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ESTABLISHING ADULT MASCULINE IDENTITY IN THE ANGEVIN ROYAL FAMILY *c.*1140 – *c.*1200

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis employs a gendered reading of contemporary accounts in order to investigate the Angevin royal family within the framework of medieval concepts of masculinity. The primary focus is the processes involved in the transition from childhood to youth to fully masculine adulthood as experienced by male members of the royal family over two generations. It examines the lived experiences of Henry II and his four sons as well as the ideologies within which their activities and conduct was understood. The aim is to discover any patterns of behaviour that can be seen either to be repeated by other family members or that might have directly or indirectly affected the behaviour of others. This could work either positively or negatively as they went about establishing an adult male status. The emphasis is on the processes by which young males of the royal family established an adult male identity, any problems that might have hampered that process and any events that may have expedited their progression into adult society.

Researching not only the kings but also other male members of the royal family allows comparisons between ideal kingly masculinity and the masculine behaviours expected of lesser royal males. There were a wide variety of masculine models including those associated with kingship, royalty, nobility and family relationships. Becoming a man in medieval noble or royal society was not a simple matter of becoming old enough, or physically large or mature enough. Instead it required a display of correct behaviour patterns that persisted throughout adult life. As such it was possible that an individual may never be seen as an adult by his peers or his subjects. This would be detrimental to his ability to perform his social role as a leader. Therefore gender, masculinity or manliness, are vital to our understanding of the every day lives of the men under investigation.

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Dedications and Acknowledgements

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I would like to end these acknowledgements with a short story. When I was eleven years old my father graduated with his MSc. At the celebration dinner afterwards I asked him what was next. He explained to me about PhDs. With all the arrogance of my youth, my response was to declare that I would be a doctor before him. He laughed and told me that he didn't doubt it. Well Dad I did it, and I dedicate this thesis to you.

List of Abbreviations

BP   Stubbs, W. (Ed.)*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi Benedicti abbatis,* 2 Vols. (London, 1867)

Devizes   John T. Appleby (Ed.)*The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes/Cronicon Richardi Divisensis De Tempore Regis Richardi Primi* (London,1963)

GC   Stubbs, W. (Ed.) Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical works, the Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, by Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury*. 2 vols. (London, 1879 – 1880)

GS   Potter, K. R. (Ed. Trans.) *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976)

Hunt   Arnold, T. (Ed.) Henry of Huntington, *Historia Aglorum*, (London, 1879)

HWM   Holden, A.J., Gregory, S. and Crouch, D. *History of William Marshal*, 3 Vols. (Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002 – 2006)

Ireland   Brewer, J. S. (Ed.) Giraldi Cambrensis Opera 4 Vols. (London, 1862) Translation: Giraldus Cambrensis Conquest of Ireland Forester, T. (trans), Wright, T (Ed.) (Cambridge, Ontario: 2001)

Itinerary   R. W. Eyton *Court Household and Itinerary of King Henry II Instancing also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy and Strategy* (London, 1878)

MTB   Robertson, J. C. and Brigstock Sheppard, J. (Eds.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, (Canonized by Pope Alexander III., A.D. 1173* 7 vols. (London, 1875 – 1885)

Princes   Brewer, J. S. (Ed.) Giraldi Cambrensis *Opera* 4 Vols. (London, 1862) Gerald of Wales, *On the Instruction of Princes,* Stevenson, J. (Ed. And Trans.) (London, 1885) (repaginated facsimile ed. 1991)

Diceto   Stubbs, W. (Ed.) Diceto, Ralph de. Radulphi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. The Historical work of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London. 2 vols. (London, 1876)

RH   Stubbs, W. (Ed.) Hovedon, Roger of. Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene. 4 vols. (London, 1868 – 1871)

            Unless otherwise stated translations taken from: Riley, H. T. (Ed. Trans.) Roger of Hoveden The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201 2 vols. (London, 1853)

Torig   Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts (Ed. Trans.) The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1992)

WC   Stubbs, W. (Ed.) Walter of Coventry. *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the historical collections of Walter Coventry*. 2 Vols. (London, 1872 – 1873)

WM   Edmund King (Ed.) and K. R. Potter (Trans.), William of Malmesbury

Historia Novella (Oxford, 1998)

WN   Howlett, R. (Ed.)*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*. 2 Vols. (London, 1884 – 1889)

Unless otherwise stated translations taken from: The Church Historians of England, volume IV, part II; translated by Joseph Stevenson (London: Seeley's, 1861) available at ORB Medieval Sourcebook, Full Text, William of Newburgh:<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/basis/williamofnewburgh-intro.asp> [Accessed October 2007]

1: Introduction

1.1: Establishing Adult Masculinity

Of Henry II's four sons his eldest died a "youth" at twenty eight years old despite being married, a seasoned warrior and a crowned and anointed "king" of England. His third son died at approximately the same age, also married and battle hardened but very much as an adult man. This thesis explores the masculine social constructs that allowed this dichotomy to occur.

The unique focus of this work is the maturation processes involved in the transitions from childhood to youth and from youth to fully masculine adulthood of the male members of the Angevin royal family over two generations. The lives of Henry II and his four legitimate sons who survived to the age of majority are examined for the first time specifically with gender in mind: Henry, The Young King, Richard I, Geoffrey, duke of Brittany and King John.[1] This process sheds significant new light on the lives of these men of the English royal family in the second half of the twelfth century by viewing them through the lens of lived masculine experiences and the ideological frameworks within which these experiences were understood by contemporary commentators. It explores what it was to grow up and become adult in the male arena of kings and kingship.

This group of individuals allows for a better understanding of both ideal kingly masculinity and the masculine behaviours expected of lesser royal males. This innovative approach provides new insight into the masculine social structures for royalty during this period. It also demonstrates how these five particular individuals performed within those structures of manhood and highlights the fluidity of the journey and the public nature of such performances. It brings to light many patterns of expected male behaviours, such as the chivalric ideals of honour and loyalty, and demonstrates how they were related to the

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[1] Henry also had three illegitimate sons that he acknowledged: Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, (*c.*1152 – 12 December 1212), William Longespée, *jure uxoris* 3rd Earl of Salisbury (c.1176 – 7 March 1226) and Morgan Bloet (dates unknown but he was the youngest of the three, believed to have been born late in Henry's life), Provost of Beverley and Bishop-elect of Durham.

patriarchal hierarchies of both family and society. It allows for exploration of the dynamic relationship between the representation of gender and its performance.

This thesis proposes a new model of the maturation process that should prove to be directly applicable or adaptable to similar studies of other kings, princes, classes and periods of history.

1.2: Methodology

Before moving on to discuss the general historiography it is necessary to very briefly discuss the terminology used in this thesis.

1.2.1: Terminology

It has been argued that "masculinity" is not necessarily an appropriate term to use in discussions of medieval men, because the word was not in common usage before the mid-eighteenth century.[2] Christopher Fletcher, in his work on Richard II, prefers the terms "manhood" and "manliness" as best revealing contemporary understandings of male gender identity. However, this stance, when followed to its logical conclusion, would see medieval history discussed without the use of modern English. It does however bring to the fore the issue of terminology in gendered histories and some distinction is required. Therefore in this work the use of "masculine" is primarily used to discuss the social constructs as viewed from the position of a historian. Discussions of the lived experiences of those within the construct are, wherever possible, referred to in terms of "manhood" and "manliness".

As the vast majority of the sources used in this work were written in Latin it is worth briefly discussing the terms of masculinity used in that language. Classical Latin uses *homo/hominis* to refer to man, as in mankind and *vir* for individual males. However, Medieval Latin makes a distinction beyond the classical uses; *vir* becomes used most commonly to refer to individual men of the noble class, knights. Whereas *homo/hominis* both retains its use as a

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[2] Fletcher, C. *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377 – 99* (Oxford, 2008) p. v.

general term for mankind and adds a use that distinguishes individual men of other classes from those who are noble born or elevated to knighthood. This distinction is also reflected in the occasional use of *homo/hominis* as an insult for men who are noble; who should be *vir,* but have not behaved in a fitting manner for the expectations of their class.[3] Additionally, *vir* and *vis/vires* [strength] were held to be related in medieval discourse. Kirsten Fenton draws on the work of Isidore in explaining that *vir* was directly derived from *vis* as it was a quality that men possessed and women did not.[4] This clearly indicates the associations between strength and manhood that were held in the period. Another commonly used word in relation to masculinity was *virtus*, derived from *vir*. *Virtus,* and by association *vir*, carried connotations of valour, manliness, excellence, courage, character and worth. All of these elements were perceived as masculine strengths. These connotations created an atmosphere around the word *vir* that was understood by the medieval writers and their audience. This atmosphere needs to be borne in mind when reading the sources.

The following section engages with the general historiography and then moves on to look at the specific studies within the area that informed the development of the model (figure 3, p. 46).

1.2.2: The Subjects

It is more usual to see the men under investigation in this work being examined separately and in a strictly biographical manner. Those that became kings - Henry II, Richard I and King John - have been subject to a good number of comprehensive biographical examinations.[5] Henry, Richard and John have even been biographically studied together on

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[3] Moorwood, J. (Ed.) *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* second edition, (Oxford, 2005) p. 85 (*homo*) and p. 205 (*vir*)

[4] Lindsay, W. M. (Ed.) *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi; Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx,* 2 Vols. (Oxford 1911) xii: 17°19 in Fenton, K. A. *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008) p. 43

[5] See among others: Appleby, J. T. *Henry II* (London, 1962); Warren, W. L. *Henry II* (London, 1973); Flori, J. *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight* Birrell, J. (Trans.) (Edinburgh, 1999); Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978); Turner, R. V. *King John* (Stroud, 1994); Warren, W. L. *King John* (1961, New Edition: Yale, 1997)

occasion.[6] The Young King and Geoffrey of Brittany have yet to be the subjects of individual monograph length biographies.[7] However, to date there is no work, biographical or otherwise, that views the father alongside all four of his sons as a family unit in the context of masculinity.[8] This thesis instead uses a theoretical approach to make a comparative study, which allows for a deeper analytical understanding of their individual lived experiences.

1.2.3: Historiography; Gendered History

The study of medieval masculinities as a specific topic began both as a reaction to and grew out of feminist histories in the late 1980s and accelerated dramatically in the mid-1990s. The removal of women for study as a separate subject led naturally to the realisation that taking women out of the whole did not mean that it could be assumed that "male" was what was left. It has been observed that men have gender too and therefore "man" should not be seen as a default category.[9] Early in the historiography of masculine histories gender generally and masculinity specifically was identified as a useful device for historical analysis primarily in combination with other tools such as power, race, class or religion.[10] Gender and power in particular proved a fruitful area in the early works and a plurality of medieval masculinities was recognised.[11]

Following this early work a number of essay collections appeared in rapid succession. These successfully used combinations such as those outlines above to explore an ever widening range of masculine experiences seen in the Middle Ages. As a whole these collections provide an impressively broad scope of male experiences. Many of them draw upon literary

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[6] Jolliffe, J. E. A. *Angevin Kingship* (2nd ed.) (London, 1963); Ramsey J. H. *The Angevin Empire, or the Three Reigns of Henry II, Richard I and John (1154 – 1216)* (New York, 1903)

[7] For the Young King a work is forthcoming by Matthew Strickland (see Glasgow University staff profile <http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/staff/matthewstrickland/> [accessed 1 December 2012] for more information); For Geoffrey of Brittany there is no monograph biography available as yet, however a good biographical overview of Geoffrey is presented in Everard, J. *Brittany and the Angevins: province and empire, 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000)

[8] A political overview of the men as members of the Angevin royal house is presented in Bartlett, R. *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000)

[9] Riches, S. J. E. and Salih, S. 'Introduction, Gender and Holiness: Performance and Representation in the Later Middle Ages', in Riches, S. J. E. and Salih, S. (Eds.), *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London, 2002), pp. 1 - 8

[10] In combination with power: A. J. 'When Women Aren't Enough', *Speculum*, 68/2 (1993), pp. 445 - 71; Other tools: Biddick, K. 'Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible', Speculum, 68/2 (1993)

[11] Hadley, D. M. 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London: 1999), pp. 1-18.

sources, in which there are frequently recognisable representations of what it was to be male in the medieval period.[12] Other themes use traditionally male roles such as religious men, crusading, and being a husband to identify and explore individual facets of male life.[13] Included in the various collections there are also essays on "otherness" and "men in crisis" that were particularly effective in broadening the definitions of what it was to be male in the Middle Ages.[14]

The plurality of masculinities was expanded further with the appearance of another valuable collection; *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages.*[15] This group of works presents eighteen essays that take male identities as the central theme and approaches them from such varied areas of research as cross dressing knights, the male body, the students of Europe's universities, and three essays on the subject of Abelard's castration. It is worth returning for a moment to the title of this collection. Maleness here is presented as something that an individual becomes, an active rather than passive process. The concept that becoming a man in the Middle Ages was an active process rather than a passive or automatic progression has been deeply influential to this thesis, providing the principle focus for the study.

The concept of plural masculine identities is effectively explored in a collection edited by D. M. Hadley.[16] The themes approached in this work are impressively broad, listing twelve separate themes including: fluidity of gender categories, masculinity and power, the influence of all-male environments on masculine identity construction, the role of culture in constructing

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[12] Lees, C. A. (Ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1994)

[13] See among others: Cullum, P. H. and Lewis, K. J. (Eds.) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2005); Riches, S. J. E. and Salih, S. (Eds.) *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*. (London, 2002); Stuard, S. M. "Burdens of Matrimony: Husbanding and Gender in Medieval Italy." Lees, C. A. (Ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minnesota, 1994); Edgington S. B. and Lambert, S. (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001); Fenton, K. A. 'Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*' in Beattie, C. and Fenton, K. A. (Eds.) *Intersections of gender, religion and ethnicity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2010)

[14] Mirrer, L. 'Representing 'Other' Men: Muslims, Jews, and Masculine Ideals in Medieval Castilian Epic and Ballad' in Lees, C. A. (Ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, (Minneapolis, 1994), pp.169-186; McNamara, J. A. "The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050-1150" in Lees, *Medieval Masculinities* pp. 3 –29; Riches, S. J. E. and Salih, S. *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London, 2002); Cullum P. H. and Lewis K. J. (Eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004)

[15] Cohen, J. J. and Wheeler, B. (Eds.) *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (London, 2000)

[16] Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999)

masculinities and the complex nature of the relationship between sexuality and masculinity. The most crucial elements to this thesis and the development of the model is the emergence of the themes of age and gender, the performative nature of gender, and the existence of dominant and subordinate masculinities, a hierarchy of masculinity. Yet there is still an exceptionally limited number of historical works on the gender of royal men.

