident that the strength of the lord's right to guardianship varied from region to region. The Norman dukes exerted seigneurial control over the wardship of underage heirs, but in other territories collateral and ascendant relatives played a much greater role in guardianship arrangements, as Amy Livingstone has shown for the Loire.¹⁰³ Similarly, in Germany, different regional legal customs influenced variances in practices of guardianship. Franz-Reiner Erkens suggests Germanic legal views usually prioritised a male relative as guardian but, under West-gothic and Burgundian law, it was already possible for widowed mothers to assume guardianship in the earlier Middle Ages, creating an unclear legal system in cases of child kingship.¹⁰⁴ As we can

⁹⁹ This has been particularly well-covered by legal historians working on England: Walker, 'Widow and ward', 104-16; Richard H. Helmholz, 'The Roman law of guardianship in England, 1300-1600', *Tulane Law Review*, 52 (1978), 22-57; Waugh, *The lordship of England*; S. F. C. Milsom, 'The origin of prerogative wardship', in *Law and government in medieval England and Normandy: essays in honour of Sir James Holt*, eds. George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 223-44; Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*. For selected examples from other kingdoms: Mitteis, 'Der Rechtsschutz Minderjähriger', pp. 621-36; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur la minorité et ses effets dans le droit féodal français* (Paris, 1852); Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises, période des Capétiens directs* (Paris, 1892), especially pp. 169-71. See also René Metz, *La femme et l'enfant dans le droit canonique médiéval* (London, 1985), for the status of children under canon law.

¹⁰⁰ Helmholz, 'The Roman law of guardianship in England', p. 227.

¹⁰¹ Milsom, 'The origin of prerogative wardship', especially pp. 223-4, 229-31. See also Menuge, *Medieval English wardship*, p. 1.

¹⁰² d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur la minorité*, p. 5.

¹⁰³ Amy Livingstone, *Out of love for my kin: aristocratic family life in the lands of the Loire, 1000-1200* (Ithaca, 2010), especially pp. 49-50, 70-1, 88-90, 186-8. And see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur la minorité*, pp. 6-20, who expands on these regional differences.

¹⁰⁴ Erkens, 'Die Frau als Herrscherin', pp. 253-4.

see, underage kings rarely, if ever, feature in these analyses and guardianship (or regency) arrangements during periods of child kingship have been the subject of much less scrutiny.¹⁰⁵

Modern scholars of child rulership, perhaps following in the footsteps of their counterparts researching tenurial wardship, have devoted significant space to discussing the legal status of boy kings.¹⁰⁶ They have comprehensively rejected concepts such as ‘underage’, ‘legal wardship’, or ‘legal guardianship’ in kingship situations because they imply a compromise of the child’s legal capacity.¹⁰⁷ However, in doing so, *a priori* discussion of legal norms have, to a certain extent, distracted modern historians from the realities. This is best illustrated in the contention that an underage king was a ‘legal fiction’. The tendency in scholarship on child kingship to stick firmly to studies of one kingdom, rather than adopting a comparative approach across national boundaries, exacerbates these problems. André Poulet dated to thirteenth-century France the introduction of the ‘legal fiction’ which concealed a child king’s *de facto* incapacity.¹⁰⁸ Modern German historians have argued independently for its notional existence much earlier.¹⁰⁹ The idea that child kingship was a ‘legal fiction’ relies on the Blackstone-esque division of the child’s natural body from his royal identity.¹¹⁰ A boy king who, in any other circumstance, would be defined as ‘underage’ through law codes or custom and, as such, rely on a legal guardian until he came of age, could not be ‘underage’ because his royal identity amputated him from these legal circumstances. This line of reasoning implies the deliberate projection of an image of ‘adult’ kingship as an attempt to camouflage the king’s incapacity due to his childhood. Although the basic premise of this ‘legal fiction’ – that a child king issued

¹⁰⁵ See Introduction, pp. 40-52, for why the terms ‘guardian’ and ‘guardianship’ are preferred here to those of ‘regent’ and ‘regency’.

¹⁰⁶ This is in part because it is legal historians who have been most interested in medieval child kingship. See Le Goff, ‘Le roi enfant’, p. 232, who discusses the dominance of a legal approach to child kings. See also Introduction, p. 7 n.6.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, pp. 293, 322; Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, p. 291; Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 10-43. In German scholarship, it is use of the word ‘unmündig’ which has been particularly criticised because it implies that the king must have a legal guardian.

¹⁰⁸ André Poulet, ‘Capetian women and the regency: the genesis of a vocation’, in *Medieval queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1994), pp. 93-116 (at p. 109). But see Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 174 [published in 1931], who suggests that the ‘fiction’ of a regent governing in the name of the king had a much longer history in France. See also Wolf, ‘Königtum Minderjähriger’, p. 102 [published in 1976], who similarly follows Olivier-Martin.

¹⁰⁹ Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, pp. 291-323, especially p. 322 [published in 1990]; Vogtherr, ‘Minderjährige Könige’, p. 291 [published in 2003].

¹¹⁰ For this, see Introduction, p. 11.

acts, received homages, and undertook royal actions in his own name and royal authority despite his age, incapability, and, in most cases, the existence of a guardian governing the kingdom on his behalf – is undeniable, I want to unpick three flaws in the way historians have posed this argument.

Firstly, to address an inconsistency. The notion that guardians only exercised *de facto* authority for the king rather than *de jure* authority often buttresses the assertion that child kingship was a ‘legal fiction’. This notion is problematic in that historians overwhelmingly apply it only to queen mothers acting in a guardianship role, as I briefly discussed in relation to Blanche of Castile earlier in this chapter. The lack of guardianship titles for female ‘regents’, or expression of their vice-regal duties in official terms, is seen to support their purely *de facto* role. Critically, if we are to accept this reasoning, we must apply it equally to the lay and clerical involvement in guardianship in a similar period. Men such as Baldwin V of Flanders, Anno of Cologne, or Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen may have been called ‘procurator’, ‘magister’, or ‘patronus’ during a king’s minority, even in royal acts, but these titles were used irrationally and inconsistently.¹¹¹ Before the thirteenth century, much like queen mothers, no male guardian had an official or legal title to describe their role alongside a boy king; they similarly acted only on a *de facto* basis. In north-western Europe, William Marshal was the first guardian for whom a title was created specifically to express his vice-regal responsibility for king and kingdom. Yet, even in William’s case, ‘rector regis et regni’ was an *ad hoc* creation. As I showed in Chapter Three, King John had not conferred either title or position on William, who appeared initially with the title of justiciar for the first two weeks of Henry III’s reign.¹¹² Theoretically, then, the original intention may have been for the care of king and kingdom to be managed much as during periods of absentee kingship when the justiciar stepped in to oversee the day-to-day rule

¹¹¹ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 103, pp. 135-7, dated 27 June 1063, where Adalbert appears as Henry’s ‘patronus’ and Anno as his ‘magister’. These designations did not appear consistently, however. Baldwin V of Flanders appears in Philip’s acts with a variety of titles: ‘comitus’ (e.g. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 2, p. 7); ‘justitiae et pacis cultor’ (no. 15, p. 46); as one of Philip’s ‘fideles’ (e.g. no. 16, p. 48); ‘marchio’ (e.g. no. 17, p. 50); in a spurious charter, Baldwin’s son calls his father ‘Philippi regis Francorum procuratoris et bajuli’ (no. 22, p. 60 – see, similarly no. 25, p. 71); ‘patronus’ (no. 27, p. 80). See Introduction, especially p. 47, for a discussion of guardianship vocabulary and titles.

¹¹² ‘T. Com’ W. Mar’ Justic’ Angl’ apud Bristollu(m) xiii die Nov’, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 293; ‘sigillo fidelis nostri comitis W. Marescalli, justiciarii nostri’, *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 1. See Turner, ‘The minority of Henry III. Part I’, pp. 246-7. See also Chapter Three, p. 113, for William Marshal’s negotiation of a position as Henry’s guardian.

of the kingdom.¹¹³ This was not a workable solution in practice, however, since John had named Hubert de Burgh justiciar in 1215, and Hubert was reluctant to give up the title whilst the new king was underage.¹¹⁴ William received his novel title at a council at Bristol later in November 1216.¹¹⁵ Even in England, where we have the most abundant survival of record evidence for the actions and duties of vice-regal guardians in the central Middle Ages, guardianship in situations of child kingship was still not yet attached to any one administrative position. William's title did not outlive his death, further suggesting that it did not belong to any legally or officially prescribed office. Before his death on 14 May 1219, William had attempted to settle questions of guardianship, moving the chancery to his own residence at Caversham and exercising firm control over royal letters between 20 March and 9 April 1219.¹¹⁶ William's biographer claimed that the Marshal initially decided to defer to baronial consensus in nominating one individual to succeed to his role. But, worried about creating divisions between magnates, he instead entrusted Henry and the kingdom to the care of God (that is to the pope and the legate Pandulph) from his deathbed, much as King John had done three years earlier.¹¹⁷ This led to the shared delegation of guardianship responsibilities between the 'Triumvirate' of Pandulph, Hubert de

¹¹³ West, *The justiciarship in England*, for the development of the justiciar's role and responsibilities. See also Bates, 'The origins of the justiciarship', pp. 1-12.

¹¹⁴ Probably linked to the decision that all John's officers should keep their offices until Henry came of age. See Fred A. Cazel, Jr., 'Intertwined careers: Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches', *HSJ*, 1 (1989), pp. 173-81 (at p. 176). See also West, *The justiciarship in England*, p. 228, who notes that the justiciarship was not associated with vice-regal responsibilities at the start of Henry III's reign.

¹¹⁵ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 293, where William Marshal first appears as justiciar and then as 'rector regis et regni'; *Pipe Roll 62*, ed. Ebdon, p. 42. See 'juvenis rex Henricus fuit ad Natale apud Bristollum, praesente Walone legato et Willelmo Mareschallo, rectore eiusdem regis et regni', Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 204, and pp. 223, 237, for further examples where Roger uses William Marshal's title. See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 21-2.

¹¹⁶ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 104. See also Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', p. 291, who notes that the letters issued between November 1218 and April 1219 by people other than William Marshal were all writs of *computabitur* possibly issued in haste because of the onset of William's illness.

¹¹⁷ 'E se je le bailloie as uns, / Icel sachiez, n'en dotez mie, / Li autre en avreient envie. / Por ce ai porveü a dreit, / Se vos veez que ce bien seit, / Que a Deu e a l'apostorie / Seit bailliez, qui m'en voldra croire, / E al legat, qu'il en seit mestre / En lor liu, car bien le deit estre.' ('If I entrusted him to one party, I can tell you, and you must have no doubt on the matter, that another party would be jealous. That is why I have made a decision which I hope you will find is the right one, to hand him over to the care of God, the pope, and the papal legate. Let the legate be his guardian in their name, for it is right that he should be.'), *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 402-5 (at p. 404). See Powicke, 'The chancery during the minority of Henry III', pp. 229-30. And, see Shirley, i, nos. 93, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, pp. 112-3, 117, 118-21 for letters between Pandulph and Ralph Neville showing heightened concern for governance arrangements at the time of William Marshal's death. See also Chapter Three, p. 111.

Burgh, and Peter de Roches after William's death.¹¹⁸ Hubert maintained his position as justiciar and a council at Oxford in April 1219 gave him responsibility for attesting royal letters, once again demonstrating the need for consensus in guardianship arrangements.¹¹⁹ Henry III remained in Peter's custody, but royal documents show the bishop's increased involvement in running the kingdom until late 1220 or early 1221.¹²⁰ Some initial moves towards introducing greater formality to guardianship arrangements appear in the thirteenth century. Yet, we must acknowledge a more fluid notion of vice-regal guardianship in the central Middle Ages than is usually suggested, since there is a lack of evidence for any official conception of 'regency' in this period through titles or ideas of office-holding.

Secondly, to consider the evidence basis. Arguments supporting the perception of child kingship as a 'legal fiction' have usually fixed on the (in)visibility of guardianship arrangements in royal documents.¹²¹ This helps to explain the variable dating of the introduction of the 'legal fiction' across different kingdoms. It is only in France that we can observe a dramatic change in the visibility of vice-regal guardians in royal documents between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Anne of Kiev and Baldwin of Flanders appeared prominently in Philip I's acts throughout the 1060s, often with explicit acknowledgement of their guardianship roles.¹²² In a

¹¹⁸ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, pp. 194-206, 212, 221-3, for examples of Hubert and Peter working alongside each other to attest and authorise patent letters. See p. 202, where Hubert attests an order to Geoffrey de Marisco (*d.*1245), justiciar of Ireland, in the presence of Pandulph and Peter (similarly, p. 203). See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 128-86; Fred A. Cazell, Jr., 'The legates Guala and Pandulf', *TCE*, 2 (1987), 15-21. And, for Pandulph's withdrawal as papal legate in 1221, see Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', pp. 257-62.

¹¹⁹ W. L. Warren, 'Painter's *King John*: forty years on', *HSJ*, 1 (1989), 1-9 (at p. 5).

¹²⁰ 'post cuius mortem memoratus rex in custodia Petri, Wintoniensis episcopi, remansit', Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 237. See *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p.406, for an example of Peter's involvement in royal justice. See also West, *The justiciarship in England*, pp. 237-8, for Peter's oversight of the finances of the royal household; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, especially pp. 184-228, who sees the siege of Bytham castle marking a turning point in provoking Peter's withdrawal from court. See Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', p. 262, for Philip d'Aubigny's role in Peter's absence.

¹²¹ For example, Christian Hillen judged Agnes of Poitou to be acting 'as intercessor but not as an independent regent' because she did not appear in documents in the same way as Constance of Aragon in Sicily, who managed the kingdom in Frederick II's absence for their son Henry (VII). See Hillen, 'Minority government for German kings', pp. 30-1. Hillen does not acknowledge recognition of Agnes's guardianship role elsewhere, or the differences in diplomatic practice between eleventh-century German and thirteenth-century Sicily.

¹²² For examples of Anne's prominence in Philip's acts: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 2, pp. 7, 12; no. 4, p. 14 ('per interventum matris mee A. '); no. 6, pp. 17-21; no. 10, p. 31 ('consilioque dilectissime matris Anne'); no. 11, pp. 32-4; no. 12, p. 35 ('interventu et intercessio Anne, venerabilis regine et matris nostre, concessimus... secundum voluntatem et petitionem matris nostre'). For examples of Baldwin's prominence after 1062/3: no. 17, pp. 49-51; no. 18, pp. 53 ('roborandam obtuli domno Philippo regi et domno Balduino, comiti, cuius solerti cura et diligenti providentia regni procurator

donation to the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the first half of 1061, Philip stated that, after his father's death, he had received the kingdom together with his mother.¹²³ By contrast, Blanche of Castile appeared far less frequently in documents issued early in Louis IX's reign and never with the same prominence as either Anne or Baldwin.¹²⁴ This was the primary evidence Poulet used to argue for the increased importance of maintaining the 'fiction' of child kingship in the thirteenth-century.¹²⁵ It is worth considering here the arguments made by Yves Sassier regarding the emergence of an abstract notion of *corona regni* over the twelfth century.¹²⁶ Sassier shows that, whilst the abstract notion of the 'crown' appeared in a letter from Ivo of Chartres to Philip I in 1092, and was familiar in royal circles in the first half of the twelfth century, the term *corona regni* became more commonplace from Philip II's reign. Ecclesiastical foundations began to use this abstract notion when they appealed to the king.¹²⁷ The development of ideas of the 'crown' or 'realm' as distinct from the person of the king in France may have unintentionally counteracted the need for a child king's guardians to be named prominently in royal documents alongside the underage boy when these circumstances arose with Louis IX's succession. Royal actions derived from the 'crown', and it was to this abstract notion that appeals were made, not to a child. Similar abstractions of 'crown' and 'realm' developed elsewhere over the same period, but the situation is less clear in other kingdoms in north-western Europe because there is little opportunity for a straightforward comparison between an eleventh-century case of child kingship and a thirteenth-century case.¹²⁸ The trend towards greater formalisation of the duties and membership of royal councils (which I demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter), suggests that contemporaries were in fact

monarchia'); no. 21, p. 59 ('Balduini, Flendrensis comitis, cuius auxilio hec omnia sunt adquisita'); no. 22, pp. 59-63. See also Chapter Three, pp. 111-12.

¹²³ 'Domno vero Henrico rege obeunte, dum ego Philippus, filius ejus, admodum parvulus, regnum unacum matre suscepissem', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 13, p. 40. Olivier-Martin acknowledged Baldwin's clear responsibility as guardian but claimed that this was never a role which Anne exercised. See Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, pp. 1-29, especially p. 24.

¹²⁴ Lindy Grant, 'Blanche of Castile and Normandy', in *Normandy and its neighbours, 900-1250: essays for David Bates*, eds. Crouch and Thompson, pp. 117-31 (at pp. 119-20); Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship"', p. 140.

¹²⁵ Poulet, 'Capetian women and the regency', p. 109.

¹²⁶ Yves Sassier, 'La *Corona regni*: émergence d'une *persona ficta* dans la France du XIIe siècle', in *La puissance royale : image et pouvoir de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, eds. Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz and Christian-Georges Schwentzel (Rennes, 2012), pp. 99-110.

¹²⁷ Sassier, 'La *Corona regni*', pp. 101-5.

¹²⁸ Nicholas Vincent, 'Regional variations in the charters of King Henry II (1154-89)', in *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, eds. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 70-106 (especially at pp. 76-8 for a discussion of *regnum* and *corona*).

more concerned to display support for an underage king in royal decision-making than ever before. Furthermore, even in France, Blanche was ‘invisible’ as guardian only to an extent. Poulet himself cited oaths of allegiance as an exception where she was far more conspicuous than earlier queens. In addition, Blanche’s guardianship role was evident in observations made by the kingdom’s prelates after Louis VIII’s death, her involvement in treaties and peace-making, her negotiations for the release of political prisoners, and her inclusion in approaches to her son by contemporaries.¹²⁹ When Isabella of Angoulême approached Louis IX in 1226 or 1227 to be compensated for her dower lands in the French kingdom, her letter to the king recorded her cession of lands in perpetuity to Louis, his mother, and their heirs, emphasising Blanche’s prominence in transactional acts of kingship.¹³⁰ We cannot always assume that changes to the way record evidence acknowledged guardianship arrangements between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries were for reasons of deception. Developments in royal chancery practice and the increasing standardisation of royal acts inevitably played a significant part too, as did the diffusion of abstract ideas of ‘crown’ and ‘realm’ – notions which may have been encouraged by the increasing prominence of the schools over the twelfth century.

The third and final point I want to make regarding the ‘legal fiction’ of child kingship involves an analysis at greater length of the increasing legal influence on notions of a child king’s maturity. Rather than seeing a child king’s royal status as somehow removing him from a legal context, contemporaries undoubtedly perceived boy kings to be subject to certain legal concepts. I have already shown how legalistic changes in the relationship between kinship, lordship, and guardianship in non-royal circumstances influenced contemporary perceptions of vice-regal guardianship.¹³¹ Similarly, over the central Middle Ages, legal models increasingly influenced notions of a child king’s immaturity and his progression to maturity. Perhaps the main flaw in the view of child kingship as a ‘legal fiction’ is that those around the king were not consistent in hiding his incapability. Royal documents across the central Middle Ages acknowledged a recognised state of child kingship and revealed provisions for the king’s guardianship, although to different extents depending on the polity and period to which one turns. Changing legal notions of maturity affected how those around a child king represented

¹²⁹ For greater detail on all these aspects of Blanche’s role, see Chapter Six.

¹³⁰ ‘quittamus eidem domino regi et domine regine matri eius et heredibus suis in perpetuum omnia ea unde idem dominus rex tenens est vel fuit’, *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1924, p. 121.

¹³¹ See above, pp. 158-9.

his kingship, as we can see first and foremost through representations of immaturity in royal documents. Records of royal transactions in the eleventh-century did not always hide the king's childhood and, when they acknowledged this, it was through personal references to his 'pueritia'. In Germany, in a diploma issued to the episcopal church of Bamberg in July 1062, the eleven-year-old Henry IV noted that he recognised the eminence of his father, grandfather, and other predecessors, whose examples of rule would inform the years of his childhood ('pueritie nostre annos').¹³² An act issued in April 1064 included a remarkable and, as far as I am aware, unique invocation clause entitling Henry the 'child king of the Romans'.¹³³ Likewise, contemporaneously in France, occasional references to Philip I's childhood appeared in acts issued during his minority. The nine-year-old Philip noted in the record of a property exchange in 1061 that he had received the kingdom together with his mother because he was still in his infancy ('admodum parvulus').¹³⁴ As I mentioned before, Philip confirmed a sentence in 1063 passed in the presence of Baldwin V of Flanders and 'King Philip who was still a boy'.¹³⁵ Indications of the king's age in terms of the biological state of 'pueritia' had vanished from royal documents by the early thirteenth century, partly conforming to the increasing standardisation in royal chanceries which left little room for narrative references in the eleventh-century style. More importantly, however, the thirteenth century saw the introduction of a more explicitly legal context to representations of a boy king's immaturity. This is seen most obviously in Henry III's minority. Patent letters referred to the terminus for custody of lands and castles, letters of protection, safe conducts, and notes of pardon with the standardised phrase

¹³² 'Quoniam testante sacro eloquio thronus regis misericordia stabilitur, cogitavimus tam ad emulationem patris avi que nostri quam aliorum predecessorum nostrorum, qui bene imperaverant, pueritie nostre annos informare et eorum exemplis ecclesias dei colere et usquequaque ampliare', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 88, p. 114. See also no. 115, p. 152, dated 26 October 1063, in which Henry refers to his tender age ('nostra tenera etas').

¹³³ 'Heinricus puer gratia dei Romanorum rex augustus', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 127, p. 166. This document, as well as the two in the previous footnote, were all issued through the intervention or request of Anno of Cologne or Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen, who may have had additional motivation to emphasise Henry's childhood to support their own involvement in royal administration. See also 'Part I: 1056 (1050) – 1065', ed. Tilman Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III. Salisches Haus 1024-1125. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV. 1056 (1050) – 1106*, ed. J. F. Böhmer (Cologne, 1984), no. 331, p. 146.

¹³⁴ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 13, p. 40. For other examples of Anne's prominence in Philip's acts see above, pp. 174-5 n.122.

¹³⁵ 'rege adhuc puero Philippo', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 17, p. 50. See no. 27, p. 80, for a slightly later act which harks back to Philip's childhood ('in diebus puericie mee'). See also Chapter Three, p. 112.

‘until our coming of age’ (‘usque ad etatem nostram’).¹³⁶ Variations of this phrase appeared in the fine rolls from November 1218, the month Henry III received a new seal, until December 1225, when he was eighteen years old, and in the patent rolls from slightly earlier in 1218 until October 1226, the month he turned nineteen.¹³⁷ Legal ideas of maturity are conspicuous throughout Henry’s early reign due to the abundant survival of early thirteenth-century English royal documents. It has been less widely appreciated that similar legal ideas appeared in France during Louis IX’s first years as king. The letter sent by the prelates after Louis VIII’s death, to which I have already referred several times, denoted a terminus to Blanche’s guardianship of the king, kingdom, and her other children as being ‘until they reached a legitimate (or lawful) age’, implying that this conception of maturity bound the king too.¹³⁸ Similarly, records of homage sworn to Louis in February 1228, just before his fourteenth birthday, and June 1230, when he was sixteen, included magnate promises to keep faith with Blanche and observe her guardianship of her son until Louis reached a lawful age (‘ad legitimam etatem’).¹³⁹ The influence of new legal notions of maturity is overt in the explicit anticipation of a king’s age of majority.

It is undeniable that the men and women who were prominently involved in a kingdom’s administration turned to customary notions of aristocratic maturity for inspiration in managing the child king’s progression to adulthood. Of course, aristocratic wardship did not allow for all the complexities of royal rule, but nobles dealt with the king most often in a feudal capacity and it is unsurprising that these were the ideas that influenced situations of child kingship.

¹³⁶ See *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, especially pp. 143, 145, 148-9, 177, 187, 194, 200, 201, 206, 221, 222, 225, 232, 234, 236, 237, 238, 248, 249, 252, 253, for select examples before 1221. See also *Patent rolls, 1225-1232*, pp. 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, 27, 57, 61, 65.

¹³⁷ For example, see membrane 11, 3 Henry III (28 October 1218 – 27 October 1219), *Henry III Fine Rolls Project*, http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_011.html [accessed 25 July 2017]. The last appearance of such a phrase is on 14 December 1225, membrane 8, 10 Henry III (28 October 1225 – 27 October 1226) http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_024.html [accessed 25 July 2017]. See *Patent rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 65, for the last appearance of the phrase in the patent rolls. See also p. 98 (‘non obstante eo quod tempore istius concessionis sibi facte minoris fuimus etatis’) and, similarly, p. 100, where Henry, in December 1226, referred to a time when he was of minor age as if it were in the past. Before November 1218, the preferred phrase in the patent rolls was ‘usque ad quartumdecimum annum etatis nostre completum’. For this, see Chapter Four, p. 136.

¹³⁸ ‘donec ad etatem legitimam pervenirent’, *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1828, p. 102.

¹³⁹ ‘juvabo eadem dominam reginam bona fide ad observandum ballum suum, usque ad legitimam domini regis filii ipsius etatem’, *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1962, p. 139. Similarly in no. 1963, where homage is sworn by Margaret, countess of Thoars. See also no. 2060, p. 180 (‘quousque idem dominus rex ad legitimam devenit etatem’). Whilst these are the only examples in the *Layettes*, there may be further examples from Louis’s unedited acts. See Introduction, p. 17 n.49.

Occasionally, the reliance on customary conceptions of age was stated explicitly.¹⁴⁰ More commonly, this was implicit in the behaviour and actions of those around the king. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the age of fourteen (or the fifteenth year) was central to a boy king's assertion of manhood, as I have shown already.¹⁴¹ Notions of noble and aristocratic maturity were still the models to which vice-regal guardians turned by the thirteenth century, but these ideas were themselves changing across north-western Europe from the latter half of the twelfth century onwards. Legal definitions of maturity began to appear far more prominently in written law and there was a move away from the previous association of majority with the fifteenth year. In England, Glanvill's treatise in the late 1180s cemented the notion that 'full age / plenus etas' for a knight's heir and son was at age twenty-one.¹⁴² Glanvill influenced the same conception of maturity in the Scottish legal treatise *Regiam majestatem* by the early years of the fourteenth century.¹⁴³ In western France, customary ideas of twenty or twenty-one as the age of male majority may have long held sway, but Philip Augustus actively enforced twenty-one as the terminus to wardship cases which reached him from across the kingdom around the turn of the century.¹⁴⁴ An amendment to chapter three of the 1216 issue of Magna Carta similarly conceived aristocratic immaturity as ending at twenty-one.¹⁴⁵ The circulation and enforcement of new ideas of male maturity directly impacted on a boy king's coming of age in the first half of the thirteenth century. Child kings began to experience a more protracted transition to maturity – what we might today call an 'extended adolescence' – from their early teens to their early twenties, and new significance was attached to the age of twenty-one.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, pp. 148-9, where Henry's maturity is fixed 'secundum consuetudinem regni nostri'.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter Four, pp. 136-40.

¹⁴² 'sub custodia dominorum suorum donec plenam habuerint etatem... quod sit post uicesimum et unum annum completum si fuerit heres et filius militis uel per feodum militare tenentis', *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Anglie qui Glanvilla vocatur. The treatise on the laws and customs of the realm of England commonly called Glanvill*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (Oxford, 1993), book VII, chapter 9, p. 82.

¹⁴³ A. A. M. Duncan, 'Regiam majestatem: a reconsideration', *Juridical Review*, 6 (1961), 199-217; *Glanvill*, ed. Hall, pp. lx-lxi.

¹⁴⁴ In contrast to the east of France, which still asserted fifteen as a legal age of majority in the first half of the thirteenth century. See d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur la minorité*, pp. 63-73; Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, p. 402, n. 21. See also Evergates, 'Aristocratic women in Champagne', p. 83, and John W. Baldwin, *The government of Philip Augustus: foundations of French royal power in the Middle Ages* (London, 1986), pp. 197-8, for Philip Augustus's enforcement of twenty-one as the age of majority for Theobald IV of Troyes/Champagne.

¹⁴⁵ 'Si autem heres alic(uius) taliu(m) fu(er)it infra etatem Dominus eius non [h(ab)eat custodiam eius] nec t(er)re sue anteq(uam) homagium eius cep(er)it, et postq(ua)m talis heres fu(er)it in custodia [cum] ad etatem p(er)uen(er)it, sc(i)l(ice)t uiginti [uni(us) ann(i)] h(ab)eat h(er)editatem suam s(i)n(e) releuio et s(i)n(e) fine', *Statutes of the realm*, i, p. 14; translated in *English historical documents, 1189-1327*, ed. Rothwell, p. 327.

The reasons behind the choice of twenty-one are unclear. Historians in the nineteenth century, citing the eighteenth-century lawyer Montesquieu, claimed that the increasing weight of armour over the twelfth century delayed the age of military service.¹⁴⁶ Yet this does not account for such widespread agreement in selecting a specific age of legal majority. Keith Thomas's suggestion that a septenary numerology lay at the base of this choice is a tempting one – as we have seen, the ages of seven and fourteen certainly carried significance in views of the male lifecycle.¹⁴⁷ Rather than attempting to determine exactly why majority came to be fixed at twenty-one, however, it is more important to place this extension of a child king's adolescence into a more general context of increasing lordly encroachments into wardship arrangements. Ever since a lord's right to wardship had first been recognised, so too was there an awareness of the considerable profit to be made from controlling the lands and, through the ability to buy and sell marriages, the body, of an aristocratic minor.¹⁴⁸ Whilst guardians had a definite interest in protecting their wards, something Scott Waugh has demonstrated for England, they also had a vested interest in extending the period over which fatherless heirs were seen to be legally incapable of managing their own inheritance.¹⁴⁹ This function of predatory lordship was one which, in the first half of the thirteenth century, came to be applied to child kings as to other aristocratic wards.

Some modern historians have interpreted thirteenth-century ideas of a child king's maturity as 'purely political', in response to contemporary circumstances in each kingdom, but the shared legal influences on these changes should not be downplayed.¹⁵⁰ The influence of new legalistic ideas of aristocratic maturity on situations of child kingship undermines the argument that a boy king was a 'legal fiction' in every respect. In England, the circumstances of Magna Carta, the war at the start of Henry III's reign, and the settlements which resulted from the peace in 1217 amplified magnate desire to control the age at which Henry gained access to full royal authority. Magna Carta, and its aftermath and legacy, ultimately sanctioned challenges to the legality of a

¹⁴⁶ Louis Amiable, 'Essai histoire et critique sur l'âge de la majorité', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (1855-1869), 7 (1861), 205-271 (at p. 217).

¹⁴⁷ Thomas, 'Age and authority in early modern England', p. 222, who contrasts this with a duodecimal numerology for girls for whom emphasis was instead placed on the ages of six, twelve, and eighteen.

¹⁴⁸ Helmholz, 'The Roman law of guardianship in England', p. 225.

¹⁴⁹ Waugh, *The lordship of England*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁰ Hillen, 'Minority governments compared', p. 57; Hillen and Wiswall, 'The minority of Henry III in the context of Europe', p. 45.

king's behaviour. Some two decades later, the treatise known as *Bracton* stated that the king should be subject to the law because the law makes the king.¹⁵¹ Although this statement was based on a variety of quotations from Roman and canon law, its place in the treatise alongside further discourse on the relationship between kingship and law demonstrates the contemporary significance of these debates in the years after Henry's minority.¹⁵² Henry's guardians introduced greater clarification to a child king's limitations by fixing a date from which he could use the Great Seal and controlling his ability to make irrevocable gifts of land.¹⁵³ Indications of the king's progression to personal rule came from December 1223 when Henry began to use his Great Seal more regularly and attest actions by himself, 'teste me ipso' or 'per ipsum dominum regem'.¹⁵⁴ Near-contemporary chroniclers variously recognised the king to have reached 'legitimus etas' in 1223, 1224, and 1227, but documents emanating from the English chancery only placed Henry's achievement of full legal maturity at the age of nineteen, as we have seen.¹⁵⁵ Carpenter has shown that, even then, some beneficiaries of royal charters did not consider the king to have come of age, waiting for Henry to reach twenty-one before seeking

¹⁵¹ 'Rex non debet esse sub homine sed sub deo et sub lege, quia lex fecit regem', Bracton, *On the laws and customs of England*, ed. George E. Woodbine and trans. Samuel E. Thorne, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1968), ii, p. 33. For the dating of the treatise, see Nicholas Vincent, 'Henry of Bratton (*alias* Bracton)', in *Great Christian jurists in English history*, eds. Mark Hill and R. H. Helmholz (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 19-44 (especially at pp. 28-9, 32, 41).

¹⁵² See Fritz Schultz, 'Bracton on kingship', *EHR*, 60 (1945), 136-76, for the extent of the quotations in Bracton. See also Vogtherr, 'Minderjährige Könige', pp. 311-12, who notes that the treatise has been seen as 'a product of minority'.

¹⁵³ Powicke, 'The chancery during the minority of Henry III', pp. 222-3, for exceptions where Henry used his seal before 1227; *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, pp. 412, 420, who discusses Henry's age in relation to the 1217 and 1225 issues of Magna Carta; Ormrod, 'Coming to kingship', p. 41, for the importance of Henry's great seal.

¹⁵⁴ 'Barnwell' chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 259-60. See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 239-62; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 199-201, 205-7. Henry attested some orders prior to January 1217 with 'Teste me ipso' but this phrase then disappeared from usage until 1223. See *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 417, for its reappearance. Similarly, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 578, for the reappearance of the phrase in the close rolls. For the introduction of the clause 'teste me ipso' into the English chancery: *Recueil des actes de Henri II : roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, eds. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville and Léopold Delisle, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1909), pp. 225-6; Reginald L. Poole and A. M. Mackintosh, 'Communications', *SHR*, 15 (1918), 359-60; Hilda Prescott, 'The early use of "teste me ipso"', *EHR*, 35 (1920), 214-17.

¹⁵⁵ 'de mandato domini Papae et assensu baronum provisum est, et provisio publicata, quod ipse rex haberet legitimam aetatem quantum ad liberam dispositionem de castris et terris, et gwardiis suis', *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, p. 83; 'In illo tempore dominus Papa Honorius tertius Henricum regem Angliae... legitimae aetatis esse reputandam decrevit', *Osney annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iv, pp. 6-352 (at p. 64); Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 318.

charter renewals.¹⁵⁶ Henry III's minority certainly provides the most unambiguous example of new legal influences on notions of a child king's maturity, but we should not assume that English circumstances were unique simply because of the wealth of record evidence. Although elsewhere we must rely more on chronicles to complement royal documents, similar trends towards extending a king's adolescence and a new legal significance to the king's twenty-first year appeared in thirteenth-century France and Scotland.

The French princes still saw both Louis IX and the kingdom as being in Blanche's hands until the king was at least in his mid-to-late teens, as a treaty with Hugh of Lusignan in April 1230 testifies.¹⁵⁷ Hints of Louis's personal progression to maturity arose as he entered his late teens. Chroniclers stopped referring to Blanche accompanying the king on military campaigns. Papal letters no longer addressed Louis and his mother together, instead addressing Louis alone, as Lindy Grant has shown.¹⁵⁸ Evidence that Louis himself recognised twenty-one to be a suitable marker for his maturity comes from a privilege he granted to the count of Champagne in April 1228 or 1229, aged fourteen or fifteen, to last until the completion of his twenty-first year.¹⁵⁹ Louis's marriage to Margaret of Provence in May 1234, shortly after he had turned twenty, cemented the legal significance of his twenty-first year.¹⁶⁰ Earlier in his reign, Blanche of Castile had influenced the decision that the marriage of Louis's younger brother, John (*d.* 1232), should not take place before his twenty-first year.¹⁶¹ The timing of Louis's own marriage ceremony indicates that it was at least partly through his mother's influence and adherence to contemporary legal ideas that his progression to maturity extended into his early twenties.¹⁶² In

¹⁵⁶ For example, the abbot of Dore renewed charters granted after January 1227 because they were whilst he was of a minor age. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 124.

¹⁵⁷ 'et domina regina quamdiu dominum regem et terram suam habebit in manu sua', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 2052, p. 176.

¹⁵⁸ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 103-5.

¹⁵⁹ 'Noveritis quod karissimus dominus meus Ludovicus, Francie rex illustris, mihi concessit quod nullum de hominibus aut burgensibus aut talliabilibus meis in istis villis suis, videlicet, Senonibus, Villa-nova juxta Senones, et Dymon, aut in villis ad easdem pertinentibus, recipiet donec vicesimum primum etatis sue compleverit annum', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1995, p. 153. An ordinance issued by Louis in 1246 similarly placed the age of aristocratic majority at twenty-one. See d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur la minorité*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁰ See Le Goff, 'Le roi enfant', who sees this as the start of Louis's personal rule.

¹⁶¹ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1922, pp. 119-21, for the Treaty of Vendôme in March 1227 between Louis and Peter, duke of Brittany, in which Louis's younger brother, John, was betrothed to Peter's daughter Yolande. Similarly, nos. 2057 and 2059, pp. 178-9, 180. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 156. See also Chapter Six, p. 199.