One of the chapters from this collection that has had a significant impact upon this study is William Aird's work on 'Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son'. This inspired my own consideration of another Anglo-Norman king and his relationships with his own sons.[17] Aird's assertion that fully adult male status was not achieved simply by growing older but rather was recognised and conferred as a result of displaying the correct patterns of behaviour has formed the cornerstone of this thesis.

Taking a broader perspective Neal's goal in his ambitious work *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* is to bridge what he rightly identifies as a gap between historical and literary studies of masculinity.[18] Making clear that his work is not '…another book about knights and chivalry' Neal's focus is instead on the "ordinary men" of the period.[19] However, although there is a vast body of work on knights and chivalry in general there are still very few that consider these categories in relation to masculinity. At first glance Neal's careful investigation of every day men in the late Middle Ages would appear to have little use to a study of high medieval kings. However, Neal's methodology has proved to be extremely useful; the focus on masculinity as being not simply a theoretical phenomenon but rather as having a social presence, derived from the lived experiences of medieval men, has provided the core of my analysis in this work. For Neal masculinity emerges as a social identity defined by "truth" between men: honesty, openness, faithfulness. It takes little extension to apply these "truths" to the royal classes; the honesty, openness and faithfulness of the common man translate rather neatly into the chivalric ideals of honour and loyalty. Additionally these truths aid our

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[17] Aird, W. M. 'Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son' in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999) pp. 39 – 55
[18] Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008)
[19] Ibid. p. 6

understanding of the nature of kingship as to a certain extent medieval kings were, in part, expected to provide models for their subjects. This in turn helps to explain the commonalities of masculinity between them and their subjects.

A few works on kingship and masculinity have emerged in more recent years. Herrup's work on 'The King's Two Genders' in the early modern period makes several useful points despite the distance of the time period under examination.[20] The first of these is that masculine kingship was a gender balance between feminine elements such as mercy and masculine elements like punishing the transgressor. The danger, according to Herrup, lay in allowing the feminine to outweigh and prevail over the masculine such as (masculine) compassion turning to (feminine) indulgence, or justifiable severity to vengeance.[21] Herrup also raises the issue of the importance of self-control to the concept of properly masculine kingship. This was an element of kingship that was evident in the twelfth century and had apparently remained unchanged in the intervening centuries, indicating that in some ways the concepts of ideal kingship were slow to change. Finally, Herrup points out that while masculine dominance was essential to social order in an absolute monarchy, masculinity itself was fragile in its nature.[22] I would suggest therefore that this concept of the fragility of masculinity required a continual maintenance of correct behaviours; an on-going process rather than a one off event.

Fletcher's monograph on the masculine kingship of Richard II is the first major study to examine the performance of masculine ideals of kingship by an individual king.[23] Fletcher is discussing manhood in the context of a boy-king growing into his role. Crucially, Fletcher's work identifies a key medieval notion that poor decision making could be excused as simply youthful or boyhood folly.[24] This is significant as the concept of youth as an excuse for under

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[20] Herrup, C. 'The King's Two Genders' *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (July, 2006) pp. 493 – 510
[21] Ibid. p. 499
[22] Ibid.
[23] Fletcher, *Richard II*
[24] Ibid. pp. 39 – 43

performance of masculine ideals can be clearly seen being invoked in the primary sources of the twelfth century.

Finally, Fletcher's work highlights some of the difficulties that could arise from attempting ideal masculine kingship; to be a good, and manly, king was always something in the nature of a balancing act.[25]

Having looked at the general tools for the examination of medieval masculinity it is necessary to turn to look at the specific elements of masculine studies that have informed the development of the model shown in figure 3 (p. 48). This is arranged in the order of the chapters as they appear in this thesis.

1.2.4: Historiography; Building the Model

Three major works on medieval childhood and schooling by Orme have gender as an implicit rather than an explicit element, even so they have proved invaluable to the development of the model.[26] In his work on medieval schools Orme asserts that there was a general agreement in the Middle Ages that seven was thought to be a suitable age for boys to start a more formal form of education. This was the age viewed as the point of transition from infancy (*infantia*) to childhood (*pueria*). At seven boys were believed to become more 'fully male in gender', capable of looking after themselves and becoming eligible to be tonsured as clerks.[27] Given this the indication is that the age of seven was seen as an appropriate time for male children to move from being cared for by women to an environment where they were under the rule of men.[28] It appears that the first steps towards full masculinity were made at an early age via the transition from nursery to schoolroom and that childhood was indeed gendered.

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Orme, N. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066 – 1530* (London, 1984); Orme, N. *Medieval Children* (New Haven, London, 2001); Orme, N. *Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006)
[27] Orme, *Medieval schools* p. 129
[28] Ibid.

The next step of the maturation process would have occurred at around the age of fourteen, or upon the onset of puberty (*adolescentia*), when noble boys would begin their training in the art of being a knight. Orme notes that there was an amount of unruly behaviour from princes in this life stage, stating that some royal sons had notably poor relationships with their fathers. Some of those sons did go on to be successful adult rulers and therefore, Orme believes, an individual's 'character in the stormy years of adolescence was by no means mature or typical of what it would become in later life.'[29]

Childhood, broadly defined, ended when the individual was deemed to have completed his military training and was dubbed into knighthood. At this point he entered a new phase of the life cycle. Therefore, having established the basis for the development of the model up to and including the dubbing process the next task is to identify those elements of knighthood and the notion of the errant phase as a period of proving.

Georges Duby, working on aristocratic males in Northern France during the twelfth century, identifies the period between dubbing and adulthood as *juventus* [youth].[30] He equates this period to groups of marauding younger sons rampaging around the tournament circuit and war zones looking for a rich wife or lover. The end of *juventus*, Duby states, is marked by becoming a householder, husband and father. This leads to the assertion that *juventus* could be extended well into physical adulthood, or even become a permanent state. This notion can be seen to be true for at least some of the subjects of this study. Much of Duby's work is relevant to the men under examination here; however, there are areas of divergence. As discussed on page 97 fathering a child may not be necessary to enter adulthood. Additionally, for royal sons there were greater restraints. Unlike Duby's noble younger sons, they did not often have as much freedom to roam. Nor does Duby concern himself with the burden of proving manliness that occurred during this phase, preferring instead to rely on the end point as fixed at being married and a parent.

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[29] Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry* p. 43
[30] Duby, G. *The Chivalrous Society* Postan, C. (Trans.) (London, 1977) pp. 112 – 122

Bennett's work on twelfth-century military masculinity is a thorough examination of the phenomenon of knighthood with special regard to social norms and expected behaviour patterns as defined by masculinity in the context of the warrior.[31] As Bennett examines the chronological development of a youth into a man during this period he provides a very useful assessment and chronology for a warrior's establishment of adult male status. Perhaps the single most useful element for this work is Bennett's emphasis on proving oneself both before and after dubbing, a concept that informed the direction of this study and substantially aided in the development of the model. Several other important issues are also highlighted by Bennett: the importance of individual knights behaving in a manner that will not dishonour one's lineage; the mental structures of bravery/courage and wisdom; and the dangers of pride that such young knights may face. The issue of lineage is particularly significant to this work as it hints towards the concept of a familial hierarchy. Bennett also stresses the idea that it is only by examining failure to conform to ideal masculine behaviours that correct behaviour patterns can be understood. This was to prove a truism in the process of researching much of this work.

It was only after a decade of steady work on medieval masculinities that the first monograph on the subject appeared.[32] In *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* Karras focuses on male adolescence, and the work has been described as isolating masculinity 'at its most critical point in development, unsullied by the otherwise compromising or transformative experiences of marriage and householding.'[33] The notion that adolescence or youth was a "critical point" in the development of masculine identity is noteworthy, but the work does not examine the extended youth of those males who married later in life, or who had no independently held land or income upon which to support their role as householder.

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[31] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225' in Hadley (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* pp. 71 – 88
[32] Karras, R. M. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003)
[33] Butler, S. M. *Review of* Karras, *From Boys to Men* Available at:
<ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1189&context=mff> [Accessed July 2009]

Karras' chapter on the subject of knighthood has social proof of adult masculine behaviour patterns as its main focus rather than the military achievements of the individual that were the centre of Bennett's work.[34] Using late medieval chivalric conduct texts, which were derived from models established in earlier centuries, Karras builds a picture of the knight that relies heavily on the presence of women for proof of proper manliness. The work asserts that the most significant element of a youthful knight's proof of adult ability was his success in following the rules of "courtly love" and that as long as this was balanced with feats of arms masculinity was not harmed by the feminine influence. Proof before women, or proof "in romance", although based upon notions put forward in twelfth-century fictional romantic texts, is an exclusively later medieval phenomenon. However, Karras' use of a form of social proof when combined with Bennett's work on military proof has been valuable to this study and in the formation of the model.

With the concept of military proof established and the notion of social proof proposed the nature of the social proof as used in this thesis needs to be discussed. For the purposes of this study it was decided that of all the many and varied available forms of social and political proof that could be examined one in particular could provide evidence for the individual performances in both social and political terms; that of brotherhood. The discussion of politically sworn brotherhoods provides one element and the social nature of the masculine familial hierarchy of brothers delivers the other.

The role(s) of sibling relationships in the Middle Ages is an emerging field for historical study and studies of brothers specifically are rarer still. Until recently the few works that use siblings as an identifier have been sporadic and diverse in their subject matter. They range from clerical or religious "siblings", the brother and sisterhoods of monastic life, to naming conventions, to wider kinship, to incest.[35] None of these sub categories apply to this work and

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[34] Karras, *From Boys to Men* pp. 20 – 66; Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88

[35] Bennett, J. M. 'Spouses, Siblings and Surnames: Reconstructing Families from Medieval Village Court Rolls' *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Autumn, 1983), pp. 26 - 46: Lett, D. 'Adult brothers and juvenile uncles: Generations and age differences in families at the end of the Middle Ages' *The History of the Family* Vol. 6, No.3, (September 2001), pp.391 – 400: Griffiths, F. J. 'Siblings and the Sexes within

as such there is no existing framework for the study of medieval sibling relationships and their implications for the formation of masculinity.

Sociological research into siblings may in part provide an outline for developing such a framework. Much of the work in the area of siblings that is carried out in sociology is focussed on blended families, personality and birth order, and the effects of age difference to sibling relationships.[36] Birth order and age difference may be of use here, however, sociologists now tend towards dismissing any ability to determine personality by family position, making such studies less valuable.[37] Where sociological frameworks may be of most use in relation to Henry II, his sons and their relationships with their siblings is in the area of sibling rivalry and, conversely sibling loyalty, reciprocal or otherwise. Furthermore, as previously noted, Karras' notion of a need for social proof is of use in the area of public familial relationships such as royal brothers.

The final step in the achievement of adulthood was to become the head of an independently financed household. To form the core of this household there was one key and uniform factor; a man needed a wife.

The idea that the act of marriage in itself signified adult status is referred to in several works examining medieval masculinity. Some state simply that marriage combined with knighthood was seen as an automatic conformation of adult male status.[38] Others see the responsibilities of marriage as the signifier of maturity and adulthood, for example, the

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the Medieval Religious Life' *Church History* Vol. 77 No. 1 (March 2008) pp. 26 – 53: Archibald, E. *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford, 2001) includes a chapter on 'Siblings and Other Relatives' (pp. 192-230)

[36] See among others: Dunn, J. *Sisters and Brothers: the Developing Child* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985): Dunn, J and Kendrick, C. *Siblings: Love Envy and Understanding* (London, 1982): Edwards, R et.al. *Children's Understanding of their Sibling Relationships* (London, 2005): Rowe, D. *My Dearest Enemy, My Dangerous Friend: Making and Breaking Sibling Bonds* (Hove, 2007): Sanders, R. *Sibling Relationships: Theory and Issues for Practice* (Basingstoke, 2004)

[37] R. Sanders goes so far as to call such systems of determining the impact of birth order as being so general that they 'more resemble horoscopes' than provide a useful basis for sociological or scientific study. Sanders, R. *Sibling Relationships: Theory and Issues for Practice* (Basingstoke, 2004) pp. 64 – 67.

[38] Shadis, M. 'Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage, and Succession', in Parsons, J. C. and Wheeler, B. (eds.), *Medieval Mothering* (New York 1996), pp. 335 - 58.

responsibility for governance of the wife's dowry.[39] Similarly there are those who declare that marriage led directly, and seemingly automatically, to adult status in the individual's community as it equalled responsibility for dependants, interestingly it seems that under this system the wife was afforded the same status as a child.[40] However, these works do not refer exclusively to the higher classes, and none of them are specifically examining kings. This notion that the passage into adulthood was automatic upon marriage is flawed as it provides an incomplete picture. An examination of the primary sources would suggest that the process was altogether more complex: not only did a man need a wife, he also needed financial independence.

In order to become seen as a fully adult male in twelfth-century society it was necessary to correctly perform in three main areas. These areas form a clear triad of constituents for being correctly masculine: procreation, protecting dependants and providing for family.[41] Given this it is plain that marriage was an important element, without marriage there would be no family to protect and provide for and no socially acceptable means of procreation. The only way in which marriage could automatically confer adult status was in the provision for younger sons who had already met most other adult markers. If a bride brought land to the marriage then the union bestowed the element of having an independent household in addition to the marriage marker and therefore the final role required for adult status; financial independence. Therefore it seems that marriage should not generally be seen an automatic route to manhood but rather it was a prerequisite that needed to be in place in addition to proper and socially approved behavioural displays.

Finally in this discussion of the methodology, it is necessary to briefly discuss how the tools of masculine historical study are used to read the sources for evidence of the kind of performances and experiences that make up the examples to be measured by the model.

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[39] Stuard, S. M. 'Burdens of Matrimony: Husbanding and Gender in Medieval Italy', in Lees, C. A. (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minnesota 1994), pp.61-71.
[40] McNamara, J. A. 'The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050-1150', Ibid., pp. 3-29
[41] Bullough, V. L. 'On Being a Man in the Middle Ages', in Lees, C. A. (ed.), Ibid. pp. 31 - 46.

To date only one monograph that uses theories of masculinity and has the twelfth century its central focus has been forthcoming. Kirsten Fenton's work, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the works of William of Malmesbury,* takes an in-depth view of the construction of gender in one particular author and his corpus.[42] Fenton's tightly focused approach sets out to define the twelfth-century historical and cultural context in which Malmesbury wrote. She effectively extracts his ideology of gender and maps these gender categories onto national groups. Her methodology then explores how the nexus of gender and nationality play out in Malmesbury's accounts of the three foreign conquests of England. Moreover, the section on ideals of masculinity and femininity 'proposes new categories of analysis based on areas of activity common to both men and women, such as violent behaviour rather than the more familiar "professional" or familial roles like warrior and wife'.[43] While this thesis does use the "more familiar" categories of warrior and husband (among others) the categories of analysis proposed by Fenton do nonetheless provide valuable additional understanding that has informed the analytical process of this work. This is especially true in the reading of sources for a gendered outlook and the gendered ideals of the various authors used. Additionally, Fenton has provided an insight into how to make use of less well known authors to examine some of the ideas and traditions surrounding gender in the twelfth century.

Aird's work on Robert Curthose also includes some useful insights into the reading of primary sources.[44] Aird explains that all societies use allusion in the form of similes or metaphors in order to convey certain information, and that they should not be disregarded automatically as being inaccurate.[45] Aird points out that it is exactly such methods of conveyance that can provide insight into the personalities of those included in such stories. These assertions have proved valuable in the reading of some of the sources used for this study. Also useful to this study has been Aird's notions towards the trustworthiness of reported speech in chronicle sources. Aird makes use of the idea that monks who were close to their subjects could make use of mnemonic devices when recalling and transmitting the words of

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[42] Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest*
[43] Ibid. p. 5
[44] Aird, W. M. *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy: c.1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008)
[45] Ibid. p. 5

their subjects, although the use of invented speeches as a rhetorical device cannot always be ruled out.[46]

The primary sources have been examined for instances of individuals' performances that can be measured against the model (figure 3, p. 46). Before discussing those sources it is useful to first briefly outline the main events in the lives of the men subject to this study.

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[46] Ibid. Here Aird draws on the work of Curruthers, M. *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990)

1.3: Subjects
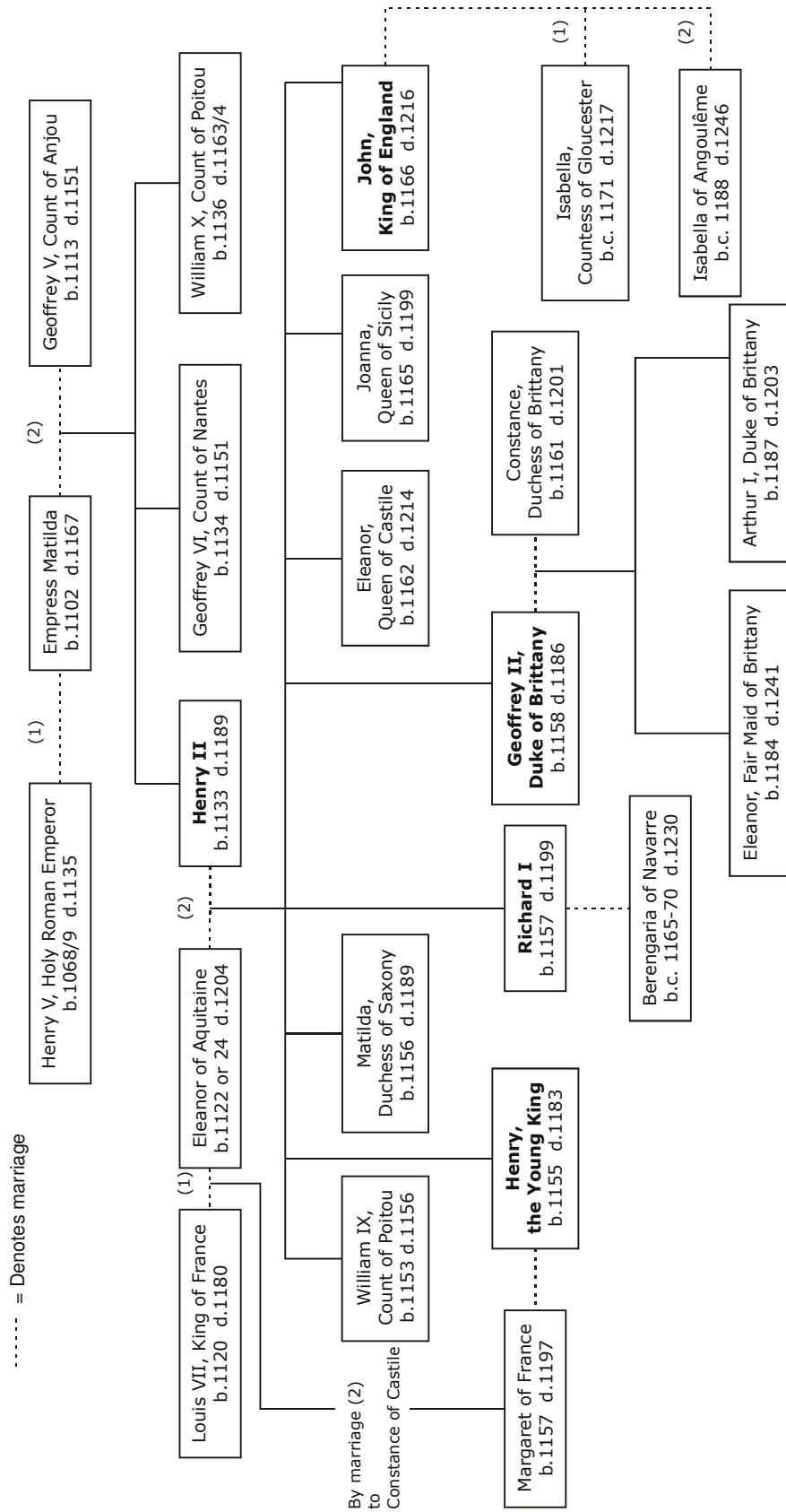
Figure 1: The Angevin Family Tree

The Capetians
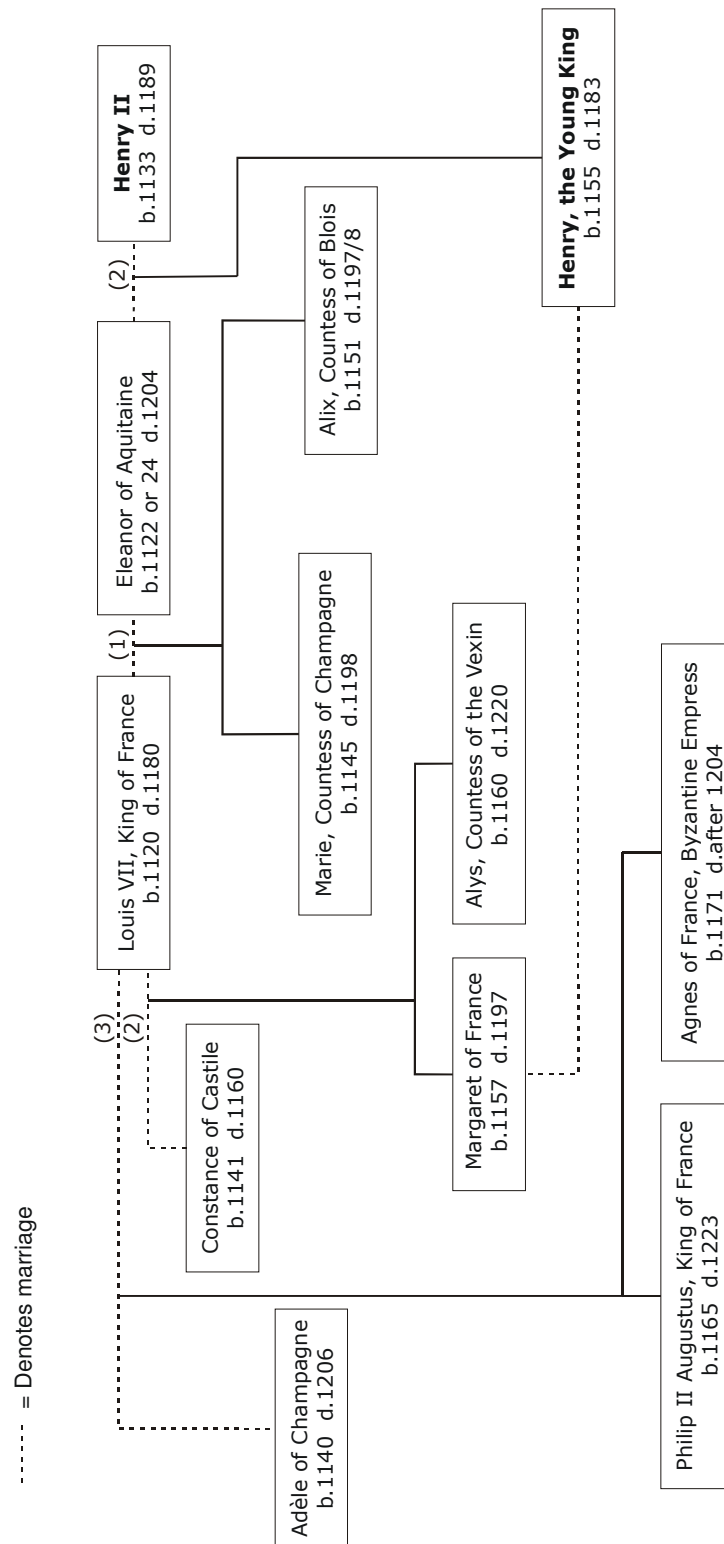
Figure 2: The Capetian Family Tree

------ = Denotes marriage

Henry II
b.1133 d.1189

Eleanor of Aquitaine
b.1122 or 24 d.1204

Alix, Countess of Blois
b.1151 d.1197/8

Louis VII, King of France
b.1120 d.1180

Marie, Countess of Champagne
b.1145 d.1198

Alys, Countess of the Vexin
b.1160 d.1220

Constance of Castile
b.1141 d.1160

Margaret of France
b.1157 d.1197

Agnes of France, Byzantine Empress
b.1171 d.after 1204

Adèle of Champagne
b.1140 d.1206

Philip II Augustus, King of France
b.1165 d.1223

Henry, the Young King
b.1155 d.1183

(1) (2) (3)

26

The five men who are the chief subjects of this study each had complex lives and their roles and functions in the social, political and familial structures that they occupied were fluid and changeable, frequently at the whim of the head of the male hierarchy. In order to position these men correctly into the context of this study it is first necessary to provide a brief summary of their major achievements, and problems, and the significant events of their lives.

1.3.1: Henry II

Henry II (5 March 1133 – 6 July 1189), king of England, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, was the eldest of three sons born to Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou.[47] Henry was sent to England in 1142, at the age of nine both to be educated in the household of his half-uncle Robert of Gloucester and to act as a figurehead in his mother's campaign to gain the crown of England from King Stephen for herself or her son.

In December 1149, within a year of being dubbed into knighthood at the age of sixteen by his uncle David, king of Scots, Henry received control of his maternal inheritance and became duke of Normandy. Henry married Eleanor of Aquitaine, who had just been divorced by Louis VII, king of the Franks, in 1152. Things began to move quickly for Henry after his marriage; a treaty was signed late in 1153 in which King Stephen adopted Henry as his heir and within a year Stephen had died. On 19 December 1154 Henry was crowned king of England without opposition. Henry and Eleanor had eight children between 1153 and 1166, five boys and three girls, all but one of whom survived to the age of twenty one, their majority; their first-born, William IX, count of Poitou, died in his second year (see figure 1, p. 25).

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[47] Biographical works on Henry II include; Appleby, J. T. *Henry II* (London, 1962);Warren, W. L. *Henry II* (London, 1973); Keefe, T. K. 'Henry II (1133–1189)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: January 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12949> [Accessed 18 April 2012]

Henry's later years were punctuated by issues with his sons. In 1173 his three eldest sons, the Young King, Richard and Geoffrey, famously rebelled against him. Eleanor's role in that rebellion led to Henry imprisoning her until 1185. This was followed by two further military confrontations with his sons; 1183 saw the Young King and Geoffrey unite against Henry and Richard, and in 1189 Richard rose against his father one final time. On 6 July 1189, during the revolt that was sparked by Henry's refusal to formally acknowledge Richard as his heir, the fifty six year old Henry, defeated and broken, fell ill and died.