¹⁶² In 1271, Philip III fixed the age of royal majority at fourteen in France. In the fourteenth century, Charles V fixed the age of majority for French kings as the start of the fourteenth year. See Olivier-

Scotland, the significance attached to the age of twenty-one in association with Alexander III's progression to maturity was undoubtedly influenced by the English king's involvement. Henry III granted protection to advisors he sent to Scotland with the caveat that they would last until Alexander completed his twenty-first year.¹⁶³ Under Henry's influence, Alexander dated the terminus of his own custody, the custody of Margaret his queen, and the governance of his realm to 4 September 1262 at the latest, the date of his twenty-first birthday.¹⁶⁴ Whilst the Scottish magnates did not accept these ideas unequivocally, and several of them refused to attach their seals to the document, those members of the aristocracy who benefited from the assertion of their places in Alexander's council approved the conception of the king's maturity in these formal legal terms.¹⁶⁵ Alexander's later attempt in 1259 to negotiate for the document's recall provides further evidence that the contents of the 1255 document held legal significance which was crucial to perceptions of his adulthood and kingship.¹⁶⁶

In disconnecting the king's custody from the care of the kingdom, Alexander's reign provides further evidence that notions of personal maturity were increasingly separate from ideas of legal majority. After factional conflict between Scottish magnates again came to a head, a letter from Henry III to Alexander's councillors in November 1258 addressed them as having the care, 'cura', of the Scottish kingdom.¹⁶⁷ Nothing was said here of the council's custody of Alexander and Margaret, unlike the earlier letter in 1255. Henry and the Scottish magnates now regarded the royal couple to have reached an age of maturity at which custody of their bodies was unnecessary. Also in 1258, Alexander led an army to settle disputes between his counsellors; an event which is sometimes seen to mark both Alexander's maturity and the start of his personal rule.¹⁶⁸ Yet royal documents show that Alexander's continued assertion of his maturity

Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 175; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 277; Wolf, 'Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 100 n.7.

¹⁶³ C. P. R. *Henry III, A.D. 1247-1258*, p. 421.

¹⁶⁴ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8; 'a consilio nostro et balliis suis citra terminum septem annorum completorum et incipiencium ad festum translacionis sancti Cuthberti anno domini M CC quinquagesimo quinto', *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 64-5.

¹⁶⁵ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 58r.

¹⁶⁶ *Chron. maiora*, v, pp. 739-40.

¹⁶⁷ 'Cum in vos curam regni Scocie assumpseritis', *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 70-1. In the schedule attached to London, TNA, C 54/74 membrane 15 (Close Roll 43 Henry III), the members of Alexander's council only noted their responsibility for the custody of the realm; 'Cum inter manus nostras curam regni Scocie jam habeamus', *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 72-3.

¹⁶⁸ 'A. rex scocie uenit rokeburch cu(m) ex(er)citu suo', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 59r.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, p. 591. See Watt, 'The minority of Alexander

was imperative over the next four years leading up to his twenty-first birthday. To assert his adult authority, he turned to the same diplomatic formula which had been so central to Henry III's own demonstrations of maturity in the 1220s. Alexander began to attest royal letters with the clause 'teste me ipso' from August 1260, whereas an earlier letter had borne the earl of Dunbar's attestation.¹⁶⁹ Significantly, Alexander first used this form of attestation in correspondence with Henry, proclaiming his new independence of action to his father-in-law.¹⁷⁰ As far as I have been able to tell, this may even have been the first time a king of Scots used this attestation clause.¹⁷¹ If so, its introduction into Scottish chancery practice was directly linked to notions of a child king's progression to maturity and provides important evidence for the new personal nature of Alexander's royal rule.

Over the central Middle Ages, there was a gradual formalisation in vice-regal guardianship arrangements which introduced more control over the care of a child king and his kingdom. Unsurprisingly, changing conceptions of kingship affected the arrangements made for a child ruler, and the impact of new legal influences reveals this most clearly. That legal notions came to affect kingship more generally c.1200 is no new observation.¹⁷² But, in situations of child kingship, these legal ideas had very specific effects on contemporary attitudes towards the personnel involved in vice-regal guardianship and the notions of maturity underpinning these arrangements. In this chapter, I have dispelled the myth that a child king's closest male relative was somehow the 'natural' or 'common' choice as his guardian. Similarly, we should not assume that contemporaries automatically considered the queen mother an appropriate guardian for her son. These observations are interesting, and in the wider context of customary and written law, show that contemporaries increasingly prioritised lordship over kinship. Queen

III', especially p. 23, who first proposed 1258 as the end date to Alexander's minority. See also Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', pp. 54, 57, 61; Neville, 'Preparing for kingship', p. 157.

¹⁶⁹ 'Teste Patricio comite de Dunbar', *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, no. 24, p. 75.

¹⁷⁰ *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, no. 29, pp. 78-9. Five additional letters from Alexander to Henry III dated between February and June 1262 all used the same attestation, emphasising the importance of this year in asserting Alexander's maturity. See nos. 34, 35, 37, 38, and 39, pp. 81-5.

¹⁷¹ I cannot find any comment upon this in current Scottish charter scholarship and I intend to pursue the appearance of the 'teste me ipso' clause in the context of Alexander III's minority at greater length in future research.

¹⁷² Ernst Kantorowicz demonstrated this legal shift in political attitudes sixty years ago. See Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies*, especially 'Chapter Four: Law-centred Kingship', pp. 87-192.

mothers who wanted to involve themselves in royal rule alongside their underage son had to ground their claim firmly in lordship and legal ideas, as Blanche of Castile did throughout Louis IX's minority. The relationship between royal counsel, child kingship, and guardianship was also changing over the central Middle Ages. The turn towards more conciliar arrangements by the mid-thirteenth century was not an entirely novel change, since it was based on existing ideas of royal counsel, and we should not exaggerate the formalised nature of early thirteenth-century royal councils. The clear innovation was in Scotland during Alexander III's minority, when co-operative responsibility for the king's body and royal governance were delegated to a council. Placing child kingship into the context of changing legal and conciliar influences on kingship raises issues with the general historiographical acceptance that child kingship was a 'legal fiction'. This idea needs to be modified, especially considering the growing preference for legal and administrative terminology to describe a king's immaturity, the introduction of prescribed termination dates for the king's legal majority, the extension of a king's transition from childhood to adulthood, and the increasing separation of the king's custody from the management of the kingdom by the mid-thirteenth century. Legal fictions such as 'crown' and 'realm' were emerging in this period and becoming more widespread in use, especially from the late twelfth century, but we should not consider child kingship in the same light as notions of *corona* and *regnum*. Having considered some structural developments in the notions and logistics of vice-regal guardianship across north-western Europe over the central Middle Ages, in Chapter Six, I will focus more specifically on how the guardians of child kings became intimately involved in the tasks expected of royal rule, such as peace, defence, and justice.

CHAPTER SIX

Tasks of Guardianship

Assertions of a boy king's power and authority ignored any social conventions regarding a child's (in)capacity: his identity as king came first. Contemporaries recognised royal authority even when it was embodied in a child, and kingship was not on hold under a boy king. Petitioners carried on approaching the king and his guardian(s) to secure justice and confirmations of rights and property.¹ Royal acts continued to be issued as if from the king, regardless of whether he was informed of the actions taken on his behalf.² (We may consider here whether any ruler, especially by the mid-thirteenth century, could ever be informed of every action taken on his behalf or in his name?) Political expectations of the functions of kingship were upheld irrespective of the fact that these were carried out on the king's behalf rather than by him personally. Where the previous chapter looked at the theoretical legitimacy of guardianship, in this chapter I turn to how a guardian's legitimacy worked in action. I will not deal with direct opposition to guardianship arrangements here, since this will be subject to a more extensive analysis in Part III on the challenges and vulnerabilities of child kingship. Historians interested in guardianship and regency have rarely viewed maternal guardians comparatively alongside their magnate counterparts, instead channelling female guardianship into a distinct category.³ I have already shown in Chapter Three the value of comparing the ways in which mothers and magnates secured, and attempted to legitimise, their position as guardian at the king's deathbed. In this chapter, I examine the parallels between the actions mothers and magnates took on behalf of child kings once they had become guardians. Queen mothers faced gendered expectations, and limitations, regarding the ways in which they could act to govern the kingdom and care for their sons. Magnate guardians also faced restrictions since they had to act within accepted spheres of lordship and kingship. Here, I will compare and

¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 16, p. 48, for an example from Philip I's reign of continued petitioning of an underage king.

² Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, p. 7.

³ Poulet, 'Capetian women and the regency', pp. 93-116; Medici, 'La régence de la mère', pp. 1-11; Stefanie Hamm, 'Regentinnen und minderjährige Herrscher im normannischen Italien', in *Roma, magistra mundi : itineraria culturae mediaevalis : mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, 3 vols., Textes et études du Moyen Âge 10 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), iii, pp. 123-39. An exception is Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, who considers guardianship arrangements in circumstances of child kingship more generally alongside absentee kingship, although this approach has its problems too (see Introduction, pp. 42-3).

contrast, firstly, how guardians worked for the peace of the kingdom; secondly, how they operated in affairs of war and justice; and, finally, what decisions they took with regards to the king's body. Even in areas traditionally seen as beyond a woman's control, women could exercise agency for their sons in many of the same ways as magnate guardians. Nevertheless, as I shall argue, a mother's legitimacy to act for her underage son, especially in the administration of justice and military involvement, attracted greater criticism by the thirteenth century.

i. The peace of the kingdom

Guardians continued to work towards the goal of fostering peace and stability in the kingdom; a process often initiated by dying kings when they knew their son would succeed them whilst still a child.⁴ Peace is a large topic and I will consider only a few select aspects here, dealing briefly in turn with the gathering of support, including fidelity and homage; the role of queens as 'peace-weavers'; patronage and access to wealth; and marriage as a political strategy of peace. Guardians used a variety of strategies to secure concord in the kingdom and gender affected some of these.

Securing support for a child's kingship was the most pressing initial concern for guardians and the first step to ensuring peace in the kingdom. Only a few days after her husband's death on 5 October 1056, Agnes of Poitou sent a letter to Abbot Hugh of Cluny asking for prayers for Emperor Henry III's soul and support for her son, Henry IV, who was Hugh's godson.⁵ Although Agnes framed her immediate appeal to Abbot Hugh in terms of seeking spiritual support, praying that her son would be worthy to God, Agnes's plea was also politically inspired. She asked Hugh to use his counsel to calm any disturbances which arose near his abbey.⁶ Irmingard, Rudolf III's widow, later claimed that there had been troubles in imperial Burgundy in the year of Henry III's death and Agnes hoped that her letter to Abbot Hugh would encourage his support in the tumultuous frontier territory, an area to which the German kings

⁴ As I showed in Chapter Three, p. 102.

⁵ Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', p. 411; translated online at *Epistolae*, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/126.html> [accessed 25 July 2017]. This letter survives only as a twelfth-century copy alongside other letters from Henry IV to Hugh in Paris, BnF, MS Cod. Lat. 11826.

⁶ 'et turbas, si quae contra eum in uestris uicinis partibus regni sui oriuntur, etiam consilio sedare studeatis', Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', p. 423.

had a nominal claim.⁷ In England, following Henry III's inauguration in October 1216, similar appeals for support were sent out. Roger of Wendover claimed that Henry's guardian, William Marshal, immediately sent letters to sheriffs and castellans throughout the country to encourage them to obey the new king by adhering in their fidelity to him.⁸ Pope Honorius III asked the archbishop of Bordeaux in January 1217 to protect the interests of 'Henry, our most dear son in Christ' in his region, showing that the pope took his role as the boy king's protector seriously.⁹ The renewal of support from across the kingdom was integral to affirming the child as king, especially for Henry III, who faced a rival for the English kingship when he succeeded.¹⁰ Furthermore, attempts to secure support also promoted the guardian's authority to act on the king's behalf. Whilst queen mothers and magnates both knew how to work within existing systems of governance to gain backing for their vice-regal guardianship, the queen's involvement in oaths of allegiance to her son could uniquely emphasise the legitimacy of her position.

A queen mother's acceptance alongside her son in affirmations of fidelity is striking in differentiating her from contemporary male guardians, who were never associated with the child king in demonstrations of feudal loyalty. Magnate guardians owed fidelity to the child king themselves, and often held lands from him, so their acceptance of fealty on their king's behalf would have been a dangerous precedent to set. Performing homage and swearing fidelity were central to a child's affirmation as king, reconfirming ties of lordship and fealty from the previous king's reign.¹¹ In England, the day after his coronation, Henry III received the fealty and homage ('fidelitas et homagium') of many of the magnates, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons of the kingdom: men who had been faithful to Henry's father.¹² William Marshal did not

⁷ 'eodem anno quo mortuus est Heinricus secundus imperator, rege Burgundie deficiente', Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', p. 417. See Constance Brittain Bouchard, 'Burgundy and Provence, 879-1032', in *The new Cambridge medieval history*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 328-45, for the earlier history of the imperial territory.

⁸ 'qui protinus misit literas ad omnes vicecomites de regno Angliae et castellanos, praeciens singulis, ut regi nuper coronato essent intendentes, promittens omnibus possessiones pariter ac donaria multa, ita ut dicto regi fideliter adhaerent', Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 198.

⁹ 'carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici regis Angliae illustris', Shirley, i, p. 529.

¹⁰ See Chapter Eight, pp. 251-2, for details of Louis's challenge to Henry.

¹¹ Pennington, 'Feudal oath of fidelity and homage', especially pp. 97-8, and Gerd Althoff, 'Establishing bonds: fiefs, homage, and other means to create trust', in *Feudalism: new landscapes of debate*, eds. Sverre Bagge, Michael H. Gelting, and Thomas Lindkvist (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 101-114, for the significance and meaning of oaths of homage and fidelity. See also Chapter Two, pp. 82-3.

¹² 'convenerunt apud Gloucestr' plures regni nostri magnates, episcopi, abbates, comites et barones, qui patri nostro viventi semper astiterunt fideliter et devote...fidelitate et homagio omnium illorum nobis

receive homage or fidelity alongside Henry in his role as ‘rector’. Nor is there any evidence that Isabella of Angoulême was present when these oaths were sworn or that she took any part in them. The evidence for the inclusion of queen mothers in acts of homage or oaths of fidelity is a topic which deserves further mention since historians have often doubted the accuracy of accounts which specify the queen’s presence with her young son at these oaths, or downplayed their significance.¹³ It was not unusual for aristocratic women to receive homage or fidelity in a lordship capacity in their own right or alongside their husband or son.¹⁴ As the heiress to the county of Angoulême, Isabella, Henry III’s mother, received homage from the men of the county when she arrived there to claim her inheritance in 1217, much as she had in 1206 during John’s first expedition to Poitou.¹⁵ Henry’s counsellors saw Isabella as a channel through which fealty could be secured for her son abroad. In a letter dated February 1220, the young king ordered his mother and two local abbots to secure fidelity from the newly elected bishop of Limoges, Bertrand de Savene. Significantly, Henry ordained them to do this in his place, ‘loco nostro’.¹⁶ Bertrand later confirmed that he had received his temporalities after giving fidelity to Isabella and the abbots of St Maxent and St Jean-d’Angély.¹⁷ Isabella’s royal status and her presence in Poitou, away from her son in England, allowed her, uniquely among the queen mothers discussed in this thesis, to act as her son’s agent in his place. More commonly, a queen mother’s inclusion in pledges of fealty alongside the child king acted as a recognition of her guardianship position. In 1076, Pope Gregory VII recalled an oath, ‘iuramentum’, the German princes swore to Agnes in case Henry IV should die before she did.¹⁸ The date of this oath,

exhibitis’, *Foedera*, i, pt. i, p. 145. See also Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 198.

¹³ Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, pp. 1-10, for the historiographical exclusion of women more generally from studies of lordship. See also Kimberley A. LoPrete, ‘Women, gender and lordship in France, c.1050-1250’, *History Compass*, 5/6 (2007), 1921-41.

¹⁴ Evergates, ‘Aristocratic women in Champagne’, pp. 78, 83, 109. See also Armstrong-Partida, ‘Mothers and daughters as lords’, pp. 77-107, especially at p. 84, for the role of countesses in lordship including receiving homage with their husbands.

¹⁵ ‘La roine passa en Poitou, si vint à Engoliesme sa cite, qui ses iretages estoit; si prist les homages de la tierre et fu puis moult dame d’Engumois’, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 206; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, i pt. i, p. 67. See Vincent, ‘Isabella of Angoulême’, p. 183.

¹⁶ ‘et constituimus vos loco nostro ut ab eodem episcopo debitam nobis fidelitatem recipiatis, qualem videlicet predecessores sui episcopi Limovicenses predecessoribus nostris facere consueverunt’, *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 227.

¹⁷ ‘Nou(er)it regia celsitudo q(uo)d p(ro) manu(m) d(omi)ne I. Regine mat(ri)s u(est)re et s(anc)ti maxentu et s(anc)ti Joh(ann)is Angel’ abbatum quib(us) loco u(est)ri fidelitate(m) fecim(us)’, London, TNA, SC 1/4/9.

¹⁸ ‘De iuramento autem, quod factum est karissime filie nostre Agneti imperatrici auguste, si filius eius ex hac vita ante ipsam migraret’, *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. Erich Caspar, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Berlin,

possibly a guarantee of fidelity, was not given, nor did the letter expand upon the circumstances. The early years of Henry's reign, when Agnes was guardian for her son, would have been the most likely dating for the princes to swear such an oath.¹⁹ Two centuries later in France, the Minstrel of Reims, probably writing in the 1260s, suggested nobles performed homage to Louis IX, and to Blanche of Castile alongside him, because she held her son's guardianship ('tant comme elle tenroit le bail'), an act which aroused envy among the French barons.²⁰ This account should be treated with some caution since the Minstrel, a notoriously unreliable source, is the only author to mention homage being sworn to Blanche. Nevertheless, Matthew Paris, a more reliable witness, similarly suggested that Blanche was present alongside her son when Louis first received homage from the magnates.²¹ A few years later, when various of the princes decided to rebel, they removed themselves from fidelity to both the king and queen mother.²² Extant record evidence testifies to Blanche's inclusion in oaths of allegiance to her son throughout his minority. Shortly after Louis's accession to the throne, during agreements made for the release of Blanche's Iberian cousin Ferdinand, count of Flanders, several French and Flemish lords and towns confirmed in writing that they would faithfully adhere and support the young king, his mother, and her other children.²³ These letters never referred to homage to Blanche alongside her son. However, since fidelity was promised to the mother and child(ren) together, the magnates recognised Blanche's entitlement to be involved in the process of peace and reconciliation.²⁴ Moreover, they recognised Blanche's right, as guardian and queen mother, to be involved in political networks of lordship and loyalty. Although the Minstrel's assertion

1955), i, no. 4.3, p. 299; translated in *The register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085: an English translation*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002), no. 4.3, p. 213.

¹⁹ Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, p. 28.

²⁰ London, BL, Additional MS 7103, fol. 69r. 'Et furent fait li homage au roi, et à la roïne tant comme elle tenroit le bail; et de ce orent li baron trop grant envie', *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1876), p. 176, translated in *A thirteenth-century minstrel's chronicle: (récits d'un ménestrel de Reims): a translation and introduction*, trans. Robert Levine, *Studies in French Civilization* 4 (Lampeter, 1990), p. 82. See Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, pp. 67-72, who argues that Louis received homage alone, without Blanche.

²¹ 'Francorum rex, matre eius partes suas inerponente, cum baronibus illis pacem fecerat, et eorum homagia susceperat, distribuens ipsis affluenter terras et castella, ad jus regis pertinentia', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 123.

²² 'Quocirca ipsi, se a regis fidelitate subtrahentes et reginae, Francorum regnum per guerram turbare coeperunt', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 196.

²³ 'adhereremus et fideliter faveremus', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, nos. 1832-1894, pp. 102-10. See also nos. 2052 and 2060, pp. 176, 180, for promises of fidelity to Louis and Blanche from, respectively, Hugh of Lusignan and Raymond, viscount of Thouars. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 350 n.71.

²⁴ Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship"', p. 140, who is wrong to claim these documents as evidence for homage being given to Blanche since the documentary evidence only refers to fidelity.

that the French barons performed homage to Blanche remains unconfirmed, in claiming that the action aroused baronial envy, the author provides an additional insight into contemporary attitudes towards a woman acting in a lordship capacity alongside her underage son. Since her position of guardianship allowed her to behave in a way not permitted to secular magnates, this attracted magnate hostility and jealousy.²⁵ Queen mothers could accept fidelity alongside their son without challenging the social hierarchy of lordship and kingship, but it would have been a dangerous precedent to allow a similar level of equality to a secular lord who himself owed allegiance to the king. Oaths of fidelity to a boy king and his mother did not necessarily prevent challenges to the queen's guardianship – as we shall see in Chapter Seven – but her place in oaths of allegiance clearly asserted her legitimacy to act with her son in royal rule as guardian of king and kingdom. Public recognition of a queen mother's position in networks of lordship alongside her son became increasingly important by the thirteenth century due to the increasing legal prioritisation of lordship over kinship.²⁶

The role of queens as peace-weavers has long been appreciated, but this responsibility was particularly crucial in ensuring a kingdom's stability whilst the king was underage.²⁷ At the start of Henry IV's reign, defeated rebels approached Agnes of Poitou and the princes of the kingdom to surrender themselves.²⁸ The empress also initiated arrangements for peace herself.²⁹ In France, Blanche of Castile's crucial role in peace-making can be seen throughout Louis IX's minority and into his adult reign.³⁰ Blanche used letters to encourage King Henry III of England

²⁵ For example, the Treaty of Lambeth in 1217 only mentions Henry III and his heirs in the clauses which discuss fidelity and the magnate oath to the king not to hold faith with Louis. There is no reference to William Marshal or Guala. See Smith, 'The Treaty of Lambeth', pp. 575-9. That William and Guala had a significant role in bringing men back to fidelity to the king, however, is shown in a letter requesting homage from Llywelyn 'de consilio domini legati et comitis Willielmi Marescalli, rectoris nostri et regni nostri, et aliorum fidelium nostrorum magnatum Angliae'. See *Foedera*, i, pt. i, p. 150.

²⁶ For this, see Chapter Five, pp. 151-60. See Jean Verdon, 'Les veuves des rois de France aux Xe et XIe siècles', in *Veuves et veuvage*, ed. Parisse, pp. 187-99 (at p. 190), for a tenth-century Carolingian example in which Emma, the widow of King Lothair, received oaths of fidelity after her husband's death.

²⁷ John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, daughters, marriage, power: some Plantagenet evidence, 1150-1500', in *Medieval queenship*, ed. Parsons, pp. 63-78 (at p. 69), for the preparation of royal daughters to act as 'peace-weavers'; Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', pp. 139-40, for Matilda III's role in negotiating peace with David I of Scotland and with Thierry of Flanders. See also Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 71-3, for queens as intercessors.

²⁸ 'ab Agnete imperatrice et principibus regni victi ad deditionem venerunt', Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 74. Similarly in *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, ed. Waitz, p. 31.

²⁹ 'invasores Augustae ad pactionem compulsi', *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127.

³⁰ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, pp. 38-9; Tracy Chapman Hamilton, 'Queenship and kinship in the French *Bible Moralisée*: the example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554', in *Capetian*

to make peace with her son, as Henry recalled in his correspondence with the nineteen-year-old Louis in 1233.³¹ Here, the queen's role may have been particularly important because Henry was her cousin; a kinship to which he himself referred.³² The actions of maternal guardians like Agnes and Blanche intended to secure peace in their sons' kingdoms warn us against dismissing Isabella of Angoulême's role in negotiations to conclude the hostilities between her son, Henry III, and Louis, Philip Augustus's son, in England in 1217.³³ The Anonymous of Béthune credited Isabella with securing an extension to a truce between the two sides.³⁴ Isabella was listed alongside the legate Guala, William Marshal, and other royal counsellors who devised the final peace settlement.³⁵ Since the information on which the Anonymous relied came from men who had almost certainly been present, we should not doubt her involvement.³⁶ Yet, Isabella did not have the same hand in constructing the terms of the Treaty of Lambeth as Henry's guardians. Pope Honorius III credited Guala with having mediated the peace, and the legate had a critical role in determining the treaty's terms.³⁷ William Marshal's influence on the form of the 1217 peace attracted suspicion after his death and gave rise to allegations of his

women, ed. Nolan, pp. 177-208 (at p. 179). See also *Cartulaire normand : de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi (reprod. en fac-sim.)*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1978), p. 315, for an example of Blanche's role in peace-making later in Louis's reign.

³¹ 'ut ibi intersint, a die nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo preterita in unum mensem, in occursum nunciorum vestrorum quos illuc missuri estis, sicut nobis per litteras suas mandavit dilecta consanguinea nostra Blancha, mater vestre, Francie regina, ad tractandum de pace...et ad pacem faciendam inter vos et nos', *Lettres des rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV tirées des archives de Londres*, eds. L.-G.-O. Bréquigny and J.-J. Champollion-Figeac, 2 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1839), i, p. 42. Some of the text here is left blank due to the quality of the original from which the text was copied.

³² See Appendix B, p. 283, for the family ties between Blanche and Henry.

³³ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 44, who makes only passing reference to the presence of 'King Henry and his mother' at peace negotiations on an island in the Thames near Kingston on 12 September 1217, without expanding on Isabella's role.

³⁴ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, pp. 203-4. The author also claimed that Isabella met with the count of Nevers and Hugh of Malannoi on at least two separate occasions to discuss arrangements for peace.

³⁵ 'Tant parla Looys à la roine et au legat et à Guillaume le mareschal et à l'autre conseil le jouene roi que la pais fu devisée', *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 204.

³⁶ John Gillingham, 'The Anonymous of Béthune, King John and Magna Carta', in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 27-44 (at pp. 29, 33-4).

³⁷ 'Per tuas nobis litteras supplicasti ut pacem inter te et karissimum in Xpisto filium nostrum Henricum, regem Anglorum illustrem, consanguineum tuum, mediante dilecto filio nostro G., tituli Sancti Martini presbytero cardinali, Apostolice Sedis legato, amicabilem factam, apostolico roborare munimine dignaremur', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, i, no. 1273, p. 456. See *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, pp. xlix-lii, 44-5; Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part I', pp. 256-7. Guala may, however, have been responsible for delaying the settlement of peace by refusing to accept an earlier agreement in June 1217 due to the matter of ecclesiastical sanctions. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 41-2.

deliberate leniency towards Louis, from whom he held land in France.³⁸ William Marshal and Guala were also the principal instigators behind the reissues of Magna Carta in 1216 and 1217 as a tactic to secure peace in the realm.

The strategies mothers used to secure peace during periods of child kingship have attracted the criticism of some modern commentators, but this seems unwarranted when we compare their actions with those taken by male magnate guardians. Horst Fuhrmann judged Agnes harshly for giving away lands and offices to buy peace, attributing her alienation of crown property to a desire to enter the religious life.³⁹ Yet, the empress's religious motivations never worked against her desire to support her son, as I will show in Chapter Seven.⁴⁰ Henry's magnate guardians were just as guilty of alienating royal properties and privileges, often with more self-serving results.⁴¹ Grants to magnates reduced crown holdings but, if they ultimately prevented unrest or rebellion, it was worth that sacrifice. Since Lampert of Hersfeld praised the empress's skill in protecting the state when it was in danger (despite the situation being what Lampert referred to as one of 'great novelty'), at least one medieval author did not view Agnes's actions in the same terms as modern historians.⁴² Magnates expected a process of reconciliation and concessionary grants when a child came to the throne, as John of Joinville suggested when he claimed that Blanche's failure to meet magnate requests for land encouraged them to discuss rebellion.⁴³ In ceding two castles and the homage of the county of Saint-Pol to her husband's half-brother, Philip Hurepel, in March 1227, as well as a life rent of 6000 *livres tournois* a few months later, Blanche had hoped to deny the count any motivation to cause unrest during her son's reign.⁴⁴ Whilst the queen mother's gifts (or bribery) did not prevent Philip joining the baronial cause against her in 1229, her actions may have encouraged the count to come to terms with the king and queen more quickly. William Marshal used similar methods early in Henry III's reign, tactically gifting possessions and presents to secure the loyalty of barons and other magnates.

³⁸ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 45; Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 169.

³⁹ Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Reuter, p. 57.

⁴⁰ Chapter Seven, pp. 233-5.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 194-6, for self-serving magnate motives.

⁴² 'Summa tamen rerum et omnium quibus facto opus erat administratio penes imperatricem remansit, quae tanta arte periclitantis rei publicae statum tutata est, ut nihil in ea tumultus, nihil simultatis tantae rei novitas generaret', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 69; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 67.

⁴³ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188. See Chapter Eight, pp. 222, 260.

⁴⁴ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, nos. 1909 and 1920, pp. 114, 118-9. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, pp. 157-71, for Philip Hurepel's role in Louis's minority.

Despite the huge scale of the alienations of royal demesne land throughout Henry's minority, contemporaries did not criticise William Marshal's actions at the time.⁴⁵ Patronage and gift-giving were valid means of securing support for child kings. They were strategies used by both mothers and magnates. In the case of magnate guardians, it would be naïve to see these actions as entirely altruistic.

Magnate guardians naturally expected to gain from their position alongside a child king and to receive rewards for faithful service and support. They also knew how to exploit the system of patronage. In 1063, shortly after acquiring Henry IV's guardianship, Archbishop Anno obtained a ninth of the revenues of the German crown for Cologne: a gift Henry ostensibly made 'for our safety and the state of our kingdom'.⁴⁶ This was an extraordinarily large sum which would undoubtedly have been impossible to secure from an adult king in control of his royal revenue. Agnes of Poitou had never demanded a similar financial gift from her son whilst she was guardian. Magnate guardians were men who had already benefited from the rewards of their royal service to the child king's predecessor and thus knew from experience the potential incentives for continued loyalty. When it was in their own interests, guardians bent rules imposed to protect the king. In England, in one of the few grants made in perpetuity during Henry III's minority, dated 8 November 1217, the young king gifted the church of Chesterton (near Cambridge) to a northern Italian abbey founded by the legate Guala.⁴⁷ Guala's position as the king's protector allowed him to flaunt restrictions which had been imposed upon royal gifts to other religious institutions or benefactors. Magnate guardians received land, property, wealth, influence, confirmation of rights, and promotion or patronage for their kinsmen.⁴⁸ Although these gifts were, in part, compensation for providing the young king with military, financial, or political support throughout his childhood, at least some magnate gains were secured at the expense of royal property and rights. Among the diplomata for Henry IV's minority, Leyser

⁴⁵ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 198. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 119, for the scale of the alienations.

⁴⁶ 'pro incolomitate nostra regnique nostri statu', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 104, p. 138. See also Benjamin Arnold, 'From warfare on earth to eternal paradise: Archbishop Anno II of Cologne, the history of the Western Empire in the *Annolied*, and the salvation of mankind', *Viator*, 23 (1992), 95-113 (at p. 112).

⁴⁷ *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 16, p. 14; Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 68. See *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 177, where Henry promises on the advice of his council not to issue charters or patent letters in perpetuity with the Great Seal until he comes of age. See also Chapter Five, p. 164.

⁴⁸ See H. G. Richardson, 'Letters of the legate Guala', *EHR*, 48 (1933), 250-9 (at p. 256), for Guala's nepotism towards his nephews in England.

found 31 records of alienations of royal rights in Saxony by men such as Archbishop Werner of Magdeburg, Bishop Hezilo of Hildesheim, and Bishop Burchard of Halberstadt.⁴⁹ Henry IV's son, Henry V (1086-1125), later attributed Archbishop Anno's profiteering during his father's minority entirely to Anno's ability to obtain favours from a small child easily.⁵⁰ Anno gifted prominent ecclesiastical offices to his relatives, friends, and chaplains; electing his brother Werinhar as archbishop of Magdeburg and promoting his nephew Burchard as bishop of Halberstadt.⁵¹ In France, Count Baldwin V received several royal confirmations of Flemish property during Philip I's minority.⁵² Baldwin's gains were a direct result of his guardianship position, and no other French princes received similar grants from the child king's hand. In England, Peter des Roches received the sheriffdom of Hampshire in 1217, which included custody of Winchester castle and lucrative jurisdiction over several towns. Many of his unpaid debts to the crown were waived.⁵³ Chroniclers were quick to criticise the self-interest of magnate guardians, especially those involving property alienations, but they often did so from an overtly royal or monastic agenda. The author of the *Vita Heinrici IV*, writing a rhetorical tract with a partisan view of the adult king, claimed that both Anno of Cologne and Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen put their own needs first and advanced their own desires before anything else.⁵⁴ Lampert of Hersfeld criticised Adalbert for taking an interest in the boy king only out of self-interest and to usurp ('usurpare') possessions from the crown.⁵⁵ The actual situation was undoubtedly more complicated than chroniclers implied. Francis West's study of Hubert de Burgh's properties led him to argue that, despite the long list of lands Hubert gained through

⁴⁹ Leyser, 'The crisis of medieval Germany', pp. 440-1. See Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 188, for Adalbert's abuse of his position to gain advances for his church, including monastic properties such as Lorsch and Corvey.

⁵⁰ 'qui utpote a parvulo facile impetravit', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 161, p. 210.

⁵¹ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, pp. 177-8. See also Arnold, 'Archbishop Anno II of Cologne', p. 112.

⁵² *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 15, 23, 24, and 25, pp. 45-7, 63-76; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, p. 14.

⁵³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 187-91.

⁵⁴ 'Cum regni causam tractabant, non tam regni quam suae causae consulebant; idque praecipuum eis fuit in omnibus quae agerent ante omnia suum questum facere', *Vita Heinrici IV*, ed. Eberhard, p. 14; translated in *Imperial lives and letters in the eleventh century*, trans. Theodor E. Mommsen and Karl F. Morrison, ed. Robert L. Benson, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 67 (London, 1962), p. 106.

⁵⁵ 'ille sepius colloquendo, obsequendo etiam atque assentando ita sibi regem brevi devinxerat, ut, caeteris episcopis posthabitis, totus in eum inclinaretur, et ipse in regno communi pene monarchiam usurpare videretur', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 88; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 92. See Chapter Seven, pp. 226-7, for thirteenth-century propaganda which claimed that Blanche of Castile usurped money from the royal treasury for her family in Spain.

royal service, the justiciar did not abuse his position as Henry III's guardian.⁵⁶ We should not dismiss loyalty, concern for the kingdom, and a desire to protect the child king as motivations for magnate involvement in guardianship, but it is undeniable there were prodigious opportunities available for magnates to profit from their position.

Patronage and diplomacy were important avenues through which guardians gathered support, but these strategies depended on access to money and moveable wealth, something which was especially problematic for queen mothers. How to raise funds could be a crucial factor, especially when a child came to his throne at a time when royal resources were depleted. In England, Henry III's lack of wealth caused William Marshal particular grief as guardian.⁵⁷ William's biographer claimed that John of Earley, a member of the Marshal's retinue on whose reminiscences the biographer relied to write his work, had attempted to dissuade his master from taking on the role of guardian for precisely this reason, warning him that men seeking royal compensation or reward would instead approach the earl personally.⁵⁸ John of Earley's warning was an astute observation. Royal finances at the start of Henry's minority were in a particularly wretched state due to the expenses of warfare, the initial lack of Exchequer accounting, and the poor state of the royal treasury at the end John's reign. Before his death in 1219, William Marshal had had to prop up the royal treasury with personal loans, contributing towards the payment of 6000 marks owed to Louis following the peace settlement of 1217.⁵⁹ Even several years into Henry's reign, the royal exchequer still relied on financial resources from men close to the king, such as Peter des Roches.⁶⁰ Although loans were made in the full expectation that they would be repaid, the access of magnate guardians to their own cash resources strengthened the financial workings of royal government during Henry's reign and, in return, assisted these men in controlling the kingdom. Less information is available for the royal finances of other child kings in north-western Europe, but a guardian's independent moveable wealth attracted contemporary praise. Adam of Bremen commended Archbishop Adalbert's wealth as the first of his qualities alongside his success, glory, and influence.⁶¹

⁵⁶ West, *The justiciarship in England*, pp. 216-7.

⁵⁷ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 284-5.

⁵⁸ 'E li rei n'a gaires de avoir, / E tuit cil qui voldront avoir / Rien del suen qui qu'a vos vendrunt / E a vos le demanderunt', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 274-5.

⁵⁹ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 93. This was no new responsibility for William Marshal. See Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 225, for William's earlier loans to King John.

⁶⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 193.

⁶¹ 'ut sit dives, ut felix, ut gloriam habeat, ut potentiam', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 143.

The financial accounts of maternal guardians are, if anything, even sparser than those for magnates, in part because the queen's expenditure was often amalgamated with that of the royal household and intimately linked with the king's accounts.⁶² In aristocratic circles, whilst a husband's death usually meant greater financial independence for women through access to their dower – which was supposed to be available within thirty or forty days – these resources were not always available immediately.⁶³ Determining exactly which lands women held as dower or dowry can be problematic. It is even harder to determine a woman's access to cash resources at various points in her lifecycle.⁶⁴ The customary dower in northern and eastern France was lifetime use of the husband's main residence and half of his current and future possessions, but this was not implemented across the kingdom until 1214.⁶⁵ In comparison, in England, a woman's dower lands were technically a third of her husband's possessions, as chapter seven of Magna Carta 1217 confirmed.⁶⁶ Matthew Paris noted that Marie de Coucy received a third part of the revenues of the Scottish kingdom after Alexander II's death, suggesting a similar division was current in Scotland by the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁷ The way in which women handled arrangements for their personal lands can sometimes be suggestive of their abilities to negotiate their sons' care and governance of the kingdom. Shortly after Louis VIII succeeded, he confirmed Blanche of Castile's dower lands of Bapaume, Lens, and Hesdin. Most unusually, this act stated that the dower had been confirmed at Blanche's own request,

⁶² Constance Hoffman Berman, 'Two medieval women's property and religious benefactions in France: Eleanor of Vermandois and Blanche of Castile', *Viator*, 51 (2010), 151-82 (at p. 182), for a breakdown of Blanche's possible income at various stages of her life. See also Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 67.