1.3.2: Henry, the Young King

Prince Henry (1155 – 1183), who was later known as the Young King (and who will be referred to as such throughout this thesis), was the second son of Henry and Eleanor. Born in London on 28 February 1155, he became heir to the throne of England in December 1156, when his elder brother, William, died.[48] In 1158, when four years old, the Young King was betrothed to Margaret, the infant daughter of Louis VII of France and his second wife, Constance of Castile (see figures 1 and 2, pp. 24 – 25). The marriage was ratified in October 1160 and rushed through in November by Henry II, who wished to acquire control over his new daughter-in-law's dowry. He spent some time in England in his early years, being educated in the household of Thomas Becket during 1162 and 1163 (aged around seven to eight). He then returned to England in 1170 for perhaps the most important event of his life. He was crowned as junior king of England at fifteen years old, an event unprecedented in England and unrepeated. The coronation of the Young King took place in Westminster on 14 June 1170 by Roger, archbishop of York, an act that offended Becket, Pope Alexander III and, because his wife was not crowned with him, Louis VII. A second crowning, with the Young Queen Margaret this time, took place in Winchester on 27 August 1172.[49]

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[48] See; Moore, O. H.*The Young King, Henry Plantagenet (1155-1183): in History, Literature and Tradition* (Columbus Ohio, 1925);Hallam, E. 'Henry (1155–1183)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: May 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12957> [Accessed 15 October 2009] Also forthcoming in 2013: Strickland, M. *Henry the Young King (1155-1183): Kingship, Succession and Rebellion in the Angevin Empire* (Woodbridge)

[49] See figures 1 and 2 pp. 24 – 25 for the Young King's wife and her relationships to the royal houses of France and England.

The crowning of the Young King was to cause trouble for Henry II for the rest of the Young King's life. Angry that his father refused him any genuine power to go with his title of king, in 1173 the Young King secretly travelled to the court of Louis VII where he was joined by Richard and Geoffrey and, with the support of Eleanor, the three brothers embarked on a violent rebellion against their father that was to last until September 1174. Once peace had been restored the Young King spent some time with his father in England fulfilling some royal duties before embarking on a tour of the continental tournament circuit with his tutor-in-arms and mentor, William Marshal. During his time at tournament the Young King honed his military skills, cultivated a large following of landless young nobles and through his generosity to said followers, secured a reputation for chivalric largess, mainly at the expense of his father and his patron, Philip, count of Flanders. When the money from Philip dried up in 1179, the Young King again became restless. Unusually, the Young King combined forces with his father to thwart the count of Flanders in his efforts to dominate the young French king, with whom they had temporarily allied themselves.

The harmony between Henry and his heir was short lived and in 1182 the Young King again crept away to the court of the French king and open rebellion was only forestalled by Henry's agreement to increase his son's allowance. The truce was to be short-lived; in early 1183 an argument with Richard once again plunged the family into war, the Young King and Geoffrey of Brittany joined forces against Richard, and Henry was forced to come to the aid of his second son.

The rebellion went well for the Young King at first, but soon the tide turned against him. He found himself besieged in Limoges by Richard and his father. Throughout April 1183 he used stalling tactics while he fortified the city and sent out for mercenary troops. He paid for all this by plundering the townsfolk and the shrine of St Martial, in the process exhausting the good wishes of the people of Limoges. Returning from a raid on Angoulême he was unsurprisingly refused re-entry to the town by its exasperated citizens. And so he set off on a

disorganized excursion around southern Aquitaine, despoiling the monastery of Grandmont and robbing the shrines of Rocamadour.

He fell seriously ill at Martel in Quercy and sent a letter to his father begging for his forgiveness, but Henry II, suspecting another trick, refused to attend his son, instead sending a ring as a token. On 11 June 1183, aged twenty eight, the Young King died of dysentery. He had asked for his body to be buried at Rouen but while his funeral train was on its way to Normandy the people of Le Mans seized his body and buried it in their cathedral. The citizens of Rouen threatened force against Le Mans, and Henry had to intervene. Henry insisted that his son's wishes be observed, ordering his body to be exhumed and reburied at Rouen.

1.3.3: Richard I

Richard I (1157 – 1199), king of England, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, was born on 8 September 1157 at Oxford, the third son of Henry and Eleanor.[50] Little is known about Richard's early years, no records remain of his education, but he does appear to have been largely in the presence of his mother prior to his fourteenth year. Richard's association with the duchy of Aquitaine began early, by the late 1160s Henry was planning a division of his dominions between his sons and he needed the consent of Louis VII of France. To gain Louis' consent Richard was betrothed to Louis' second daughter by Constance, Alys, in January 1169. With the betrothal formalised the twelve year old Richard then did homage to Louis for Aquitaine. In June 1172 he was formally installed as duke of Aquitaine at the age of fourteen.

Around one year later, in the midst of the rebellion of 1173, Louis knighted Richard, now fifteen years old. Immediately following his dubbing Richard took part in an invasion of eastern Normandy; his first known military action. Richard was the last of the rebelling

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[50] See: Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978); Flori, J. *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight* Birrell, J. (Trans.) (Edinburgh, 1999); Gillingham, J. 'Richard I (1157–1199)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: Oct 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23498> [Accessed 15 Oct 2010]

brothers to make peace with his father, but his military skill had impressed Henry. The following year Richard was given full control of the duchy's armed forces, and ordered by his father to punish the rebels and to 'pacify' Aquitaine. The task was to occupy Richard for the next dozen years or more. It was Richard's quarrel with the Young King that sparked the rebellion of 1183 and the death of his elder brother during that upheaval not only ended the conflict but also left Richard as heir to England, Normandy, and Anjou as well as the duchy of Aquitaine. In 1187, aged twenty two, Richard took the cross for the third crusade, against his father's wishes.

With Richard as his heir Henry attempted to provide for John, the son dubbed "lackland" by his own father, out of Richard's inheritance. Richard resisted all such proposals. Suggestions that Henry may be considering disinheriting Richard in favour of John were unsurprisingly not well met by his eldest son and when the rumours became so strong in 1189 that Richard could no longer ignore them he opened hostilities with his father once more. Henry was ailing and Richard's victory was already assured when Henry died on 6 July 1189. Richard was crowned king of England on 3 September 1189 at Westminster and immediately began to prepare for the crusade that he had delayed embarking on for over two years.

The remainder of Richard's life is well known; Richard's crusading journey began on 4 July 1190 when he departed from Vézelay with his army, and his campaign in the Holy Land ended without reaching Jerusalem in the autumn of 1192. While on crusade Richard had rescued his sister Joanna from Sicily, conquered Cyprus, broken the siege of Acre, which was two years old when he arrived and married Berengaria of Navarre, who had travelled to meet him in the company of Eleanor. On his way home from the Holy Land Richard was captured near Vienna by Leopold of Austria in December 1192 and was transferred into the custody of the Holy Roman Emperor in February 1193. Richard was held for over a year, finally being released on 4 February 1194 after a substantial ransom had been paid. Richard's remaining years were spent attempting to impose peace on the lands that had rebelled against him, or reclaim those that had been taken from him, in his prolonged absence. On 26 March 1199,

aged forty four, Richard was hit in the shoulder by a crossbow bolt while reconnoitring Châlus-Chabrol, a small castle belonging to Aimar de Limoges. The wound festered and knowing that he was unlikely to recover he named his brother John as his heir. Finally succumbing to the gangrene that infected his shoulder and arm, Richard died on 6 April 1199.

1.3.4: Geoffrey, duke of Brittany

Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1158 – 1186), the fourth son of Henry and Eleanor, was born on 23 September 1158.[51] Geoffrey was betrothed to Constance, the heiress to the duchy of Brittany, in 1166 at the age of eight and after this there were prolonged periods of his life that were concerned with his future duchy. He is seen in the sources with some regularity visiting his future duchy in the company of his father. He took part in the rebellion of his brothers in 1173 despite being an unknighted youth of just fourteen years at the start of the conflict. It was during this conflict that Geoffrey quickly gained his reputation for martial skill as well as for eloquence and duplicity. Knighted by his father at the relatively late age of twenty (1178) Geoffrey finally married Constance in 1181, aged twenty three.

Upon his marriage Geoffrey became duke *iure uxoris* and gained independent control of the bulk of the holdings of the duchy (Henry retained Richmond for another two years).[52] Brittany became Geoffrey's powerbase and provided him with independence from his father. During the rebellion of 1183, in the hope of imposing peace on both Aquitaine and his own family, Henry sent Geoffrey to the Limousin to prepare the ground for a conference. Instead of following his father's orders Geoffrey displayed his duplicitous tendencies and joined the rebels. It was around this time that Geoffrey's first child, Eleanor, was born (*c.*1182–4 – 1241) and another daughter, Matilda, followed (1185 – 1189). Geoffrey died in Paris on 19 August

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[51] Little has been written about the life of Geoffrey of Brittany, the closest we have to biographical works are; Everard, J. *Brittany and the Angevins: province and empire, 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000); Jones, M. 'Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1158–1186)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10533?docPos=6> [Accessed 22 July 2011]

[52] For more on retaining land to hinder a son's establishment of adult identity see: Aird, W. M. 'Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son' in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999) pp. 39 – 55

1186, a month shy of his twenty-eighth birthday, either from wounds received in a tournament, subsequent complications arising from such wounds, or the effects of an unrelated illness, which Gerald of Wales called a fever and Roger of Hoveden reported as a bowel complaint.[53] This was not quite the end of Geoffrey's story, his son and heir, Arthur, was born on 29 March 1187, seven months after his father's death.

1.3.5: King John

John (1166/7 – 1216), king of England, and lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, was the youngest son of Henry and Eleanor and was born at Oxford on 24 December.[54] The year of John's birth has been the subject of debate for some time now as it was unclear as to whether he was born in 1166 or 1167. The most recent analysis of the circumstances of his birth puts forward a strong argument for the earlier date and therefore throughout this work the date of 24 December 1166 will be used.[55] Much of John's early childhood was spent in Fontevraud Abbey, where he appears to have been in the care of the Abbess from the ages of around two (1168) until he was removed by Henry in the summer of 1174 (aged seven).

In 1176, after the death of William, earl of Gloucester, John was betrothed to William's daughter, Isabella of Gloucester (c.1160 – 1217), however, the Church did not approve of the match on grounds of consanguinity. In May 1177 Henry designated John as king of Ireland, and asked Pope Alexander III to provide him with a crown. In August 1184 John (aged seventeen) embarked on his first political action: Henry wanted Richard to transfer Aquitaine to John, and when Richard refused, John attacked Richard's duchy. This was done with both Henry's blessing and with the help of his brother Geoffrey, but Richard was the victor.

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[53] Warner, G. F. *Geraldi Cambrensis Opera* Vol. VIII (London, 1891) p. 177; The acount from Hoveden is contained in the Peterbrough version of his chronicle, which calls it *dolor dirus viscerum* [stomach pains]. BP, Vol. I p. 350

[54] See; Holt, J. C. *King John* (London, 1963); Warren, W. L. *King John* (1961, New Edition: Yale, 1997); Turner, R. V. *King John* (Stroud, 1994); John Gillingham, 'John (1167–1216)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: September 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14841> [Accessed 16 October 2010]

[55] Lewis, A. W. 'The Birth and Childhood of King John: Some Revisions', in Wheeler, B. and Carmi Parsons, J. (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (Basingstoke: 2002) p. 164

Henry knighted the eighteen year old John in March 1185, gave him a well-equipped and substantial force and dispatched him to Ireland to attempt to impose his rule (Henry had harboured intentions to make John king of Ireland since John was eleven years old). The campaign was not successful. Following his father's death in 1189 John retained the title "lord of Ireland" and was also given several other titles by Richard including count of Mortain and earl of Gloucester among many and widespread other lands from which to draw an income. John married Isabella on 29 August 1189 in defiance of the archbishop of Canterbury's prohibition of the marriage for reasons of consanguinity. John appealed to Rome, and a papal legate recognized the marriage as lawful pending the outcome of the appeal. However, since John did not pursue the appeal route, his marriage remained conveniently both lawful and voidable.

In December 1189 Richard gave John four more counties: Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset. Once Richard had departed on crusade John spent his time removing Richard's chancellor from his post and attempting to manoeuvre himself into a position to take control should Richard fail to return. He does not appear to have held any serious ambition for Richard's crown until Richard was captured on his way home from the Holy Land. It was at this point that John teamed up with Philip Augustus, king of France, to move on the English throne.

Once Richard returned, however, John was quick to appease his brother and became a military leader for Richard, a role in which he appears to have remained until Richard's death in 1199. John was crowned king at Westminster on 27 May 1199 and soon after his accession he had found bishops willing to terminate his always voidable marriage to Isabella of Gloucester, with whom he had fathered no children. John married another Isabella (c.1188 – 1246), daughter of the count of Angoulême, on 24 August 1200. John's heir, the future Henry III, was born on 1 October 1207 and the seven year gap between marriage and first-born is usually attributed to the age of Isabella upon her marriage, she was around twelve. Four more children were forthcoming over the next eight years. The trials and tribulations of John's reign are well documented, as is his death in 1216 just months before his fiftieth birthday.

There were also two women who were both important influences on the men under examination here, and who, in the process of their interactions with those men, had themselves to act in traditionally male roles in the course of fulfilling their social, political and familial responsibilities.

1.4: Sources

There is an extensive and varied range of sources available for the study of Henry II and his sons. It would not be helpful to make use of them all for a study of this kind. A principled process of selection has been involved in identifying the most apposite sources. As perceptions of lived experiences of gendered roles were required, the decision was made to focus on narrative sources for what they tell us about the different ways in which a high-status man's path to adulthood could be travelled and how these were represented. It was decided that the sources selected for the bulk of the study should have a primary focus on the roles of the men as members of the English royal house. Therefore the sources chosen to form the bulk of the evidence for this study are all English narrative accounts.

However, those sources that placed their emphasis on the roles that the men performed as Dukes and Counts within the wider "Angevin Empire" are not excluded entirely. Such sources have on occasion been consulted in cases where they provided supporting information or further details that were omitted from the English chronicles. Similarly, contemporary literary sources have been used, albeit sparingly, where they can be seen to be reflective of twelfth-century royal or noble societal norms.

All of the chronicles listed in this section would have had a somewhat limited audience at the time of writing, monastic libraries being the most commonly intended destinations. Others were written for specific patrons, or sent to the king. However, it is clear from the way in which they are constructed that each author also had an eye on their work as being a historical record.