⁶³ Magna Carta 1215, chapter 7, states a time limit of forty days from the death of a woman's husband in which her dower should be assigned to her. See *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, pp. 40-1.

⁶⁴ Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, pp. 1-10, for extensive historiography on inheritance, marriage and dower. See also Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Brideprice, dowry, and other marital assigns', in *The Oxford handbook of women and gender*, pp. 148-62, and the introduction to Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, *Married life in the Middle Ages 900-1300* (forthcoming), for the evolution of dower and dowry, including differences between northern and southern Europe.

⁶⁵ Evergates, 'Aristocratic women in Champagne', p. 93; Jean-Marc Cazilhac, 'Le douaire de la Reine de France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge*, ed. Faure, i, pp. 75-87, especially at p. 75.

⁶⁶ 'There shall be assigned to her for her dower a third of all her husband's land which was his in his lifetime, unless a smaller share was given her at the church door', *English historical documents, 1189-1327*, ed. Rothwell, Magna Carta 1217, chapter 7, p. 333. Latin in *Statutes of the realm*, i, p. 17.

⁶⁷ 'Ipsa enim, ut moris viduarum, partem proventuum regni Scotiae tertiam sortita, quae ad quatuor milia marcarum et amplius ascendit, praeter alias possessiones quas de dono patris sui Engelrami receperat', *Chron. maiora*, v, pp. 266-7; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 364. See Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland', pp. 55-6, 90, 187, 265-6.

suggesting her agency and concern for the provisions put in place.⁶⁸ Furthermore, in the testament Louis VIII drew up in June 1225, Blanche was promised 30,000 *livres* in cash from the treasury should Louis die whilst away on the Albigensian crusade.⁶⁹ Such a large lump sum of money, rather than a rent payment, meant that Blanche could use the cash resources as she pleased, possibly even to facilitate their eldest son's accession to the throne if her husband did not return. Blanche's cash gift may only have been intended to provide for her personal needs, but she does not appear to have had to fight to gain access to this money, unlike her contemporary, Isabella of Angoulême, who strove vigorously for confirmation of her dower lands and properties after John's death.⁷⁰

Using marriage alliances to secure peace in the realm was a strategy for which a queen's personal experience could be particularly useful. Most of the queen mothers discussed here had first-hand experience of entering a foreign country to marry at their family's request to further a political or dynastic agenda. Blanche of Castile was 'the guarantee of peace' between the Capetian and Plantagenet kingdoms when she arrived in France in 1200.⁷¹ A queen mother's personal familiarity of being taken from her natal home to her new (foreign) in-laws provided her with a unique insight into the arrangements which needed to be made for her own children and was one which male magnates did not share. Agnes of Poitou arranged alliances for two of her daughters, Judith and Matilda, during Henry IV's minority. She escorted her son to the Hungarian border in 1058 to formalise the betrothal between Judith (known in Hungary as

⁶⁸ 'Ipsa vero credens quod majorem obtineret firmitatem, si dotalitium illud cum regni gubernaculo susciperemus, confirmaremus et approbaremus, illud a nobis petiit confirmari et penitus innovari', *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio. Tomus I*, ed. Edmond Martène (Paris, 1724), p. 1192; *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*, ed. Petit-Dutaillis, appendix 6, no. 219, p. 479. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 72; Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship"', p. 146.

⁶⁹ 'Item donamus et legamus karissime uxori nostre Blanche, illustri Francie regine, triginta milia librarum', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1710, p. 54. Louis left a slightly smaller gift of 20,000 *livres* to his one-year-old daughter, Isabella. See Gérard Sivéry, *Louis VIII, le lion* (Paris, 1995), p. 345, who compares Louis's payment to Blanche with that of 10,000 *livres* which Philip Augustus gave to his wife Ingeborg in 1222.

⁷⁰ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 83, for a royal demand to Robert de Courtenay in August 1217 to return the Devon stanneries to Isabella 'as requested before'. London, TNA, SC 1/3/182, for Isabella's request in 1220 for her dower castles of Exeter and Rockingham and the town of Niort in Poitou to be handed over to her new husband, Hugh X of Lusignan.

⁷¹ 'ut esset vinculum pacis', 'Ex libro III historiae regum Francorum', *RHGF* 17, ed. Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial (Paris, 1878), pp. 423-8 (at p. 426). See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 29.

Sophia) and Solomon, son of King Andreas I of Hungary, when both were still young children.⁷² At Christmas 1059, Matilda, aged twelve, married Rudolf of Rheinfelden, recently appointed duke of the Swabians.⁷³ Frutolf of Michelsburg, writing in Bamberg at the end of the eleventh century, attested to Agnes's agency in finalising this decision for her daughter, although Matilda died the following year.⁷⁴ Expectation of a mother's involvement in negotiating marriages for her offspring was never sentimental. Blanche of Castile's marital strategies for her younger children all worked to the political advantage of their eldest brother. As part of the Treaty of Vendôme agreed with Peter of Dreux, duke of Brittany, and other rebels in March 1227, betrothals were arranged for Blanche's offspring John, Alphonse (*d.*1271), and Isabella (*d.*1270) with children from the families of Peter and Hugh X of Lusignan.⁷⁵ Blanche's role was central to the treaty. Peter specified that the lands of Saumur and Loudun were to remain for perpetuity 'in the hand of the lord king, his heirs, and the lady queen Blanche, his mother', and he swore an oath to serve both Louis and Blanche rightly and faithfully.⁷⁶ Although the betrothals did not last, they were essential to securing peace in 1227.⁷⁷ The Treaty of Meaux-Paris in April 1229, which ended the warfare with Raymond of Toulouse, was also sealed with marital pacts and secured a powerful match for Blanche's son, Alphonse, with Raymond's daughter, Joan, the sole heiress to her father's lands.⁷⁸ Queen mothers used their influence to

⁷² 'Hoc ubi tandem regni primatibus complacuit, rex cum matre in fines Ungarie venit, utriusque regni primores iureiurando pacem firmare fecit, sororem tradidit', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, pp. 54-5. See 'Part I', ed. Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III*, ed. Böhmer, no. 145, p. 57; Zey, 'Frauen und Töchter', p. 69; Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 34-5.

⁷³ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 73; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 186; Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 33-4. Matilda had been entrusted to the care of Rumold, bishop of Constance (1051-1069), following her betrothal to Rudolf. See Zey, 'Frauen und Töchter', p. 67, who compared Matilda to Gunnhild (*d.*1038), similarly entrusted to an ecclesiastical magnate before her marriage to Henry III of Germany. Likewise, Empress Matilda (*d.*1167) was entrusted to Archbishop Bruno of Trier following her betrothal to Emperor Henry V in 1110. See *The gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed./trans. van Houts, ii, pp. 218-9; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: queen consort, queen mother and lady of the English* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 21-2, 25.

⁷⁴ Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 74. See also *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Waitz, p. 37, whose account is based on Frutolf's chronicle.

⁷⁵ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1922, pp. 119-21. John was betrothed to Peter's daughter, Yolanda. Alphonse was betrothed to Hugh and Isabella of Angoulême's daughter, Isabella. Blanche's daughter Isabella was betrothed to Hugh's son, also named Hugh.

⁷⁶ 'Salmurum vero et Losdunum... in manu domini regis et heredum suorum et domine regis B. (Blanche) matris sue in perpetuum remanebunt... Insuper sciendum est quod ego corporale prestiti iuramentum domino regi et domine regine matri sue quod bene et fideliter eis serviam', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1922, pp. 119-20.

⁷⁷ Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "medieval queenship"', p. 141.

⁷⁸ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 1992, pp. 147-52. Joan's dowry consisted of the duchy of Narbonne, the southern half of Albi, and the domains of Castres and Mirepoix.

negotiate marriages beneficial to their son on the throne. At the same time, they resisted (sometimes unsuccessfully) alliances between magnate families which were not in the best interests of the king and kingdom. The marriage between Philip II and Isabella of Hainault so greatly displeased Adela of Champagne that it led her to fortify her dower castles against her son.⁷⁹ The marriage went ahead anyway, and Philip responded to Adela's protest by confiscating her dower lands in Melun and Corbeil. In the thirteenth century, Blanche of Castile had more luck in preventing marriages which she viewed as against her son's interests. On Louis IX's behalf, Blanche dissuaded Theobald IV of Champagne from marrying Yolanda, Peter of Dreux's daughter, which would have united two powerful princely families, both of which had a rebellious track record throughout Louis VIII's reign.⁸⁰ The active protests of queen mothers when marriages were not agreeable is evidence of the responsibility they felt to protect their sons' interests.

ii. Defence and justice in the realm

Ideas of good kingship across north-western Europe similarly encouraged rulers to work to uphold justice, good customs, and the law, and to use military force to defend the kingdom when needed. Comparable promises of good governance were made at a king's coronation, and child kings were not exempt from upholding these pledges.⁸¹ The memorandum of Philip I's inauguration in 1059 recorded that the seven-year-old French king promised before God 'to maintain and defend, as far as I am able, the canon law, the customary law, and justice for the churches throughout the kingdom'.⁸² Henry III of England swore in 1216 to show honour, peace, and reverence towards God and his church, to observe strict justice, and to abolish bad

⁷⁹ Robert of Auxerre, *Chronologia*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 242. The marriage was not in the best interests of Philip's maternal family either since Isabella had previously been betrothed to Adela's nephew, son of Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne. This betrothal had only recently been confirmed in 1179. See Gilbert of Mons, *La chronique*, ed. Vanderkindere, pp. 126, 129; translated in *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Napran, p. 72. See also Hornaday, 'A Capetian queen as street demonstrator', pp. 72, 74.

⁸⁰ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 194; translated in *Chronicles of the crusades: Joinville and Villehardouin*, trans. Caroline Smith, Penguin Classics (London, 2008), p. 166.

⁸¹ There is less evidence that kings of Scots made these promises at inauguration. But, see Broun, *Scottish independence*, p. 173, who suggests that Bower's claim that the rights and promises of a king were outlined in both French and English at Alexander III's inauguration in 1249 could indicate that they were a feature of earlier ceremonies too. See also Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, pp. 134-6.

⁸² 'Ego Philippus, Deo propitiante mox futurus rex Francorum, in die ordinationis mee, promitto coram Deo et sanctis eius, quia unicuique de vobis commissis, canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque iustitiam conservabo et defensionem quantum potuero, adiuvante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesie sibi commisse per rectum exhibere debet', *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, i, pp. 227-8.

laws and customs whilst upholding good ones.⁸³ When the king was a child, his immaturity unavoidably compromised his ability to safeguard these promises. He had to rely on his guardians, counsellors, and officials to advocate for his royal authority and maintain systems of governance.

A guardian's ability to defend the kingdom did not always rely on military force since counsel and mediation could be more important than the ability to lead an army into battle. Raoul Tortaire praised Baldwin V of Flanders for putting down rebellions during Philip I's minority as much by diplomacy as by arms.⁸⁴ As discussed above, diplomatic action could help to preempt and delay conflict, or even avoid it entirely.⁸⁵ Employing strategies of negotiation was not a weak concession from individuals who had no other option; it could be eminently sensible and militarily strategic. When Agnes took over the rule of the German kingdom on Henry IV's behalf, she agreed that Baldwin of Flanders could hold the Scheldt march in fief of the empire, allowing his son, Baldwin VI, to become count of Hainault.⁸⁶ This was contrary to her husband's policy. Emperor Henry III had chosen a course of invasion against Baldwin in 1054, marching into Flemish lands to fight.⁸⁷ But Henry III's campaign had been unsuccessful and his army had had to retreat. Agnes could not afford to make a similar mistake. The empress's decision in 1056 was level-headed considering her son's young age and prevented the ongoing hostilities of a powerful magnate. Choosing negotiation and concession over open warfare could be wise when a child was king, but his guardian was also expected to provide military leadership on his behalf since the king was hitherto untested as a soldier.

Military effectiveness was not judged solely through the force or number of troops an individual could provide. Matthew Strickland has shown how the effectiveness of a king's presence in warfare could depend on his personal military reputation.⁸⁸ For boy kings yet to make their name in war, their image and reputation depended on others, especially their guardians. The

⁸³ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, pp. 197-8.

⁸⁴ 'tam consiliis quam armis', Raoul Tortaire, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. de Certain, p. 314.

⁸⁵ See above, pp. 193-4.

⁸⁶ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Bethmann, p. 360, for Baldwin coming to terms with Henry IV. See also David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992), p. 51; Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 24, 31.

⁸⁷ *Annales Leodienses*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), pp. 9-20 (at p. 20); *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, pp. 47, 50.

⁸⁸ Matthew Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed: aspects of warfare and baronial rebellion in England and Normandy, 1075-1265', in *Law and government*, eds. Garnett and Hudson, pp. 56-79 (at p. 70).

military reputation of magnate guardians was far from rhetorical; they were proven military leaders. Adam of Bremen, although a little disparaging regarding the propriety of a cleric acting as a war counsellor, claimed that Archbishop Adalbert's experience of subduing enemies proved useful in Emperor Henry III's counsels.⁸⁹ This military experience, especially first-hand familiarity of a tumultuous frontier zone, would have been invaluable when Adalbert took Henry IV into Hungary on his first military expedition in 1063.⁹⁰ In England, Henry III's magnate guardians were as familiar with military organisation as they were with the inner workings of the Exchequer and the king's court. William Marshal's extensive military experience was put to good use for the king in mustering troops, conducting siege warfare, and leading men into battle at Lincoln in 1217.⁹¹ Peter des Roches had been involved in military administration as justiciar during John's reign, supplying royal armies and organising castle garrisons.⁹² The bishop himself commanded crossbowmen at the Battle of Lincoln.⁹³ Chroniclers attributed the success of the naval battle at Sandwich in the same year to Hubert de Burgh's expertise.⁹⁴ In the eyes of monastic authors, and a child king's *fideles*, it would have been questionable whether a queen mother could provide similar military leadership, despite notable royal and aristocratic exceptions such as Matilda of Canossa (*d.1115*), Matilda of Boulogne (*d.1152*), and Countess Blanche of Champagne (*d.1229*).⁹⁵ Since chroniclers often ascribed military decisions or actions to the child king rather than their guardian(s), even when their young age belied active participation in the action, we lose some information regarding how maternal guardians may have been involved in military affairs. Sigeberht of Gembloux

⁸⁹ 'Quapropter ubi vix locum habet clericus, nec in procinctu bellorum imperator illum virum dehabere voluit, cuius inexpugnabile consilium sepe ad evincendos expertus est inimicos', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 173; translated in *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschann, p. 139.

⁹⁰ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 186; *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 62; *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127. See Johnson, 'Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen', pp. 149-50, 162-4, for the importance of the Hamburg-Bremen episcopate on the northeastern German frontier. See also Chapter Four, p. 139.

⁹¹ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 300-3, for siege warfare, and pp. 308-55, for the Battle of Lincoln; Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, pp. 211-3. See Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 163-7.

⁹² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 61-4, 102-4.

⁹³ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 316-9.

⁹⁴ *Chron. maiora*, iii, pp. 28-9.

⁹⁵ David J. Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115*, *Gender in History* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 4-11, 198-228, who reassesses the military career of Matilda of Canossa/Tuscany; Tanner, 'Queenship: office, custom, or ad hoc?', p. 140, for the military leadership of Matilda, queen of England and wife of King Stephen. See also Megan McLaughlin, 'The woman warrior: gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe', *Women's Studies*, 17 (1990), 193-209 (at pp. 198-9), who suggests that widows represent a disproportionate number of fighting women in the central Middle Ages.

attributed the capture of fortresses in Frisia in 1058 to the eight-year-old Henry IV, without mentioning the presence of military commanders, or whether Agnes of Poitou had licenced the campaign.⁹⁶ Similarly, the thirteenth-century chronicler Matthew Paris claimed that the sixteen-year-old Louis IX himself gathered an army in response to the arrival of the English king in 1230, although we know this was a time when Blanche of Castile was intimately involved in military decisions.⁹⁷ The crowned sovereign remained the figurehead of the army even when others were acting militarily on his behalf.

Warfare was undeniably a masculine activity, but even if a woman's ability to bear arms came under scrutiny, she was not prevented from actively preparing for military engagements or, as guardian, acting in military affairs. Queen mothers dispensed money, ensured vassals did military service, recruited troops, and fortified castles. Even before becoming queen, Blanche of Castile canvassed for funding from her father-in-law, Philip Augustus, for her husband's campaign in England. The Minstrel of Reims, an unreliable witness for objective information, claimed that Blanche even threatened to pawn her children to raise money.⁹⁸ More reliably, the Burton annalist, the Anonymous of Béthune, and William Marshal's biographer all attest to Blanche's involvement in military preparations, recording that the army sent to Louis in England was raised with help from his father and his wife.⁹⁹ During Louis IX's minority, Blanche acted in the role of military commander between 1227 and 1231, accompanying Louis on campaigns in most years.¹⁰⁰ Blanche's personal involvement in military campaigns ceased

⁹⁶ 'In Fresonia captis ab imperatore Heinrico aliquibus castellis, Fresones a rebellione refrenantur', Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Bethmann, p. 360.

⁹⁷ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 195; Richard, *Saint Louis*, ed. Lloyd and trans. Birrell, p. 18.

⁹⁸ London, BL, Additional MS 7103, fol. 62v. 'Par la benoite mere Dieu, j'ai biaux enfanz de mon seigneur; je les meterai en wage, et bien trouverai qui me prestera sour eus', Minstrel of Reims, *Récits*, ed. de Wailly, p. 157; translated in *A thirteenth-century minstrel's chronicle*, trans. Levine, p. 75. Le Goff, 'Blanche de Castille', p. 61, who dismisses the writer's credibility.

⁹⁹ *Burton annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 224; *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 198; William Craw, 'An edition of the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et rois d'Angleterre* contained in French MS. 56 of the John Rylands Library, Manchester University', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (1999), pp. 107-8; *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, p. 358. See Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facing's "medieval queenship"', p. 143, for the importance of the years prior to Louis IX's succession in developing Blanche's skills and experience of military support. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 56-7.

¹⁰⁰ 'venit Turonis Rex Franciae Ludovicus cum Blanche matre sua et infinito armatorum exercitu', 'Ex chronico Turonensi', *RHGF* 18, p. 319; Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 924; Le Goff, 'Blanche de Castille', p. 61. The chronicle attributed to Baldwin of Avesnes claimed that it was due to Louis and Blanche's joint defence of the land that Henry III's invasion was unsuccessful. See 'Extraits de la chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes, fils de la comtesse Marguerite de Flandre', *RHGF* 21, eds. J. D. Guigniaut and J. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1855), pp. 159-81 (at p. 162). See William of

as Louis reached his mid-to-late teens in the early 1230s.¹⁰¹ At this age, his mother's presence would have had more of a negative effect on the king's reputation. Blanche is unique among the queen mothers discussed here in adopting the role of military commander, but her military actions were not without precedent. Queens actively participated in military campaigns in Castilian tradition and across the Spanish kingdoms.¹⁰² Merovingian and Carolingian women had regularly contributed to military defence or siege warfare.¹⁰³ Eleanor of Aquitaine, as queen of France, had accompanied her husband, Louis VII, on the Second Crusade.¹⁰⁴ Aristocratic women commanded fighting men in their husbands' absences on crusade.¹⁰⁵ Considering her commanding role, Blanche's position was similar to male magnate guardians such as Baldwin V of Flanders, William Marshal, or Hubert de Burgh. Yet contemporaries questioned her legitimacy to act in this way. Hugh of la Ferté, in a poem addressing the young king, Louis IX, encouraged him to spurn the feminine sex [i.e. his mother] and to call on men who could bear arms instead.¹⁰⁶ As greater emphasis came to be placed on a child king's recognition as military leader prior to his inauguration – a chronological development I illustrated in Chapter Four – this brought to the fore the issue of a guardian's legitimacy to bear arms themselves.¹⁰⁷

Maintaining justice in the kingdom was an important part of rulership.¹⁰⁸ Although, like military responsibility, medieval society also gendered the administration of justice as masculine, female action in executing secular jurisdiction was more acceptable when a mother represented her husband or son. Agnes and Blanche administered justice on behalf of their sons, Henry IV and Louis IX. This is particularly important when the evidence for women (even queens) acting in

Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, p. 544, who saw Blanche's 'consilium' behind military decisions such as sending men to the Albigensian crusade. See also Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', pp. 15, 19.

¹⁰¹ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 103-5.

¹⁰² Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', p. 15; Roger Collins, 'Queens-dowager and queens-regent in tenth-century León and Navarre', in *Medieval queenship*, ed. Parsons, pp. 79-92 (at p. 79).

¹⁰³ Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: parent, queen, and duchess', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: patron and politician*, ed. William W. Kibler (Austin, 1976), pp. 9-34 (at p. 14).

¹⁰⁵ LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois', p. 27. See *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 182, for Nicola de la Haye's defence of Lincoln castle against Louis's troops at the start of Henry III's reign.

¹⁰⁶ 'Rois, ne créés mie / Gent de femenie, / Mais faites ceus apeler / Qui armes saichent porter', Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français, depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841-2), i, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter Four, pp. 137-48.

¹⁰⁸ For example, see Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 96-102, for the importance of the revival of the general eyre in November 1218 and the reliance on the judicial process in Henry III's minority.

this way is so rare.¹⁰⁹ In eleventh-century Germany and France, documents issued by the king's chapel and by beneficiaries who approached the boy king show that the queen mothers Agnes and Anne, as well as the magnates who replaced them, acted as intermediaries between petitioners and the king while providing their support, advice, and confirmation to royal actions. Insights into judicial participation are far scarcer.¹¹⁰ Agnes's intervention and petition enabled Bishop Herrand of Strasburg to request arbitration from Henry IV in October 1059 in a dispute over rights to 'Wildbann' in an episcopal forest.¹¹¹ Later the same month in Augsburg, Agnes's involvement compelled another bishop and count to settle their quarrel.¹¹² Agnes's judicial appearances are few and far between, but they reveal her presence alongside her son in legal arbitration and her significant role in augmenting the authority of her son's demonstrations of justice. A lawsuit concerning property belonging to Bamberg monastery was held and adjudicated in the presence of the king, his mother, and the princes of the kingdom.¹¹³ Agnes's inclusion in the documentary record of royal justice is exceptional in comparison to the archbishops who later acted as Henry IV's guardians. Neither Anno nor Adalbert administered justice alongside the king in the same way as her. In fact, Anno seems to have devolved judicial responsibility to the localities when he decreed 'that any bishop in whose diocese the king was residing at that particular time...should have a special responsibility for the cases that were referred to the king'.¹¹⁴ In France, records of appeals to royal justice during Philip I's minority are even rarer. The scarcity of sources for Anne of Kiev's brief years as guardian means we

¹⁰⁹ Bates, 'The representation of queens and queenship', p. 300, who highlights the importance of the queen acting as judge and carrying out justice. Martindale, 'The settlement of disputes and political power', p. 55, who similarly notes the exceptional nature of women who sat in justice.

¹¹⁰ Although Malcolm IV's mother, Ada de Warenne, regularly appeared at her son's court and witnessed several of his acts there is little evidence of her involvement in royal justice. Original charters of Malcolm IV which Ada witnesses: Edinburgh, NRS, GD 45/13/229; Edinburgh, NLS, Duke of Roxburgh MS (Kelso Abbey charter, 1159). Cartulary evidence of Ada appearing in Malcolm's acts: *Kelso Abbey Cartulary*, Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.5.1, fol. 21r.; Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.13, fol. xvii v. See also, *The acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. Barrow, RRS 1, nos. 106, 114, 127, 131, and 136; Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne', p. 132.

¹¹¹ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 59, pp. 75-7.

¹¹² 'Regina cum puero rege in festivitate omnium sanctorum Augustam veniens, invasores Augustae ad pactionem compulit', *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127.

¹¹³ 'praesente supra dicto rege et matre eius Agnete imperatrice et principibus regni, qui tum aderant', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 7, p. 11. See also *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 61, pp. 107-9; Amalie Föbel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 153-6; Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, p. 29.

¹¹⁴ *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 82. 'Episcopus...statuit, ut episcopus quilibet, in cuius diocesi rex dum temporis moraretur,...causis, quae ad regem delatae fuissent, potissimum responderet', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80.

cannot be certain of her judicial involvement. Henry I had included his wife in settling a legal dispute between the monastery of Saint-Thierry and the archbishop of Reims earlier in the 1050s, but there is no evidence that Anne participated in dispute settlement during her son's minority.¹¹⁵ It was Count Baldwin, not Anne, who was alongside the boy king when, in 1063, Philip confirmed a sentence made in the royal court in the abbot of Saint-Bertin's favour. The case had been heard 'in the presence of the renowned Count Baldwin and King Philip, who is still a child', and both count and king assented to the creation of the charter and subscribed their names to it.¹¹⁶ Further evidence of royal confirmation of legal judgements does not appear until 1066, the year Philip turned fifteen and exited Baldwin's guardianship. Then the king, in his own name and by his own hand, confirmed a judgement which had been made in an assembly at Compiègne earlier in his reign.¹¹⁷

Through their guardianship of the child king, mothers and secular magnates could involve themselves in the administration of royal justice, but gender influenced contemporary opinions of a woman's legitimacy to do so. Prohibitive canons had been wary of, or outright hostile to, female involvement in secular jurisdiction for several centuries.¹¹⁸ At the turn of the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III banned women from administering justice in principle under canon law, although he made exceptions for 'eminent women', with particular reference to the queen of France in her capacity as ruler.¹¹⁹ Blanche of Castile provides a near-contemporary example that canon law promulgations did not necessarily affect a queen mother's ability to act for her young son. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, writing at papal request in the latter half of the thirteenth century, explicitly credited Blanche with actively, vigorously, justly, and effectively

¹¹⁵ *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, no. 89; Zajac, 'Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's queenship', pp. 35-6, 58.

¹¹⁶ 'coram inclito marchione Balduino et rege adhuc puero Philippo', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 17, p. 50. See also Chapter Three, p. 112.

¹¹⁷ 'Ut ergo huius ratio conventionis imperpetuum rata permaneret et inviolabilis, ego Philippus puer, rex Francorum, ... manu propria firmavi et sigilli regii impressione firmare jussi', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 27, p. 83. See also no. 28, pp. 83-6, where Philip confirms a judgement in favour of the abbey of Saint-Médard.

¹¹⁸ Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, PL 140 (Paris, 1880), book 8, chapter 85, col. 808; Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, pp. 216-8.

¹¹⁹ 'huiusmodi feminae praecellentes in subiectos suos ordinariam iurisdictionem habere noscuntur', *Innocentii III Romani pontificis regestorum sive epistolarum liber quintus*, PL 214, no. 98, col. 1095. See Metz, *La femme et l'enfant*, pp. 103-5; Miriam G. Büttner, 'The education of queens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2003, pp. 265-6.

administering, guarding, and defending the laws of the kingdom.¹²⁰ According to him, there were many witnesses who would attest to the truthfulness of his judgment of Blanche. It was by her clever foresight and embodiment of feminine reasoning and a masculine mind that the king's justice triumphed.¹²¹ Geoffrey's purpose in writing was to assert Louis IX's sanctity, but his claims regarding Blanche's involvement in judicial administration should not be written off as a hagiographer's *topos*. Lindy Grant has recently devoted renewed attention to judicial cases where Blanche was alongside her son, such as the settlement in August 1227 by which Lambert Cadurc was released from prison.¹²² In one important example, the count and countess of Provence promised to bring any disputes which arose between them and the count of Toulouse to the arbitration of Louis and his mother.¹²³ Although Blanche was not always represented alongside her young son in legal decisions, she was certainly not excluded because of her gender.

iii. Controlling the body of the king

The route of a child king's itinerary was naturally subject to his guardian's authority. In some cases, this meant limitations to a king's itineration to allow for his childhood: an active recognition that children could not travel as far (or as fast) as adult kings.¹²⁴ Henry IV did not journey to Italy until several years after he had come of age, remaining in Germany throughout his minority apart from his brief military foray into Hungary.¹²⁵ Julie Kanter's study of Henry

¹²⁰ 'administraverit, et custodierit, et defensaverit jura regni', Geoffrey of Beaulieu, 'Vita et sancta conversatio', *RHGF* 20, p. 4.

¹²¹ 'Sed meritis innocentiae ipsius, ac solerti providentiâ matris ejus (quae tota virago semper exilit, et femineae cogitationi ac sexui masculinum animum jugiter inferebat) perturbatores regni semper confusi succubuerunt, et regis justitia triumphavit', Geoffrey of Beaulieu, 'Vita et sancta conversatio', *RHGF* 20, p. 4.

¹²² *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, nos. 1937-8, pp. 129-30; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 303-7.

¹²³ 'quod nos promittimus bona fide...stare arbitrio et mandatis, dicto et ordinationi seu diffinitioni domini L. (Ludovici) illustris regis Francorum et domine B. (Blanche) regine, illustris matris regis ipsius, super omnibus querelis, controversiis et contentionibus quas ad invicem, nos et nobilis vir Rainmundus comes Tholosanus, habemus, vel usque ad hanc diem habere possumus', *Layettes*, ed. Teulet, ii, no. 2270, p. 260.

¹²⁴ William Marshal's biographer claimed the Marshal appointed Peter des Roches as Henry's 'mestre' precisely because the boy could not travel with him: 'Ne posrai pas en un liu estre: / Por ce lui couvendra un mestre, / Quer il me couvendra esrer / As marches tenir e garder' ('I have no wish to take him with me, for I shall not be able to stay in one place. That is why he needs a governor, because I shall have to travel around to protect the marches'), *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 280-1.

¹²⁵ Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, p. 22. Henry had visited Italy with his parents as a child, however, between April and November 1055. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 5, nos. 337-359, pp. 460-89.

III of England's itinerary demonstrates how little we really know of his movements in the early years of his reign. Royal documents reflected the location of the king's guardians rather than the boy himself.¹²⁶ Despite this, however, Henry's childhood, as well as the impact of warfare, meant that the government did not travel as far or as frequently during his minority as it had during John's reign.¹²⁷ In other cases, the child accompanied his guardian to locations which were out of the ordinary in comparison to his predecessor's patterns of royal itineration. Anne of Kiev's control over her son's travels can be deduced from their visits together to Senlis at least once in the latter half of 1060 and again in May 1061, when Philip granted an exemption from secular jurisdiction to the church of Saint-Adrian in Anne's presence.¹²⁸ This town held especial importance for Anne since it formed part of her dower lands and was where she founded the monastery of Saint-Vincent.¹²⁹ There is no evidence that Henry I had ever taken his son or wife to Senlis. Instead, the town's prominence in Philip's itinerary between his coronation in 1059 and sometime in 1062 corresponds with Anne's constant presence alongside her son, and Count Baldwin's notable absence from royal documents. This finding helps to establish conclusively that Anne was acting as Philip's guardian, despite misconceptions asserted by later chroniclers.¹³⁰ In her ability to dictate the king's travels, Anne of Kiev acted similarly to Philip's magnate guardian, Baldwin V of Flanders. Later in Philip's minority, Baldwin similarly prescribed visits to his own lands into the young king's itinerary, including stays in Flemish towns such as Corbie, Furnes, and Lille.¹³¹ The king's presence in these locations is unusual since Philip's father had never issued acts in Flanders.¹³² Equally striking were changes in England to Henry III's itinerary under Hubert de Burgh's guardianship after 1219. Royal visits to Wales had been common during John's reign but Hubert, who John had made warden of the Welsh marches in 1201, took Henry to Skenfrith Castle, his own residence

¹²⁶ Kanter, 'The itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', pp. 59 n.3, 177-8.

¹²⁷ Kanter, 'The itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', pp. 177-81.

¹²⁸ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 4 and 5, pp. 13-17, for the visit in 1060. 'Interfuerunt autem etiam huic adstipulationi Agnes regina...', no. 11, pp. 32-4, for the visit in 1061. See Verdon, 'Les veuves des rois de France', p. 191, for a comparison between Anne's use of her itinerary for her son and a similar case with the Carolingian queen Gerberga of Saxony.

¹²⁹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 130, pp. 329-31, for a later record of the foundation charter. See also Ward, 'Anne of Kiev and a reassessment of maternal power', pp. 442-3.

¹³⁰ See Chapter Three, pp. 111-12.

¹³¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 17 (Lille, 1063), pp. 49-51; nos. 22 and 23 (both at Corbie, 1065, after 4 August), pp. 59-66; nos. 24 (Furnes, 1066, before 4 August) and 25 (Lille, 1066, after 4 August), pp. 67-76.

¹³² One of Henry's charters purports to be a grant to the abbey of Hasnon issued in 1058 at Cambrai in Flanders but this is now widely considered to be a forgery. There is no additional evidence that Henry ever granted charters in Flemish lands. See *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, ed. Soehnée, pp. 130-1.

in Monmouthshire, twice in 1222.¹³³ Proximity to the child king was a crucial strategy which guardians used to consolidate their influence, especially in locations which held significance for the magnate or queen mother involved.

Proximity to a boy king became even more important for magnate guardians as the king neared his majority. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, at this stage of a child king's life, exercising close control over the royal itinerary helped to prevent a guardian's position being eroded by the influence of other magnates. William Marshal's responsibilities as 'rector' of the English kingdom meant that he was rarely with Henry III. Even Peter des Roches, although responsible for Henry's custody and education, was not alongside the boy constantly. He accompanied the army during the winter of 1216/7 without Henry.¹³⁴ A guardian's freedom to leave the king with other tutors or teachers implied co-operative relationships, founded on trust and loyalty, between the prominent magnates around the king. Such trust was conspicuously absent in Germany during Henry IV's minority, especially after 1063. Adam of Bremen claimed that the 'feigned fellowship' between Anno and Adalbert lasted only a short time before it broke down into hatred.¹³⁵ Adam's account of Adalbert's doings at court reveal furious competition and political manoeuvring for the most prominent position of counsel and the young king's guardianship. Adalbert had apparently made it his mission to be the only one in authority at court.¹³⁶ Likewise, trust broke down faster between the magnates involved in Henry III's guardianship as the child aged. Letter attestations confirm Hubert de Burgh's increasing dominance after November 1219. By November 1222, just after Henry's fifteenth birthday, Hubert had become a constant presence alongside the king.¹³⁷ Much like in Germany, where Adalbert's proximity to Henry IV increased in the year the king came of age, in England, Hubert

¹³³ Kanter, 'The itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', pp. 896-912.

¹³⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 135.

¹³⁵ *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschan, p. 142. 'Itaque ficta sodalitas episcoporum modico duravit tempore, et quamvis lingua utriusque pacem sonare videretur, cor tamen odio mortali pugnabat in invicem', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, pp. 176-7.

¹³⁶ 'ut vel solus placeret in curia vel maior domus fieret pre omnibus', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 179; translated in *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschan, p. 144. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, nos. 140, 144, 152, pp. 182-3, 186-8, 196-7, for Adalbert's prominence in diplomas issued around Henry IV in the year 1065. See also Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 45-6, 51-3, for Adalbert's rise to prominence at court and dominance in 1065, which Robinson links explicitly to Henry IV's coming of age and close relationship with the king.

¹³⁷ Between July and October 1219, 92 royal letters were authorised jointly by Hubert and Peter, 20 by Hubert and 16 by Peter. From November 1219 to January 1220 inclusive, only 11 by the two men, 26 by Hubert, 4 by Hubert and the council and only 4 by Peter. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 182, 305.

de Burgh rose to his most prominent position when Henry III was around the age of fourteen or fifteen and beginning to take a more active role in royal administration.¹³⁸

The second reason magnate proximity intensified as young kings underwent their transition from childhood to adulthood was because magnate guardians hoped that, by supporting young kings at a crucial stage in their kingship, they could secure a prominent role in royal counsel well into the king's adult reign. Adalbert and Hubert fostered good relationships with the child kings under their care by actively supporting the adolescents through the coming of age process and helping them to assert their new status. Adalbert accompanied Henry IV on his first military expedition to Hungary, as I have already noted.¹³⁹ In England, Henry III first issued royal gifts of wine, timber, and game to members of his household during one of his visits to Wales with Hubert de Burgh in 1222, the year the king turned fifteen.¹⁴⁰ Hubert was also present when Henry entrusted the castle of Colchester to Eustace, bishop of London, on 8 December 1223. This was the first time the young king had confirmed the transfer of a royal castle by his own hand ('per ipsum dominum regem').¹⁴¹ In contrast to the experience of magnate guardians, queen mothers were rarely able to maintain their involvement in guardianship until their sons came of age, due mainly to the nature of opposition to their rule and the distinctive societal pressures on royal widows to remarry or return to their natal lands.¹⁴² Nevertheless, Agnes of Poitou decided to remain in the German kingdom until Henry IV had achieved his majority, rather than departing for Rome as previous scholars have suggested. She, like Adalbert and Hubert de Burgh, saw her son's transition into adulthood as a potentially tumultuous time.¹⁴³ Agnes wanted to be as close as she could to her son at this stage of his life, despite no longer being responsible for his guardianship.

¹³⁸ For the importance of this age, see Chapter Four, pp. 136-40. And see Chapter Five, pp. 179-84, for its decline in importance as greater significance was placed on the age of twenty-one.

¹³⁹ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 186. See Chapter Four, p. 139 and above p. 202.

¹⁴⁰ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 290, who notes gifts to the household official Adam of Stowell, William de Cantilupe junior (son of Henry's steward), and William Brewer.

¹⁴¹ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 417; Powicke, 'The chancery during the minority of Henry III', p. 222.

¹⁴² As I shall show in Chapter Seven, especially pp. 232-45.

¹⁴³ For Agnes's actions before leaving the kingdom, see: Struve, 'Die Romreise der Kaiserin Agnes', 1-29; Jean-Marie Sansterre, 'Mère du roi, épouse du Christ, et fille de Saint Pierre : les dernières années de l'impératrice Agnès de Poitou. Entre image et réalité', in *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident (VIe – XIe siècles) : colloque international organisé les 28, 29 et 30 mars 1996 à Bruxelles et Villeneuve d'Ascq*, eds. Stéphanie Lebecq et al., Centre de recherche sur l'histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (Series) 19 (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1999), pp. 163-74; and Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, especially pp. 27-36.

Influence over a child king's physical body included a measure of control over his sexual relationships. Maternal concern was expected to ensure the dynastic line's continuity through her son. Even mothers who were not vice-regal guardians at times played an active role in marital politics. Ada de Warenne attempted to persuade her son, Malcolm IV, to take a wife or bed-companion to provide a son and heir as king of Scots, at least according to William of Newburgh. William related how Malcolm managed to avoid temptation, even when his mother presented him with a beautiful and noble virgin.¹⁴⁴ This tale could be entirely William's invention, or a hagiographical motive to explain why Malcolm remained unmarried until his death, but it points to an expectation that a mother would monitor her son's sex life, especially if it caused any concerns. William claimed that Ada, said to be inspired by the devil, went as far as to command her son to act like a king, not a monk.¹⁴⁵ Ada was not the only mother to be accused of interference with her son's matrimonial or sexual relationships. John of Joinville suggested that Blanche of Castile forbade Louis IX from seeing his wife, Margaret of Provence, during the day.¹⁴⁶ Blanche, worried that daytime contact with Margaret would distract her son from affairs of rulership, did not try to stop the married couple from sharing a bed at night. Again, concern that her son should act like a king encouraged a mother to intervene, but without removing the young man from the circumstances in which he could procreate and continue the dynastic line. Contemporaries sometimes portrayed queen mothers as being inappropriately occupied with their sons' marriage and procreation. Magnate guardians were less directly linked with a child king's sexual relationships, but they still received criticism when they were perceived to be controlling the child king in these respects. In 1255, Alexander III and his wife, Margaret, married since Christmas 1251 and both around the age of fourteen, raised complaints against one of the men sent by Henry III of England to act as their guardian because he did not

¹⁴⁴ William of Newburgh, *The history of English affairs*, eds. Walsh and Kennedy, i, pp. 108-11. See also *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 257, for suggestions that Malcolm faced greater pressure to marry once he was seen to have reached puberty and manhood.

¹⁴⁵ 'matrem adornat quae illi virus occultum tanquam consilium maternae pietatis insibilet, et non solum blandiendo alliciat sed etiam imperiis urgeat, regem, non monachum, esse moneat', William of Newburgh, *The history of English affairs*, eds. Walsh and Kennedy, i, pp. 108-9.

¹⁴⁶ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 506; translated in *Chronicles of the crusades*, trans. Smith, p. 296. See Afrodesia E. McCannon, 'Two Capetian queens as the foreground for an aristocrat's anxiety in the *Vie de Saint Louis*', in *Capetian women*, ed. Nolan, pp. 163-76 (at pp. 164-5), who counters the idea that Blanche's actions were solely due to female jealousy. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 286-9.

allow them to sleep together as man and wife. The Burton annalist saw this as a grave issue.¹⁴⁷ Henry's removal of land and property from the magnate in question, Robert de Ros, confirmed the gravity with which he, too, viewed these accusations. Alexander only turned fourteen in September 1255. If the magnates had been preventing conjugal visits between the king and his wife before this point, it may have been for their own safety. John Carmi Parsons's survey of Plantagenet women suggests the age of fifteen as the 'watershed year' for consummation, so keeping Margaret and Alexander III apart may even have suited contemporary practice if Margaret had not yet started menstruation.¹⁴⁸ According to Matthew Paris, Robert de Ros attempted to use the couple's youth as an excuse for his actions, but this did not appease Henry III.¹⁴⁹ Once Robert had been removed, two new guardians, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester (*d.*1262), and John Mansel (*d.*1265), were quick to remedy the complaint, allowing the royal couple to share the same bed that very night.¹⁵⁰

Overall, the consistency in contemporary expectations of a king – the maintenance of peace, administration of justice, and defence of the kingdom – assured similarities in the tasks of guardianship across north-western Europe. Inevitably, however, geographical differences and developments over time in the exercise of royal authority meant that guardians discharged royal duties for the kings studied here in different ways. In this chapter, I have deliberately devoted less attention to the differences in systems of royal government to focus instead on the comparisons and contrasts between the methods used by mothers and magnates to exercise royal authority. One important observation emerging from my comparative analysis is that contemporary expectations of royal rule affected all those in a guardianship position. A guardian's gender did not necessarily negatively affect their ability to act to uphold royal promises for a child king. Male magnates were not always better placed than mothers to balance strategies of patronage, counsel, and military force to keep peace in the realm. Although men

¹⁴⁷ 'propter quamdam dissensionem quae inter eos emererat, et Robertum de Ros qui eos ad eorum voluntatem non tractavit, eo quod non sustinuit eos carnaliter simul commiscere, ob quam causam rex dissesivit eundem Robertum de castello de Wrech et de quibusdam suis aliis terris', *Burton annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, i, p. 337.

¹⁴⁸ Parsons, 'Mothers, daughters, marriage, power', pp. 66-7.

¹⁴⁹ 'Nec profuit ei humilitas satisfactionis, quam optulit vel quam de rege optinuit, ut videlicet non permetteret regem et reginam condormire propter eorum juventutem, donec quidam terminus venire qui nondum venisse probabatur', *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 569.

¹⁵⁰ *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, p. 198.

such as Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen or William Marshal had extensive administrative and military experience, as well as cash resources with which they could support the king, their actions often had a self-serving motivation. Permissible spheres of lordship and kingship confined their actions. By contrast, as I have shown here, a queen mother's position as anointed queen and the king's mother could allow her, as guardian, to be involved more intimately in demonstrations of royal authority. In Germany, Agnes of Poitou was at her son's side to strengthen the exercise of royal justice in a way in which Henry IV's archiepiscopal guardians were not. In France, Blanche of Castile's integration into oaths of allegiance to Louis IX distinguished her from near-contemporaries acting as magnate guardians for Henry III in England. Queen mothers were at a disadvantage in that societal expectations and legal decrees, especially in canon law, precluded their gender from involvement in certain tasks of guardianship. Although their royal status put queens into an exceptional category, to whom the rules did not always apply, queen mothers were facing greater challenges to their legitimacy to undertake certain guardianship tasks by 1250. Increasing emphasis on the military nature of kingship attracted gendered criticism of a mother's incapacity to bear arms. New legal promulgations regarding female involvement in the execution of justice may have similarly fortified opposition to a queen acting as her son's guardian. Considering these additional challenges to a queen mother's rule, Blanche of Castile's guardianship of Louis IX from his succession well into his adolescence appears, as I have noted before, even more remarkable. Blanche's success was not only due to the force of her personality. The queen mother, and her ecclesiastical supporters, recognised that attitudes to maternal guardianship among the aristocracy had shifted and attempted to legitimise her role in terms which would be familiar to them. Not only was Blanche's guardianship of king and kingdom presented in legal terms of customary wardship (as I showed in Chapter Five), the queen mother also repeatedly emphasised her position in networks of lordship and the performance of magnate fidelity to her son.¹⁵¹ Changing legal and military influences on kingship and changing notions of lordship meant that queen mothers in the thirteenth century had to become more creative to ensure a place as guardian when their young son became king. My analysis of the tasks of vice-regal guardianship shows that periods of child kingship across the central Middle Ages do not demonstrate a decline in maternal power by the thirteenth century. Instead, they reveal the intensification of challenges posed to a queen mother's rule alongside her underage son.

¹⁵¹ Chapter Five, pp. 158-9. See also Chapter One, pp. 67-8 and Chapter Three, pp. 109-10.

I have shown in Part II of this thesis that, over the period 1050 to 1250, changing notions of male maturity, greater legal influence on kingship, and the increasing involvement of royal councils all affected the arrangements made for a child king's guardianship until he came of age. Vice-regal guardianship, by its very nature, was never a permanent arrangement, whether the role was filled by the boy's mother, or by secular or ecclesiastical magnates. Even when a terminus to guardianship was not fixed, the age at which the child could rule alone delineated the temporary nature of the care of king and kingdom (although naturally guardians could remain prominent in royal counsel well into the king's personal rule). Contemporary aristocratic opposition to guardianship arrangements was a frequent occurrence and exposed the vulnerable nature of royal administration under a child king, since opposition could ultimately result in a guardian's violent removal. It is to the challenges and vulnerabilities of child kingship to which I now turn in Part III. The king's immaturity could be used to challenge the provisions for royal governance, or as the excuse for opportunistic magnate behaviour, but these challenges were not necessarily opposition to the concept of child kingship itself.

PART III

Children on the Throne: Challenges and Vulnerabilities

CHAPTER SEVEN

Vulnerability of Children and Mothers

The reality of child kingship entwined the recognisable leitmotifs of youth and bad counsel, inciting magnates to remove the king from his guardian(s) or to restructure guardianship councils, and the natural flexibility of guardianship arrangements allowed this to occur. In this chapter, I will discuss the kidnap of child kings, then analyse contemporary attitudes to queen mothers, before finally reassessing modern judgments of the exclusion and departure of queens from court. I argue here that one of the main vulnerabilities of child kingship was the ease with which the king's body could be removed forcibly from those responsible for his care. Across most of the kingdoms of north-western Europe, magnates used kidnap as a strategy for renegotiating power relationships and the control of royal authority. Explanations as to why magnates turned to abduction in cases of child kingship have little to do with geographical or chronological developments. Instead, these cases demonstrate the collaborative and co-operative nature of magnate discontent. Furthermore, Henry IV's abduction in Germany and Louis IX's attempted kidnap in France reveal the vulnerability of a queen mother's rule for her underage son. In section two, I examine contemporary perceptions of suitability for guardianship and the specifically gendered nature of opposition to queen mothers. Hostility to women in power appeared consistently across the central Middle Ages, taking similar forms in attacking their 'foreign' identity, gender, or sexual relationships. Genuine contemporary concerns regarding preferential treatment and hierarchical access to power and influence at court could be at the root of many of these vitriolic attacks on queens. Gender alone never prevented the mothers of child kings from involvement in royal administration and governance, or from acting as judge or military leader alongside their sons, as I have shown in earlier chapters, but it undoubtedly affected contemporary perceptions of their suitability as guardians.¹ Ideas of suitability, taken to the extreme, could ultimately lead to the removal of the king's mother, her exclusion from involvement in her son's guardianship, or her choice to leave her son's kingdom, as I propose in section three. Children, even when they were kings, were inevitably vulnerable to the whims of the adults around them, but cases of child kingship also demonstrate the vulnerability of queen mothers as guardians and as widows.

¹ See Chapters Three, Five, and Six. Especially Chapter Six, pp. 200-4.

i. Kidnap and the body of the child king

The biological fact of childhood encouraged magnate unease to manifest itself against vice-regal guardians. Age and innocence worked to a child's advantage since he could not be blamed for his predecessor's actions, having been too young to do anything about them.² Furthermore, the king's childhood distanced him from the way in which the kingdom was governed on his behalf. Even chroniclers who praised a guardian's governance saw the king's guiltlessness as advantageous. Geoffrey of Beaulieu attributed the overcoming of disorders during Louis IX's minority to a combination of Blanche of Castile's clever foresight and the merits of Louis's innocence.³ Blame for the continuation of unpopular policies from the previous reign or the failure to pursue ecclesiastical or magnate privileges with sufficient vigour were less likely to be laid at a child's feet. Disaffected noblemen instead turned to child kidnap as one way to gain access to the royal body when they felt that a renegotiation of guardianship was essential. Comparing aristocratic attempts to forcibly acquire control of a child king shows that, whilst magnates differentiated between the king's natural body and the political administration of the kingdom, it was impossible to gain control of the latter without control of the former. The princes succeeded in separating Agnes of Poitou from the control of the kingdom ('regimen regni') through removing Henry IV from her.⁴ Conflict and violent action could thus be strategies through which to renegotiate collaborative governance of the kingdom but, even by the mid-thirteenth century, it depended on gaining custody of the child himself.⁵

Magnates used kidnap as a political tool: a valid and legitimate means of gaining control of a child king and, through control of the boy's physical body, to secure royal governance. Of the

² See *Thomas Wright's political songs of England: from the reign of John to that of Edward II*, new introduction by Peter Coss, reprinted edn (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 19-27 (at p. 22), for a song written shortly after the Battle of Lincoln in 1217 which credited the recall of magnates to the royalist cause to Henry III's childhood. See also *Honorii III, Romani Pontificis, opera omnia, quae exstant...*, ed. C. A. Horoy, 5 vols., *Medii aevi bibliotheca patristica* 1-5 (Paris, 1879-82), ii, no. 74, col. 101, and *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, p. 48, for contemporary perceptions of Henry III's innocence. See also Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, pp. 17-18, for the image of childhood innocence in medieval society more generally.

³ 'Sed meritis innocentiae ipsius, ac solerti providentia matris eius', Geoffrey of Beaulieu, 'Vita et sancta conversatio', *RHGF* 20, p. 4.

⁴ 'donec principes aliqui invidia ducti puerum matri abstulerunt eamque regimine regni abalienaverunt', Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 72.

⁵ Competition between magnates for positions of guardianship did not always lead to the attempted kidnap of the king. For example, see below, p. 230, for Ranulf of Chester who instead tried to engineer William Marshal's removal as Henry III's guardian to facilitate his own assumption of the position.

seven child kings, two were abducted – Henry IV in Germany and Alexander III in Scotland – and an attempt to abduct Louis IX in France was unsuccessful. Consistent magnate use of kidnap as a strategy for gaining control of royal authority distinguishes north-western Europe from other kingdoms such as Latin Jerusalem and Sicily, where assassination was the primary tactic used to dispose of a guardian or tutor alongside a boy king.⁶ Lampert of Hersfeld provides the fullest account of Henry IV's kidnap from the royal palace of Kaiserswerth in April or May 1062 by a group of German nobles led by Archbishop Anno of Cologne. The author, writing in the late 1070s, may have heard the story first-hand from the royal courtiers when they visited Hersfeld in July 1062.⁷ According to Lampert, Henry's childish innocence, combined with the archbishop's persuasion, encouraged the king to board a boat on the river Rhine, which the crew then cast off from the shore and took upriver to Cologne with the child onboard.⁸ Henry's willingness to board the barge, and the fact that he was not prevented from doing so, suggests that the kidnap came as a surprise. Although modern historians commonly refer to the events as a political 'coup', Lampert described the proceedings far more emotively in terms of a child's separation from his mother.⁹ In France, Louis IX only narrowly avoided a similar attempt to remove him from his mother's control on his way back from Orléans in 1228. The child and his entourage took refuge in Montlhéry castle until men from Paris arrived to rescue them.¹⁰ In Scotland, during Alexander III's early reign, competition was especially fierce for control of

⁶ Hamilton, *The leper king*, pp. 84-93, for the murder of Baldwin IV's guardian, Miles of Plancy, in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1175. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 100-102, for Markward von Anweiler's kidnap of Frederick II in Sicily in 1201 and Walter of Brienne's assassination by Dipold of Acerra in 1205. See, however, Hillen, 'Minority government for German kings', p. 43, and Weiler, *Kingship, rebellion and political culture*, p. 27, for the assassinations of Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne and Duke Louis of Bavaria during the minority of Henry (VII) in Germany.

⁷ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 88, pp. 114-5. See Tilman Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld, der Königsraub von Kaiserswerth im Jahre 1062 und die Erinnerungskultur des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 88 (2006), 251-78 (at p. 252).

⁸ 'Facile hoc persuasit puero simplici et nihil minus quam insidias suspicanti', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 81.

⁹ 'ut a matre puerum distraherent', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80. See also 'Anno Coloniensis archiepiscopus... puero a matre per vim abstracto, non dubitavit ad se transferre ius dominationis ausu temerario', *Triumphus Sancti Remacli Stabulensis de Malmundariensi coenobio*, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS 11 (Hannover, 1854), pp. 433-61 (at p. 438); 'Part I', ed. Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III*, ed. Böhmer, nos. 252-5, pp. 103-6.

¹⁰ 'Et me conta le saint roy que il ne sa mere, qui estoient a Montleheri, ne oserent revenir a Paris jusques a tant que ceulz de Paris les vindrent querre a armes', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188, who suggested that Blanche was with Louis at Montlhéry. *Les grandes chroniques*, ed. Viard, vii, pp. 39-40, a later source, claimed instead that Blanche was in Paris, separated from her son. See Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 83. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 280 and Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', p. 20, for a Castilian kidnap comparison.

the body of the king of Scots and magnates used kidnap, or abduction, against the men in charge of the king. Patrick, earl of Dunbar, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel took Alexander and Margaret from Edinburgh Castle in 1255, where the king and queen were being carelessly guarded ('incaute custoditum').¹¹ The magnates entered the castle – possibly by deceiving the doorkeeper into believing that they were Robert de Ros's household knights – where they garrisoned their own men, removed members of the king's household, and took custody of Alexander and Margaret.¹² A competing faction of magnates 'kidnapped' Alexander and his queen again two years later.¹³ The magnates involved in abduction attempts never intended to remove Henry, Louis, and Alexander from their positions as kings. Resentment against guardians holding power around a young king did not constitute a challenge to the nature of royal power.

Contemporaries focused on two root concerns which led to the king's abduction: the child's neglect, usually by inadequate education or upbringing, and the kingdom's neglect by bad governance. We see again how contemporaries distinguished between the physical body of the king and concern for the political body of his realm. Refrains of bad counsel occur through chronicle accounts of rulership, often linked to youth or young age.¹⁴ In the circumstances of child kingship, the motif of bad advisors was taken to its extreme to justify the forceful removal of vice-regal guardian(s). The *Annals of Niederaltaich*, written circa 1075, claimed that Henry's advisors were not only failing the boy in his upbringing and education, since he was not taught to be good and just, but also failing the kingdom, which was in disorder.¹⁵ Anno's charge of the young king rectified this neglect in the eyes of Peter Damian, Anno's contemporary in northern Italy, who heaped praise upon the archbishop for protecting the abandoned boy and

¹¹ 'Qui cum ad partes illas accederent, et venirent ad castrum de Edenesburuy, in quo rex et regina tenebantur, inuenientes illud incaute custoditum, ingressi sunt castrum', *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, p. 198.

¹² *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 505; *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fols 57r.-v.

¹³ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 58v.; *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 656.

¹⁴ *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 20-1, for a pertinent example of the link between youth and bad counsel. The biographer claimed that, in 1194, Richard I forgave his brother John, who was in his late twenties, with the words: 'John, have no fear. You are a child, and you had bad men looking after you. Those who thought to give you bad advice will get their deserts!'

¹⁵ 'Rex igitur iam adolescere incipiebat, palatio autem praesidentes sibimet ipsis tantum consulebant, nec regem quisquam, quod bonum iustumque esset, edocebat, ideoque in regno multa inordinate fiebant', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 59. See also Bruno of Merseburg, *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. Lohmann, p. 13.

strengthening the German realm, restoring Henry ‘to the command of his paternal right’.¹⁶ Similar motives emerge for Alexander III’s removal from councillors and guardians in both 1255 and 1257. The cross-border landholders Robert de Ros and John de Balliol received criticism that, under their watch, the Scottish kingdom and the king and queen had been unfaithfully and dishonourably restrained.¹⁷ A much later source described the ‘kidnappers’ in 1255 as fired by zeal for the protection of the state (‘zelo rei publice’).¹⁸ When Alexander was kidnapped a second time in 1257, aged sixteen, the Melrose chronicler presented concern for the boy’s soul as the driving motivation since the king needed to be removed from his excommunicated counsellors.¹⁹ The child’s age to all intents and purposes prevented accusations of bad governance being levelled at him. Additionally, his immaturity further encouraged the idea that royal authority was in some way separable from the king’s body. Magnates needed a method of demonstrating the boy’s kingship as well as physical possession of his person. According to Berthold of Reichenau, the lance and other royal insignia were taken with Henry IV when he was kidnapped.²⁰ The Scottish magnates removed Alexander III’s great seal with him in 1257, possibly taking it by force.²¹ Seizing royal regalia or the king’s seal demonstrated the forethought of magnate action. Magnates needed the signs of power which symbolised the status of kingship to set themselves up as the legitimate guardians of king and

¹⁶ ‘Servasti, venerabilis pater, relictum tuis manibus puerum, firmasti regnum, restituisti pupillo paterni iuris imperium’, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Reindel, iii, no. 99, p. 99. See Jonathan Rotondo-McCord, ‘Body snatching and episcopal power: Archbishop Anno II of Cologne (1056–75), burials in St Mary’s *ad gradus*, and the minority of King Henry IV’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 297–312 (at p. 299), who discusses this letter.

¹⁷ ‘accusantur graviter Robertus de Ros et Johannes de Bailloil, quod videlicet regnum Scotiae, et regem et reginam, quorum tutela eis fuit commissa, infideliter et inhoneste contracterent’, *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 501. See Alan Young, ‘Noble families and political factions in the reign of Alexander III’, in *Scotland in the reign of Alexander III, 1249–1286*, ed. Reid, pp. 1–30 (at pp. 16–17), for the role of these landholders as embassies between England and Scotland.

¹⁸ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Watt et al., v, p. 316.

¹⁹ The counsellors had been excommunicated following a dispute over the election to the bishopric of St Andrews. See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 58v.; translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, p. 589.

²⁰ ‘Henricum regem cum lancea et aliis imperii insignibus a matre imperatrice vi arripuit’, Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken [Erste Fassung]*, ed. Robinson, p. 194; translated in *Eleventh-century Germany*, ed. Robinson, p. 104. See Struve, ‘Lampert von Hersfeld, der Königsraub von Kaiserswerth’, p. 255. See also Timothy Reuter, ‘The making of England and Germany, 850–1050: points of comparison and difference’, in *Medieval politics and modern mentalities*, ed. Nelson, pp. 284–99 (at pp. 290–1), for the particular importance of the regalia in Germany as representing an abstract notion of ‘kingdom’.

²¹ ‘Sigillum quoque regis magnum, quod magister Robertus Stutewill, decanus Dunkeldensis, vicecancellarius Ricardi episcopi Dunkeldensis, portavit, violenter abstulerunt’, *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 297. See Shirley, i, nos. 93, 101, pp. 112, 119–20, and Powicke, ‘The chancery during the minority of Henry III’, pp. 230–1, for anxiety regarding the safety of Henry III’s Great Seal following William Marshal’s death.

kingdom. Chroniclers thus provide valuable clues to suggest that the body of the king was not always sufficient to control the means of governing the kingdom.

Kidnapping a child king relied on a co-operative dialogue between magnates who were disenchanted with the *status quo* and less on opportunism, unlike other forms of magnate violence and dispute resolution which I will analyse in Chapter Eight. A clear process of magnate collaboration and counsel lay behind a child king's removal from his guardians, showing again how an individual's guardianship of king and kingdom crucially relied on co-operation. German ecclesiastical and lay magnates had already met to discuss their concern for disorder during Henry IV's childhood and determine how to proceed.²² Their immediate thought may not have been to forcibly remove the boy from his mother but, after consultation, this was the agreed course of action. The magnates had to wait for the right time to enact their plan since it relied on the provision of a boat on the Rhine.²³ Likewise, several French barons met at Corbeil in 1228 to discuss their discontent before attempting a planned ambush. Their capture of Louis IX would have placed the king under their guardianship and lordship.²⁴ Although the citizens of Paris thwarted their plan, the assembly of discontented magnates knew that their route to controlling the kingdom had to be through gaining custody of the boy king. The change to Alexander's custody arrangements in 1255 had a similar background, but it was a steady stream of communication to the English king which brought events to a climax rather than the airing of grievances in a magnate assembly. If we are to believe Matthew Paris, a contemporary chronicler well-informed regarding Anglo-Scottish relations, Henry III had received appeals from his vassals holding land in Scotland, as well as complaints from his own daughter, Queen Margaret, regarding her treatment and, by extension, the treatment of the young king of Scots.²⁵ Parental concern for Margaret's safety may have been particularly heightened in the early 1250s since Henry and his queen, Eleanor of Provence, had recently suffered the deaths of two sons

²² 'Quapropter Anno archiepiscopus Coloniensis, duces et optimates regni crebra conventicula faciebant, quid de hoc agendum foret anxie nimis ad invicem conquirebant', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 59. See Airlie, 'Assemblies in early medieval Germany', pp. 29-46, especially p. 45, and Timothy Reuter, 'Assembly politics in western Europe from the eighth century to the twelfth', in *Medieval politics and modern mentalities*, ed. Nelson, pp. 193-216, for the importance of magnate meetings in the early and central Middle Ages.

²³ Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld, der Königsraub von Kaiserswerth', p. 251.

²⁴ 'Pour ceste chose murmurerent les barons et se mistrent en aguet comment il porroient avoir le roy par devers euls et tenir lei en leur garde et en leur seignorie', *Les grandes chroniques*, ed. Viard, vii, p. 39. See also Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188.

²⁵ *Chron. maiora*, v, pp. 501-2; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Watt et al., v, pp. 316-7.

at birth or in early infancy.²⁶ Despite deeply disapproving of Alexander's kidnap in 1255, the Melrose chronicler similarly attributed the root cause to counsel (or, in his eyes, 'conspiracy') between English and Scottish magnates.²⁷ Forcibly securing a child king's body may not have been the first option mooted by disgruntled magnates but, in due course, they came to see it as the only solution. In each case, a small circle of men attempted to bring about a change in government to replace those who had ease of access to royal power.²⁸

The renegotiation of guardianship following a kidnap attempt put pressure on the development of more collaborative arrangements, especially when the charge against a guardian had been their reliance on too intimate an inner circle (an allegation often directed at queen mothers, as I will show later in this chapter).²⁹ Lampert of Hersfeld suggested that Anno had to concede some authority in the management of the kingdom to bishops in their dioceses after 1062, although the archbishop still occupied the principal position alongside Henry IV.³⁰ An unusually long list of names in the intervention clause of a document from 1062 further demonstrates the change in personnel around the young king and the co-operative intention for the management of his kingdom.³¹ Archbishops Sigfrid of Mainz and Anno of Cologne led the list, but the appearance of Otto, duke of Bavaria, and Ekbert I, count of Brunswick – two magnates prominently involved in Henry's kidnap – indicates a meeting of princes and prelates to settle provisions for

²⁶ Margaret Howell, 'The children of King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence', *TCE*, 4 (1992), 57-72 (at p.72).

²⁷ 'de anglia comes claudrocest(ri)e dict(us) v. de clara p(ro) cui(us) (con)siliu(m) p(re)dicta(m) p(er)ditione(m) p(er)pet(ra)uerant cu(m) armata manu', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 57r.

²⁸ Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld, der Königsraub von Kaiserswerth', pp. 254, 258.

²⁹ See below, pp. 230-2.

³⁰ 'Episcopus, ut invidiam facti mitigaret, ne videlicet privatae gloriae potius quam communis commodi ratione haec admisisse videretur, statuit, ut episcopus quilibet, in cuius diocesi rex dum temporis moraretur, ne quid detrimenti res publica pateretur, provideret et causis, quae ad regem delatae fuissent, potissimum responderet', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 82. Anno begins to appear with more frequency in Henry IV's documents from 13 July 1062. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 88, pp. 114-5. See also Chapter Five, p. 205.

³¹ 'qualiter nos divinam fenerantes mercedem pro felici remedio anime dive memorie patris nostri proque interventu venerabilium [archiepiscoporum Sig]ifridi Magontiensis, Annonis Coloniensis, Gebehardi Salzburgensis, Adalberti Premensis, episcoporum etiam Adalberonis Wirziburgensis, Elenhardi F[ri]s[in]g[en]s[is], Burc]hardi Aluerstet[en]s[is], Ottonis ducis Bauuariorum nec non comitis Ekkiberti aliorumque fidelium nostrorum', *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 89, p. 116.

the kingdom after the events of Kaiserswerth.³² More obvious evidence of a conciliar approach to guardianship came in Alexander III's reign in 1255 and 1257. On both occasions, the king's kidnap led to a reorganisation of the membership of his guardianship council.³³ The English king, or representatives sent on his behalf, provided additional input. As in Germany, royal documents reflected the political impact of Alexander's kidnap. Names of magnates disappeared from witness attestations then reappeared again as factional divisions at court shifted depending on who controlled the body of the king.³⁴ Since magnates viewed kidnap as a justifiable means of renegotiating control of the king and kingdom, the act of kidnap essentially reinforced the legitimacy of child kingship. It was only when the king was a child that his body could be seized by magnates from within the same kingdom without permanently damaging or challenging the notion of kingship itself.³⁵

Although abducting the child king was not a challenge to kingship itself, the king's removal from his guardians caused unease among some contemporaries. Benzo of Alba suggested that the actions of the German princes displeased Christ himself.³⁶ Disapproval stemmed from the fact that the circumstances of child kingship removed the need for royal sanction of magnate actions. Henry's removal from his mother in 1062 had been conducted in secrecy and without royal consent.³⁷ By contrast, a few years after Henry came of age, Archbishop Adalbert's removal from royal counsel took place with the king's full knowledge.³⁸ Contemporary condemnation of kidnap was mainly due to its violent nature, but aristocratic minorities in the

³² 'Coloniensis episcopus, communicatis cum Ecberto comite et cum Ottone duce Bawariorum consiliis', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80, for the involvement of Otto and Ekbert. See *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127, for Otto's role in the kidnap. Count Ekbert appeared more frequently in Henry's diplomas after 1062 (see, for example, his appearance as one of Henry's *fideles* in *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, nos. 112, 113). So, too, did Duke Otto (see nos. 97, 113, 204).

³³ *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 60-9, 70-5. See Chapter Five, pp. 160-9, for a discussion of conciliar guardianship.

³⁴ *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1. I shall provide two pertinent examples. Firstly, Robert de Ros, although a regular witness to Alexander's acts from 1250, does not appear in any attestations between 1255 and 1262. Secondly, the first three secular men named in the list of those removed from Alexander's council in September 1255 – Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, and William, earl of Mar – do not attest any acts between 1255 and mid-1257 but then reappear in attestations from 1258.

³⁵ Grant, 'Blanche of Castile and Normandy', p. 121.

³⁶ 'O domine Iesu Christe, cui non placet hoc divortium', Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII*, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH SS rer. Germ. 65 (Hannover, 1996), pp. 84-656 (at p. 236).

³⁷ *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 51; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, pp. 190-1.

³⁸ *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 53.

central Middle Ages could attract far greater violence than instances of child kingship in the same period. Duke William II of Normandy's early rule was punctuated by deaths, in some cases murders, of close counsellors and guardians, and his own life was put in danger on at least one occasion.³⁹ Magnates involved in kidnapping a king often had to extricate themselves from accusations of treacherous action afterwards. Those responsible for a child king's kidnap had a vested interest in presenting their actions as legitimate behaviour rather than an instrument of rebellion. Although Lampert of Hersfeld accused the kidnappers in 1062 of violating the royal dignity, Archbishop Anno managed to soften the criticism towards his actions by insisting that he had acted for the common good rather than for his personal glory.⁴⁰ Importantly, Lampert wrote his account of Henry's abduction shortly after the adult ruler's deposition as king in 1076.⁴¹ The shadow of these later events influenced Lampert's portrayal of the kidnap's damage to Henry's royal dignity. Whilst actions were still subject to scrutiny, magnates presented kidnap as a legitimate action retrospectively and so justified their part in the event. The nature of instances of kidnap involving child kings and the motives for these attempts suggest a striking departure from cases involving the capture of adult kings. When adults were seized it was usually because of warfare or on grounds of personal enmity. William I, king of Scots, was taken at Alnwick by English forces in July 1174, and Leopold of Austria's men seized Richard I of England outside Vienna in 1192. These captures were more opportunistic than the kidnap cases involving child kings. Adult captives usually faced imprisonment, often abroad, as well as ransom demands, a period of negotiation, and settlements of freedom.⁴² These features are lacking from the kidnaps of child kings. Henry IV and Alexander III were not abducted by foreigners but by men seeking to become their guardians and advisers. Appropriating the physical body of a child king was not a challenge to his kingship, as would have been the case if an adult king were captured or 'kidnapped'.

³⁹ William of Jumièges, *The gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed./trans. van Houts, ii, pp. 92-5. See also Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 50-3, 58-63, and Matthew Bennett, 'Violence in eleventh-century Normandy: feud, warfare and politics', in *Violence and society in the early medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 126-40 (at p. 129), for the events of Duke William's childhood and adolescence. See David Bates, 'The conqueror's adolescence', *ANS*, 25 (2002), 1-18 (at pp. 7-8), and Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 62-3, for personal danger towards William.

⁴⁰ 'Caetera multitudo per terram subsequitur, criminantibus plurimis, quod regia maiestas violata suique impos facta foret', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 80.

⁴¹ *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 32, where Robinson argues convincingly for reading this passage as a prefiguring of Henry's deposition in 1076.

⁴² Patrick Topping, 'Harald Maddadson, earl of Orkney and Caithness, 1139-1206', *SHR*, 62 (1983), 105-20 (at p. 107), for King Eystein of Norway's kidnap of Harald in 1151.

As far as we know, the mothers of child kings were never involved in attempts to kidnap their own children. On the contrary, they were more likely to be the person from whom the child was removed. This distinguishes the kidnap of child kings from the abduction of non-royal children which, at least in England, mothers often carried out to re-gain custody from a tenurial guardian.⁴³ A queen mother's care of her child and his kingdom provided an additional gendered impetus for magnates to remove the boy, especially as the king progressed towards his maturity. Henry IV and Louis IX were both around the age of twelve at the attempt to remove them from their mothers.⁴⁴ Bonizo of Sutri (c.1045-c.1091) explicitly suggested that the German magnates viewed Agnes's involvement in royal rule as unbecoming because they considered Henry to have already reached maturity.⁴⁵ Bonizo was mistaken, but his opinion is telling of contemporary attitudes which viewed a queen mother's involvement in the care and control of her male child as less appropriate the closer the child came towards the end of 'pueritia'. To understand why women were more likely to face an attempt to remove them from their guardianship position, I turn now to consider the gendered hostility queen mothers encountered and how this affected ideas regarding their suitability for guardianship and the opposition directed at their care of king and kingdom.

ii. Suitability of mothers as guardians

A queen mother's prominence in exercising royal power for her son as guardian easily attracted hostility.⁴⁶ Women in positions of authority were vulnerable to specific attacks by magnates based on their gender and foreign origin. Attacks of a xenophobic and sexual nature intended to discredit the person ruling on a child king's behalf were far more frequent when his mother was guardian. Propaganda against Blanche of Castile claimed that she expended the royal treasury on her family in Spain and delayed the king's marriage for her own sake to hold on to

⁴³ Such cases are discussed in Menuge, 'The medieval mother as guardian', p. 81.

⁴⁴ 'Rex igitur iam adolescere incipiebat', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 59, for emphasis on Henry's entry into adolescence by 1062. For the importance of the age of twelve in the male life cycle: Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, pp. 22, 27; Orme, *Medieval children*, pp. 216, 322; William F. Macle hose, 'Health and science', in *A cultural history of childhood and family*, ed. Wilkinson, pp. 160-78 (at p. 173).

⁴⁵ 'tum quia eorum dominus adultam iam videbatur ascendisse etatem', Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. Dümmler, pp. 595-6; translated in *Papal reform*, trans. Robinson, p. 209.

⁴⁶ Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, p. 23, for similar polemical contemporary propaganda against noble and aristocratic women. See Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, especially chapter five, who sets out biblical, patristic, and legal arguments against female rule and political power.

power.⁴⁷ Foreign natal origins were an excuse not to trust women.⁴⁸ In the eyes of Meinhard, Bamberg's *magister scholarum*, Agnes of Poitou's age, sex, nature, and native land ('*patria sua*') were reasons to mistrust her.⁴⁹ Agnes's French birth was the apogee for Meinhard's misgivings, outdoing even the fact that she was a woman. Criticism of Agnes's alleged alien influence at court can be traced back to the time of her marriage to Henry III in 1043.⁵⁰ Yet we should avoid exaggerating the 'foreign' identity of queen mothers without firm evidence to support this. Poulet's claim that several chroniclers recorded how Anne of Kiev was pushed out of a role alongside her son because her command of the French language was 'suspect' is unsubstantiated and must be rejected.⁵¹ Poulet does, however, raise a pertinent linguistic point. Research by Miriam Büttner has shown how important language acquisition was for princesses, both culturally and diplomatically.⁵² Their families, or the households in which they were raised, would have begun their language education at least in Latin, possibly in other languages. Blanche's mother, Eleanor of England, would have been raised speaking French herself and might have spoken French with her children at the Castilian court, ensuring they were taught their mother's natal language. Furthermore, queens who arrived at a foreign court before their mid-teens, as Blanche did, would certainly have achieved fluency in their new language after several years.⁵³ Blanche had been in the French kingdom for over a quarter of a century when Louis VIII died. Although Agnes and Anne had lived in their marital kingdoms for over a decade prior to their husbands' deaths – probably at least a third of their lives – they had left

⁴⁷ Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français*, i, pp. 165-6; Richard, *Saint Louis*, ed. Lloyd and trans. Birrell, p. 16. See Olivier-Martin, *Les régence et la majorité des rois*, p. 59, who argues that the charge that Blanche was a foreigner was entirely unjust. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 82, who disputes claims that Blanche lacked friends or family in France due to her foreign origins.