1.4.1: *Gesta Stephani*

The *Gesta Stephani* is the main source for Henry II's childhood and youth. It covers the anarchy of King Stephen's reign, Matilda's battles to secure the throne first for herself and later for her son and Stephen's eventual defeat at Henry's hand.

There is no conclusive evidence for the authorship of the *Gesta*; however a strong case for identifying Robert of Lewes, Bishop of Bath, as the most likely candidate for being the author has been made by Davis in his introduction to the Oxford Medieval Text version of the chronicle.[56] The *Gesta* was written in two distinct phases and the tone of the work changes significantly between the earlier and later parts. In the earlier section, written in around 1148, the author is strongly in favour of Stephen's claim to England. However, by the time of writing the second phase (written after 1153) the allegiance of the author had switched to favour Henry II's claim.[57] The *Gesta* is generally viewed as a factually reliable source; however, the switch of allegiance of the author must be borne in mind when reading and using the text.

1.4.2: *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi*

This source provides the most detailed account of events for the bulk of Henry II's reign and the period of his sons' childhoods and youth. It also documents the events of Richard's reign and is therefore useful for the final years of John's extended youth. It is, however, possibly the most problematic of all the chronicle sources for this period as the single work appears in two versions, one of which was for many years attributed to a second author.

Benedict (*c.*1135 – 1193), abbot of Peterborough and royal councillor, is first recorded at the event that shaped his life, as an eyewitness to the murder of Thomas Becket in his cathedral church at Canterbury on 29 December 1170. A monk of Christ Church at this time, Benedict was the first custodian of Becket's tomb when it was made accessible to pilgrims in

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[56] Potter, K. R. (Ed. Trans.) *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976) [Introduction by Davis, R. H. C] pp. xviii - xxxviii
[57] Gransden, A. *Historical Writing in England c.500 to c.1307* (London, 1974) pp. 189 – 190

April 1171. In 1177, he received the abbacy of Peterborough from Henry II, which he held until his death.

He brought a valuable book collection from Canterbury, which included classics and theology, but was particularly rich in canon law. Among this collection was a book that still survives and bears the heading *Gesta Henrici II Benedicti Abbatis* (BL, Cotton MS Julius A.xi, fols. 3 – 112). A literal translation of the heading, which is not contemporary with the text, represents Abbot Benedict as the author of the chronicle *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Benedict was initially credited with the authorship of the *Gesta* on the basis that his name appears in the title of the oldest manuscript. There is, however, conclusive evidence that Benedict merely caused this work to be transcribed for the Peterborough library and Stubbs has shown that he was certainly not the author, and the work is now attributed to Roger of Hoveden (d.1201/2).[58] Hoveden's work then clearly had a wide monastic audience as it was being copied and distributed to other monasteries within his lifetime.

Roger of Hoveden (sometimes modernised to Howden), succeeded his father, Robert, in or before 1174, as parson of Howden, a township in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Hoveden must, however, have been often absent from his Yorkshire living, for, probably shortly before 1174, he became a clerk at the court of Henry II, where he was based until after the king's death in 1189.

Hoveden went on the Third Crusade with Richard I, joining him in Marseille in August 1190. He left the Holy Land for Europe in August 1191, in the entourage of Philip II of France. He returned to England in about the year 1192 and began his writing in earnest.[59]

Hoveden himself has a reputation for being 'a meticulous and reliable chronicler'.[60] However, the later Hoveden version of the chronicle differs from the Peterborough version in

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[58] King, E. 'Benedict (*c.*1135–1193)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2081> [Accessed 26 October 2011]
[59] David Corner, 'Howden , Roger of (*d.* 1201/2)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13880> [Accessed 26 October 2011]

several significant areas. Hoveden makes mistakes in the sections copied from the earlier version and sometimes gives a different account of the same event. Differences in historical method between the two have also been noted.[61] Additionally, the Hoveden version abbreviated and rearranged some material.[62]

It is for these reasons, and to allow for comparison between the two differing accounts where they occur, that this thesis maintains the separate identities of the two versions under the "Peterborough" and "Hoveden" names.

1.4.3: William of Newburgh

William of Newburgh (b.1135/6, d. in or after 1198) was an Augustinian canon and historian.[63] He belonged to a family that may have originated in Bridlington or an area nearby. He was educated from boyhood in the Augustinian priory of Newburgh, and spent most if not all of the remainder of his life as a member of that community. The evidence of his chronicle suggests that he died in or soon after 1198.

Newburgh's chronicle seems to have been composed in a comparatively short period between 1196 and 1198. The work has the appearance of being an early draft that was never revised. The history is divided into five books, and each book into a number of chapters, an indication of Newburgh's attempt to structure his narrative, and give it some kind of literary form.

After a brief prologue his first book covers the period from 1066 to 1154. The second book deals with the reign of Henry II from Henry's accession in 1154 to 1174. The third book

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[60] Gillingham, J. 'Doing Homage to the King of France' in Harper-Bill, C. and Vincent, N. (Eds.) *Henry II, New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007) pp. 63 - 84

[61] Gransden *Historical Writing* p. 228

[62] Ibid. p. 229

[63] Taylor, J. 'Newburgh, William of (*b.* 1135/6, *d.* in or after 1198)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29470> [Accessed 26 October 2011]

takes the history from 1175 to Henry's death in 1189, while the final two books cover more limited periods, concluding in 1194 and 1198 respectively. The history is of particular value for its account of the reign of Henry II, especially for the early years of that reign, and for his account of the rebellions of the sons against their father in the middle years of Henry's reign. However for this thesis perhaps its principal value has been in documenting the events of the early part of Richard's reign and the reporting of the relationship between Richard and John after Henry's death. As the narrative breaks off suddenly in May 1198, it seems likely that Newburgh died while still working on this section of his history.

Newburgh's chronicle tends at times toward being brief in relation to events as they occurred; however, the real value in his work to this study is in his corroborating evidence and frequently fable-like illustrative examples.

1.4.4: *Cronicon Richardi Divisensis De Tempore Regis Richardi Primi* (The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes)

Richard of Devizes (*c.*1150 – *c.*1200) was a Benedictine monk of the cathedral priory of St Swithun, Winchester and a chronicler of the early years of Richard I's reign.[64] It has been noted that Devizes' writing was heavily influenced by the romantic literature of the time and this is particularly clear in his treatment of the principal characters in his work.[65] He depicts Richard as the romantic hero and Philip II of France as the villain.[66]

The chronicle describes Richard I's progress through the Mediterranean to Acre and the Holy Land. It also covers the dissension that arose in England during his absence by the conduct of his chancellor, William de Longchamp, and the ambitions of his brother Prince John. The narrative is dramatic and lively, with pointed reflections upon all the principal characters. On occasion Devizes preserves fragments of conversation, as with the king's aside, when

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[64] Martin, G. H. 'Devizes, Richard of (*c.*1150–*c.*1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: October 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23516> [Accessed 28 October 2011]
[65] Gransden, *Historical Writing* p. 248
[66] Ibid.

raising funds for his expedition, that he would be willing to sell London if he could find a buyer. Even in such set pieces as Longchamp's formal defence of his conduct he may be embellishing rather than inventing, though he adorned his script with classical tags, and sought to match his style to the dignity of the occasion.[67]

For the events of the crusade itself, some consider Devizes to be poor authority. Devizes was not present at many of the events he documents and he is known for using the testimony of pilgrims to his abbey as his main sources. Therefore it could even be that his work has suffered from a distortion in the retelling by witnesses, and those informed by witnesses, in a kind of "Chinese whispers" of evidence. But, his account of the preparations for the crusade, and of English affairs in the king's absence, is valuable, in spite of some possible minor inaccuracies. Therefore the value of Devizes to this thesis is primarily in his description of the events in England during Richard's absence while on the third crusade and John's actions during the same period. It has also provided some useful details about the nature of Richard's relationship with Philip Augustus of France.

1.4.5: Gerald of Wales

Gerald of Wales (also known as Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald de Barry) (*c.*1146 – 1220x23), author and ecclesiastic, was the son of William de Barry, a knightly vassal of the earls of Pembroke, and Angharad, daughter of Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke.[68] In 1184, while in the Welsh marches negotiating with the Lord Rhys, Henry II took Gerald into his service as a royal clerk. For the next twelve years or so Gerald was actively involved in royal service. He was also a prolific author, producing at least five works that hold a substantial amount of historical material.[69]

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[67] Martin, G. H. 'Devizes, Richard of (*c.*1150–*c.*1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: October 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23516> [Accessed 28 October 2011]

[68] Robert Bartlett, R. 'Gerald of Wales (*c.*1146–1220x23)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, October 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10769> [Accessed 28 October 2011]

[69] Gransden, *Historical Writing* p. 244

When reading Gerald, it must be remembered that he was a man who felt a great deal of bitterness towards the Angevin Royal family. He spent his best years in the service of the king's court in the expectation of the bishopric of St David's as his reward, a reward that was never to come. This oversight (in Gerald's opinion) left him embittered and angry towards the Angevins and his later work is heavily coloured by his disappointment.[70] Therefore this thesis has used Gerald's writings very selectively. However, Gerald's work does provide some character studies, which are invaluable to understanding the personalities and actions of the men under investigation. The key to reading Gerald is to focus on the representations he is providing rather than relying upon the "facts" as he saw and presented them to the reader.

1.4.6: *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (The History of William Marshal)

One source, which lies somewhere between the chronicle and literary sources in its nature, has also proved to be useful: *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal (The History of William Marshal)* is a biographical poem written within a decade of his death (d.14 May 1219) at the request of his eldest son, also William. The work is the major extant text documenting the Marshal's life and in doing so it also documents many of the Young King's early exploits. It is believed to have been written based on the surviving account of the Marshal's squire, John D'Erlay. Generally the events that appear in the *History* are verifiable from other sources and therefore its value as a primary source is greater than perhaps other poems of the time would be. However, there are incidents, well documented elsewhere, that do not appear in the *History*. Presumably this was because they are not flattering to the subject of the work or his protégé. Therefore the *History* must be used with caution. However, as Duby states, it does preserve '...the memory of chivalry in an almost pure state, about which, without this evidence, we should know virtually nothing.'[71]

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[70] For a full discussion of Gerald's resentment and its effect on his writings see: Bartlett, R. *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: 2006) and Steele, H. 'Gerald of Wales and the Angevin Kings' available at: <http://www.guernicus.com/academics/pdf/gerald.pdf > [Accessed 30 November 2010]
[71] Duby, G. *William Marshal, the Flower of Chivalry*, (New York, 1985) p. 33

In addition to the insights into chivalry as a lived experience that it provides, the *History* was largely used for details of the early years of the Young King's errant phase. It was particularly useful in this area as it documents the period during which the newly crowned Young King was placed under the Marshal for military tutelage.

1.4.7: *Court Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*

In 1878 R. W. Eyton (1815 – 1881), published a work called *Court Household and Itinerary of King Henry II Instancing also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy and Strategy.*[72] This work is a compilation of all the sources, (narrative, pipe roll, and charter) which contain any mention of the physical movements of Henry II in England throughout his reign.

This valuable compilation has been mined for mentions of Henry and Eleanor's children in relation to their own movements or those of their parents. Such brief mentions are frequently the only glimpses we have of children in the narrative sources and Eyton's work allows these to be isolated for study with relative simplicity. Wherever possible the original source of the reference to the children is given, but in many cases Eyton does not provide it, in these cases the reference for the appearance has been given as the relevant page in the *Itinerary*.

1.4.8: Other sources

Guibert de Nogent, (*c.*1055 – 1124) was a Benedictine historian born in Clermont-en-Beauvaisis. His greatest value to this study is his autobiographical memoirs, *De vita suas ive mono diarum suarum libritres* [Translated as *Own Life*].[73] Guibert, the son of a minor

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[72] Baugh, G. C. 'Eyton, Robert William (1815–1881)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9044> [Accessed 29 Oct 2011]
[73]Guibert de Nogent, *De Vita SuaLibriTres* in *VenerabilisGuiberti, abbatis S. Mariae de Novigento, Opera omnia, juxtaeditionemdomniLucaed'Achery ad prelumrevocata et cura qua par eratemendata,*Migne, J.P. (Ed.) (Paris, 1853); Guibert de Nogent, *Own Life*, (from Migne PL 156:856), Translation from: C.G. Coulton, ed, Life in the Middle Ages, (New York, c.1910), Vol. 4, 133-141 [slightly modernized] available at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/nogent-auto.html> [Accessed: 24 January 2011]

nobleman, was relatively unknown in his own time, going virtually unmentioned by his contemporaries.[74] Written towards the end of his life, he traces his life from his childhood to adulthood and he bases his writing on the model of the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine.[75] Throughout the work, he gives vivid glimpses of his time and the customs of northern France. The text is divided into three "Books"; the first of which covers his own life, from birth to adulthood. His descriptions of both his unusual childhood, which was deeply coloured by his intended future as a cleric, and his education are particularly useful to this study.

Petrus, or Peter, Alfonsi (d.*c.*1140) a scholar and translator of scientific works, was born in northern Spain to Jewish parents. Alfonsi converted to Christianity in 1106 and his work was a collection of thirty three oriental tales of moralizing character, translated from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit under the title *Disciplina Clericalis*. As the title suggests, the collection was intended to be useful in the training of clerics. First composed in the early twelfth century, the work was to prove extremely popular throughout the medieval period and beyond. It was reprinted and translated into many languages and was still being re-edited and reprinted well into the nineteenth century.[76] This work has been used for two particular tales one of which provides useful insight into the expectations for knights (see pp. 78 - 79) and the other which supplies an alternative use of the term "brother" (see pp. 161 – 163).

Several other chronicle works have been consulted for minor details or corroborating evidence and are discussed as necessary in the main text. These include the works of: Gervase of Canterbury, Henry of Huntington, Ralph of Diceto, Robert of Torigni, Walter of Coventry, and Gervase of Tilbury.