⁴⁸ János M. Bak, 'Roles and functions of queens in Árpáadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.)', in *Medieval queenship*, ed. Parsons, pp. 13-24 (at pp. 14-16), for anti-foreign rhetoric against thirteenth-century queens in Hungary. Men also faced suspicion because of their natal origins but this was never connected as explicitly to their guardianship of a child king. For this see Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 14-41. See also Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 261, who identifies divisions arising between Henry III's native-born counsellors, those who considered England as their homeland, and those who were neither of the above.

⁴⁹ 'Est utrimque etas suspecta, hinc etiam sexus, neque solum sexus, sed etiam natura, neque natura tantum, sed etiam patria sua. Nam mater quidem tot nuptias numerat quot natales dies', *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 71, pp. 118-9.

⁵⁰ Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 5th edn, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1855-88), ii, Dokumente A. 10, p. 718, for a letter from Abbot Siegfried of Gorze to Abbot Poppo of Stablo in 1043 referencing the negative influence of Frankish customs at the German court.

⁵¹ Poulet, 'Capetian women and the regency', p. 106. None of the sources Poulet cites as evidence mention anything regarding Anne's command of the French language.

⁵² Büttner, 'The education of queens', especially pp. 230-57.

⁵³ Büttner, 'The education of queens', p. 257.

their natal kingdoms in different language zones (French and Kievan Rus' respectively) at an older age than Blanche and spent fewer years abroad. The linguistic transition from romance to Germanic language for Agnes, or Slavic to romance for Anne, may have been less straightforward than Blanche's change between two romance languages, Spanish and French. A queen mother's fluency by the time of her husband's death should not be doubted, but the process of language learning and the multilingualism of queen mothers may have served to underline otherness, fuelling hostility against them.

Gender alone was never sufficient grounds to prevent a queen mother from receiving support to rule with her son, as I have shown in earlier chapters, but, once she was guardian of king and kingdom, there is no doubt that contemporaries could use her gender to express doubts about her suitability.⁵⁴ Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, a polemicist who first argued for Matilda of Canossa's female right to military and political leadership before later unleashing an assault against women in positions of power, claimed that it was Agnes's 'womanly audacity which caused her to contravene law (or custom)'.⁵⁵ A woman acting as Agnes did was unnatural in her behaviour, especially to monastic communities. In an appeal to Bishop Gunther in 1060 or 1061 regarding Agnes's decision to return an abbey to the abbess of Bergen, the monks of Bamberg claimed that, whilst it was not of much glory to conquer a woman, Gunther should not allow himself to be conquered by one, since this would be a most extreme insult.⁵⁶ David Hay has shown how the gendered criticism of Agnes's guardianship was inextricably linked to the ideals of the Investiture Controversy.⁵⁷ The idea that a woman had the power to invest clergy and involve herself in a papal election, even in her son's name as Agnes did in 1061 after Pope Nicholas II's death, deeply troubled some of the reformers.⁵⁸ Adam of Bremen expanded this negative

⁵⁴ See especially Chapter Three, pp. 107-10, for support for queen mothers at their husbands' deathbeds.

⁵⁵ 'Que multa contra ius feminea faciebat audacia', Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. Dümmler, p. 593; translation adapted from *Papal reform*, trans. Robinson, p. 201. Robinson cross references this with Bonizo's *Liber de vita christiana*, VII.29, pp. 249-50, which is equally disparaging towards women rulers. See also Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, pp. 199, 211-12, for Bonizo's polemical positions regarding women.

⁵⁶ 'Non equidem ita multum est glorie, si feminam vincas; attamen vinci a femina, id enimvero extreme contumelie est', *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 61, p. 109. See Ranger of Lucca, *Vita Anselmi Lucensis episcopi*, eds. E. Sackur, G. Schwartz and B. Schmeidler, MGH SS 30 part 2 (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 1152-1307 (at pp. 1241-2, lines 4051-6), for a similar argument in a letter from Anselm of Lucca to Henry IV regarding his defeats at the hands of Matilda of Canossa.

⁵⁷ Hay, *The military leadership of Matilda of Canossa*, p. 207.

⁵⁸ *Annales Romani*, ed. Pertz, pp. 470, 472; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, pp. 190-2.

view of Agnes's rule to the secular princes, claiming they were indignant both because the authority of a woman constrained them and because a boy ruled over them.⁵⁹ Similar worries surfaced in thirteenth-century France with regard to Blanche and Louis IX, as the Tours chronicler indicates.⁶⁰ These passages reveal a consistent gendered reaction across this period against women with influence over men and a reaction against the very concept of a child king and the lack of adult masculine power. In Blanche of Castile's case, it was her control of the kingdom which predominantly attracted baronial hostility and grief ('duel').⁶¹ From the late twelfth century, when, at a seigneurial level, lordship prevailed over kinship, this feature of aristocratic wardship further served to weaken a queen's guardianship at royal level. Magnates challenged the idea that the queen's physical custody of her son should extend to the administration of the kingdom, and they had contemporary legal precedents to contest a mother's involvement in her son's inheritance.⁶²

Doubts regarding suitability for the task of guardianship affected men as well as women even if a queen mother's involvement in royal governance was more likely to be disputed. Contemporary misgivings concerning Anno of Cologne's legitimacy to act as Henry IV's guardian centred on the way in which he had secured his guardianship, namely through violently kidnapping the king from his mother.⁶³ One chronicler claimed Anno succeeding in usurping the government of the royal court over several years.⁶⁴ The accusation of usurping a position as the king's guardian was a serious one, but it was a charge only levelled at male magnates. In

⁵⁹ 'Indignantes enim principes aut muliebri potestate constringi aut infantili ditone regi', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 176; translated in *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschan, p. 141.

⁶⁰ 'Regno etenim Franciae sic in manu mulieris et pueri derelicto', 'Ex chronico Turonensi', *RHGF* 18, p. 318.

⁶¹ 'Dont li quens Pières de Bretagne et li quens de la Marche et pluisour autre baron de Franche, qui duel avoient de chou que la roine Blanche maintenoit le roiaume, commenchieient à gaster la terre le conte de Champagne, et assirent Kaourse', 'Extraits de la chronique attribuée a Baudoin d'Avesnes', *RHGF* 21, p. 162.

⁶² Vones-Liebenstein, 'Une femme gardienne du royaume?', p. 15, who suggests that Peter Mauclerc's opposition to Blanche's guardianship derived from his belief that the right of the seigneurial guardian, which he applied in his own territory of Brittany, should also apply to the king. See Chapter Five, pp. 151-60.

⁶³ Bruno of Merseburg, *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. Lohmann, p. 13; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 194; *Annales Weissenburgenses*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 51. See Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 353, and Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronico Virdunensi', *RHGF* 11, pp. 142-7 (at p. 146), for accounts which place less emphasis on the violent nature of the kidnap.

⁶⁴ 'regalis curiae providentiam sibi per annos aliquot usurparet', *Triumphus Sancti Remacii*, ed. Wattenbach, p. 435.

England, William Marshal's successful appropriation of Henry III's guardianship did not go entirely unchallenged.⁶⁵ A party representing the interests of Ranulf (III) (*d.*1232), earl of Chester, approached the papacy casting doubts on William's fitness for office based on his old age.⁶⁶ Pope Honorius III relayed their concerns to the legate Guala in July 1217, although the suggestion that Ranulf should be appointed as co-guardian was left to Guala's discretion.

The idea that queen mothers acting as vice-regal guardians went against some form of natural order helps to contextualise the repetitive recurrence of slurs concerning the sexual transgressions of maternal guardians, which across two centuries affected both Agnes and Blanche. Authors who reported these stories often openly acknowledged them as propaganda or rumour, but a more serious anxiety from men at court regarding hierarchy and preferential treatment underlined these tales. Lampert of Hersfeld claimed that Agnes's close reliance on the intimate advice of Bishop Henry of Augsburg attracted the rumour ('fama') of a scandalous liaison.⁶⁷ Lampert rationalised the offence of the German princes, 'for they saw that, because of private affection for a single individual, their own authority – which should have been the most powerful in the State – had been almost obliterated'.⁶⁸ Other authors confirm Bishop Henry's prominence in Agnes's counsels without any sexual innuendo.⁶⁹ Recent modern commentators have even claimed erroneously that Agnes's reliance on the bishop's counsels led her to appoint him 'sub-regent' after she had taken the veil towards the end of 1061.⁷⁰ This seems a highly unlikely course of events of events. The sole evidence for Bishop Henry's prominence at the royal court after 1061 is a diploma dated 19 March 1062, where the fact that

⁶⁵ See Chapter Three, pp. 113-4, for William Marshal's appropriation of Henry III's guardianship.

⁶⁶ 'iam gravioris aetatis affectus', Shirley, i, p. 532; *The acts and letters of the Marshal family*, ed. Crouch, p. 14; Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 16.

⁶⁷ 'Imperatrix, nutriens adhuc filium suum, regni negocia per se ipsam curabat, utebaturque plurimum consilio Heinrici Augustensis episcopi. Unde nec suspicionem incesti amoris effugere potuit, passim fama iactitante, quod non sine turpi commercio in tantam coaluissent familiaritatem', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 79; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, pp. 80-1.

⁶⁸ *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 81. 'Ea res principes graviter offendebat, videntes scilicet, quod propter unius privatum amorem sua, quae potissimum in re publica valere debuerat, auctoritas pene oblitterata fuisset', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 79.

⁶⁹ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia*, eds. Hofmeister and Lammers, p. 488; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 185.

⁷⁰ Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, pp. 372-6, especially p. 376. See also Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, pp. 50-1, who follows Black-Veldtrup in arguing for the bishop's position as regent.

the act detailed a gift to Augsburg church easily explains his presence.⁷¹ The resentment Agnes faced as guardian probably stemmed from a multiplicity of reasons but too close contact with one man for advice attracted the notice, criticism, and jealousy of other magnates who felt excluded.⁷² Hence it sometimes led to their implication in scandalous rumours and court gossip. Contemporaries similarly claimed Blanche of Castile was involved in sexual liaisons with the papal legate Romano Frangipani (*d.*1243) and with Count Theobald of Champagne, son of her cousin Blanche of Navarre, again signalling the suspicion of too close reliance on one counsellor or magnate.⁷³ Matthew Paris's love of scandal led him to repeat the 'unspeakable and perverse rumour' ('rumor irrecitabilis ac sinister') regarding Blanche and Romano twice in his *Chronica maiora*.⁷⁴ This particular slur began to be circulated following Blanche's clash with students at the University of Paris; a business in which Romano was also closely involved. As with Agnes's relationship with the bishop of Augsburg, the accusation that sexual impropriety had occurred with a religious man was a means to draw attention to the 'unnatural' nature of a woman in Blanche's position.⁷⁵ Rather than devoting time to the virtually impossible task of attempting to determine whether these accusations had any basis in reality, we should interpret them instead as a commentary on the vulnerability of women (and religious men) in positions of power and influence when a child was king. Maternal guardians relied on ecclesiastical men for counsel but the recourse to one man above all others created a situation in which sexual misdemeanours could be insinuated as the best way to shame both parties involved and to realign power relationships.⁷⁶ Accusations tainted the men since their continence was brought into question. Queens also suffered from these allegations, which

⁷¹ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 85, pp. 110-1. See Sansterre, 'Les dernières années de l'impératrice Agnès de Poitou', p. 163 n.3, who suggests Black-Veldtrup's reasoning is 'plus ingénieuse que convaincante'. I would agree.

⁷² See Struve, 'Lampert von Hersfeld, der Königsraub von Kaiserswerth', p. 253, and Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, p. 30, for reasons contributing to the hostility towards Agnes.

⁷³ Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français*, i, pp. 155-59, 171. See Rita Lejeune, 'La courtoisie et la littérature au temps de Blanche de Castille et de Louis IX', in *Le siècle de Saint Louis*, pp. 181-96 (at p. 188); Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 80, 86, 94-5, 99.

⁷⁴ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 119 and, for the second appearance of the story, p. 196. See Rebecca Reader, 'Matthew Paris and women', *TCE*, 7 (1997), 153-9, for Matthew's attitude to women more generally. See also Minstrel of Reims, *Récits*, ed. de Wailly, p. 98, who went one step further and claimed that Blanche stripped naked in front of the court to prove she was not pregnant.

⁷⁵ Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England*, paperback edn (Oxford, 2001), p. 20, for similar slurs about Queen Emma of England and her relationship with Bishop Ælfwine of Winchester.

⁷⁶ *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 119, where the author claimed the rumours regarding Blanche and the papal legate were spread by Romano's rivals, 'aemuli'.

undermined perceptions of their capability to work with the aristocracy in collective decision-making.

Although it was the gender of the king's guardian which enabled such stories to be circulated about queen mothers and their close advisors, the underlying concerns regarding hierarchy and access to royal authority were common worries when a child was king, particularly in eleventh-century Germany. One of the most serious tests to royal authority during Henry IV's minority occurred during Anno's guardianship in 1063 when disputes over ecclesiastical hierarchy led to fighting in the king's presence in Goslar church.⁷⁷ Later in Henry's reign, German bishops refused to provide their customary 'servicia' to the king because they perceived Adalbert to be isolating the king from other advisors.⁷⁸ In England, when William Marshal was dying, he entrusted Henry III and the kingdom to the pope (and to Pandulph, Guala's replacement as papal legate), because he was afraid that the barons of the realm would squabble among themselves for the prime guardianship position.⁷⁹ Whilst most contemporary opposition towards queen mothers had a gendered (and, in some cases, clearly misogynistic) basis, the uncertainty surrounding a child on the throne heightened concerns as to who gained access to him, and thus control over royal authority. Gendered concerns regarding a queen mother's ability to wield royal authority on her son's behalf, and attacks on women who did so, had little basis in the queen's actual rulership capabilities, but these concerns created an additional barrier to a woman's involvement in the administration of the kingdom when her son was king.

iii. Maternal exclusion and departure from court

There was an inherent contradiction between the uneasiness with which some men viewed a mother holding political power for her son and the discomfort felt when the same child was physically removed from maternal care. Contemporaries emphasised the grief experienced by both Agnes of Poitou and Henry following the events at Kaiserswerth.⁸⁰ The spontaneous

⁷⁷ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, pp. 82-3; Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 196.

⁷⁸ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 100. See also Arnold, *Medieval Germany*, pp. 162-3.

⁷⁹ 'E se je le bailloie as uns, / Icel sachiez, n'en dotez mie, / Li autre en avreient envie', *History of William Marshal*, ed. Holden, ii, pp. 404-5. See Chapter Five, p. 173.

⁸⁰ *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 59, for the claim that Henry was 'rex tristis' when separated from his mother; Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV*, ed. Seyffert, pp. 236-8, who implies Agnes's sadness at the loss of her son.

uprising of some Paris inhabitants in 1228 saved Louis from kidnap and demonstrated that popular support was in Blanche of Castile's favour, at least in the city.⁸¹ In this section I will discuss the exclusion of mothers from their sons' guardianship arrangements and maternal departure from court. Considering the vitriolic gendered opposition to maternal guardianship and the violent attempts to remove both Agnes and Blanche from positions alongside their sons, we can start to understand the extent to which magnate opposition may have restricted maternal action, or dissuaded mothers from striving for a place in royal governance. This may have been especially true for mothers who had limited access to their son and lacked support at court or ecclesiastical backing. They were left with little choice in the path which they took as royal widows. Nevertheless, the mothers of child kings were not passive spectators. In some cases, their activities clearly demonstrated the liberty with which they could act. Even when it appeared that their agency had been curtailed – for example when Agnes was removed from power – a closer look reveals a more complex story.

Agnes of Poitou's decision to accept the new balance of power after Henry IV's kidnap was a politically measured response emphasising that the empress had her son's best interests at heart. Until recently, historians interpreted Agnes's lack of retaliation to Henry's forced removal as spiritually-motivated, but we need to reconsider this version of events. A letter Agnes wrote sometime after November 1061 to the convent of Fruttuaria and its abbot, Albert, spoke of the empress's longing to visit their community and her desire to be in the monks' prayers.⁸² The letter, which Wilhelm von Giesebrecht dated to 1062, was copied into the abbey's cartulary in the seventeenth century alongside other royal documents for Fruttuaria.⁸³ This letter has been taken as evidence of Agnes's desire to retreat to a spiritual life, and the reason she not only accepted the new state of events but even welcomed the kidnap when it came.⁸⁴ Yet, Stefan

⁸¹ 'Et me conta que des Monleheri estoit le chemin plein de gens a armes et sanz armes jusques a Paris, et que touz croient a Nostre Seigneur que il li donnast bone vie et longue, et le deffendit et gardast de ses ennemis', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188, who records that Louis still remembered the people lining the road from Montlhéry to Paris to show their support for the king (and thus, one assumes, support for his mother with him).

⁸² 'Nec minimum desiderium est mihi ueniendi ad uos, de quibus comperi, quia uestra intercessio certa salus est... et tu, pater bone, diligenter commenda me spiritalioribus fratribus de coenobiis atque cellis, ut faciant me participem in orationibus et ieiuniis atque omnibus benefactis suis', Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', p. 424. Translated at *Epistolae*, <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/127.html> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁸³ Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, iii, Dokumente A. 1, p. 1240.

⁸⁴ Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', pp. 422-3; Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Kaiserin Agnes*, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 52 (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 78-83.

Weiss's convincing re-dating of Agnes's letter to Fruttuaria to March 1065 encourages a reconsideration of the notion that the empress's spiritual longing stemmed directly from her son's kidnap.⁸⁵ Furthermore, most modern scholars now follow Berthold of Reichenau in linking the consecration of Speyer cathedral and Agnes's taking of the veil, agreeing that the empress had already taken the veil in October or November 1061.⁸⁶ Henry IV's mother had thus demonstrated for several months before the events at Kaiserswerth that her religious intentions were not in conflict with her care of king and kingdom. Taking the veil did not mean Agnes's removal from political power or restrictions to her ability to support her son on the throne.⁸⁷ Considering these two pieces of evidence – the later dating of the Fruttuaria letter and the empress's continuing involvement in political affairs after taking the veil – we must challenge the modern idea that Agnes's lack of retaliation to her son's kidnap was somehow both a political weakness and a betrayal of her maternal role.⁸⁸ The only contemporary evidence for Agnes's lack of action after Henry's abduction comes from Lampert of Hersfeld, who stated only that the empress did not complain about her son's kidnap. Lampert never suggested that this should be construed as a sign of weakness.⁸⁹ Spiritual motivations are not the only convincing explanation for Agnes's lack of retaliation to Henry's kidnap. Firstly, we cannot be certain how easily Agnes could access military support and, secondly, even if she could raise an army, going to war with Henry's kidnapers would destroy peace in his kingdom, something she had been working towards since his succession in 1056.⁹⁰ Far worse, retaliatory measures could have endangered her child's life or risked turning support from him to other potential contenders for the kingship.

⁸⁵ Stefan Weiss, 'Zur Datierung von Böhmer-Struve, *Reg. Imp.* 3,2 n. 354', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 49 (1993), 583-8; Struve, 'Zwei Briefe der Kaiserin Agnes', p. 416.

⁸⁶ 'Ecclesia Nemetensis dedicatur. Et Agna imperatrix, depositis regalibus vestimentis, sacro velamine circundata', Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken [Erste Fassung]*, ed. Robinson, p. 193; 'His temporibus Agna imperatrix, depositis regalibus vestimentis, velamine sacro sese Christo dedicavit, in opidum Fructerciam se contulit', Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken [Zweite Fassung]*, ed. Robinson, p. 193. See also Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, pp. 27, 91, 364, 367-72.

⁸⁷ Penelope D. Johnson, 'Agnes of Burgundy: an eleventh-century woman as monastic patron', *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), 93-104 (at p. 96), for a similar situation concerning Agnes of Poitou's mother, Agnes of Burgundy, who retired to the Abbaye-aux-Dames in Saintes sometime after 1053 but continued to remain politically active from the abbey until her death in 1068.

⁸⁸ See Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, p. 48, who similarly questions the previous reasons modern historians have provided for Agnes's lack of reaction.

⁸⁹ 'Imperatrix nec filium sequi nec iniurias suas iure gentium expostulare voluit, sed in propria recedens, privata deinceps aetatem agere proposuit', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, pp. 80-1.

⁹⁰ See Chapter Six, pp. 187-200, for Agnes's attempts to secure peace.

Contemporaries attributed a clear agency to Agnes, increasingly acknowledged by modern scholarship. According to the *Annals of Niederaltaich*, Agnes actively demanded to be assigned the veil.⁹¹ Agnes's agency in taking the veil and staying at the monastery of Fruttuaria contrasts with earlier cases in which royal women such as the Merovingian queen Bathild (*d.*680) were forced to retire to a monastery after acting as vice-regal guardians for their underage sons.⁹² Tilman Struve and Mechthild Black-Veldtrup have demonstrated how Agnes, despite being removed from her position as Henry IV's guardian, remained politically active in his kingdom for several years before making her entry into Rome at a time of her choosing in 1065.⁹³ Although the empress no longer acted as guardian or appeared in her son's acts as regularly after 1062, she occasionally appeared at court and continued to take part in meetings of the Hoftag, as we learn from her later interventions in Henry's diplomas and from a letter in October 1064 which noted Agnes's recall to court.⁹⁴ Agnes was not restored to her position as guardian but Henry's counsellors valued her knowledge and counsel.⁹⁵ This is a picture of a very active empress whose concern for her son and his kingdom extended to her decision to remain in Germany until he had been knighted and reached maturity in 1065.⁹⁶

Entering a monastery and taking the veil was a way in which women, especially widows, could remove themselves from the pressures of remarrying and retain some measure of control over their own future.⁹⁷ The empress was only in her early thirties when her husband, Emperor Henry III, died, leaving many fertile childbearing years and the inevitable pressure to take another husband. The fact that contemporaries such as Peter Damian and John of Fécamp praised Agnes for remaining unmarried until her death, demonstrating her commitment to Christ, could be read

⁹¹ 'sacrum sibi velamen postulavit imponi', *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. von Oefele, p. 59.

⁹² Janet L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', in *Politics and ritual in early medieval Europe*, ed. Nelson, pp. 1-48 (at pp. 22-3), who claims that Bathild's retirement to Chelles in 664/5 was not a voluntary move.

⁹³ Struve, 'Die Romreise der Kaiserin Agnes', 1-29, especially pp. 10-12, who dates the visit to Rome to May 1065 at the earliest. See also Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, pp. 34-5.

⁹⁴ For example, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, I, nos. 118-9, pp. 157-8. See also Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, especially pp. 21-36, for a detailed account of Agnes's movements after the events at Kaiserswerth, and pp. 92-5, for her itinerary between 1062 and 1066.

⁹⁵ 'verumtamen ut omnia nutu ipsius et consilio transigantur', *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 23, p. 218. See also Introduction, p. 46.

⁹⁶ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, MGH DD reg. imp. Germ. 6, i, no. 142, pp. 184-5, for Agnes's presence in Henry's diplomas at the time of his knighting.

⁹⁷ LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois', pp. 39-40, for another aristocratic woman who retired to a monastery (in this case Mercigny) but remained politically active during her years as a nun.

‘against the grain’ of a contemporary expectation that the queen mother would remarry.⁹⁸ Agnes was a worthy example of imitation for other noble wives since she had paid no heed to the ‘allurements of the flesh and the world’ and chose instead to serve Christ in chastity.⁹⁹ Blanche, in contrast to Agnes, may have had slightly greater freedom of choice due to her age. She was close to forty at Louis VIII’s death, an age after which few widows remarried.¹⁰⁰ Writing in the late 1970s, David Herlihy saw widowed women of high status who had children, like Blanche of Castile, as unlikely to remarry.¹⁰¹ Based on the cases of mothers whose sons were child kings, this does not seem to be the case.

A queen mother’s advice and support could be important for her son and the governance of his kingdom even after she had taken the veil or remarried. Three of the queen mothers discussed here remarried during their sons’ minorities, all of them in the fourth decade of their lives. Anne of Kiev was the only maternal guardian to remarry. She played a prominent role during the first year or two of Philip I’s reign, but after she married Raoul, count of Crépy and Valois, probably in 1062/3, the governance of the kingdom and guardianship of the young king were in the hands of Baldwin V of Flanders alone.¹⁰² (Re)marriage did not affect a male magnate’s access to guardianship in the same way. Hubert de Burgh married twice during Henry III’s minority but neither marriage had a negative impact on his guardianship position or attendance at court.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Struve, ‘Die Romreise der Kaiserin Agnes’, p. 23; Michel Parisse, ‘Des veuves au monastère’, in *Veuves et veuvage*, ed. Parisse, pp. 255-74 (at pp. 262-4).

⁹⁹ ‘Et quanquam nobilitas, opes et aetas ad repetendum thalamum te invitarent, noluit tamen cor tuum inclinare ad verba hominum pro veris falsa contententium; sed erecta sursum, accinctis lumbis stetit fortiter super pedes tuos, ut contemptis illecebris carnis et mundi servias Christo Domino in castitate, et caeteris nobilibus matronis praebeas dignum imitationis exemplum’, John of Fécamp, *Ad imperatricem viduam Henrici imperatoris, in opus precum variarum a se compositum ex Patribus*, PL 147 (Paris, 1879), col. 0453. My translation: ‘And although [as] a noble, wealth and age should have enticed you to be recalled into marriage, yet your heart, striving for truth, was unwilling to incline to the deceiving words of men; but it was raised on high, with girded loins you bravely stood firm upon your feet, to pay no heed to the allurements of the flesh and the world you serve Christ the lord in chastity, and you present a worthy example of imitation for the other noble wives’.

¹⁰⁰ Van Houts, ‘Remarriage and remembrance in Europe’, p. 222. There are notable exceptions of women re-marrying at this age, however, such as Matilda of Senlis who was at least 38 at her second marriage in 1113 to David I before he became king of Scots.

¹⁰¹ Herlihy, ‘The natural history of medieval women’, pp. 65-6.

¹⁰² See Verdon, ‘Les veuves des rois de France’, pp. 187-8, who compares Anne’s remarriage to the earlier ninth-century case of Eadgifu, second wife of Charles the Simple.

¹⁰³ In 1217, Hubert took as his second wife the woman King John had divorced, Isabella of Gloucester. She died on 14 October 1217 and Hubert remarried, for the third time, to Margaret, sister of Alexander II of Scotland. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 268, who notes that the only change in Hubert’s attestations after his marriage to Margaret in June 1221 was a brief pause between 6 October and 19 October 1221.

There is little evidence that the legal notion that a widow was only an appropriate guardian for her children whilst single circulated in eleventh-century French legal texts. It appeared in customary law codes from the end of the twelfth century and had been formalised in the French kingdom by the late thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Philip IV issued orders in October 1294 which stated that, if he should die, Joan of Navarre, his wife, would take control of their son unless she remarried.¹⁰⁵ In England, Henry I's coronation charter suggested that a widow could be removed from a position alongside her child by remarriage, an idea which continued in English law until the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Anne's remarriage removed her from her guardianship position but, as I have argued elsewhere, she was never expelled from access to the royal court, her son, or his favour.¹⁰⁷ Only three charters survive from the end of 1061 to the beginning of 1065 and the argument for Anne's 'expulsion' from court has been tenuously extrapolated from the fact that two of these charters do not mention her.¹⁰⁸ Anne witnessed several of Philip's acts later in his reign and her role after 1062 is comparable to Agnes's continued involvement at Henry IV's court.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it is intriguing that both women lost, or resigned, their guardianship positions during the same year. Sufficient evidence of the communications between the French and German courts at the time is unfortunately lacking, but Agnes was connected to the ruling family of Poitou and Aquitaine. Her mother, Agnes of Burgundy, took Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, as her second husband in 1032. Agnes of Poitou and Anne may have met when their husbands convened in 1056 at Ivois, on the border between Germany and France.¹¹⁰ We have no evidence of direct interactions between the queens in the decade after 1056, although during these years both women were in contact with Peter Damian.¹¹¹ Without further substantiation

¹⁰⁴ 'Très ancien coutumier', in *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. Tardif, i, pp. 10-11. See Chapter Five, pp. 157-8.

¹⁰⁵ Poulet, 'Capetian women and the regency', p. 110.

¹⁰⁶ 'dum corpus suum legitime seruauerit', *The laws of the kings of England*, ed./trans. Robertson, p. 278. Discussed in van Houts, 'Remarriage and remembrance in Europe', p. 228. In England, the Regency Bill of 1830 provided for Victoria's mother to become regent if Victoria succeeded to the throne under the age of 18 unless, during the lifetime of William IV, she married a Catholic or anyone who was not a 'natural-born subject' without William's consent.

¹⁰⁷ Ward, 'Anne of Kiev and a reassessment of maternal power', pp. 447-8.

¹⁰⁸ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 15, 16, and 17, pp. 45-51. See Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XIe siècle', *Revue des études slaves*, 57 (1985), 539-64 (at pp. 557-8), who wrongly claims Anne was expelled from Philip's court.

¹⁰⁹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, nos. 16 and 18, pp. 47-9, 51-4, for examples of Anne's continued involvement in Philip's acts after her remarriage.

¹¹⁰ See Chapter Two, p. 88. From the surviving record evidence, Agnes was certainly a constant presence at Henry III's side throughout 1056. Similarly, Anne seems regularly to have travelled with her husband.

¹¹¹ Peter wrote a letter sent in Pope Nicholas II's name to Anne in 1059. See *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Reindel, ii, no. 64, p. 227. Peter wrote to Agnes in 1063/65. See iii, no. 104, p. 141.

of communication between the women, or more precise confirmation of the timing of Anne's marriage to Raoul, we are left wondering whether it was hearing of Henry IV's forced removal from his mother that moved Anne to take a new husband and entrust her son and the kingdom to Baldwin's guardianship?

Ecclesiastical opinion often weighed into debates over a queen mother's remarriage, sometimes to the extent of appealing to a mother through her son, the king. A letter from Archbishop Gervais of Reims to Pope Alexander II in 1062 suggests that neither the church nor, apparently, the young king, agreed with Anne's decision to take Raoul as her second husband.¹¹² Raoul's repudiation of his previous wife, an heiress called Aliénor or Hannequez, in order to marry Anne aroused contemporary criticism and upset those in ecclesiastical circles, who had a responsibility to promote the sanctity of marriage.¹¹³ This is not enough evidence to argue that Anne's remarriage was 'highly controversial', however, since no other surviving evidence suggests that Anne's marital circumstances upset either Philip or other French magnates.¹¹⁴ Two centuries later, initial criticism of the remarriage of the former English queen Isabella of Angoulême to Hugh X of Lusignan and La Marche in France in 1220 was similar to Anne's in that disapproval was related to marital history. Both Isabella and Hugh had a history of previous betrothals which clouded contemporary views of their union, and the Anonymous of Béthune noted that their marriage caused much discussion.¹¹⁵ What is important in the present context is that Isabella's marriage to the younger Hugh did not please Henry III's counsellors because of their twofold lack of control over the situation. Firstly, Henry's guardians had little influence over Isabella in France. She had not gained consent from her son or his counsellors to her remarriage, she had simply informed them of the fact in a letter sent in early May 1220.¹¹⁶ This may have provoked the irritation of magnates around the king, especially those who had been prominent in the reissuing of Magna Carta in 1216. Like the earlier issue, 1216 Magna Carta

¹¹² 'Regina enim nostra Comiti Radulpho nupsit, quod factum Rex noster quam maxime dolet', 'Gervasii Remorum Archiepiscopi, epistola ad Alexandrum II Papam', *RHGF* 11, p. 499.

¹¹³ Bautier, 'Anne de Kiev', p. 555.

¹¹⁴ Föbel, 'The political traditions of female rulership', p. 79.

¹¹⁵ 'Puis desfist-elle che mariage ; si le prist-elle meismes à mari : dont grans parole fu', *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 206. Isabella had been betrothed to Hugh's father, Hugh IX (*d.* 1219), before her marriage to John and Hugh X had formerly been betrothed to Isabella and John's daughter, Joan. See also Elisabeth Carpentier, 'Les Lusignans entre Plantegenêts et Capétiens : 1200-1246', in *Isabelle d'Angoulême*, eds. Bianciotto, Favreau, and Skubiszewski, pp. 37-45 (at p. 42).

¹¹⁶ London, TNA, SC 1/3/182; *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 84, pp. 64-5, translated online at *Epistolae*, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/457.html> [accessed 25 July 2017].

emphasised that a widow was not to marry without the king's consent if she held land from him, or without her lord's consent if she held from another.¹¹⁷ Secondly, Henry's guardians could not dictate the actions of Isabella's new husband. A draft letter to Pope Honorius III and a letter to the men of Cognac from early November 1221 both verify that Henry had hoped to receive great help and counsel ('auxilium et consilium') from Hugh due to their kinship through marriage.¹¹⁸ Instead, quite the opposite was true. Hugh had attacked Henry by laying waste to his lands and besieging his castle of Merpins.¹¹⁹ A 1222 mandate emphasised the complaint that Hugh could not be controlled through Isabella's maternal relationship with the English king by appealing to Isabella 'in the bosom of a pious mother' to induce Hugh to fashion peace and love with Henry.¹²⁰ A queen mother's remarriage did not inevitably attract criticism. Marie de Coucy's remarriage before June 1257 to John of Brienne/Acre (*d.*1296), son of the king of Jerusalem, may have been in part to appease the Capetian king, Louis IX, since the Coucy lordship was facing royal reprisals after the actions of her younger brother, Enguerrand IV.¹²¹ Marie's remarriage did not bring her into conflict with leading Scottish magnates, possibly because cultivating the relationship between the Scottish and Capetian courts was favourable to Alexander's counsellors and offered a possible alternative to the English king's involvement.

¹¹⁷ 'Nulla vidua dstringatur ad se maritandum dum voluerit vivere sine marito, ita tamen quod securitatem faciat quod se non maritabit sine assensu nostro, si de nobis tenuerit, vel sine assensu domini sui de quo tenuerit, si de alio tenuerit', *Magna Carta*, ed. Carpenter, p. 40; *English historical documents, 1189-1327*, ed. Rothwell, *Magna Carta 1216*, chapter 8, p. 328. *Magna Carta* does not, however, say anything regarding cases in which a widow went abroad.

¹¹⁸ The letter to the men of Cognac: 'Satis audistis, ut credimus, qualiter H. comes Marchie, a quo sperabamus auxilium et consilium magnum promeruisse ratione affinitatis qua nobis est conjunctus per dominam reginam matrem nostram quam sibi matrimonio copulavit, nos et nostros maliciose persequitur, terras nostras devastando, castroque nostro de Merpin obsidionem inferendo', *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 315.

¹¹⁹ 'non latere quod H[ugo] comes March' de quo sperabamus auxilium tanto grandius quanto se nobis...majori, matrem nostram in uxorem ducendo, ad contraria se accingens nuper b...manu armata et viribus coadunatis adiit ad censeriam gravem...castrum nostrum de Merepin'', *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 108, p. 77.

¹²⁰ Translated online at *Epistolae*, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/24171.html> [accessed 25 July 2017]. 'ipsam reginam duxit in uberibus pie matris affectuosissime exorandam, quatinus ipsum comitem dominum suum ad pacem et amorem inter eos formandam sollicitate inducat, et ad hoc pleno effectu laboret', *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 389. See Shirley, i, Appendix V, no. 10, p. 536, for an earlier appeal to Isabella from Honorius III [September 1220] claiming she was forgetful of maternal piety in harming her son's property since he was an orphan under papal care.

¹²¹ Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland', p. 200. See Janin Hunt, *Medieval justice: cases and laws in France, England and Germany, 500-1500* (London, 2004), pp. 59-61, for Enguerrand's brush with the law and Louis IX's involvement in this.