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[74] Rubenstien, J. *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002) pp. 17 – 26
[75] Ibid.
[76] Burnett, C. 'Alfonsi, Petrus (fl. 1106–1126)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39101> [Accessed 4 June 2011]

1.5: The Model

In order to evaluate the performances of the individual men in the roles and behaviours expected during the masculine maturation process it is first necessary to propose a model of the ideal path against which to measure them. Using existing theories of gender, both biological and socio-cultural, the model shown below (figure 3, p. 46) was developed.

This model represents the ideal path through the life stages of a royal male from birth to adulthood. The linear stages of the model run from birth to being dubbed into knighthood and are largely biologically determined. At birth a gender was assigned that was based upon the biological sex of the infant. The boundaries of the stages of childhood, *infantia, pueria* and the entry into *adolescentia* were similarly governed by nature. They were based on either biological age (for *infantia* and *pueria*) or the biological event of the onset of puberty (for *adolescentia*). *Adolescentia* ends when the male is dubbed into knighthood, which is a fluid boundary as the moment at which this could happen was determined by the ability of the individual rather than an arbitrary age.

Following the ideal path, once dubbed the male youth would enter the errant phase and embark upon a period of proving himself worthy of the role of knight that he had newly acquired. This was done in order to establish a reputation for having the potential to be a successful adult man. Such proof was achieved by displaying the correct behaviour patterns for the role. This proof was largely military in nature. However, social proof was also a requirement and for those of the royal family the addition of political proof was necessary. Ideally it was at the point where such a reputation for potentially successful adulthood was achieved that the linear aspect of the pattern ends and a more fluid path begins.

The exit of the errant phase was at least partially dependent on biological age. If an individual managed to achieve a reputation for correct masculine behaviour patterns prior to his twenty-first birthday he would enter a period of consolidation. The knight errant's aim during that phase was to maintain his reputation through a continued display of the correct

behaviours. During this period it was also possible to build upon a reputation by achieving exceptional feats, usually militarily. If a reputation was established after the age of twenty one the individual would automatically move on to the final elements required for adult status; marriage and financial independence.

The final two components that were prerequisite for achieving adulthood were not fixed in a particular order. As long as both were accomplished at some point in the maturation process the male in question would become an adult. They were, however, so closely linked that they could be, and frequently were, completed simultaneously. To be an adult a man must have full independent responsibility for a household and that required two things. First he must be married, for a wife was a dependant and formed the core of the household. Second he must be able to support said household through an independent income. For royalty that income would have to come from land. The land could be gifted by or held from another male further up the masculine social hierarchy but the decisions as to the management of the land had to be in the hands of the head of the household.

It is important to note that it was possible to complete all of the stages of the model that appear after dubbing in any order. However it is equally important to understand that all stages must have been accomplished before an individual could be considered fully adult. As we shall see, the order as set out in the model was certainly not the only direction through which the path to adulthood could be navigated, but it was the most direct and therefore should be considered the ideal course. This thesis is not proposing any kind of clear split between 'theory' and 'reality' in its approach. It was not just an issue of reality and/or practice being shaped by theory but rather it was a case of the theories themselves being affected by the experiences, practices and realities of medieval royal life.

The model below has been developed with reference to the historiography relating to medieval masculinity discussed in section 1.2.4 (pp. 17 – 23).

Birth
(Gender determined by biology)

↓

Infantia
(Generally common to both genders)

↓

Pueria
(Boys separated from the female environment
and enter a male dominated schoolroom)

↓

Adolescentia
(Military Training begins)

↓

Military training deemed complete
(Proof of Readiness for knighthood)

↓

Dubbing
(Entry into knighthood)

↓

The "errant" phase
Period of social, political and military proof

Before 21 → **Consolidation** → **After 21**
(Maintain proved reputation)

**Financial
Independence**

Marriage
(Head of dependent household)

↓

Marriage
(Head of dependent household)

**Financial
Independence**

↓

Adult

↓

Adult

Figure 3: Model of the ideal passage through Childhood and Youth to Adulthood

This introductory chapter has laid the foundations for the discussions of the performance of masculinity in the Angevin royal family that are to follow. It has outlined the focus of the thesis, discussed the historiography and the methodological framework, provided a biographical background for the subjects of the study and considered the primary sources used. The next section provides a brief outline of the chapters to follow.

1.6: Structure

Chapter 2 (pp. 49 – 94) *Childhood, Education and Dubbing* examines the life stages represented in the linear elements of the model and establishes that lived experience of twelfth-century childhood was gendered from birth. It discusses the historiographical debate that surrounds the existence of a medieval concept of childhood. It looks at the medieval ideals for the passage of children through the education "system" and places Henry II and his sons into this idealised framework. It examines the influences of Henry and Eleanor as parents, and other adults such as tutors, during the formative years of the sons. Moving on to the military training period that began at puberty, it examines the process of acquiring the vocational skills required for their adult roles as dictated by their position in society. It looks at the circumstances of each male's dubbing and places these into the context of the social and familial masculine hierarchies of the adult world that they were entering.

Chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 95 – 131) *Knighthood: The Knight-Errant in War,* and (pp. 132 – 158) *Knighthood: The Knight-Errant in Peace,* investigate the steps taken by Henry II and his sons to prove themselves capable of adult military roles after they had gained the title of knight. This is a particularly broad subject as once dubbed a knight male youths were required to prove themselves militarily before they could be considered fully adult. Additionally, by their nature the lived experiences of each of the five men were unique to them. These chapters first establish the boundaries of the errant phase and move on to examine the performances of each male in the context of building their individual masculine identities.

Chapter 5 (pp. 159 – 198) *Brotherhood: Social and Political Proof* isolates one of many socio-political arenas in which Henry and his sons would be expected to perform in a correctly masculine fashion. It highlights the notion that being properly adult required more than military ability and assesses the performances of individuals within the familial masculine hierarchy of brothers. It also examines the non-familial brotherhoods of "battle" or "blood brothers" and the concept of a politically motivated "sworn brotherhood".

Chapter 6 (pp. 198 – 228) *The Final Requirements: Marriage and Financial Independence* discusses the last two markers of adulthood as shown in the model. Being a married man and having self-sufficient means to support a household of dependants were the final elements that facilitated the entry into enjoying fully adult masculine status. This chapter discusses the historiographical notion of marriage as the single marker for adult status and proposes that financial independence was an additional requirement for adulthood. By means of the lived experiences of each male, Henry and his sons are followed through the natural conclusion of the journey from the end of their youth to the start of their adult lives.[77]

The journey from youth to man begins in childhood, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[77] A thesis that examines the marriages of the daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine has recently been completed by Elizabeth Thomas at the University of St. Andrews.

2: Childhood, Education and Dubbing

This chapter examines the linear elements of the early life as set out in the model shown in figure 3 (p. 46). It briefly discusses the problems of locating children in the twelfth century primary sources before moving on to consider the historiography of the study of medieval childhood. The life stages of *infantia, pueria,* and *adolescentia* are then explored in more detail in relation to the lived experiences of Henry II and his sons.

Information that sheds light on children and childhood in the twelfth century is scarce, we know little about children's lives or even about adults' attitudes towards children.[1] Attempting to locate specific children in this period is all but impossible outside the higher end of society and even in royal circles only glimpses are seen in the documentary evidence. We do find occasional references to those children born to the royal household.[2] Births and deaths tend to be reported in the documentary sources and occasionally baptisms are also included. There are also sporadic instances where the movements of individual children are recorded, however on these occasions they are almost always noted simply as appendages to their parents or other adults. However, we are able to begin to build some suggestions about the general nature of childhood and child/adult relationships and interactions through the fragments of childhood memories that are occasionally recorded by adults looking back at their own lives.

The study of children and childhood in a historical context began in earnest in 1960 with the publication of *L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* by Philippe Ariès.[3] This work, although now heavily criticised, established the study of children and childhood as a topic that was both serious and worthy of academic attention. It is also important in acknowledging that childhood was and is not simply a biological given, but rather it is a social construct. For medievalists, where Ariès' work falls down is in such sweeping comments as: '…

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[1] James, E. 'Childhood and Youth in the Early Middle Ages' in Goldberg, P. J. P. and Riddy, F. *Youth in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge & New York, 2004) pp. 11 - 23
[2] Orme, N. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066 – 1530* (London, 1984) pp. x – xi
[3] Translated into English as: *Centuries of Childhood*

there was no place for childhood in the medieval world'; 'in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist…'; and with his assertion that medieval parents deliberately avoided forming emotional bonds with their children because of the high mortality rate.[4] For each of these statements there is clear evidence to the contrary.[5]

As we shall see, Ariès' assertion that there was no place for childhood in the Middle Ages is challenged in an event documented in *History of William Marshal.* In the *History* we have what is perhaps the closest contemporary example of a childhood game available for the twelfth century. The accuracy of the *History* as a source must be viewed with caution, (see section 1.4.6, pp. 41 – 42). However we can be fairly sure that at the very least the game described by the author in the example below must have been recognisable to the intended reader(s) and therefore we can take the game as likely to be fairly representative of the kinds of childhood play and child/adult interaction via play that would have been seen as being reasonably ordinary in the higher levels of twelfth-century society.

During a conflict with King Stephen the young William was given by his father as hostage to Stephen and it is during this time that the *History* records the two playing a game of '*chevaliers'.*[6] According to the *History* the young William collected ribwort plantain flower spikes which were used to represent "knights" which then took part in one on one "battles" with each of the two participants attempting to remove the head of the other's "knight".[7] A game such as this, apparently invented by the child and acted out with found objects does not

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[4] Ariés, P. *Centuries of Childhood* (Harmondsworth, 1960) p. 31, p. 125 and pp. 36-7.
[5] In the area of medieval history the main critics of Ariès are Kroll, J., 'The concept of childhood in the Middle Ages' *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, (1977) 13 pp. 384–393 Huneycutt, L. L. 'Public Lives, Private Ties: Royal Mothers in England and Scotland, 1070 – 1204' Carmi Parsons, J. and Wheeler, B. (Eds.) *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996) pp. 295 – 312 and Shahar, S. *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, trans. Galai, C. (London, 1990). Also the following criticisms were made by Harry Hendrick: 'Firstly that his [Ariès'] data are either unrepresentative or unreliable. Secondly that he takes evidence out of context, confuses prescription with practice, and uses atypical examples. Thirdly, that he implicitly denies the immutability of the special needs of children, for food, clothing, shelter, affection and conversation. Fourthly, that he puts undue emphasis on the work of moralists and educationalists while saying little of economic and political factors.' Hendrick, H. 'Children and Childhood', *Refresh: Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History* (1992) 15 pp. 1-4
[6] How old William was during this period is uncertain as his birth date is unrecorded, however it is generally agreed that he was around the age of four or five years when given as hostage. For full a discussion of William's probable birth year and age at the time of the incident see: Crouch, D. *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147 – 1219* (London, 1990) p. 16
[7] *HWM*, pp. 32 – 33

seem atypical of later recorded childhood games, or indeed of games we may have invented ourselves in our own childhood.[8] That William chose to model his game in a way that reflected the adult society he had observed around him is equally unremarkable, it is perhaps no less likely than a game of "cops and robbers" or "doctors and nurses" would be today. Similar vocational play can be seen in the experience of Gerald of Wales, who is reported to have built sand-churches instead of sand-castles when playing on the beach with his brothers.[9] Far from ignoring the child, King Stephen was instead quite plainly making a place for the young William Marshal and his game despite a lack of familial relationship.[10]

It is perhaps inevitable that the game reflected only the masculine side of that society as the story of the game is used to presage the Marshal's later status in the manner of a saint's life. Additionally it helps to support the notion of a deliberately gendered socialisation of children. It is after all highly unlikely that any game would have been recorded or reflected in this manner if the young William had chosen to play a in a manner that reflected female roles in society. In addition it should be noted that a game of "knights" aids the author's undertaking to record William's life as a great knight, or even the greatest knight, of his time.[11] In the process of building the impression of the Marshal as paragon of chivalric ideals, the *History* either deliberately or inadvertently indicates that his manliness was something that began in his *infantia* stage. This may explain why it is the only game that is described in any level of detail in the entire work. While we do not have any explicit examples of Henry II or any of his children playing such games, equally, there is no reason to believe that they would not have taken part in similar kinds of play.

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[8] The archaeological evidence for children playing with found objects is, by its nature, difficult to find. However, recent, and to the best of my knowledge as yet unpublished, work by C. R. Lewis shows that some seemingly random features in town and village centres in both earlier and later medieval periods may in fact be parts of children's games such as "stones", which required a hole in which to attempt to land cherry pips or small rocks, rather than the irregularly placed post-holes, as they have previously been classified. C. R. Lewis, 'Hide and Seek: Space and Play in the Medieval Village' Conference paper presented at Leeds IMC (8 July 2008); See also Baxter, J. E. *The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender, and Material Culture* (Oxford, 2005) for a survey of Anglo-Saxon children's grave goods.
[9] Butler, H. E. (ed. Trans.) *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales* (Woodbridge, 2005) p. 35
[10] *HWM*, pp. 32 – 33
[11] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225' in Hadley (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* pp. 71 – 88; Crouch, D. *William Marshal* pp. 179 – 206

Ariès' claim that there was no concept of childhood as a distinct life stage of medieval life can be similarly dismissed. In the mid-thirteenth century Bartholomeus Anglicus defined a tripartite division of the phases of childhood at the social and physiological developmental levels that he called; *infantia, pueria,* and *adolescentia*, which roughly fell into the age groups of birth to seven years, seven to twelve (for girls) seven to fourteen (for boys) and twelve or fourteen to adulthood.[12] These categories clearly indicate that there was an awareness of childhood as a distinct life phase, and although Anglicus is writing several decades after John, our youngest Angevin under consideration, had died it is unlikely that he plucked his categories from thin air but rather he was basing his works on concepts that were pre-existing. Therefore we can extrapolate with some security that such concepts were in fact in place in the second half of the twelfth century if not sooner and may in fact have been based to some extent on classical models such as the work of Aristotle.[13]

Finally we can see from the examples we have of Eleanor and Henry frequently travelling with one or some of their children, particularly during their *infantia* years that Ariès is also mistaken about parental bonding, at least in the highest level of society. There is no reason for either Henry or Eleanor to wish to travel with their children, in particular across the channel, a frequently hazardous journey, when they could leave them in safely with staff unless they had a genuine desire to be with those children. Therefore I would suggest that they had indeed formed emotional bonds with their children while young.[14]

This may be because they expected, and experienced, a higher survival rate of their children compared to those in lower classes; Henry and Eleanor had lost a child in infancy in 1156 when their first born, William, died in his third year.[15] According to Ariès this should have led to a slackening of parental emotional connections to subsequent children, but for Henry

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[12] Bartholomaeus Anglicus *Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum* Book. 6. Ch. 5 *De Puureo* taken from John Trevisa's Translation, (Oxford, 1975) pp. 300-1 See also: Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* p. 22
[13] Aristotle, *Politics,* Book 7, Chapter 17, Ellis (Trans.) p. 168
[14] Huneycutt, L. L. 'Public Lives, Private Ties' pp. 295 – 312
[15] The circumstances of William's death are unclear, but it appears that he died in England in either April or June (sources vary) 1156 at the age of either 2 years 7 months or 2 years 9 months. (For his birth see: Diceto Vol. I p.296, for his death see: Torig Vol. I p. 300)

and Eleanor, as indicated by the amount of time they appear to have spent in the company of their children detailed in the table below, this was clearly not the case.