One of the most troubling tendencies in modern scholarship on medieval queen mothers is to accuse them of abandonment, of selfishly choosing to desert their young children in their hour of need. Historians have levelled such an accusation at Anne of Kiev for her ‘quick’ marriage to Raoul, even though the remarriage of aristocratic women within one to two years of their husband’s death was not unusual during the central Middle Ages.¹²² The return of mothers such as Isabella of Angoulême and Marie de Coucy to their natal lands after their husbands’ deaths has similarly led to accusations that the women abandoned their children.¹²³ Modern scholars have focused on a queen mother’s departure from her son’s kingdom sometimes at the expense of any analysis of her involvement prior to leaving the kingdom or her continued connections afterwards.¹²⁴ As I have already shown in Chapter One, Isabella and Marie’s husbands never included them in royal decision-making in the same way as earlier queens such as Anne of Kiev or Agnes of Poitou.¹²⁵ Furthermore, circumstances of inheritance and succession in their natal lands underpinned both Isabella and Marie’s departures, illustrating the crucial importance of female responsibility and familial and tenurial loyalty.¹²⁶ The only resources available to these queen mothers were their own lands or the contributions from their relatives at home, unlike earlier queens. Even their thirteenth-century contemporary, Blanche of Castile, could draw on experience of governance, previous political influence, and patronage.¹²⁷ Isabella of Angoulême was, uniquely, the only child king’s mother who was also an heiress. As the only child of Audemar, count of Angoulême, and his wife, Alice, Isabella claimed the territory after her father’s death in 1202, as the Anonymous of Béthune attested.¹²⁸ None of the other women

¹²² Bautier, ‘Anne de Kiev’, p. 555. See Zajac, ‘Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna’s queenship’, p. 46, who describes the remarriage as ‘hasty’. For pertinent historiography on remarriage: RáGena C. DeAragon, ‘Dowager countesses, 1069-1230’, *ANS*, 17 (1995), 87-100 (at pp. 89-90); Sara McDougall, ‘Women and gender in canon law’, in *The Oxford handbook of women and gender*, pp. 163-78 (at p. 169). On Eleanor of Aquitaine’s quick remarriage to Henry II after her divorce from Louis VII: Brown, ‘Eleanor of Aquitaine’, p. 15.

¹²³ Vincent, ‘Isabella of Angoulême’, pp. 198, 206, 215; Turner, ‘The minority of Henry III. Part I’, p. 269.

¹²⁴ Turner, ‘The minority of Henry III. Part I’, p. 269, who, although suggesting that Isabella played some role in peace negotiations, focuses on her ‘desertion’ instead of elaborating further on her role in the peace of 1217. See Chapter Six, pp. 189, 192-3, for Isabella’s role in negotiating peace, and Chapter Three, p. 117, for Marie’s continued presence at important ceremonial events alongside her son.

¹²⁵ See Chapter One, pp. 56-69.

¹²⁶ Johns, *Noblewomen, aristocracy and power*, and Livingstone, *Out of love for my kin*, for women and familial and tenurial responsibility. See Van Houts, ‘Remarriage and remembrance in Europe’, pp. 221-41, for a recent discussion of female responsibility and remarriage.

¹²⁷ Shadis, ‘Blanche of Castile and Facing’s “medieval queenship”’, p. 149.

¹²⁸ ‘La roine passa en Poitou, si vint à Engoliesme sa cite, qui ses iretages estoit’, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 206; ‘hoir de la conté Angolesme’, Craw, ‘An edition of the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*’, p. 99.

discussed here were ever in such a position. Instead, they all came from large families with brothers whose rights to the familial lands came before a daughter or sister who had married into a royal family abroad. It was Isabella's loyalty to her inheritance and sense of responsibility to her lands that motivated her return as a widowed heiress in 1217 not her wilful abandonment of her children. Her return to Angoulême was not 'surprising', nor should we see it as undermining her maternal role (indeed, by returning to her inheritance, Isabella was actually closer in proximity to her young daughter Joan, who was in the custody of the Lusignan count).¹²⁹ One of Audemar's elder brothers, Wolgrin III, a previous count of Angoulême, had left a daughter, Mathilde, who also had rights to the county and whose husband, Hugh IX of Lusignan, asserted her claim following Audemar's death.¹³⁰ Isabella's return to Angoulême to affirm her position in respect to her inheritance bears a striking resemblance to her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who, after the end of her first marriage, asserted her personal authority in Aquitaine.¹³¹ Isabella's own mother, Alice, had returned to her family's lordship of La Ferté-Gaucher in Champagne after Audemar's death.¹³² Once back in the Angoumois, Isabella worked to secure and expand her familial lands to re-unite the lordships of Cognac, Merpins and Jarnac to the county.¹³³

Although Marie was not an heiress, her decision to leave the Scottish kingdom equally needs to be seen in the context of her natal family. Matthew Paris recognised this and provided a familial context to Marie's decision to leave the Scottish kingdom: 'the widow of king Alexander and daughter of Engelram [Enguerrand] de Coucy, departed from Scotland to return to her own land, for the sake of visiting her country and her relatives'.¹³⁴ This contrasts with the emotive speech Matthew attributed to Alexander III later in the same work, in which the young

¹²⁹ Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 7, who notes surprise at Isabella's decision to spend her widowhood as countess of Angoulême rather than remaining in England as Henry's mother, suggesting that these two roles were somehow incompatible.

¹³⁰ Richardson, 'The marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angoulême', p. 296. See Nathalie Kerignard, 'Les mariages des enfants d'Isabelle d'Angoulême et d'Hugues X de Lusignan', in *Isabelle d'Angoulême*, eds. Bianciotto, Favreau, and Skubiszewski, pp. 47-55 (at p. 50), who suggests Mathilde did not give up her claim until 1233.

¹³¹ Hivergneaux, 'Autour d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine', p. 64.

¹³² Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 182.

¹³³ Robert Favreau, 'Le comté d'Angoulême au début du XIIIe siècle', in *Isabelle d'Angoulême*, eds. Bianciotto, Favreau, and Skubiszewski, pp. 9-16 (at p. 9).

¹³⁴ Anderson, *Scottish annals*, p. 363. 'regina Scotiae, scilicet relictæ regis Alexandri et filia Engelrami de Cuszi, gratia patriam et parentes visitandi, assignata ei de regno Scotiae parte quæ eam contingebat, videlicet septem milia marcarum reditu, recedit a Scotia repatriando', *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 265.

king was made to claim that he was an orphan whose mother had left him.¹³⁵ Marie's brother, Ralph II, had died in 1250, leaving their younger brother, Enguerrand IV, as heir to the lordship aged fourteen at most. Following Ralph's death, two of Marie's uncles came to the Scottish kingdom. In September, they accompanied her back to France, suggesting that her natal family personally requested, and perhaps even forced, her return to the Coucy lordship.¹³⁶ Financial pressures in the barony necessitated the widowed queen's return.¹³⁷ According to Matthew Paris, Marie took a large amount of cash from Scotland as the customary widow's dower as well as other possessions in recompense for her dowry.¹³⁸

It is hard to determine perceptions of a mother's departure at the time it occurred, especially those of the child king himself. We should not dismiss genuine feelings of grief or anguish, but the way the surviving sources present such emotions can be problematic. Henry III's letter to the men of Poitou, dated 24 July 1217, claimed that his mother's departure caused him vexation and grief ('fastidium et dolor').¹³⁹ Crucially, Isabella's actions are not described as abandonment despite hints at her son's anguish. The word used, 'recessus', means departure or retreat and can also carry the meaning of 'going home'.¹⁴⁰ We cannot be certain what motivated the palpable negativity towards Isabella leaving England. William Marshal, Henry's guardian, witnessed the letter and it may be that Isabella made the decision to return to Angoulême alone, without the consultation or approval of the leading men of the kingdom. This would certainly fit with her later decision to remarry, similarly made without consent from the king or his guardians. Yet Henry's letter went on to supplicate the men of the county to receive John's

¹³⁵ 'Domine mi rex, novit serenitas vestra, quoniam quamvis rex sim et ex vestra munificentia miles effectus, puer [sum] sine aetate et scientia, insuper et pupillus, quia patre meo defuncto, mater mea, partes natales suas longinquas et ultramarinas repetens, me tenellum reliquit, nec adhuc nisi vocata a vobis remeavit', *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 271; translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, pp. 367-8.

¹³⁶ C. P. R. *Henry III, A.D. 1247-1258*, p. 74, for details of the safe conduct. See Nelson, 'Scottish queenship in the thirteenth century', p. 73, who suggests that uncertainty surrounding Marie's younger brother's succession encouraged her family to recall her from Scotland. See also Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 153 n.11, who supports the dating of Marie's departure to 1250 not 1251.

¹³⁷ Marie's dowry, paid to Alexander II in 1239, may have contributed to economic issues already heightened by Enguerrand III's building problem. See Claire Mabire La Caille, 'Château, bourg castral, villeneuve. La genèse d'une agglomération secondaire, Coucy-le-Château (XIIIe-XIIIe siècle)', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1 (2005), 161-72 (at p. 166).

¹³⁸ 'Ipsa enim, ut moris viduarum, partem proventuum regni Scotiae tertiam sortita, quae ad quatuor milia marcarum et amplius ascendit, praeter alias possessiones quas de dono patris sui Engelrami receperat', *Chron. maiora*, v, pp. 266-7. See p. 265, where Matthew Paris claimed this amounted, in total, to 7000 marks.

¹³⁹ 'recessusque suus a nobis fastidium nobis pariat et dolorem', *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁰ Lewis and Short, p. 1531.

widow and queen honourably, kindly, and friendly, and to treat her as they would Henry.¹⁴¹ The letter fully endorsed Isabella's attempts to recover her dower in Poitou, asking for the lands to be relinquished to her. Later chronicle criticisms of Isabella's departure have been bound up with criticisms of her remarriage to Hugh, which makes it difficult to disentangle contemporary responses to these events. Both Isabella's departure from England and her remarriage to Hugh in France need to be placed firmly in the contemporary context of Angoulême and her determination to assert her claim and maintain hold of her familial lands.¹⁴² Hitherto, Isabella's actions and the account she sent to her son in 1220 of her remarriage to Hugh have been judged either to be entirely business-like or to 'ring entirely hollow'.¹⁴³ Neither view allows for a woman having responsibilities to anything (or anyone) other than her children. Although Isabella's responsibilities to her own lands were brought into direct competition with the demands of her son's guardians, she had attempted, at least in the short term, to make the situation work for Henry III's benefit and for the advantage of the English kingdom. Isabella's assertion that her marriage to Hugh prevented a Capetian-Lusignan alliance was not the empty claim Nicholas Vincent suggests.¹⁴⁴ A letter from Guy de Possonière to Hubert de Burgh in January 1220 critically attests that Hugh was intending to marry Clémence, the daughter of William des Roches, Philip Augustus's seneschal of Anjou. Clémence had first been married to Theobald VI, count of Blois, but his death in 1218 left her a widow at exactly the time Hugh was looking for a wife.¹⁴⁵ Had this marriage taken place, it would have been disastrous for Plantagenet interests on the continent, as Guy emphasises in his letter. Isabella's concern to protect Henry's interests in France does not preclude concern for her own lands. Her marriage was motivated by a real and pressing worry for Angoulême's defence and security. She had previously warned her son's government that she would remove herself from their counsel and

¹⁴¹ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 113.

¹⁴² Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 153, who shows how worry about the expiration of the truce between the English and French kings at Easter 1220 affected requests for aid from Isabella and the seneschal of Poitou.

¹⁴³ For the two points of view, see Richardson, 'The marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angoulême', p. 298; Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême', p. 208.

¹⁴⁴ London, TNA, SC 1/3/182; 'sed consilium ei dederunt quod talem duceret in uxorem de qua cito heres exiret, et prolocutum fuit quod uxorem caperet in Francia. Quod si hoc fuisset, tota terra vestra in Pictavia et Gasconia et nostra amitteretur', Shirley, i, no. 90, pp. 114-5 (similarly in *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 84, pp. 64-5).

¹⁴⁵ 'Evenit enim nuper matrimonium esse prolocutum inter dominum Hugonem de Liziniaco ex una parte et filiam seneschalli Andeg' scilicet relictam comitis Blesensis ex altera, quod si accideret dominus rex Anglie maximum dampnum incurrisset', *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 70, p. 59, where Guy de Possonière notes Hugh's proposed marriage.

affairs unless they provided her with help but no support had been forthcoming.¹⁴⁶ The Anonymous of Béthune suggested that Isabella saw an alliance with the count of La Marche as essential for the aid she needed ('por avoir s'aïe'), especially in her struggle against Reginald de Pons, who was holding the castle of Merpins.¹⁴⁷ The chronicle provides direct evidence that contemporary secular opinion was more understanding to Isabella's plight than many modern historians.¹⁴⁸ Much as today, medieval writers presented maternal behaviour in a highly emotive way. These representations need to be examined in their full context, as in the case of Marie and her son Alexander III. In the impassioned speech put into Alexander's mouth by Matthew Paris, the young king is shown using the circumstances of his mother's departure to achieve his own ends. By making deliberate recourse to his young age, his father's death, and his mother's departure, Matthew showed Alexander appealing to Henry III to secure royal pardon for a cleric, Philip Luvel, who was out of favour with the English king. Matthew Paris's intentional use of the verb 'relinquo' was intended to emphasise the emotive effect of Marie's actions.¹⁴⁹ The author's personal view of Marie's departure from the kingdom is better demonstrated in his earlier description (which was not a rhetorical device as part of a constructed speech), where the writer accentuated the familial setting by using the verb 'repatrio'.¹⁵⁰

Although guardianship was the most visible of ways in which a mother could act for a child king and his kingdom, it was not the only way the king could receive maternal support. Even mothers who never acted as vice-regal guardians and left their sons' kingdoms could maintain connections, influence decisions made by the king's counsellors, and act on their son's behalf both within the kingdom and abroad. Involvement with their sons did not cease once Isabella and Marie had returned to their natal lands. When Isabella first arrived in Angoulême, she acted in her son's interest as well as her own, addressing Henry as count of Angoulême in a letter sent before June 1219 in which Isabella requested counsel and help to rule and defend the county.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ 'et bene deberet cavere consilium filii nostri ne tale quid mandaret propter quod removeremur a consilio et agendis filii nostri', *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 58, p. 53. Also in Shirley, i, no. 26, pp. 33-4. Translated at *Epistolae*, <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/456.html> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 39, p. 40 (whose transcription is preferable to that in Shirley, i, no. 17, pp. 22-3, for reasons I will discuss below, n.151).

¹⁴⁷ *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Michel, p. 206; Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 267.

¹⁴⁸ Gillingham, 'The Anonymous of Béthune, King John and Magna Carta', pp. 30-1, for the chronicle's authority as a source for contemporary secular opinion.

¹⁴⁹ *Chron. maiora*, v, pp. 270-2, translated in Anderson, *Scottish annals*, pp. 367-8.

¹⁵⁰ *Chron. maiora*, v, p. 265. See above, p. 241.

¹⁵¹ 'H. d(e)i gr(ati)a illust(ri) reg(i) Angl', d(omi)no Hyb', duc(i) Norm' et Aquit', com(iti) Andeg' et Engol'', London, TNA, SC 1/3/181. See *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 39, p. 40. See also Shirley, i, no. 17, pp. 22-

This addition emphasised that the queen mother's attempts to secure the county were as much in English interests as her own. She explicitly described Angoulême as 'your land and ours' ('terra vestra et nostra'), stressing that, through her, the county was part of Henry's inheritance.¹⁵² Isabella and the abbots of St Maxent and St Jean-d'Angély in Poitou were ordered to secure fidelity from the bishop of Limoges in Henry's place in 1220.¹⁵³ Similarly, Marie's responsibilities in France did not prevent her from crossing the sea to York to attend her son's wedding to Henry III's daughter, Margaret, in December 1251. Seven years later, in 1258, Marie and her new husband, John, travelled to Scotland together. Although dower claims chiefly motivated the couple's visit, they were named as part of a circle of counsellors responsible for the kingdom's custody.¹⁵⁴ Their presence in the council may only have been tokenism since it did not lead to any increased position for Marie in political governance after 1258. Nevertheless, this was still a recognition that the queen mother's status allowed her and her new husband access to a position in royal counsel.¹⁵⁵

Certain contemporary attitudes to child kingship endured across the central Middle Ages, especially those which recognised and exploited the vulnerabilities of children on the throne and of queen mothers in a position of guardianship alongside them, as I have demonstrated in this chapter. The prevalence of abduction as a political strategy for controlling king and kingdom reveals the vulnerability of a child's body, by virtue of his innocence and immaturity, to becoming a commodity over which magnates fought. Yet, kidnap attempts reveal much more than a child king's helplessness. They provide proof of magnate collaboration, even if this co-operation intended to challenge existing guardianship arrangements. Cases involving a child

3, who mis-transcribes the letter greeting to read 'Dei gratia illustri regi Angliae, domino Hiberniae, duci Normanniae et Aquitaniae, comiti Andegaviae, ego Y[sabella]'. Although the document is slightly discoloured at this point, it clearly reads 'et Engol' not 'ego'.

¹⁵² 'un(de) nec(ess)e e(st) q(uo)d s(i)n(e) mora tale (con)siliu(m) fructuosu(m) t(er)re v(est)re et n(ost)re hac p(ar)te i(m)pendatis q(uo)d vos nec nos p(er) defectum (con)silii et auxilii v(est)ri terra(m) n(ost)ram amittam(us)', London, TNA, SC 1/3/181. See *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 39, p. 40. See also *Dipl. Docs.*, i, no. 58, p. 53 (also in Shirley, i, no. 26, pp. 32-4), for the communication of similar worries about the land to Pandulf before the autumn of 1219.

¹⁵³ London, TNA, SC 1/4/9; *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 227. See Chapter Six, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ London, TNA, C 54/74 membrane 15; *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, p. 70. John was granted Marie's dower lands in a now lost act probably issued during their stay at Alexander's court which survives only as a notice in a list of documents taken by Edward I from Scotland. See *The acts of Alexander III*, eds. Neville and Stringer, RRS 4 pt. 1, p. 204.

¹⁵⁵ See also Nelson, 'Queens and queenship in Scotland', p. 199, who suggests that Marie and John's appearance in this council was only nominal.

king's abduction also actively display the practical division of the king's body from the demonstration of royal authority: magnates needed control of both the king himself and a means of representing his authority to ease their acquisition of administrative power. Most significantly, however, kidnap was demonstrative of the acceptance of child kingship by the kingdom's elite and, consequently, a form of legitimacy. The king's immaturity meant that challenges to governance did not directly challenge his authority. Instead, magnates directed their discontent and rebellion against guardians and counsellors. The real vulnerability of child kingship was in the susceptibility of guardianship arrangements to abrupt (and even violent) change. Queen mothers were not alone in facing attempts to remove them from a guardianship position, nor were they alone in encountering questions regarding their suitability as guardian. However, much as contemporaries recognised that the king's childhood made him susceptible to abduction, they also knew the vulnerabilities of women in power. Challenges to maternal guardianship took predictably gendered forms. But, in choosing to attack a mother's intimate relationship with individual counsellors, these challenges also demonstrate very real concerns regarding magnate hierarchy and preference at court. Throughout this thesis, I have argued for the central importance of queen mothers in preparing their young sons for kingship and in the arrangements for the guardianship of king and kingdom. This analysis of the circumstances of maternal exclusion and departure from court further supports my argument that we need to integrate women more fully into politically dominated narratives of kingship. Mothers could work for their sons even after they had taken the veil, remarried, or left their son's kingdom, but their actions after these events must be placed comprehensively in the context of overlapping networks of kinship, lordship, and loyalty. In Chapter Eight, I will analyse additional challenges which could accompany a period of child kingship and provide a reassessment of modern views of dynastic challenge and violence when a child was king.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Challenges of Child Kingship

‘As every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste, so harmony among the thanes is the support of the kingdom’ claimed Ælred of Rievaulx in his *Eulogium Davidis*.¹ Ælred did not attribute the division of a kingdom to the young age of its new king, Malcolm IV, but to the (mis)behaviour of its magnates. Although some magnates played important roles in securing a child king upon his throne and safeguarding the kingdom until the boy came of age, as we have seen, others took advantage of the period of succession and minority, some to the extent of open rebellion. There has been a tendency among modern scholars to exaggerate the role the king’s age played in inciting anarchic and violent behaviour. We need to consider the nature of the evidence and the reality of the relationships between royal and aristocratic power before simply repeating the biblical axiom: ‘Woe to thee O land when thy king is a child’. Instances of rebellion or challenges to a kingdom’s stability when a boy was king should be viewed with two caveats. Firstly, recent scholarship has rejected the view that aristocratic violence was necessarily in direct confrontation with royal authority. Rather than viewing magnates working in opposition to kings and royal government, aristocratic violence could be a legitimate part of the medieval social order.² Karl Leyser’s work on Ottonian Saxony has been especially insightful in this respect, demonstrating how social anthropological insights can inform, albeit cautiously, our understanding of rebellions as signs of ‘continuity, equilibrium, and cohesion’ when they expressed common values.³ Secondly, the idea that royal presence was equivalent to royal rule has also been challenged. A king’s absence did not necessarily lead to the breakdown of royal rule. Instead, historians such as Andreas Kränzle have stressed contemporary forms of communication, interaction, and integration.⁴ In this chapter, I argue for a similar warning in

¹ *Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed./trans. Freeland and Dutton, p. 61 (alluding to Matthew 12:25 and Luke 11:17). London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. XI, fol. 112v. ‘Sicut omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur; ita concordia procerum regni est stabilimentum’, Ælred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium Davidis*, ed. Pinkerton, p. 449 (editor’s italics).

² The historiography on violence and dispute settlement, especially from a legal perspective, is large and varied. Important recent studies include: Paul Hyams, *Rancor and reconciliation in medieval England* (Ithaca, 2003); Weiler, *Kingship, rebellion and political culture*. See also Martindale, ‘The settlement of disputes and political power’, pp. 21-57, who counters the assumption that the withdrawal of royal authority left a vacuum of power in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

³ Karl Leyser, *Rule and conflict in an early medieval society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), especially pp. 28-9.

⁴ Andreas Kränzle, ‘Der abwesende König. Überlegungen zur ottonischen Königsherrschaft’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 31 (1997), 120-57.

respect to oversimplifying the relationship between the absence of an adult king and an increase in violent conflict by analysing, firstly, dynastic challenge to a child on the throne and, secondly, opportunistic magnate belligerence.

i. Dynastic challenge

Chronicle evidence implies that contenders to the throne were not uncommon when the king was underage. Near-contemporary narrative sources suggest that at least four of the seven child kings studied here faced a dynastic challenge to their right to rule. We need to assess this evidence critically, however, especially where there are conflicting accounts, or where only a single source records a rebellion's dynastic aspect. Uprisings did not always have the boy king's removal as their objective. Lampert of Hersfeld provides the only evidence that Otto, half-brother of Margrave William of the Saxon Nordmark, actively challenged Henry IV's kingship during a rebellion by the Saxon princes in 1057.⁵ When Otto returned from his exile in Bohemia, the princes incited him to lay claim to the kingdom, swore homage to him, and resolved to kill the king when they had an opportunity.⁶ Struve and Robinson demonstrated convincingly that Lampert in fact composed this section of his *Annals* to foreshadow Henry's deposition in 1076 and the events of the Saxon war.⁷ Lampert's claim that a desire to depose the young king motivated the magnates should not be taken at face value. We must similarly question the supposed dynastic threat Philip Hurepel, count of Boulogne, posed to his half-nephew Louis IX of France.⁸ Narrative sources are not in agreement regarding the barons' recognition of Philip as a rival to King Louis. William of Puylaurens, writing near Toulouse in the second half of the thirteenth century, claimed that Philip aspired to the kingdom ('aspiranti regno').⁹ But

⁵ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 71.

⁶ 'magnisque omnium adhortationibus instigatur non modo marcham, quae sibi iure hereditario competeret, sed ipsum quoque regnum affectare. Ubi alacrem paratumque negocio advertunt, fidem omnes dicunt, suas quisque manus, suam operam pollicentur, regemque, ubicumque fortuna oportunitatem fecisset, interficere constituunt', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 71; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, pp. 69-70. See Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany*, pp. 63-4.

⁷ 'Part I', ed. Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III*, ed. Böhmer, no. 109, pp. 41-2; *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 32.

⁸ See also Chapter Five, pp. 154-5 and Chapter Six, p. 193.

⁹ 'Motus quoque Rotbertorum consentientium Philippo comiti Bolonie aspiranti regno, eiusdem Philippi morte extinguitur naturali', William of Puylaurens, *Chronica magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, ed./trans. Jean Duvernoy (Toulouse, 1996), p. 142; translated in *The chronicle of William of Puylaurens: the Albigensian Crusade and its aftermath*, ed./trans. W. A. Sibley and M. D. Sibley (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 81. See also Olivier-Martin, *Les régences et la majorité des rois*, p. 55.

William's condensed account of baronial unrest leaves it unclear whether he meant that the count aspired to claim the kingdom himself, or the care of the 'regnum' on his half-nephew's behalf. Although the Minstrel of Reims, writing around the same time as William, claimed that Philip Hurepel was led to believe he would be king, the author doubted whether the magnates would have kept their promise.¹⁰ The count may only have been a useful means to an end for the barons. John of Joinville, the only chronicler who could possibly have heard an account of events from the king himself, specified that the barons made Philip their leader ('leur chievetain').¹¹ A baronial recognition of Philip as lord fits with Matthew Paris's claim that the magnates removed themselves from their fidelity to the king and his mother, but does not go so far as to suggest that the barons considered the count a rival for the throne.¹² Dynastic challenge from a royal cadet was not unusual in eleventh- and early twelfth-century France but the unbroken Capetian line of direct male descent over many generations meant that, by the early thirteenth century, a dynastic claim was unlikely to gain support.¹³ It is far more likely that Philip's involvement in unrest at the start of Louis IX's reign was as a wealthy and powerful baron with a stake in ensuring that the kingdom was governed in such a way as to further his own interests, rather than as a rival for the kingship himself.

In Scotland, a more serious dynastic threat challenged Malcolm IV's rule within a year of his accession. The Holyrood chronicler recorded how, in November 1153, a magnate named Somerled rebelled against the king with his nephews and other associates.¹⁴ Somerled's nephews were the sons of another Malcolm, a natural-born son of Alexander I, and their

¹⁰ London, BL, Additional MS 7103, fol. 71v, where the rubric for the chapter reads 'Del assamble des barons de Franche contre le iouene Roy'. 'Si s'alierent ensemble, et firent entendand, si comme on dit, le conte de Bouloingne que il le feroient roi; et il n'estoit mie mout sages, si les créi', Minstrel of Reims, *Récits*, ed. de Wailly, p. 176; translated in *A thirteenth-century minstrel's chronicle*, trans. Levine, p. 83.

¹¹ 'Et pour ce que les barons de France virent le roy enfant et la royne sa mere femme estrange firent il du conte de Bouloingne, qui estoit oncle le roy, leur chievetain, et le tenoient aussi comme pour seigneur', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188; translated in *Chronicles of the crusades*, trans. Smith, p. 164.

¹² *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 196. See Chapter Six, p. 190.

¹³ Chapter Five, pp. 153-5, for the role of male kin in guardianship arrangements in France. See Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, p. 158, who notes that Philip Hurepel had secured greater wealth and power than other Capetian cadets through royal grants and his marriage to Matilda (*d.* 1259), daughter of Renaud of Dammartin and Ida of Boulogne.

¹⁴ 'Eo die apud Scotiam Sumerlede et nepotes sui, filii scilicet Malcolmi, a[s]so[c]iatis sibi plurimis, insurrexerunt in regem Malcolmi', *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 124-5.

dynastic right to the kingship of Scotia motivated their rebellion.¹⁵ As a Scottish king's grandsons, these adult men presented a direct threat to Malcolm's kingship.¹⁶ Contenders to the throne were not unusual in twelfth-century Scotland. Primogeniture was not yet the preferred means of succession and, although claimants to the throne had to be male members of the kinship group of a previous king, Celtic succession laws prioritised collateral claimants rather than direct descendants.¹⁷ David I was the third in a line of brothers to succeed to the Scottish kingship. As John Cameron notes, there had not been a single father-to-son royal descent in the Scottish kingdom between 880 and 1153.¹⁸ David prioritised the concept of succession by primogeniture throughout his reign, appointing his son Henry 'rex designatus' and promoting his grandson's succession after Henry's death.¹⁹ As members of a collateral royal dynastic branch, Somerled's nephews were rebelling against the adherence to an unfamiliar law of succession after the new king's selection in 1153.²⁰ Were these men also rising against Malcolm due to his age, as modern historians have suggested?²¹ Only one manuscript of the *Scotichronicon*, produced at Coupar Angus between 1440 and 1480, explicitly records that Malcom the rebel despised King Malcolm because he was a mere boy ('quem tanquam puerum contempsit').²² This is a late source which requires careful interpretation. Contemporary

¹⁵ Ross, 'The identity of the "Prisoner of Roxburgh"', p. 280, who argues against earlier perceptions of Somerled as a Gaelic lord rebelling against increasing European influence. See also R. Andrew McDonald, 'Rebels without a cause? The relations of Fergus of Galloway and Somerled of Argyll with the Scottish kings, 1153-1164', in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the medieval era*, eds. Edward J. Cowan and McDonald (East Linton, 2000), pp. 166-86 (at p. 167).

¹⁶ The identification of the Malcolm mentioned in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, whose sons rebelled in 1153, has caused much debate, partly due to confusion between Malcolm, the natural-born son of Alexander I, and Malcolm MacHeth. See Ross, 'The identity of the "Prisoner of Roxburgh"', p. 273, who emphasises that none of the twelfth-century chronicles support the identification of the Malcolm of 1130 with MacHeth.

¹⁷ John Cameron, *Celtic law: the 'Senchus Mór' and 'The book of Aicill' and the traces of an early Gaelic system of law in Scotland* (London, 1937), pp. 101-20 and 177-86.

¹⁸ Cameron, *Celtic law*, p. 115.

¹⁹ J. H. Stevenson, 'The law of the throne: tanistry and the introduction of the law of primogeniture: a note on the succession of the kings of Scotland from Kenneth MacAlpin to Robert Bruce', *SHR*, 25 (1927), 1-12 (at pp. 8-11), for David's attempts to change succession practice in the Scottish kingdom. See Cameron, *Celtic law*, pp. 117-8, who challenges Stevenson's ideas on tanistry. See Chapter One, pp. 70-1, for a discussion of the title 'rex designatus' and its implications for anticipatory association.

²⁰ McDonald, 'Rebels without a cause?', pp. 166-86, who puts greater emphasis on how the geographical differences between the core of the Scottish kingdom and the Gaelic and Gaelic-Norse periphery influenced Somerled's rebellion.

²¹ McDonald and McLean, 'Somerled of Argyll', p. 13.

²² 'Primo quoque anno regni sui somerled(us) regulus ergadie et sui nepotes filii scilicet Malcolmi mathesus associatus sibi plurimis insurrexerunt in dominu(m) suu(m) liegiu(m) rege(m) malcolmu(m) que(m) tanq(uam) pueru(m) contempsit et scotiam magna(m) parte p(er) turba(n)tes inquietaverunt', Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 35.1.7 (Coupar Angus MS), fol. 161v. See Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds. Watt

aristocratic practices within the kingdom and further north allowed young children to inherit, challenging the idea that the twelve-year-old boy king represented a ‘great infringement’ of Celtic succession laws.²³ Malcolm of Atholl was a child earl during David’s reign, possibly with Maelmuire ‘of Atholl’ as his tutor.²⁴ Harald Maddadsson gained a half-share of the Orkney earldom in 1139 when he was as young as five.²⁵ Since inheritance by children was acceptable among some native magnates, it is far more likely that Somerled and his nephews actively fought to pursue what they saw as their rightful claim to the kingship rather than simply to oppose a boy king. Rebellion against a king of Scots was no novelty, but the events of 1153 caused great disturbance, brought devastation to the city of Glasgow, and involved a far wider range of individuals than once thought.²⁶ Consolidating royal authority under a new child king was neither straightforward nor unchallenged in mid-twelfth-century Scotland but we cannot attribute this entirely to Malcolm’s young age.

As for England, the circumstances in which Henry III succeeded – amid a war for royal control with a rival present in the kingdom – were remarkably tumultuous for a child king, but these conditions had equally little to do with child kingship. English barons had invited Louis, Philip II’s son, into the kingdom for the express purpose of fighting against King John.²⁷ Following John’s death in October 1216, Louis attempted to assert a dynastic claim to the throne through his wife, Blanche of Castile, who was John’s niece and Henry II’s granddaughter. Louis, according to Roger of Wendover, vowed that he would fight to his death for his wife’s inheritance.²⁸ Although Louis held key strategic locations such as London and Westminster, it was especially important to emphasise a tenuous dynastic link to the English throne now that he faced a child heir against whom the barons had not chosen to fight. Early in December 1216, Pope Honorius III emphasised that the barons would no longer be able to claim the excuse that

et al., iv, p. 253. Could the Coupar Angus scribe be ad-libbing from a less explicit reference to Malcolm as a boy king at the time of Somerled’s rebellion, as can be found in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century hand in Paris, BnF, MS NAL 692 (*Liber de gentis Anglorum*), fol. 60r.? See Todd and Offler, ‘A medieval chronicle from Scotland’, p. 156, for the dating of this passage, and p. 158, for a transcription.

²³ McDonald and McLean, ‘Somerled of Argyll’, p. 13; Cameron, *Celtic law*, p. 114.

²⁴ Barrow, ‘The charters of David I’, p. 30.

²⁵ Oram, *David I*, pp. 98-9; Topping, ‘Harald Maddadson’, pp. 106-7. Similarly, Duncan II probably succeeded as earl of Fife as a minor after his father’s death in 1154.

²⁶ ‘et Scotiam in magna parte perturban[t]es inquietaverunt’, *Chron. Holyrood*, pp. 124-5. See also Woolf, ‘The song of the death of Somerled’, pp. 6-7; Duncan and Brown, ‘Argyll and the Isles’, p. 195.

²⁷ ‘ad proeliandum contra regem’, *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Williams, p. 72.

²⁸ ‘quia pro haereditate uxoris meae usque ad mortem, si necessitas coegerit, decertabo’, Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, p. 179.

they had been wronged or hide accusations of treason ('proditio') unless they returned immediately to their fidelity to John's sons.²⁹ Nevertheless, in October, it was by no means certain that the nine-year-old Henry would succeed in his bid for the kingship in opposition to an adult rival.³⁰ Even many years after peace had been agreed and Louis had left the kingdom, an undercurrent of support for the French prince remained. Unrest culminated in a riot in London in 1222. The agitation in the city was enough to urge the legate Pandulf to write to Hubert de Burgh and encourage the justiciar to stand firm.³¹ Matthew Paris claimed that some London citizens shouted in honour of Louis, although as their lord ('dominus') not king.³² In England and Scotland, rebellions which aimed to put an alternative candidate on the throne were a rejection of the inaugurated king and, in Henry III's case, a king who had received coronation and anointing at the hands of a papal representative.

Dynastic challenge caused genuine concern to those around a boy king. Guardians took precautionary measures against any perceived challenges, no matter how unlikely they may have seemed. This explains the imprisonment throughout Henry's reign of Eleanor of Brittany (d.1241), the only surviving child of Henry's uncle Geoffrey (d.1186). Historians now agree that there was no plot to free Eleanor from Corfe castle in 1222, as once assumed, but contemporaries still perceived Eleanor to be a political risk throughout her life.³³ Similar anxiety regarding the possibility for dynastic challenge, regardless of its plausibility, appeared early in Alexander III's reign. The Melrose chronicler claimed that, in 1251, Alan Durward, the justiciar of Scotia married to Alexander's natural-born half-sister, Marjory, was accused of treason. Durward had sent envoys to the pope to legitimise his daughters as potential heirs to the Scottish kingdom with the aid of the chancellor, Abbot Robert of Dunfermline.³⁴ Although these actions

²⁹ 'jam nunc excusationem habere non poteritis in peccatis, nec notam proditionis quoquam velamento velare, nisi ad fidelitatem filiorum eius, qui vos nullatenus offenderunt, protinus redeatis', *Honorii III, opera omnia*, ed. Horoy, ii, no. 74, col. 101. See also *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 167, p. 137.

³⁰ At the time of John's death, the holders of 97 baronies were in revolt, with 36 loyal. See Sidney Painter, *The reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1966), p. 297, who provides these figures but also notes the need to be wary of 'technical allegiance' and the desire of many barons to protect their own estates above all.

³¹ 'Quia, sicut nobis est a pluribus intimatum, multi veniunt Londonias non animo devotionis sed perturbationis potius, monemus discretionem vestram attentius', Shirley, i, no. 68, pp. 78-9.

³² 'Montis gaudium, Montis gaudium, adjuvet Deus et dominus noster Lodowicus', *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 72. See Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', p. 216.

³³ Gwen Seaborne, 'Eleanor of Brittany and her treatment by King John and Henry III', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 51 (2007), 73-110 (at pp. 80, 87-8).

³⁴ 'alan(us) hostiari(us) et q(ui)dam alii ibidem accusarent(ur) ap(u)d rege(m) scocie de ei(us) p(er)ditione', *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 56r. See also 'Regnal List

led to Durward and Robert's removal as the king's officers, the justiciar's intentions need not have been malicious.³⁵ Henry III fully supported Durward's inclusion as a member of the king's new guardianship council in 1255; something he would hardly have done if he suspected the justiciar harboured malevolent wishes towards his own daughter's position as queen of Scotland.³⁶ Instead, the justiciar's actions demonstrate a concern for Alexander's mortality and an overindulgent desire to ensure his kin could claim some right to the throne should the young child die before reaching adulthood and providing an heir.³⁷ Even when claimants presented little immediate danger, the vulnerability of childhood fostered an atmosphere of heightened anxiety towards potential dynastic threats against a boy king.