Life Stage	*Infantia*						
	Young King	Matilda	Richard	Geoffrey	Eleanor	Joanna	John
Henry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eleanor	2	2	0	1	2	2	1
Both	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Life Stage	*Pueria*						
	Young King	Matilda	Richard	Geoffrey	Eleanor	Joanna	John
Henry	3	0	0	5	0	1	3
Eleanor	0	3	3	1	0	1	0
Both	0	1	1	0	0	1	1

Life Stage	*Adolescentia*						
	Young King	Matilda	Richard	Geoffrey	Eleanor	Joanna	John
Henry	2	0	2	3	0	0	4
Eleanor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Both	2	0	1	0	0	0	1

Table 1: Instances of royal children travelling in the company of a parent, as mentioned in: R. W. Eyton *Court Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*[16]

From table 1 above we see a trend of both Henry and Eleanor having had at least some of their children with them when they travelled. Interestingly there are also some general trends that follow the usual medieval pattern of child life-stages.[17]

Firstly it appears that their children, male and female, are exclusively seen with Eleanor when they are in the *infantia* life stage and not with Henry or with both parents.[18] In addition there is often a clear gender split between with which of their parents a given child spent more time; in the *pueria* stage the sons are far more likely to be found in the company of their

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[16] *Itinerary,* pp. 24 – 262

[17] This table, like the itinerary from which it was built, does unfortunately contain large gaps, which reflect the incomplete nature of the records for the period.

[18] The movements of Henry, Eleanor and their children have been collated in: *Itinerary* (pp. 24 – 262 covers the period in which some or all of the children were under the age of 18) and it is from this work that the following examples are drawn. There does not appear to be an equivalent work for their time spent in Henry's continental holdings, although some clues are provided by the work, such as a destination when leaving England, or if there was an event abroad with such significance that news of it would have filtered through to England. See section 1.4.7 p. 42 for more details on this source.

father. This is a pattern that is consistent with the twelfth-century belief that seven was a good age to separate male children from the "petticoat government" of the nursery and enter them into the male dominated realm of the schoolroom.[19] The only consistent exception to this is with Richard, who is seen in the company of his mother up to at least the age of twelve. This is undoubtedly due to his role as her intended heir to Aquitaine, indicating that there were other or additional issues than simple ones of age and life cycle at work here, a matter to which we will return.

Henry and Eleanor's daughters, however, in the *pueria* stage, are nearly always, when mentioned, in the company of their mother.[20] When they are noted as having spent time with their father it is almost exclusively in the context of both parents being present. There is a single example of Henry spending time seemingly alone with his daughter Joanna when she was in the *pueria* stage. However, this occasion was in the context of a brief visit, almost certainly to discuss her betrothal arrangements, something that was peculiar to high status families at this time, rather than a protracted stay on the part of either parent or child. In addition to this it also needs to be made clear that at the time of Henry's visit Joanna was in the same castle as her mother was being held following her part in the 1173 rebellion. Shortly after reaching the *adolescentia* stage, all three of Henry and Eleanor's daughters were, if not already married, living in the homes of their betrothed.[21] The sons, once reaching the *adolescentia* stage are seen in the company of either their father or both parents together and never alone with Eleanor. Although this may in large part be explained by Eleanor's imprisonment it does also fit with the accepted pattern of medieval child rearing in the highest level of society.

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[19] Orme, N. *Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006) p. 129

[20] Huneycutt, L. L. 'Public Lives, Private Ties' pp. 295 – 312

[21] Matilda and Joanna were both married shortly after their twelfth birthdays, Eleanor's life is less well documented and estimates of her age upon marriage vary from nine to eighteen. However the lower of these estimates is likely to be due to confusion with her age at her betrothal in 1170 (she was around the age of eight) and the higher due to her having her first child in 1180 at around the age of eighteen (and therefore certainly married). The best estimates appear to centre around 1176 and 1177 when Eleanor was around the ages of thirteen to fourteen, so she was older than her sisters were upon marriage, but this was not an unusual age to marry in this period.

2.1: *Infantia*

The next stage on the model (figure 3, p. 46) is the stage labelled *infantia* by Anglicus.[22] It covered the ages of birth to around the age of seven years. The end point of this phase was however a little flexible in that the move to the schoolroom, which heralded the beginning of the *pueria* stage, could be made early if circumstances required it. Usually any discrepancy would be only a matter of months, with being a year early in entering *pueria* as the extreme. Presumably the stage could also be started after the ideal age. However, in the lived experiences of Henry and his sons there is no case of a male child embarking upon his formal education later than age seven.

Henry suffered a lack of presence in the sources prior to the age of nine; however we know that his own mother, the Empress Matilda was near her first born son, if not always available to him, for large portions of his *infantia* stage. It is likely that she was nearby her young son for the first year of his life as his brother, Geoffrey, was born shortly after Henry's first birthday.[23] However, as Geoffrey's birth was difficult and Matilda is reported as being near death and having a long period of recovery, it is unlikely that she was a large feature in Henry's life for the following year or more.[24] Henry's second brother, William, was born when Henry was three years old.[25]

By the time Henry was nearing the end of his *infantia* stage Matilda was absent from her husband and her sons. When Henry was six years old his mother left her family in Anjou, her husband included, and travelled with her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, to England to confront King Stephen in an attempt to secure Henry's inheritance to the throne.[26] With far less land to administer than Henry himself had as a parent it seems likely that up until their mother went to England he and his brothers were able to be near at least one parent more often than maybe his own children were. However, as Matilda's travels coincided with their

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[22] Bartholomaeus Anglicus *Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum* Book. 6. Ch. 5 *De Puureo* taken from John Trevisa's Translation, (Oxford, 1975) pp. 300-1
[23] Torig, Vol. I. pp. 192-3
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid. p. 202
[26] *GS,* pp. 86-7

father's attempts to subdue and control Normandy it is fair to assume that once Henry had entered *pueria*, with both parents active outside their main holdings, that he would have been left in the safety of Anjou under the care of tutors.

As shown in table 1 above, in every instance noted in the *Itinerary*, the children of the royal couple, male or female, when recorded during their *infantia* stage, are noted as being with their mother and this remains true until they had reached the age of seven. This suggests that the medieval model of the ideal conditions during the *infantia* stage was being deliberately followed by Henry and Eleanor as being the conventional way to proceed.[27] If this was not a conscious effort to follow convention, then the ideals were at the very least being reflected by them. However, this does not mean that Eleanor was never without her children. For example, we are told that Eleanor had crossed from England into Normandy in July 1156, but we do not have record of whether either of her children accompanied her at that time.[28] It appears that Eleanor may have been alone for two reasons. Firstly "expenses of the king's children" are recorded at Michaelmas, the end of their financial year, by sheriffs of London. This may indicate that the children had been left behind in the care of others who were claiming said expenses for them. Secondly, Matilda had been born in England in June of that year. As she was just a month old when her mother went overseas, it seems rather unlikely that she would have been subjected to the journey. However, we do know that the Young King and Matilda returned to England with Eleanor in February 1157.[29] It is therefore possible that they may have been sent to meet her at a later date, if so then Michaelmas the previous year is the most likely candidate, offering an alternative explanation for the expenses claimed by the sheriffs of London.[30] It is also clear that Henry and Eleanor spent some time together prior to Eleanor and the children's travelling to England as Richard was born seven months after their

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[27] Carmi Parsons, J. and Wheeler, B. '*Introduction:* Medieval Mothering, Medieval Motherers.' In Carmi Parsons, J. and Wheeler, B. (Eds.) *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996) pp. ix – xvii
[28] *Itinerary,* p. 18
[29] Ibid. p. 24
[30] Ibid.

arrival, Eleanor must therefore have been in the early stages of pregnancy at the time of her return.[31]

Unlike all of his siblings, who appear at least once in the records alongside their mother, apart from recording his birth on 8 September 1157, Richard does not appear again in the sources until he is eight years old.[32] His movements and living arrangements during the *infantia* stage are entirely unknown. Even his siblings, who are at least mentioned occasionally, are not widely covered; the vast majority of the royal children's *infantia* stage are unrecorded in every case and only once or twice are they mentioned at all. This can be better attributed to the perceived significance of young children on the parts of the reporters than to a lack of affection by the parents. It may be that Ariès was correct in identifying that child mortality rates were a factor in the lack of children in the records, why spend time and resources documenting a child in detail when they may not survive to become politically significant? But the exclusion of detailed descriptions of children was surely a decision for the writers, who did after all see children of royalty as important enough to acknowledge the births of, and not as the result of a request of "unemotional" parents, as Ariès implies.

Despite appearing twice alongside Eleanor, once in the *infantia* phase and once with both parents in the *pueria* stage, John, along with his sister Joanna, had a very different experience of parental involvement in his life during the *infantia* stage than that of his elder siblings. The two youngest children were placed in the care of Fontevraud Abbey for a period of years that covered much of their *infantia* phase.[33] First noted by Alfred Richard in 1903, the evidence for the stay at Fontevraud is somewhat scant in its nature, relying on a single obituary notice for John in a seventeenth century manuscript preserved in the Abbey records.[34] The obituary reads as follows:

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[31] Ibid.
[32] WC, Vol. I. p. 184; Diceto, Vol. I p. 531
[33] For a full and detailed discussion of the dates and duration of the stay and the problems caused by the use of the term "oblate" in relation to John's stay see: Lewis, A. W. 'The Birth and Childhood of King John' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* Wheeler, B. and Carmi Parsons, J. (Eds.) (Basingstoke, 2003) pp. 159 – 175 (esp. pp. 166 – 168)
[34] Paris, BnF, lat. 5480, p. 5 cited in Lewis, 'The Birth and Childhood of King John' (footnote 45) p. 166

> *Migr[avit] Johannes Rex Anglorum et Dux Aquitanorum et comtes Andevagorum, ab illustrissimo patre suo Rege Henrico nobis & Ecclesie nostre oblatus est et a nobis per 5 annorum spacium nutritus, cumque autem Regni Anglie suscepit gubernacula dilectione non modica nos delexit, et Ecclesiasm nostrum suis beneficiis ampliavit.*

> Died: John, king of the English and duke of the Aquitinians and count of the Angevins. He was given to us and to our church as an oblate by his most illustrious father King Henry and for a period of five years was cared for by us, and when he assumed the government of the kingdom of England he felt great affection for us, and he increased our church by his benefactions.[35]

Given the later date of the manuscript it would be natural to doubt its reliability; however the appearance, or lack thereof, of John in the *itinerary* suggests that the five year stay asserted is a genuine possibility. John (along with Richard, young Eleanor and Joanna) is recorded as being with his mother at Michaelmas 1169, shortly before his third birthday.[36] (The location of the family at that date is not clear, but Eleanor is known to have been acting for Henry in Poitou in the previous year.)[37] He is not mentioned again until July 1174, when he and Joanna accompanied both parents into England at the height of the elder sons' rebellion.[38]

This five-year absence from the *itinerary* strongly suggests that the Abbey records are correct in their assertion that John spent around half a decade of his formative years away from both of his parents on a full time basis. Of course we cannot rule out visits by either or both parent to their son during this period, but if they occurred they are not recorded. Nor should we assume that John was placed into the Abbey without a great deal of careful thought on the matter. That Fontevraud was chosen is significant for several reasons. Firstly it was a "double abbey" in which the women were served by and outranked the men, meaning that it was a suitable female environment for a boy who was not yet old enough to take his first steps into the adult male world.[39] Second, it seems that Fontevraud was chosen out of all available double abbeys because there was a family connection that would be to John's benefit during

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[35] Ibid.
[36] *Itinerary,* p. 129
[37] Ibid.p. 112
[38] Ibid. p. 179
[39] Simmons, L. N. 'The Abbey Church at Fontevraud in the Later Twelfth Century: Anxiety, Authority and Architecture in the Female Spiritual Life' *Gesta* Vol. 31, No. 2, Monastic Architecture for Women (1992) pp. 99-107

his stay. At the time John and Joanna were placed in the Abbey's care, Henry's first cousin, Matilda of Flanders, was a nun there.[40]

Although we cannot know with any certainty the level of involvement Matilda had with her young relatives during their stay, the fact that she was there at all may have been a significant factor in Henry's choice of institution for his children. Having a blood relative as a potential point of contact may have been seen to be to the benefit of the youngsters, that it would provide a level of continuity of care that another institution with no blood ties could not offer. Another alternative is that having a family member present was simply more socially acceptable in relation to children being left without close parental contact for prolonged periods in the hands of strangers, therefore allowing Henry to make the decision to "abandon" his children without suffering any social stigma. Finally, Fontevraud was something of a "family abbey" for the Plantagenents, the family were great financial supporters of the abbey, Eleanor retired there, and Henry and Eleanor were buried there along with, Richard, Joanna, their grandson Raymond VII of Toulouse, and John's second wife Isabella of Angoulême.[41]

2.2: *Pueria:* Into the Schoolroom

Education, or learning, in the *infantia* years was dedicated to developing the skills expected of young children and followed what can be seen as a natural development. Following the Aristotelian model, children under the age of six were to be kept secluded from adult vices and generally expected to spend their time becoming skilled at the simple things such as enduring cold, walking, talking, dressing and feeding themselves.[42] For royal children there may have been additional skills such as horse riding, although this is not documented.