In only two of the seven case studies did outbreaks of violence early in a child king's reign encompass a dynastic aspect which presented a serious and sustained challenge to the child – but these challenges arose from the circumstances at the end of the predecessor's reign, not as the deliberate targeting of a child ruler. In France, although violence was often inevitable during a minority, Lewis argues that these rebellions had 'little to do with Capetian blood-right'.³⁸ More usually then, magnates did not employ conflict to remove a child king, demonstrating a wide-ranging acceptance of child kingship across north-western Europe in the central Middle Ages. This denotes a significant change from the earlier Middle Ages, when dynastic challenge to a child's rule had been much more prevalent, even to the extent of two children competing against each other for the throne in the case of Edward the Martyr (c.962-978) and Æthelred II (c.996x8-1016) in England. Instead of challenging a child's royal rule, unrest in the kingdom was often to exhibit active dissatisfaction with royal governance or remedy perceived injustices involving land or property, much as at the start of any king's reign.

F', in Anderson, *Kings and kingship in early Scotland*, p. 278 ('Nescio quo infortuito Zabulo seminante discordiam inter magnates terrae huius, cancellarius et justiciarius Scotiae apud regem Angliae accusati, ab officiis deprivati, et alii eorum loco substitute'). Both translated in Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, pp. 562, 571. And see *Gesta annalia*, in *Chron. Fordun*, p. 296.

³⁵ Although the Melrose chronicler had no doubt that Durward would have turned traitor if he had got his request from the pope, even the chronicler implied that concern for the king's succession initially motivated Durward. See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 56v.

³⁶ London, TNA, C 53/46A membrane 8. See *Anglo-Scottish relations*, ed./trans. Stones, pp. 60, 64, where Alan Durward is named as the seventh secular magnate in Alexander's council, after the earls of Fife, Dunbar, Carrick, and Strathearn, Alexander the Steward, and Robert Bruce. See *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 57r, for Durward's efforts to get Henry III on side by fighting for him.

³⁷ Duncan, *The kingship of the Scots*, p. 155.

³⁸ Lewis, *Royal succession in Capetian France*, p. 46.

ii. Opportunistic challenge

Yet magnates turned to violent action within the first year or two of a child king's reign, almost everywhere without exception. Chroniclers occasionally offered insights into individual motivations for magnate violence but, frequently, their accounts failed to provide the whole picture and betrayed the writer's agenda. Authors demonstrated a bias towards the maintenance of royal power, showering praise on magnate guardians but condemning the treachery of those who rebelled.³⁹ Frederick of Gleiberg and his brothers exercised tyranny against the 'imperium Romanum' at the start of Henry IV's reign.⁴⁰ The Melrose chronicler showed where his empathies lay during Alexander III's minority when he referred to the group of Scottish magnates led by Alan Durward as 'perditores'.⁴¹ Authors also used a king's minority as a rhetorical device with which to contrast the ruler's later kingship.⁴² Similar oversimplifications of the motives for magnate aggression must be avoided, as Kölzer warned, if we are to clarify whether the presence of a child on the throne did in fact encourage conflict.⁴³ Violent magnate behaviour was characteristic at the start of any new king's reign, adult or child, but this did not make it less perturbing for those living through it when a boy was king. Adam of Bremen, writing from north Germany in the mid-1070s, claimed that, with the death of Emperor Henry III, not only was the Church in confusion but it also appeared as if the 'state itself had come to an end'.⁴⁴ Fear for the safety of the French realm moved Gervais, archbishop of Reims, to voice concerns to Pope Nicholas II (*d.*1061) regarding 'unrestrained and untamed natives', whose behaviour he feared would lead to the kingdom's desolation.⁴⁵ Comments such as Adam's and Gervais's have encouraged modern historians to argue that periods of child kingship well-deserved the biblical warning provided by Qoheleth, the Teacher, in the book of Ecclesiastes:

³⁹ Raoul Tortaire, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. de Certain, p. 314, for an example from Philip I's minority. Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 132, for an example from early in Philip II's reign.

⁴⁰ 'Eodem tempore quidam Fridericus et fratres eius in Germanie partibus tyrannidem exercentes contra imperium Romanum', Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 74. See similarly *Chronicon Wirziburgense*, ed. Waitz, p. 31.

⁴¹ *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fols 59r.-v. See Anderson, *Early sources*, ii, pp. 592-3, where Anderson translates 'perditores' consistently as 'traitors'. A more accurate translation may be 'destroyers'.

⁴² Reid, 'Alexander III: the historiography of a myth', pp. 187-9.

⁴³ Kölzer, 'Das Königtum Minderjähriger', p. 318.

⁴⁴ 'quorum morte non solum ecclesia turbata est, verum etiam res publica finem habere videbatur', Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 176.

⁴⁵ 'Scitis enim quantum infrenes et indomiti sunt nostrates, quorum divisionem timeo regni nostri fore desolationem', *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 143 (Paris, 1882), col. 1361B.

‘Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and when the princes feast in the morning’.⁴⁶ Yet modern scholars have removed this biblical passage from its original medieval context, assuming its relevance as a bold statement of a boy king’s unsuitability rather than proving its application for child rulership. Obviously, contemporary concerns for a kingdom’s stability when a child was king could be well-founded. Through analysing a select sample of violent episodes, however, I can demonstrate that modern historians need to rethink the importance they have attached to this passage and re-evaluate assumptions that magnate violence was the inevitable result of child kingship.

Actions taken by magnates during a child king’s reign were often part of an interplay between royal authority and magnate territorial claims, which would have occurred regardless of the king’s age or the kingdom to which he succeeded. In his *Life of Conrad II*, Wipo claimed that, after the death of Henry II of Germany in 1024, ‘all the best men had fear and anxiety that the Empire was in danger, but the worst prayed that this were so’.⁴⁷ Magnates knew they had extra bargaining power when a new king succeeded. Although tensions may have been heightened when a child was on the throne, this magnate behaviour was anticipated. Yet child kingship, as we have seen, encouraged magnates to push for confirmations of disputed lands. They were often prepared to use violence to secure what they saw as rightfully theirs or obtain what they coveted. Shortly after Henry IV’s succession, many factions rose against the new king.⁴⁸ Berthold of Reichenau named Frederick of Gleiberg and his brothers as the main perpetrators of rebellion, locating the uprising in a Franconian and Saxon context.⁴⁹ Rather than simply an act of defiance against the child king, therefore, Frederick’s uprising needs to be seen in light

⁴⁶ ‘Vae tibi, terra, cuius rex puer est, et cuius principes mane comedunt’, Ecclesiastes 10:16, Latin Vulgate, <http://www.drbo.org/lvb/chapter/23010.htm> [accessed 25 July 2017]. For examples of the modern use of this passage, usually with very little comment, see: Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Reuter, p. 52; Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Jestice, p. 29; Althoff, *Heinrich IV*, p. 14; Campbell, *Alexander III*, p. 15; Sassier, *Louis VII*, p. 85; Le Goff, ‘The whys and ways of writing a biography’, pp. 218-9; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 88; Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger’, p. 319; Wolf, ‘Königtum Minderjähriger’, pp. 97, 99.

⁴⁷ Wipo, ‘The deeds of Conrad II’, *Imperial lives and letters*, ed./trans. Mommsen, Morrison, and Benson, p. 58. ‘Unde cuique optimo metus et sollicitudo, pessimis autem in voto imperium periclitari erat’, Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi imperatoris*, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS 11 (Hannover, 1854), pp. 254-75 (at p. 256).

⁴⁸ ‘Multorum factiones contra imperatoris filium exortae’, *Annales Augustani*, ed. Pertz, p. 127.

⁴⁹ ‘Fridericus et fratres eius de Glichberga Heinrico regi rebellant’, Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 187. Robinson corrects Berthold of Reichenau’s dating of these events from 1059 to 1057. See also Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 74; *Eleventh-century Germany*, ed. Robinson, p. 115; ‘Part I’, ed. Struve, in *Regesta Imperii III*, ed. Böhmer, no. 117, p. 44.

of the land restorations begun by Henry's father, Emperor Henry III.⁵⁰ From his deathbed in 1056, Henry III arranged for his son and wife to restore properties which had been acquired unfairly.⁵¹ Since the process of restitution and restoration had only just begun by the time of the emperor's death, disputes regarding these lands continued into Henry IV's reign. Uncertain as to whether Agnes of Poitou would continue her husband's policy, the Saxon magnates may have chosen to pre-empt her to secure their lands. An increase in magnate demands at the start of a new king's reign was not unusual. In September 1074, lamenting the current state of the French church, Pope Gregory VII recalled an earlier time when royal power had been weakened, law was not enforced, and enemies ('inimici') fought amongst themselves – probably alluding to Philip I's minority.⁵² Gregory claimed the actions of these enemies were 'to be deplored but not greatly to be wondered at' since it had been a time of 'war' ('bellum').⁵³ An act issued in the first year of Philip I's reign noted, tellingly, that after his father's death many of the French nobles began to press the young king with demands.⁵⁴ The nobles saw all of their claims as just even if Philip himself was unsure whether they were lawful.⁵⁵ The act contrasted magnate demands in 1060/1 with Henry I's reign, when Philip's father had held everything peacefully.⁵⁶ In making such demands of Philip and Anne of Kiev, the magnates neglected their duty to protect the king and the kingdom. Similar petitions were made of Louis IX and his mother, Blanche of Castile, in the late 1220s. According to Joinville, the barons requested extensive

⁵⁰ Leyser, 'The crisis of medieval Germany', p. 440, who discusses these restorations.

⁵¹ 'et totum, quod non bene acquisivit, et his, qui presentes aderant, reddidit. Qui autem non aderant, his per imperatricem et filium, ut redderetur nominatim, sollertissime disposuit', Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 181; translated in *Eleventh-century Germany*, ed. Robinson, pp. 113-4. See also Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. Dümmler, p. 590; translated in *Papal reform*, trans. Robinson, p. 195; Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica*, eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, p. 72; *Chronicon Wirzburgense*, ed. Waitz, p. 31.

⁵² 'Ante aliquot annos, postquam tepente inter vos regia potestate nullis legibus nulloque imperio iniurie prohibite sunt vel punite, inimici inter se quasi quodam communi iure gentium quisque pro viribus conflixerunt, ad vindicandas iniurias suas arma copiasque paraverunt', *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. Caspar, no. 2.5, p. 130; translated in *The register of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 2.5, p. 96.

⁵³ *The register of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 2.5, pp. 96-7. 'Quibus permotionibus etsi plerumque in patria cedes incendia et alia que bellum fert exhorta sint, dolendum quidem id fuit, sed non tantopere ammirandum', *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. Caspar, no. 2.5, p. 130.

⁵⁴ 'Domno vero Henrico rege obeunte, dum ego Philippus, filius eius, admodum parvulus, regnum unacum matre suscepissem, plurimi ex proceribus nostris, in quorum tutela et nos et regnum nostrum esse decebat, coeperunt insistere plura a nobis exigentes', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 13, p. 40.

⁵⁵ 'incertum est que juste vel que injuste: illis autem visum est Omnia juste', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 13, p. 40.

⁵⁶ 'pater meus tamen hec omnia tenuerat pacifice', *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 13, p. 40.

lands from Blanche.⁵⁷ When she refused, they assembled to discuss repercussions.⁵⁸ Louis IX's succession even motivated Henry III of England to send an envoy to France to attempt to recover continental lands which Ralph of Coggeshall suggested the English king considered to be his by hereditary right ('jure haereditario').⁵⁹ The desire to recover lost Norman and Poitevin land spurred Henry to attack the French army himself in 1230, although he left France by October without achieving the restitution he wanted.⁶⁰ Vice-regal guardians demonstrated an awareness of the likelihood for rebellions and adopted policies to minimise their severity, as I argued in Chapter Six.⁶¹ We should therefore avoid the assumption that magnate actions were deliberately exploitative of the circumstances of child kingship. Much of the violence early in a child's reign was, in reality, exploiting a new king's succession and the arbitration process after a change in kingship.

Churches and clergy often became the targets of violence and injustice when a child was on the throne, but a full picture of events is elusive since the surviving evidence is predominantly ecclesiastical in nature. The memory of land or property disputes and violent magnate behaviour could extend far past the end of the king's minority. Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, writing at least thirty years after Philip I's succession, still asserted his abbey's claim to land which, so he argued, a knight named Walter had stolen during Philip's minority whilst Baldwin V of Flanders was governing the kingdom.⁶² Actions by magnates against religious houses and churches remained in a community's collective memory and influenced monastic chroniclers writing the history of a period of child rulership. Magnates may have deliberately targeted religious institutions during a young king's reign, either seeing them as 'easy targets' for opportunistic attack or taking advantage of the opportunity to gain disputed lands by force. A letter sent from Domprost Hermann to Bishop Gunther of Bamberg in the second half of 1061, five years after

⁵⁷ 'Après ce que le roy fu couronné, il en y ot des barons qui requistrent a la royne granz terres que elle leur donnast; et pour ce que ele n'en vout riens faire, si s'assemblerent touz les barons a Corbeil', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 188; translated in *Chronicles of the crusades*, trans. Smith, p. 164.

⁵⁸ For which see Chapter Seven, p. 222.

⁵⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Stevenson, p. 197.

⁶⁰ 'apud Nannetum in Britannia resedit et plures assultus contra exercitum regis in Pictavia et Normannia fecit', Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 926.

⁶¹ See Chapter Six, pp. 187-200.

⁶² 'Philippus adhuc puer regiae dignitatis culmine jam suscepto a patre, regendi posse et scire nondum habens, Balduino, Flandrensium comiti, custodiendus cum regno traditur. Quo regnum moderante, Gualterus miles, filius Hugonis regii buticularii, terram quamdam in Vimmaco pago sitam nobis subripere voluit', Hariulf, *Chronique*, ed. Lot, pp. 234-5.

Henry IV's succession, alerted the bishop to the conduct of two men who were plundering and laying waste to episcopal territory.⁶³ Hermann was the man on the ground witnessing the troubles whilst the bishop was away at court or elsewhere. Events such as these contributed to discontent with Agnes of Poitou's administration, demonstrating an inability to control magnate violence in the localities. Military action was sometimes necessary to bring magnate exploitation of ecclesiastical liberties to an end, as at the start of Philip II's reign when noblemen such as Ebles VI, lord of Charenton, Humbert III, lord of Beaujeu, and William II, count of Chalon-sur-Saône, began to trouble churches in different regions of the French kingdom.⁶⁴ Clergy from the churches facing attacks sent messengers to the king to inform him of their suffering and appeal to royal justice.⁶⁵ Rigord narrated these events from a royal perspective in which the young king valiantly defended ecclesiastical rights, leading his army to secure full restoration of the goods the magnates had taken.⁶⁶ Despite the challenges of the sources for analysing violent attacks on church properties and lands, it is clear that prelates perceived the king, no matter his age, as the means through whom they could secure justice for their communities. In Scotland, probably before 1253, Alexander III received a joint petition from the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross, and Caithness entreating the king not to let laymen deprive ecclesiastical men of their 'ecclesiastical possessions granted in alms' without a judicial inquiry.⁶⁷ The bishops attributed this abuse of ecclesiastical liberty to Alexander's counsellors, who had introduced 'a certain new thing

⁶³ 'Gozuwino et Herimanno, qui rapinis et vastationibus in vestro comitatu sine modo grassantur', *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, eds. Erdmann and Fickermann, no. 63, p. 111.

⁶⁴ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 132-7; Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 856. See *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, ed. Luchaire, no. 628, pp. 297-8, for evidence of a long history of disagreements between the churches of Burgundy and Humbert, lord of Beaujeu, in Louis VII's reign. See Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, miter, and cloister: nobility and the church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (London, 1987), p. 130, for Humbert as the protector of the churches in Burgundy in the 1140s.

⁶⁵ 'Audita rex virorum religiosorum conquestione, zelo Dei accensus pro defensione ecclesiarum et cleri libertate, contra illum tyrannum movit arma et cum manu valida terram ipsius vastavit et predas duxit et in tantum audaciam eius repressit quod necessitate compulsus', Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, p. 134.

⁶⁶ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. Delaborde et al., i, no. 1, pp. 1-2, for Philip II's confirmation of the act by which Ebles recognised he had no rights to the town or territory of Saint-Sulpice de Chalivoy. See also no. 17, pp. 23-6, for Philip's confirmation of peace between William, count of Chalon, on the one hand, and Theobald, abbot of Cluny, and John, prior of Paray, on the other.

⁶⁷ 'vt uidel(ice)t p(er)sone eccl(es)iastice possessionib(us) Eccl(es)i(astic)is eo(run)dem in elemosinas (con)cessis nonint(er)ueniente Iudiciali cognic(i)o(n)e suo(rum) p(re)lato(rum) p(er) laicos spoli(en)tur', Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 16. Transcribed and translated online at *Models of authority*, <http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/244/texts/> [accessed 25 July 2017]. See also Taylor, *The shape of the state*, p. 341; Duncan, *The making of the kingdom*, pp. 559-6.

previously unheard of' into Scotland.⁶⁸ Ecclesiastical practices of appealing to royal authority continued despite the king's immaturity and his counsellors' behaviour, showing the continued reliance on standard channels of royal governance.⁶⁹ Opportunistic magnate behaviour, even at its most violent, was not always evidence of a lack of royal authority.

Writers blamed a king's childhood for events which would have been out of royal control even for an adult king, and the king's young age could be a useful topos for chroniclers. Struggles between groups of magnates, or between ecclesiastical and aristocratic powers, often had deep roots reaching back into the period before a child succeeded. Carpenter has shown how, during Henry III's minority, magnate loyalty to Louis, and baronial decisions to change sides, must be put into the context of private struggles between magnates.⁷⁰ Family land claims and debts of patronage could have a dramatic impact on magnate behaviour and decisions regarding fidelity to the crown. Similarly, in France, Louis IX's inability to restrain his nobles from deserting after they had completed their forty days of knight service, or to stop them from attacking the count of Champagne's lands, had little to do with his age or his mother's guardianship.⁷¹ Even Louis's father, Louis VIII, had been unable to prevent nobles such as Count Theobald from leaving the siege of Avignon after they believed they had fulfilled their military commitments.⁷²

There was a level of respect for the institution of kingship which prevented endangering the king's body even when royal authority was contained in the figure of a young boy (and his guardians). When Louis IX attempted to engage the French barons in battle, Joinville claimed that they asked him to stay out of the hostilities since they were reluctant to fight against the king.⁷³ Crucially, especially in the context of respect for royal power, the barons may have been prepared to attack a royal army, but they were not prepared to press their challenge with Louis

⁶⁸ 'veru(m) Iam quidda(m) nouu(m) et in regno Scoc' a ret(ro) te(m)p(or)ib(us) inaudit(u)m a u(est)ris est (con)siliariis introductu(m)', Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.18, no. 16. Translation from *Models of authority*, <http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/digipal/manuscripts/244/texts/> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁶⁹ Grant G. Simpson, 'Kingship in miniature: a seal of minority of Alexander III, 1249-1257', in *Medieval Scotland: crown, lordship and community: essays presented to G. W. S. Barrow*, eds. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 131-9 (at p. 131).

⁷⁰ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 32-5.

⁷¹ *Chron. maiora*, iii, pp. 195-6; Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, pp. 188-98.

⁷² *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 116. See also Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 82.

⁷³ 'Et le roy leur manda que a sa gent ne se combatroient il ja que son cors ne feust avec', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, pp. 196-8; translated in *Chronicles of the crusades*, trans. Smith, p. 167.

at its head.⁷⁴ There were future consequences to acting against the king when he was, in addition, many of the magnates' feudal lord. The king's physical presence could still prevent aggression escalating and combat some forms of rebellion. In Germany, when the Saxon princes rebelled against Henry IV in 1057, those in charge of royal governance believed that the king should go to Saxony himself to take measures against the challenge to the state.⁷⁵ We may doubt whether the boy, aged six or seven, would have fought against the rebels himself but the ability to call a royal assembly in the locality relied on his presence. Contemporaries placed a similar importance on the king's presence in the thirteenth century. In England, when Robert de Gaugy refused to surrender Newark castle in July 1218, William Marshal took Henry III with him to conduct the siege in person, believing the presence of the young king to be the most efficient way to end Robert's defiance.⁷⁶ Requests reached the English court in late September 1224 urging Henry III, then almost eighteen, or his younger brother Richard, to come in person to Gascony, where their presence would have a positive effect in the face of hostility from the count of La Marche and the French king.⁷⁷

Non-violent actions, for example refusing military service, could also be an attack on royal authority. Joinville is the only chronicler to detail how the French barons used their military dues to their lord and king, Louis IX, to negotiate their requests to Blanche regarding land. The barons each sent only two knights as a response to the king's call to arms, rather than the full knight service they owed.⁷⁸ Withholding royal rights was a form of magnate protest, much as modern-day strike action, which could demonstrate non-compliance with royal administration. In Scotland, men who feared the young Malcolm IV tried to either attack him or deny him customary payments, according to William of Newburgh.⁷⁹ Similarly, magnate dissatisfaction in Germany against the rule of a woman and a child, Agnes and Henry IV, initially took the

⁷⁴ William of Nangis, 'Chronicon', *RHGF* 20, p. 545. See Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', pp. 56-79, especially 62-5, who discusses how the king's presence could affect the nature of warfare and rebellion.

⁷⁵ 'Perculsis metu omnibus, quibus rerum publicarum sollicitudo aliqua erat, et magnopere intentis ad sedandam turbam, quae oriebatur, placuit regem ocius in Saxoniam venire et periclitanti rei publicae quaquam posset ratione consulere', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 71; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 70.

⁷⁶ Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', p. 232.

⁷⁷ Shirley, i, pp. 238-9.

⁷⁸ 'et acorderent encore que leur cors iroient au mandement que le roy feroit contre le conte, et chascun n'avroit avec li que .II. chevaliers', Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Monfrin, p. 190.

⁷⁹ 'Non tamen defuere qui novis motibus intumescentes vel eum impetendum censerent vel consueta illi denegarent', William of Newburgh, *The history of English affairs*, eds. Walsh and Kennedy, i, p. 108.

form of refusals to serve the king.⁸⁰ That the German princes similarly denied Henry his customary ‘servicia’ when he was under Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen’s guardianship suggests that Adam of Bremen was a little too quick to blame the empress’s gender alone for magnate dissension.⁸¹ The denial of payments hurt the king’s coffers and was a rejection of a royal entitlement but it was not necessarily an action of rebellion.

Punishments for magnate violence when a child was king were, in general, restrained, suggesting once again that conflict was an expected, tolerated by-product of child kingship. Rebellion at the start of Malcolm’s reign continued until 1156, when a rebel named Donald was captured and imprisoned in Roxburgh tower.⁸² Aside from Donald’s imprisonment, there is no record of retribution for the insurgents in the form of land seizures or physical punishment. Instead, the young king and those around him pursued a policy of reconciliation even with Somerled, the rebels’ leader.⁸³ In England, royal punishment of rebels varied more widely during Henry III’s minority and reflected a range of contemporary perceptions of the severity of challenges to royal authority. Secular magnates who had sided with Louis during the war were not disinherited. The priority was to secure a lasting peace and pacify those who had been in rebellion rather than risk sustained uprisings after Louis’s departure.⁸⁴ In contrast to the secular magnates, strict punishments faced many of the clergy who had taken Louis’s side and many were deprived of benefices at the legate Guala’s insistence.⁸⁵ Although clerical

⁸⁰ ‘Indignantibus enim principibus aut muliebri potestate constringi aut infantili ditione regi primo quidem communiter vindicantur se in pristinam libertatem, ut non servirent’, Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 176; translated in *History of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschan, p. 141.

⁸¹ ‘Et ipsi ergo consueta regi servicia detractabant, et ille in alias regni partes regem abducere nolebat, ne scilicet cum aliis principibus communicando principatum consiliorum et familiaritatis ipse sibi aliquid imminueret de fastigio usurpatae singularitatis’, Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, pp. 100-101; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 109. See Chapter Seven, p. 232. And see Leyser, *Rule and conflict*, p. 9, for tenth-century attempts to deny ‘servicia’ to the adult Otto I.

⁸² *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 128; *The chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, eds. Broun and Harrison, fol. 19r. See Ross, ‘The identity of the “Prisoner of Roxburgh”’, p. 280, who suggests that Donald was probably the son of Malcolm, the natural-born son of King Alexander I.

⁸³ One of Malcolm’s acts was dated by the year after the king and Somerled had settled peace: ‘apud Pert in natali domini proximo post concordiam Regis et Sumerledi’, *Chron. Holyrood*, p. 125 n.1. For the dispute over the dating of this act: McDonald and McLean, ‘Somerled of Argyll’, pp. 9-10; Barrow, ‘The date of the peace between Malcolm IV and Somerled’, pp. 222-3.

⁸⁴ For example, although John had threatened to slaughter hostages in 1216 if his demands to surrender Belvoir castle were not met, similar tactics were not used by Henry III or his guardians. See *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, no. 82, p. 63.

⁸⁵ Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, ii, pp. 225-6; *Dunstable annals*, in *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, iii, p. 51; ‘Barnwell’ chronicle, in *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed.

punishment was probably more severe than expected, H. G. Richardson demonstrated that it was not widespread.⁸⁶ Lenient responses from a child king's guardians could be a recognition of legitimate grievances at the source of magnate actions, even if these actions were violent and in opposition to the king. The leniency towards William de Forz, count of Aumale (*d.*1241), after he surrendered the royal castles of Rockingham and Sauvey which he had held against Henry III's order, has been seen as an indication that the count's actions were based on a well-founded injustice understood by those around the king.⁸⁷ No record survives to attest to the nature of this grievance, but Ralph of Coggeshall suggested that William's 'unjust' actions did not go entirely unpunished since his men faced imprisonment or exile.⁸⁸ Exile was not a lenient punishment, yet the treatment of William's supporters was unquestionably less severe than the penalty for the men who supported Falkes de Bréauté's rebellion in 1224. As is depicted graphically in Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora*, Henry III hung the entire garrison of Bedford castle, including Falkes's brother, William de Bréauté, as punishment for their actions.⁸⁹ The garrison's rebellion and its capitak punishment stand in stark contrast to the praise the same garrison received for their fidelity and constancy at the very start of Henry's reign.⁹⁰ Strickland likened the royal response at Bedford to the exacting punishments for 'proditio et infidelitas' by other Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings when sacrosanct ties of homage and fealty had been broken.⁹¹

Stubbs, ii, pp. 235-6; Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, eds. Churchill Babington and J. Rawson Lumby, 9 vols., Rolls Series 41 (London, 1865-86), viii, p. 198. See also Richardson, 'Letters of the legate Guala', p. 255.

⁸⁶ Richardson, 'Letters of the legate Guala', pp. 255-6; *The letters and charters of cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, ed. Vincent, pp. lxi-lxvi, 44-8. See also Chapter Six, pp. 192-3, for Guala's role in fixing the terms of the Treaty of Lambeth, especially regarding the clergy.

⁸⁷ Turner, 'The minority of Henry III. Part II', p. 242.

⁸⁸ 'Circa idem tempus, Willelmus de Fortibus, comes de Albamarla, occupans quaedam castra injuste, nec volens ad pacem regis accedere, excitavit hostilitatem in Lincolnesire contra regem; unde, ipso et singulis fautoribus eius a legato P., episcopis et clero Angliae excommunicatis, idem comes irreverenter coactus est ad deditionem, quibusdam ex suis carceribus mancipatis, aliis exilium perpetuum subeuntibus', Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Stevenson, p. 188.

⁸⁹ 'Idem rex obsedit castellum de Bedeforde, quod redditum est ei in vigila Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis, et fecit omnes fere suspendi quos intus invenit', *Winton Annals*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, ii, pp. 3-126 (at p. 84). See *Chron. maiora*, iii, p. 89. And see Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 64r., for Matthew's drawing of the hanging taking place outside Bedford castle.

⁹⁰ *Patent rolls, 1216-1225*, p. 22, for praise of the garrisons of Bedford and Northampton in January 1217. See Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 363-7, for the Bedford siege.

⁹¹ Strickland, 'Against the Lord's anointed', p. 74.

Audacity increased when men knew they could take advantage of a situation of child kingship without risking the same repercussions as they might face from an adult king. Lampert of Hersfeld attributed the fighting between the chamberlains of Bishop Hezilo of Hildesheim and Abbot Widerad of Fulda in Goslar church at Christmas 1063 to the former taking advantage of an opportune time when he could do what he pleased without fear of retribution, since the king was still in the years of his youth ('quia rege adhuc in puerilibus annis').⁹² Later in the year, at Pentecost, further disputes over episcopal precedence at another Goslar assembly led to a savage fight and bloodshed within the church.⁹³ The author of the *Vita Heinrici IV* corroborated Lampert's perspective, explicitly stating that there was no fear of the law because it lacked authority under the young boy-king.⁹⁴ Henry IV's 'boyish years' encouraged men to take advantage of the lack of an adult king.⁹⁵ Complaints such as these raise an important point regarding a child king's image. Although still approached by the clergy for aid and justice, he could not command the same awe or respect as an adult. The papal legate Pandulph provided a pertinent demonstration of how the king's immaturity could damage the royal image when he complained to Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches that the constable and men of Tickhill were deriding Henry III by calling him not king but boy.⁹⁶ This was more than casual invective; Pandulph's concern was that comments such as these could do real harm to the kingdom's stability by undermining royal authority. In eleventh-century Germany and thirteenth-century England in particular, there appear to have been real concerns for the realm's safety under a child king.

⁹² 'Sed episcopus causabatur neminem sibi intra diocesim suam post archiepiscopum debere preferri, animatus ad hoc et opum gloria, qua antecessores suos longe supergrediebatur, et temporis oportunitate, quia rege adhuc in puerilibus annis constituto singuli quod sibi animus suggessisset facere impune poterant', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 81; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 83.

⁹³ Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 82; translated in *The annals of Lampert of Hersfeld*, trans. Robinson, p. 85. See also Berthold of Reichenau, *Die Chroniken*, ed. Robinson, p. 196, for the quarrel between Widerad and Hezilo. See Chapter Seven, p. 232.

⁹⁴ 'Igitur quisque nitebatur maiori se aequalis aut etiam maior fieri; multorumque potentia scelere crevit, nec legis metus ullus erat, quae sub rege parvulo parvam auctoritatem habebat', *Vita Heinrici IV*, ed. Eberhard, p. 13; translated in *Imperial lives and letters*, ed./trans. Mommsen, Morrison, and Benson, p. 106.

⁹⁵ 'Sed quoniam aetas immatura parum timori est, et, dum metus languet, audacia crescit, pueriles anni regis multis suggerebant animum sceleris', *Vita Heinrici IV*, ed. Eberhard, p. 13; translated in *Imperial lives and letters*, ed./trans. Mommsen, Morrison, and Benson, p. 106. See also Otloh of St Emmeram, *Liber Visionum*, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 13 (Weimar, 1989), visio 15, p. 88.

⁹⁶ 'non regem sed puerum nominant deridendo', Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, pp. 1, 160.

Despite damning remarks regarding how Henry IV's age contributed to increased violence in the realm, authors rarely resorted to the Ecclesiastes passage to suggest that the land felt woe under a boy king. It is particularly striking that, when writers did turn to this biblical adage, it was seldom as a direct response to child kingship. Instead, in Lampert of Hersfeld's case, he spoke of the land's woe in a different context in his (now lost) history of Hersfeld abbey, written before 1076.⁹⁷ Rather than applying the biblical passage to the events of Henry's childhood, Lampert related Ecclesiastes 10:16 to the circumstances of the early 1070s, when Henry was in his early to mid-twenties.⁹⁸ This was a period when royal involvement and an imperial decree concerning tithes in Thuringia caused the abbey acute financial distress.⁹⁹ Lampert's focus on writing his abbey's history encouraged a contemplative view of Henry's impact on his community. The woe of the Ecclesiastes passage was a very personal one. Lampert thus implicitly followed Jerome in interpreting a young king's actions or choice of counsels as the cause of woe, not the biological fact of a child on the throne.¹⁰⁰ Bardo of Lucca, in his *vita* of Anselm of Lucca (the younger), went further than Lampert, claiming that, since Henry had received the throne in his infancy, what had been said by Solomon was then fulfilled in the king.¹⁰¹ Bardo had similarly experienced personal anguish first-hand during Henry's reign when he accompanied Bishop Anselm after his expulsion from Lucca by Henry and the antipope in 1081. Henry's later (adult) behaviour towards Anselm evidently shaped a lot of Bardo's rhetoric and representation of Henry's earlier kingship. Even Bardo did not attribute blame for the lack

⁹⁷ 'Palacium perditis moribus plenum erat. Ve enim tibi terra, cuius rex puer est!', Lampert of Hersfeld, *Libellus*, in *Lamperti opera*, p. 354. Only the prologue and a few fragments of this work survive.

⁹⁸ It seems likely that Lampert was specifically referring to the period between 1072 and 1074 due to the events directly preceding and following the Ecclesiastes quote.

⁹⁹ There is extensive literature dealing with the tithe disputes between Mainz-Fulda-Hersfeld and Halberstadt-Hersfeld. See, especially, Giles Constable, *Monastic tithes: from their origins to the twelfth century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series 10 (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 73-4, who states that the controversy (which Lampert claimed started in the Carolingian period) broke out in the mid-eleventh century at the point when Mainz gained imperial and papal support against the abbeys.

¹⁰⁰ 'uidetur quidem reprobare iuuenum principatum et luxuriosos iudices condemnare', *St. Jerome: commentary on Ecclesiastes*, eds. Richard J. Goodrich and David J. D. Miller, Ancient Christian Writers 66 (New York, 2012), p. 116, where Jerome interprets Ecclesiastes 10:16 as a rejection of the leadership of the young and a condemnation of extravagant judges. This is confirmed in his *Commentary on Isaiah*. See also I. S. Robinson, 'The Bible in the Investiture Contest: the south German Gregorian circle', in *The Bible in the medieval world: essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History 4 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 61-84, for the circulation of patristic commentaries in the German kingdom at the end of the eleventh century.

¹⁰¹ 'Nam Heinricus, filius imperatoris Heinrici tertii...qui dum ab ipsa infantia, defuncto iam patre, suscepisset regni gubernacula, impletum est, quod per Salomonem dictum est: Vae terrae, cuius rex puer est', Bardo of Lucca, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. George Henry Pertz, MGH SS 12 (Hannover, 1856), pp. 13-35 (at p. 17).

of royal justice entirely to the child king, but also to the fact that he entrusted himself to youthful counsels.¹⁰² Even for eleventh-century monastic authors who had personal experience of a child on the German throne, the Ecclesiastes passage was not a straightforward rejection of child kingship, as modern historians have tended to suggest. Instead, these contemporaries recalled the biblical citation as part of their conception of fair and just kingship and as an expression of their lived experience during the political situation of the 1070s and 1080s, when Henry was no longer a child. These examples are a pertinent reminder that, as historians, we must exercise caution before taking at face value the monastic use of biblical tropes.

Rebellion at the start of a child king's reign was sometimes a sign of stability and legitimacy rather than one of volatility. I have argued here that most initial rebellions did not have an anti-monarchical goal, demonstrating contemporary acceptance of children in royal succession across north-western Europe. Geographically, then, Scotland and England provide notable exceptions of dynastic challenge during the early years of Malcolm IV and Henry III's reigns. Yet, in both cases, the conditions for the rebellions had already been present in their predecessors' reigns. Neither was a new challenge directed specifically at an underage king. Child kingship in the central Middle Ages is thus of a slightly different nature than in the earlier Middle Ages, during which time child kings had been more likely to face a challenge to their rule attempting to remove them from the throne. Instances of opportunistic violence demonstrate an adherence to 'normal' channels of government since those who deemed themselves to be victims appealed to the king regardless of his age. Contemporaries expected their recourse to royal justice would not be in vain. Furthermore, magnates used recognisable channels of violent and non-violent protest to indicate their disenchantment with the exercise of royal power or to act opportunistically, engaging with the child king in a similar way to any new king. They may not have been happy about a regime change, or may have used the age of the new king as a convenient excuse for their behaviour, but the methods they employed – violence against ecclesiastical properties and communities, exploitation of ecclesiastical liberties, encroachment on royal rights – were not new and certainly were not exclusive to periods of child kingship. The lenient punishment of many rebels and their quick reintegration into political networks suggest that these forms of magnate behaviour were expected and, to an

¹⁰² 'Nam puerilibus se consiliis committens, omnium genera spurcitarum edoctus', Bardo of Lucca, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. Pertz, p. 17.

extent, accepted as part of the early years of a child king's reign. My research thus supports a more general historiographical trend to reinterpret the one-dimensional view of magnate behaviour during periods of child kingship.¹⁰³ It is far harder to tell whether violent and opportunistic action increased when a child was king. Refuting such claims would involve a much broader study of cases of aristocratic violence than I could accomplish in this thesis. Nevertheless, even a very brief survey suggests to me that child kingship was not necessarily more violent, unstable, or prone to challenge than comparative periods of 'adult' royal rule. What caused contemporaries in Germany greater concern: the period of Henry IV's childhood between 1056 and 1065, or his later disputes with Pope Gregory VII, the events at Canossa, challenges from anti-kings throughout the 1070s and 1080s, and his formal deposition by his own son in 1105? Were the years of Alexander III's minority in Scotland any more troubling than the baronial problems concurrently facing the adult King Henry III in England in the 1250s? The prospect of increased violence when a boy was king concerned monastic chroniclers and it is undeniable that, in Germany, Henry IV's minority saw more references to violence and a lack of adherence to royal law than elsewhere. Nonetheless, childhood and youth were useful *topoi* for chroniclers to explain away rebellion, especially for monastic authors who retrospectively sought to contextualise their communities' worries and insecurities. Even in these cases, however, monastic concern directed itself more towards the end of the king's adolescence, and the renegotiation of arrangements for royal counsel which accompanied this life stage, than to the fact that there had been a child on the throne.

¹⁰³ For example, see Alan Young, 'The political role of Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, during the minority of Alexander III of Scotland', in *Essays on the nobility of medieval Scotland*, ed. Keith J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 131-49, who challenges the views of earlier historians that the barons in Scotland were largely disruptive of Scottish kingship during Alexander III's minority. See also Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, pp. 13, who reassesses the view of magnate unrest in Louis IX's minority, arguing that previous historians have overplayed the violence of these years.

Conclusion

Childhood, on occasion, affected the highest position in medieval society, but child kings were not inherent contradictions or temporary impediments to the *status quo* of adult ruler. In this thesis, I have set out to compare and contrast seven cases of child kingship between 1050 and 1250 to understand how these kings survived as rulers despite their accession to the throne as boys. I have found that the children were widely accepted and supported as kings by their fathers, mothers, prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, large sections of the aristocracy, and the papacy, despite being atypical of contemporaneous expectations of medieval kingship. Furthermore, I have determined how fundamental changes and developments over this period impacted on the management and acceptance of child kingship more generally across north-western Europe.

i. Preparation, guardianship, and the vulnerabilities of child kingship

We are aware today, in modern society, of the formative nature of childhood. This life stage was also of developmental significance in the Middle Ages. Kings recognised the importance of familiarising their sons with royal rule and raising them in preparation for kingship from a young age. Preparation came in many forms, as I showed in Part I, where I established the need to broaden the current historiographical approach to ‘anticipatory association’ – which, until now, has focused narrowly on actions deemed to have constitutional and ritual significance – to ensure recognition of the central maternal role in preparing sons for royal rule. I argued for the crucial importance of paternal actions in laying the groundwork for a boy’s succession and for connecting political communities of magnates and prelates in support of the child after the king’s death. Although the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a move away from the reliance on associative kingship to written testaments containing inheritance and succession plans, intimate provisions for child kingship – exact arrangements for vice-regal guardianship, or notions of the king’s progression to maturity – remained uncertain at the royal deathbed. To understand the interactions between magnates, queen mothers, and boy kings during a period of child kingship, we must understand the preparation these children received as heirs to the throne and the events prior to their succession.

In Part II, I demonstrated the variety of arrangements for vice-regal guardianship: from mothers taking a prominent role, to secular or ecclesiastical magnate involvement, papal wardship and oversight, or more conciliar forms of guardianship. Whilst the exact arrangements in each case depended, to a large extent, on contemporary political circumstances, I showed how the provisions made for a child king's care and the kingdom's administration evolved in light of fundamental social, cultural, political, and legal changes over the central Middle Ages. Primarily, changing notions of maturity meant that, by the thirteenth century, immaturity was no longer incompatible with the rite of passage conveyed by knighting. Knighting was viewed as a prerequisite to coronation, and thus intimately connected to the arrangements for a boy king's care. New legal influences on kingship from the end of the twelfth century affected contemporary ideas regarding a boy king's progression to maturity, extending guardianship over a longer period and detaching his personal rule from his attainment of legal majority. Changing cultural and legal ideas also affected contemporary attitudes to maternal involvement in governance. When mothers were responsible for ruling their sons' kingdoms, whether in the eleventh or thirteenth centuries, they relied on similar strategies to uphold their sons' coronation promises as those used by magnate guardians. Yet, over time, customary ideas which prioritised lordship over kinship came to have more sway among the kingdom's secular princes or barons. The trend towards conciliar guardianship further contributed to the marginalisation of queen mothers in arrangements for royal minority rule by the thirteenth century.

Periods of child kingship could be politically vulnerable and often encouraged opportunistic challenges to royal authority, as I have shown. That such challenges undermined the legitimacy of child kingship is something I contended in Part III. It is undeniable that certain forms of violent behaviour – such as kidnap – were more frequent under a child ruler. The flexibility of arrangements for vice-regal guardianship encouraged magnates to use kidnap as a legitimate political tool to gain control of the king and, through him, the administration of the kingdom. Accordingly, in north-western Europe, it was not child kings themselves who were most vulnerable to challenges but the men and women who acted as their guardians. Contemporary attitudes could be particularly vitriolic towards queen mothers ruling for their sons. I argued that we must analyse both the opposition women faced because of their gender and the range of options available to widowed queens. Only then can we answer the question of why some mothers were so intimately involved in a period of child kingship whilst others took little part in governance, even leaving their sons' kingdoms. The king's young age did not encourage an

increase in violence *per se* and I contended the claim that periods of child kingship were necessarily more violent than an adult king's reign. Dynastic challenges to underage kings were less common in the central Middle Ages than some modern scholars think; opportunistic magnate belligerence and property disputes were far more common. Manifestations of magnate unease were a sign of a boy king's permanency since, despite his age, violent action focused on common aristocratic concerns of land, rights, and property rather than direct rebellion against the king himself. This was a characteristic response to any change in kingship and was part of a 'settling in' process following an adjustment in royal power.

Four important themes have recurred throughout my analysis of the preparation children received for kingship, the implementation of guardianship arrangements, and the vulnerabilities and challenges posed by a child ruler. They are: geographical differences in the experience of child kingship; chronological continuity and change; notions of age and maturity; and considerations of gender. I shall now consider each of these themes in turn.

ii. A thematic approach to child kingship

Firstly, as regards geographical differences, modern scholarship has often seen the monarchies studied in this thesis as taking very different approaches to royal rule. I have demonstrated, however, that the specific circumstances of child kingship necessitated a broadly similar approach across the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Germany. Parallels can be seen in a king's desire to secure some form of magnate recognition for his heir during childhood. The provisions for a child king's coming of age appear to have been broadly consistent across north-western Europe since similar notions of maturity influenced the arrangements made for the king and kingdom. Child kings and queen mothers in all four kingdoms faced comparable vulnerabilities, and aristocratic strategies to remove guardians were broadly similar. In demonstrating greater continuity across 'national' boundaries, I have shown that, overall, the central Middle Ages accepted child kingship more universally than before. Violence targeted directly at a boy king was far less common in this period than in Anglo-Saxon England or in Merovingian France, for example. Nevertheless, there were, of course, geographical differences in the strategies used to prepare a child for the throne, the arrangements made for his guardianship, and the specific challenges and vulnerabilities he and his guardians faced.

In England, the nature of papal involvement in Henry III's minority diverges from the other case studies I considered in this thesis. John's deathbed decision to leave his son and kingdom to the papacy had an immediate impact on Henry's coronation, arrangements for the kingdom's care, and peace negotiations which brought an end to baronial warfare, as I have shown. The dynastic challenge Louis posed to Henry's kingship was also unique in dating from before his coronation. Henry was the only boy examined here to succeed whilst a rival for the throne was in his kingdom.

In Scotland, the most obvious example of geographical divergence is in the preparation child heirs received before succession. Scottish kings relied on orally dictating deathbed intentions, even into the mid-thirteenth century when other monarchs across north-western Europe used written testaments. Although designating an heir to the Scottish throne was not unusual, there was no attempt by the kings of Scots in the central Middle Ages to crown their sons during their own lifetimes due to the nature of Scottish royal inaugurations, which centred on the ruler's enthronement rather than their crowning. This differs from the rulers of France, Germany, and England; all of whom at least dipped their toes into the waters of associate kingship. Furthermore, the nature of Anglo-Scottish relations directly affected child kings in Scotland, especially with regard to ceremonies of knighting, Alexander III's kidnap in 1255, and the introduction of new legal notions of maturity such as the age of twenty-one as the terminus for vice-regal guardianship.

In direct contrast to Scotland, the tradition of associate kingship persisted in France over most of the central Middle Ages and was the basis of a child heir's preparation for kingship until the thirteenth century. The strength of Capetian primogenital succession from father to eldest son over the entire period may have encouraged a more favourable attitude towards child kings here than elsewhere. France was the only realm in north-western Europe in which a queen mother acted as vice-regal guardian from the moment her son succeeded through to his coming of age. The only attempt to remove Blanche of Castile (of which we are aware) failed when popular support rallied behind her and Louis IX.

Germany was, significantly, the only kingdom in which a king's son was passed over in the royal succession during the central Middle Ages due to his immaturity. I argued resolutely that we should not transpose the twelfth-century rejection of child kingship onto the preceding

period since other factors came into play besides the boy's immaturity, such as his geographical location or the adult contender's military strength. Nevertheless, even during Henry IV's reign, there are indications that a boy king of the Romans caused greater unease among contemporaries than a child ruler elsewhere in Europe: for example, the perceived necessity of crowning Henry before he had reached an age of comprehension.

Staying within the theme of geography, I argued throughout this thesis for greater geographical consistency across the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Germany, despite political and legal developments in each of the realms which inevitably affected contemporaneous perspectives of child kingship. How kingship functioned under a boy king was a conundrum common to all four polities, yet the elites generally accepted children as their rulers. Child kings received support from their mothers and from men in secular and ecclesiastical positions who were faithful to the royal dynasty or, at the very least, aware that their own positions fundamentally depended on upholding royal rule. As I have progressed with my comparative research, it has become clear that child kingship presents an ideal case study from which to argue against the exaggeration of differences across traditional national divisions and thus against exceptionalism. As one would expect, cases of child kingship were never identical, but no one kingdom can, or should, be treated as 'exceptional' in terms of how they responded to the political problem of an underage king.¹ Child kingship was an acceptable, even inevitable, state of rulership even though, in Germany, the acceptability of child kingship came into conflict with Germanic notions of suitability for office after the Investiture Controversy and into the twelfth century.

The twelfth century was in many ways the testing ground for child kingship all over north-western Europe. This century saw the first child king of Scots, Malcolm IV, which tried Celtic notions of inheritance in accepting direct royal succession from grandfather to grandson. Despite some opposition, Malcolm's succession and reign demonstrated the beginning of the acceptance of primogeniture at a royal level. In France, the late twelfth century witnessed a trial

¹ I am by no means the first historian to lament either the emphasis on exceptionalism or the assumption of fundamental differences in kingship between realms. For two recent examples which highlight these problems, see: Weiler, *Kingship, rebellion and political culture* [published in 2007]; Nicholas Vincent, 'Twelfth and thirteenth-century kingship: an essay in Anglo-French misunderstanding', in *Les idées passent-elles La Manche? Savoirs, représentation, pratiques (France-Angleterre, Xe-XXe siècles)*, eds. Jean-Philippe Genêt and Francois-Joseph Ruggiu (Paris, 2007), pp. 21-36.

case for contemporary notions of kingship and maturity when a fourteen-year-old boy took over royal rule from his ill father. Philip II's maternal family had evidently expected to have greater access to power than the young king allowed them. Around the same time in England, Henry II experimented with associate kingship by crowning his eldest son, Henry the Young King, during his lifetime, with decidedly unsuccessful results. Even when analysing a central difference between child kingship in the German realm and elsewhere across Europe, we can still observe a clear parallel between kingdoms in that the twelfth century was a time of formative development in contemporary ideas of the relationship between childhood and rulership.

Recognising greater geographical consistency across the kingdoms of north-western Europe is crucial in that it allows us to distinguish moments of cross-cultural contact and even the spread of political and legal ideas across geographical boundaries. Similar circumstances in other kingdoms could directly inspire how a ruler prepared his (grand)son for kingship and affect the management of guardianship arrangements after the child's succession. This finding is important in exposing, yet again, the interconnected nature of the polities of medieval Europe. Contemporaneous, or near-contemporaneous, examples of child kingship in neighbouring kingdoms encouraged kings to prioritise certain practices of association or influenced the introduction of new political ideas. Emperor Henry III's coronation of his infant son as king of the Romans shortly before his own untimely death undoubtedly influenced Henry I's decisions in France regarding associating Philip I in royal rule. A boy king's guardians similarly turned to situations of child rulership elsewhere to inform their decision-making. I suggested that Anne of Kiev's decision to remarry and take a less prominent role in the administration of the French kingdom during Philip I's minority could have been informed in part by news from Germany of Empress Agnes's removal as Henry IV's guardian in 1062. Likewise, the knighting of Louis IX of France immediately after his father's death and prior to his royal inauguration bears a striking resemblance to the circumstances in which Henry III was knighted only a decade earlier. Cross-cultural examples could even inspire representations of a child king's maturity. In Scotland, when Alexander III wanted to display his independence from the guardianship council – whose membership and terminus Henry III of England had specified – he asserted his adult authority with the attestation clause 'teste me ipso', the same formula Henry himself had used to show his progression from his minority into his personal rule. Unequivocal evidence for direct cross-kingdom influences is of course hard to come by, but these, and other, examples

suggest that the men and women around a child king were more likely to turn to (near-) contemporary cases of child kingship in other kingdoms than they were to look backwards in time to precedents in their own kingdom from half a century, a century, or even longer ago. Again, this means that we need to recognise a greater consistency in political ideas of rulership between the kingdoms of north-western Europe than is usually acknowledged or suggested by modern historians.

Secondly, I have argued that chronological developments over the central Middle Ages had a far greater impact on child kingship than geographical differences. Philip I's minority resembled that of his contemporary, Henry IV of Germany, more closely than that of his great-great-grandson Louis IX two centuries later. Periods of child kingship (unsurprisingly) often reflected broader social, legal, political, and cultural changes and developments. Modern historians see the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as marking the rise of 'administrative kingship', and as I have demonstrated, the increasing reliance on bureaucratic forms of government had a significant impact on child kingship. Changes in transactional acts of rulership affected the strategies kings used to prepare their underage (grand)sons for the throne. The inclusion of royal infants in charters declined between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and the increasing preference for generic terminology in royal records removed evidence of a child's introduction to kingship at this early life stage. Similarly, in most cases it became harder to see guardianship arrangements in the record evidence by the thirteenth century, whether the guardian was the queen mother, as in France in the case of Louis IX, or a council of magnates, as in Scotland during Alexander III's minority. Attestations to royal documents in England displayed the authority of Henry III's guardians more plainly than for thirteenth-century child kings elsewhere. Even in England, however, the way in which a boy king's guardians appeared in the record evidence demonstrated the influence of new administrative practices, as William Marshal's consistent use of the title 'rector' corroborates. Increasing legal influences on kingship accompanied administrative changes across north-western Europe. Kings began to rely more prominently on written testaments issued from the royal deathbed or prior to their absence from the kingdom, bringing greater legal clarity to intentions for royal succession and the distribution of territories and wealth. As I have shown, guardians incorporated new legal notions of maturity into arrangements for the care of king and kingdom, seen clearly through representations of immaturity in terms of the boy king reaching a specific legal age ('ad etatem'), in the extension of his progression to maturity, and in the unmistakable separation of

the biological notion of his maturity from an age of legal majority. These administrative and legal changes fit with other trends towards greater standardisation and even regulation of royal authority when a child was king, such as the increasing formalisation of conciliar involvement or changes to royal sealing practices.

Thirdly, turning to ideas of age and maturity, chronological developments did not always introduce new innovative ideas. Often what we perceive as ‘changes’ were in fact cases of contemporaries formalising or bringing greater clarity to practices already occurring. For example, the notion of fixing a terminus to a period of child kingship had existed even in the eleventh century when contemporary customary notions of male maturity associated the end of a royal minority with a boy’s fifteenth year. Ideas such as these attracted little contemporaneous comment or documentation since either they were natural and commonplace, or their transmission was oral and left no surviving record. Royal chanceries sought greater legal and administrative precision by the mid-thirteenth century and, consequently, terminus dates began to be written into royal documents. Similarly, we can see the practical division of ‘rex’ and ‘regnum’ in cases of minority royal rule over the entire central Middle Ages. Royal authority did not cease when a child was king but, because the act of ruling was separate from the body of the king, royal governance had to be able to function separately from the king’s physical body. Greater definition was brought to the disjunction between the king’s physical body and the political authority of kingship by the early thirteenth century. In some cases, this inspired the introduction of ideas regarding what a king could and could not do whilst underage, such as Henry III’s ability to issue charters in perpetuity.

Power, politics, and ritual are the categories historians use most frequently to assess medieval kings and kingship but, as I have argued throughout this thesis, we need to give equal weight in cases of child kingship to the impact of (im)maturity. Contemporary notions of maturity affected child kings in a similar way, shaping perceptions of their ability to rule alone and their progression to adulthood. My research demonstrates, once more, the error in Philippe Ariès’s argument that the Middle Ages did not recognise a concept of childhood. I have shown conclusively how, as fathers (or grandfathers), kings took immaturity into account in the strategies through which they introduced their sons (or grandsons) to royal rule. A child king’s age affected rituals associated with kingship and guardians used (and occasionally abused) his childhood to their own advantage. Even the tactics magnates employed to challenge the

personnel around a boy king took the ruler's immaturity into consideration. Due to changing cultural, social, and legal notions of maturity, I argued that the king's transition from childhood to adulthood was of greater concern by the turn of the twelfth century and into the early years of the thirteenth.

Finally, I turn to the issue of gender. The participation of queen mothers (or, more accurately in Ada de Warenne's case, the king's mother) in periods of child rulership is not a tale of 'decline' in power and position between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, as modern historians once thought, but nor can we affirm the opposite. Instead, through a comparative analysis of maternal involvement, I have shown that fundamental changes over the central Middle Ages only served to strengthen the challenges to a mother's inclusion in vice-regal guardianship. Increasing standardisation of royal administration meant that thirteenth-century queens had a much-diminished role in their husbands' acts in comparison to their eleventh-century counterparts. This affected a queen's personal experience of royal rule and contemporary views of her proficiency in governance. The altered circumstances of royal death increased the likelihood that the queen would not be present at her husband's deathbed, removing an opportunity for her to assert her authority to act on her son's behalf straightaway. Consequently, the queen's participation in her son's minority came to rely much more on the active support of the men present at the royal deathbed. The resort to conciliar guardianship in a situation of child kingship by the mid-thirteenth century furthered the exclusion of women from guardianship arrangements. Marie de Coucy's inclusion in the list of counsellors with responsibility for the care of the Scottish kingdom was tokenism and there was little, if any, real delegation of power. Some of these shifts were deliberate, such as the conscious undermining of a mother's role in arrangements for tenurial guardianship through the introduction of new legal thinking which prioritised lordship over kinship. Legal developments at a tenurial level clearly influenced the magnates around a boy king. New legal ideas joined existing cultural and legal impediments to a woman's involvement in secular justice and military affairs. Other changes were less explicit and occurred more gradually, such as the decreasing visibility of queens in their husbands' acts. These additional challenges did not prevent a woman from involving herself in her son's care and the rule of his kingdom, but they certainly made it harder for the queen mother to do so by the thirteenth century.

Given my findings, Blanche of Castile appears all the more remarkable. Despite the obstacles she had to overcome, nevertheless she persisted. Blanche's prominence in rule from Louis IX's succession as an eleven-year-old boy king through to his early twenties clearly substantiates the argument against a decline in the power and position of women between the early and central Middle Ages. Yet, as I have shown, we must recognise the many advantages that worked in Blanche's favour. 'Accidents' of biology and age meant that she faced less pressure to remarry in her widowhood and had benefited from many more years at court gaining experience of rule and patronage as well as networks of friendship and political support. She had her husband's trust and the support of the French episcopate after his death. Luck was on her side in that the magnate attempt to kidnap her son failed. Had the plan succeeded, Blanche, like Agnes of Poitou in Germany, would have had to work for her son from the side-lines rather than in the prominent position of vice-regal guardianship. Popular support was also in Blanche's favour, at least from the citizens of Paris. Access to military force seems to have posed little problem for her, and she was politically savvy in grounding her position alongside Louis in the terminology and actions of lordship, as demonstrated by her central involvement in oaths of fidelity to her son and the frequent references to her as 'domina'. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, Blanche's direct influence over her children and their education in infancy and childhood cultivated a maternal-filial relationship between the queen and Louis which endured throughout his minority and into his adult reign.² Unlike his grandfather, Philip II, Louis never tried to free himself from his mother's influence or counsel. We can assume that Blanche acted with her son's consent even as he reached maturity. Not every queen had the same resources at her disposal, benefited from the same support, or had the same experience, personality, or competency as Blanche of Castile. I have argued fervently that modern analysis of the influence of gender on situations of child kingship must take into account: firstly, that guardianship was not the only way in which a mother could act on her son's behalf, and secondly, that widowed queens faced competing loyalties and societal pressures which any assessment of maternal behaviour and actions must consider.

² Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 713-4, for the relationship between Louis and his mother, although I would not go so far as Le Goff in describing their relationship as 'une coroyauté' into Louis's adulthood.

iii. Contribution to research

My intention in this thesis has been a straightforward but innovative one: to emphasise the fundamental value of studying child kings comparatively, overcoming the inherent problems of a comparative approach. I have not aimed to offer a comprehensive account of all aspects of child rulership. Instead, my contribution has been to provide a unique perspective on child kingship, analysing periods when a boy was king both in their own context and comparatively across several kingdoms, demonstrating far greater political continuity across medieval monarchies than is usually appreciated. I have shown that child kingship needs to be understood within its own context rather than simply as the foundation for a king's adult reign or as times of political disruption and violent conflict. The comparative methodology I have employed throughout this research is ambitious and relatively untried, but it is essential to countering the nation-based interpretations of medieval kingship which still dominate modern scholarship. Furthermore, in bringing the eleventh and thirteenth centuries into direct comparison, I have provided valuable evidence of how some of the larger narratives of change over the central Middle Ages affected child kingship. Changes to the order of knighting and coronation or the increasing reliance on conciliar forms of government, for example, can only be understood by setting these developments in the context of broader ideas of continuity and change over the period. Few comparisons of kingship extend across the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. My research thus provides a much-needed contribution to our knowledge of child rulership but also proposes an alternative model for how we analyse medieval kingship more generally.

One of the most significant contributions I make in this thesis is to argue for an inclusive approach to political history in which we incorporate women comprehensively rather than relegating them to separate studies only consulted by those already interested in gender history, queenship, or medieval women. Placing queen mothers in direct comparison with the male magnates who followed them as guardians and with contemporary parallels in other kingdoms has been noticeably lacking hitherto but is of the utmost importance. By integrating women centrally in a consideration of political rule, I have established that we can further our understanding of contemporary ideas of legitimacy and suitability without having to consign the actions of queen mothers to a separate category of 'female' power or guardianship.

It would be interesting to test some of my conclusions further by applying this innovative methodology to other cases of child rulership throughout this period, especially those beyond north-western Europe, such as the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, eastern Europe and Kievan Rus', or Scandinavia. Child rulers appeared in all these regions; to what extent did the management of child kingship there differ from what I have observed in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Germany? To provide one example: in Norway, the importance of fostering royal sons in noble households meant that children received a different upbringing in preparing them for the throne than in the cases I analysed in this thesis. Did fosterage then influence the personnel involved in guardianship arrangements for a Norwegian child king? My findings have further ramifications for considerations of non-royal minority rule. Arrangements for tenurial wardship were changing over the central Middle Ages, as I have shown, but did new legal ideas, the increasing likelihood of fathers dying abroad, and the greater challenges facing mothers as guardians affect aristocratic and noble children in a comparable way to child kings? A similarly fruitful area for further research would be to examine concepts of papal overlordship and their relationship to a king's immaturity.³ Whilst I have touched on aspects of papal involvement, this subject could be pursued further and deserves a more comprehensive analysis which can do justice to the vast historiography on the papacy.

In recent years, many broader narratives of violence and political turmoil have benefited from revision by modern scholars of noble and aristocratic dispute settlement. Yet, the temptation to categorise periods of child rulership as times of personal trauma, and as occasions of disturbance, political disorder, and conflict in the kingdom, persists nevertheless. Rather than repeating biblical adages of woe, we need to adjust this one-dimensional view of minority kingship. A child on the throne could lead to political innovation rather than stagnation and could encourage significant magnate collaboration. Crucially, I have argued here for a more complex view of the challenges posed by child kingship, yet my research reveals the potential for further analysis of conflict and violence under a child king.

David Carpenter's intention for his assessment of Henry III's minority was to provide a 'detailed narrative account of the minority, written from the viewpoint of central government'. He claimed that anything which took a more analytical approach 'would bring familiarity with

³ Benedict Wiedemann, 'Papal overlordship and 'protectio' of the king, c.1000-1300', unpublished PhD thesis, UCL (forthcoming), for some of the intersections between papal overlordship and child kingship.

individual bricks but give little idea of their place in the construction of the building'.⁴ This thesis was partly inspired by Carpenter's monograph which, when I first read it, not only provided the background for an extended essay on Henry III for my Master's degree at the University of East Anglia but also sparked a personal interest in unpicking the relationship between royal authority and childhood.⁵ My aim for this doctoral project was to look behind the functions of government, central or otherwise, to the children themselves and to those who acted on their behalf, bringing the socio-political actions of child kings and their guardians to the forefront of the account. In so doing, I hope that I have not only brought familiarity with the 'individual bricks' of seven cases of child kingship, but have also provided an idea of the place of these children in the construction of rulership in north-western Europe across the central Middle Ages.

⁴ Carpenter, *The minority of Henry III*, p. 4.

⁵ It was also after reading Carpenter's book that I became aware of the lack of a comparative study of child kings across north-western Europe in the central Middle Ages. See Introduction, p. 8.

Appendices

Contents

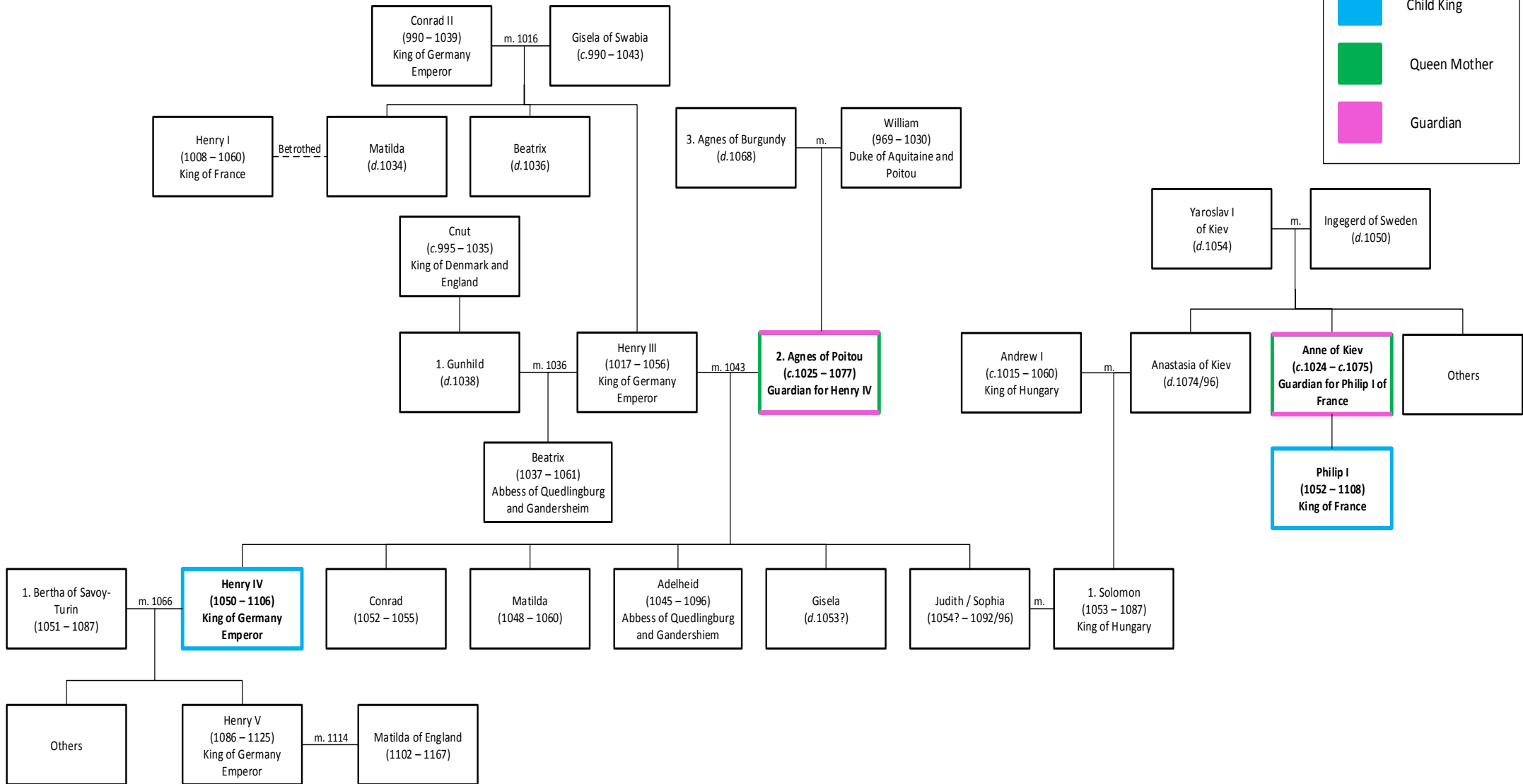
- A. Child Kings of Germany
- B. Child Kings of France
- C. Child Kings of Scots
- D. Child Kings of England

The following genealogies are intended to be helpful visual guides to the wider familial networks of the child kings discussed in this thesis. Kinship connections between child kings are shown even when these cross traditional kingdom boundaries, demonstrating the interconnected nature of European royal families throughout the Middle Ages.

Birth and death dates provided are not always prescriptive. Not all siblings are listed in each case, and children are not always listed in chronological order.

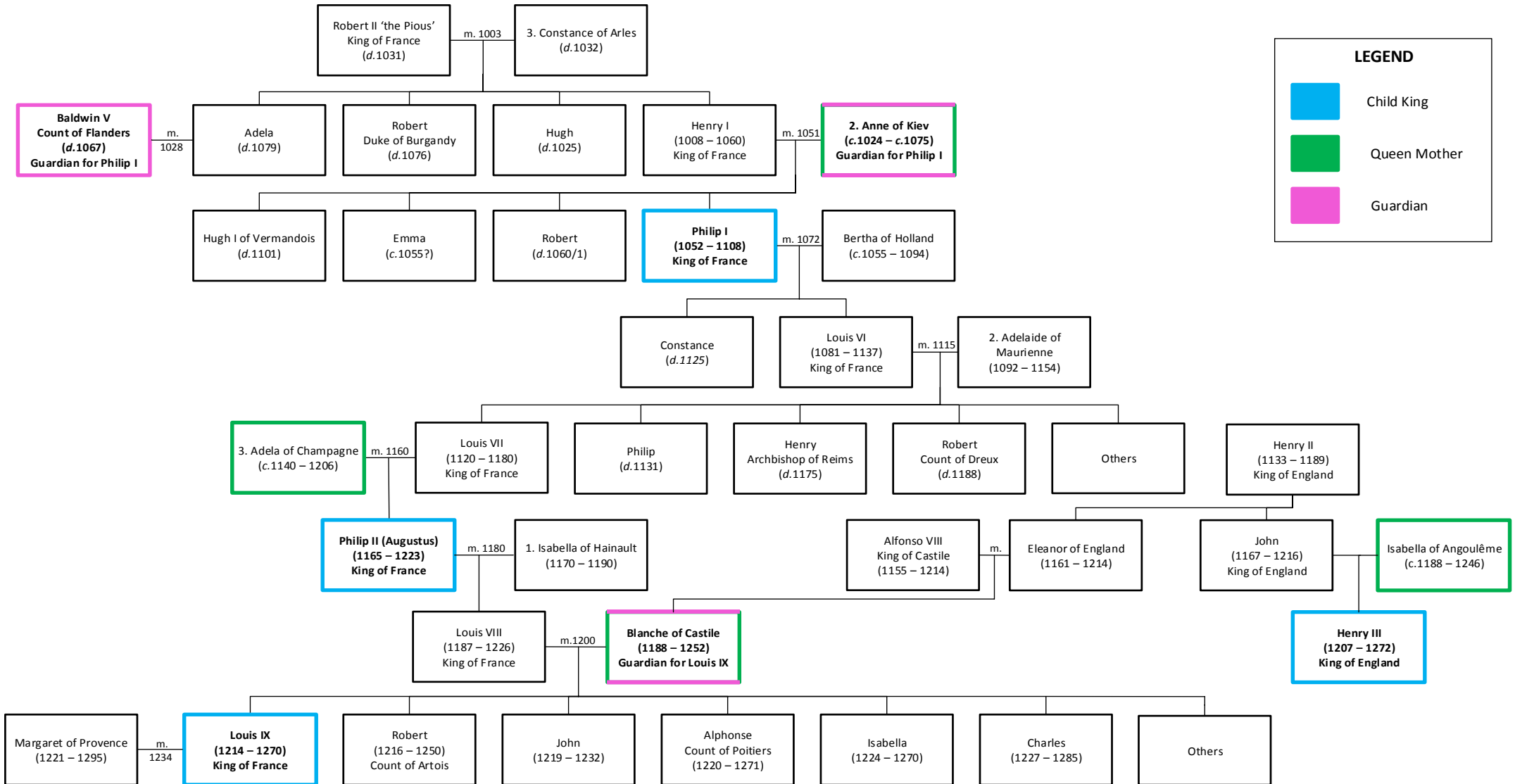
Appendix A

Child Kings of Germany, c.1050 – c.1250

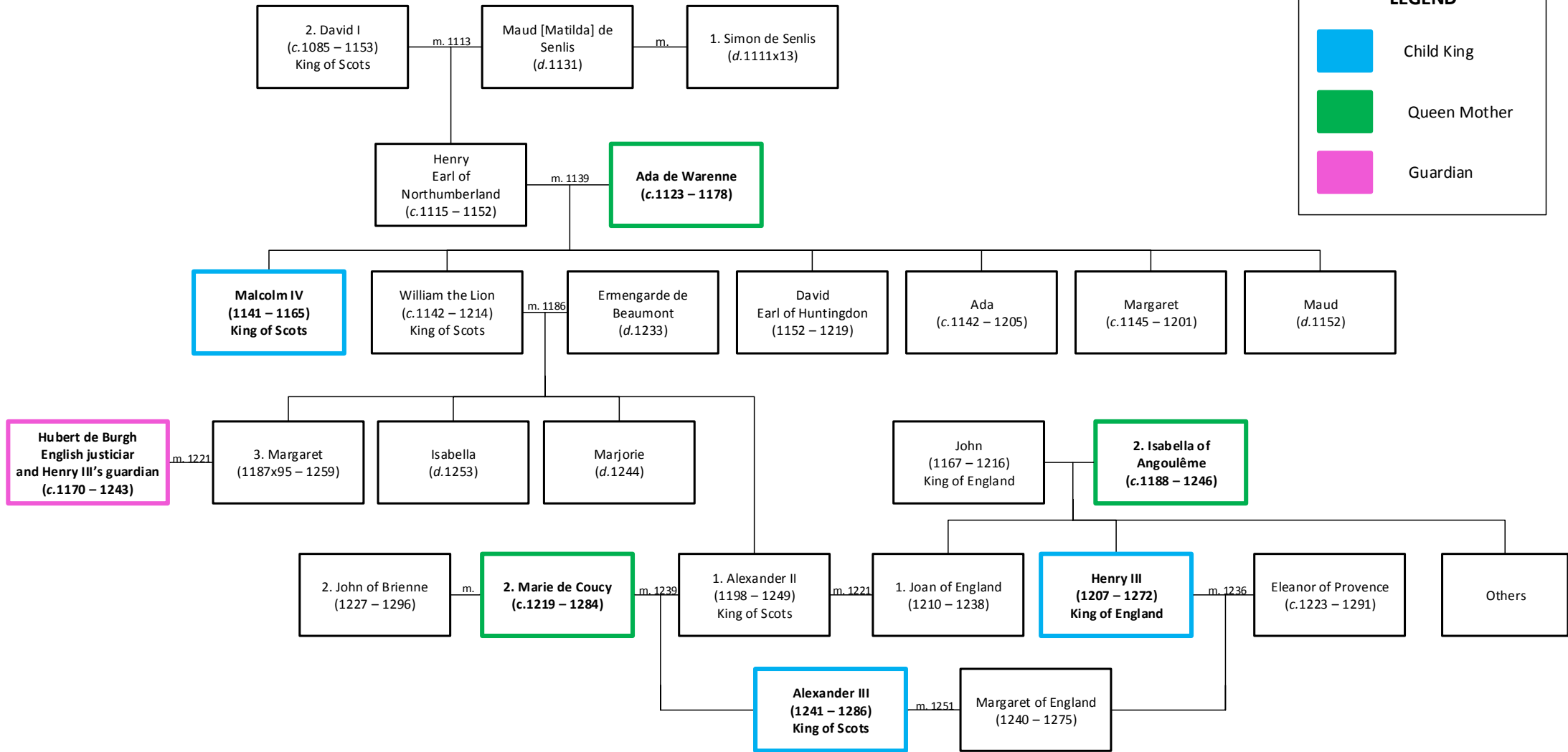
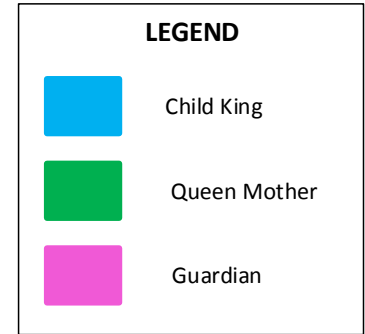


Appendix B

Child Kings of France, c.1050 – c.1250



Child Kings of Scots, c.1050 – c.1250



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