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[40] Albanés, J. H. and Chevalier, C. U. J. *Gallia christiana novissima : histoire des archevèchés, évèchés [et] abbayes de France, accompagnée des documents authentiques recueillis dans les registres du Vatican et les archives locales* Vol. II (Montbéliard, 1899) pp. 1318 – 1319

[41] Webster, P. 'From Conflict to Commemoration: King John's Family Piety' Conference paper presented at Leeds IMC (12 July 2012)

[42] Aristotle, *Politics,* Book 7, Chapter 17, Ellis (Trans.) p. 168 and Orme, N. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066 – 1530* (London, 1984) p. 114
It should be noted that Aristotle's work was highly influential in the later twelfth century. The so-called "twelfth-century renaissance" saw the development of a new method of learning called scholasticism which was derived from the rediscovery of the works of Aristotle. For more on this see, among others: Haskins, C. H. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927); Swanson, R.

The stage of the model (figure 3, p. 46) labelled *pueria* begins at around the age of seven and continues until puberty. It was during this stage that male children were moved to a male dominated environment, usually a schoolroom.

Formal, structured education began between the ages of five and seven, with the latter end of that bracket being the norm. This was deemed to be the age at which boys became more (but not completely) male in nature and therefore was the correct time to move from the influence of their mother and nursemaids into the masculine realm of the schoolroom.[43]

Although the twelfth century saw significant growth of public schools they were a relatively new phenomenon and were rarely attended by the boys of the higher social classes prior to the renaissance. There are no known examples of attendance by noble boys in the twelfth century. Therefore for the children of the higher levels of society their schoolroom would always be in a domestic setting rather than outside the household of one or both parents. Guibert de Nogent provides one of the most useful instances we have of recalled childhood from this period.[44] Nogent's childhood was dominated by his mother's intention to place him in the church and in his autobiographical work *De Vita Sua [Own Life]* he comments: '…*schola autem non alia erat quoddam domus notræ triclinium.'* […my school, which was none other than a hall of our house.][45] The tutors chosen to educate noble youngsters were usually clerks who, without exception, had received little or no formal training to teach. Also all education was almost entirely vocational in its nature in that children were taught only skills that were expected to be necessary or advantageous to the child's ability to correctly perform in the role they were expected to have in adult society.

Subjects covered generally included Latin reading and grammar (these were generally taught as separate subjects) logic and rhetoric, in addition they would be expected to

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The Twelfth-Century Renaissance (Manchester, 1977) and Thomson, R. M. 'England and the Twelfth Century Renaissance' *Past and Present* 101 (1983)

[43] Aristotle, *Politics,* Book 7, Chapter XVII, section 1336b in Orme, N. *Medieval Children* (London, 2001) p.68

[44] See section 1.4.8 pp. 42 – 43 for more on Nogent's work.

[45] Nogent, *De Vita Sua* col. 847: Coulton (ed. Trans.)

undertake gentle exercise but not hard physical labour until after the age of fourteen.[46] Mathematics, philosophy and theology may also have featured in the education of the high-born, but learning was usually specifically tailored to the child's gender, class and expected adult occupation.[47] It may appear at first glance that royalty would have had little use for literacy as they lived in households full of clerks and scribes. However, one of the most significant writers of Henry II's court, Gerald of Wales, makes it clear in *On the Instruction of Princes* that this was not the case and that in fact rulers were expected to have some ability with letters when he repeats the classical saying '*illiterate procer es suspicio nusquam melior quam asinus coronatus*', which translates rather charmingly as 'illiterate princes are esteemed nothing better than crowned asses'.[48] Additionally, John of Salisbury pointed out that grammar alone did not give one a properly rounded education: *Qui enim istorum ignati sunt, illiterati dicuntur etsi literas nouerint.* [For those that are ignorant [of Latin poets, historians, orators and mathematicians], should be called *illiteratus* even if they know letters.][49]

The change to the formal classroom could be difficult for boys entering the *pueria* stage. This is reflected by Nogent as he recalls a childhood where his schooling prevented him joining the games of his peers:

> *Nam cum æquævi mei passim ad libitum vagarentur, et eis debitæ secundum tempus facultatis frena paterent, ego ab hujusmodi per sedulas coercitiones inhibitus, clericaliter infulatus sedebam, et cuneos ludentium quasi peritum animal exspectabam*[50]

> For, whereas the others of my age wandered everywhere at their own will, and the reins were loosed in all due liberty with respect to their age, I from this sort [of freedom] was shackled by constant restraints, sitting in my little clerical cloak and watching the bands of playing children like some tame animal.[51]

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[46] Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* p. 115

[47] Usually girls received no formal (or classroom) education, although some in the upper classes were taught a basic literacy alongside their brothers.

[48] *Princes,* p. 7

[49] John of Salisbury *Policraticus* (c.1159) p. 373 [My Translation] Available at Internet Archive <http://archive.org/stream/ioannissaresberi01johnuoft/ioannissaresberi01johnuoft_djvu.txt> [Accessed January 2010]

[50] Guibert de Nogent, *De Vita Sua Libri Tres* in *Venerabilis Guiberti, abbatis S. Mariae de Novigento, Opera omnia, juxta editionem domni Lucae d'Achery ad prelum revocata et cura qua par erat emendata,* Migne, J.P. (Ed.) (Paris, 1853) col. 845

[51] Guibert de Nogent, *Own Life*, (from Migne PL 156:856), Translation from: C.G. Coulton, ed, Life in the Middle Ages, (New York, c.1910), Vol. 4, 133-141 [slightly modernized] available at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/nogent-auto.html> [Accessed: 24 January 2011]

There is a strong sense of wistfulness to Nogent's writing here; the tone is of a man who feels that his childhood ended too early with his removal from the usual childhood pastimes, suggesting that childhood was not connected to physical age as much as it was to activities.

It is likely that Henry spent much of his early years in the household of his father, Geoffrey of Anjou. Geoffrey's household was an ideal place for instruction in both martial and courtly arts as contemporaries openly acknowledged Geoffrey as a devoted patron of "book learning" and that although he loved hunting it was widely known that for Geoffrey even that great passion of the noble class came second to reading among his recreational activities.[52] In such an atmosphere it seems reasonable to assume that the young Henry's education was given a great deal of thought and attention. What is known is that Henry's first tutor was a one of the noted grammarians of the day; a man called Peter of Saintes who was well regarded for his knowledge of poetics.[53]

It was common for high-born males to be sent to another household to finish their education and Henry was no exception to this and he was sent to Bristol castle the household of his half-uncle, Robert of Gloucester. Unusually in Henry's case this was done at an earlier age than would normally be expected. Customarily a young noble male would be sent away to finish their education in their early to mid-teens. Henry however was dispatched to his uncle's at the tender age of nine. Such a move was unusual and it seems that Geoffrey of Anjou was initially reluctant to allow his son to make the journey, however as we shall see he was far more reluctant to take the journey himself.

Matilda's attempt to wrest the throne from Stephen was not going well and Geoffrey was reluctant to answer the suggestions of the nobles who proposed that he should act to aid his wife and sons' interests in England.[54] Geoffrey was partially approving of the plan, but,

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[52] John de Marmoutier, *Historia Johannis Pioris Hagustaldensis* in Warren, W. L. *Henry II* (London, 1973) p. 38

[53] GC, p. 125 in Warren *Henry II* p. 39

[54] Chibnall, M. 'Matilda (1102–1167)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18338> [Accessed 16 June 2011]

according to the English Chronicler William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey knew none of the nobles in question with the exception of Robert of Gloucester who Geoffrey '[*eius*] *prudentiam et fidem, magnanimitatem et industriam, probatam iam olim habuisse*' [had long been assured of his prudence and loyalty, noble spirit and energy.][55] Therefore Geoffrey decided that if Robert '*...si ad se transito mari adueniat, uoluntati eius se pro posse non defuturum*' [...would cross the sea and come to him, he would meet his wishes as far as he could].[56]

Initially it seems that Robert was reluctant to make such a journey as Malmesbury records that he had to be entreated by many to accept the task for the good of the claim of his half-sister and nephews.[57] However Robert was eventually won around, and after a difficult journey he arrived in Caen, where he sent messengers to summon Geoffrey to him.[58]Malmesbury reports that Geoffrey attended Robert '*non aspernantur*' [without reluctance] however he was not to be easily persuaded to help and raised many objections, the main one seeming to be a number of castles being in revolt against him in Normandy.[59] Eventually Geoffrey, '*magni... benefitii*' [as a great favour], allowed Robert to take the nine year old Henry to England in his stead despite the dangers inherent in what was by then, with all the delays created by Geoffrey's reluctance to leave Normandy, a winter voyage.[60] Significantly the primary reason for this was, according to Malmesbury, so that the young Henry could stand as a symbol for his mother's claim on the English throne. The hope was that Henry would inspire the English barons '*iusti heredis partes propugnare*' [to fight for the cause of the lawful heir] and invoke memories of the prosperity and power of the great Henry I, the grandfather the boy was named for.[61] However, even with expectations surrounding the young Henry being so politically charged, there is evidence that care was taken to ensure that his education did not suffer during that period.[62]

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[55] WM, p. 123
[56] Ibid. p. 122 - 125
[57] Ibid. p. 124 - 125
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid. pp. 124 – 127
[60] Ibid. pp. 126 – 127
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

It was during this stage of Henry's education that he was taught by one of the most remarked upon grammar masters of the twelfth century: Master Matthew. The length of time Henry spent under Matthew's tutelage has been a matter for debate as there are differing accounts of the amount of time that Henry spent in England during that first visit.[63] Some sources indicate that the maximum possible duration of the arrangement was four years; others suggest it was a matter of mere months. However, most sources show that a period between the two suggested extremes, but not over two years, as being the most likely.[64] The most acceptable proposed dates of Henry's first visit were established by Poole as probably commencing in November 1142 and lasting for around one year.[65] Given this it seems that at the very least Henry was under Matthew's guidance for a single year, which is somewhat surprising when taking into account the amount of attention Matthew's tutelage of the future king appears to have been given by both contemporary commentators and historians through the years.[66] What is certain is that during this period Henry was not taught in isolation. A later exchange with a cousin, son of Robert of Gloucester and by then Bishop of Worcester makes it clear the two were taught together during Henry's first visit to England. Henry accused the Bishop of being 'no true son' of Robert of Gloucester, 'the good earl, my uncle, who brought us up together at that [Bristol] castle, and had us instructed in the first elements of learning and good behaviour'.[67] What is interesting here is that such a short visit could still be used in such a way as to be grounds for invoking the obligations of kinship. Clearly the brief period of study under Master Matthew in England, and the ties it forged with his cousin, were still important factors in Henry's mind. His time there was clearly still in his thoughts nearly thirty years later.

While we may not have a definitive date for Henry's return to the continent, it is known that after arriving back in his father's holdings he was placed under a tutor named William of Conches. Sadly it seems that little more is known about him but his name. Taking Poole's

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[63] Poole, A. L. 'Henry Plantagenet's Early Visits to England', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 187 (July, 1932) pp. 447 – 452
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] See among others: Warren, *Henry II* pp. 38- 39 and Appleby, J. T. *Henry II* (London, 1962) pp. 18 – 19
[67] WM, p. xcii

assessment of the dates of Henry's movements as correct we can calculate that Henry would have been around the age of ten or eleven when he began his studies under Conches. This would suggest that Henry would have been under his tuition for around three years before moving on to more physical martial training given the norms for young noble males of the twelfth century.[68] However, circumstances do not support this in Henry's case as he is seen returning to England at the age of fourteen in conditions that suggest his martial training had already reached a point where he felt comfortable enough to put them to practical use.[69] Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that Henry's martial training began at an age that was considerably earlier than might be expected of other boys of the same status; that is his status as the son of a duke. It is, however, more consistent with the son of the lawful heiress of a king, as Matilda undoubtedly saw herself and her son. However, this does not mean it is safe or sensible to assume that Henry's academic studies did not continue alongside his martial training. Henry reportedly retained a love of reading, learning, and debate with the learned throughout his life, indeed as an adult Henry is praised for his love of learning by several contemporary commentators.[70] Therefore it seems likely that even if he no longer participated in formal "lessons" once his military training began, he would have continued his studies at an individual level purely for the intellectual exercise he appears to have enjoyed so much.[71]

For Henry II's sons we have some patchy information about the Young King, and John's education, however, we have no details about Richard or Geoffrey, who do not appear to have had any recorded tutors or teaching during the *pueria* stage. We do, however, know that Richard must have received some education as he is recognized as having had enough knowledge of Latin to make a joke in the language, and what is more a joke that relied heavily on a good knowledge of Latin grammar, at the expense of the less learned Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury.[72] Geoffrey is noted as being with Eleanor at age nine, at age ten he

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[68] Boulton, D'A. J. D, 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity: The Knighting of Counts and Kings' sons in England, 1066 – 1272' in Church, S. D. and Harvey, R. (Eds.) *Medieval Knighthood V. Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference* (Woodbridge, 1995) pp. 41 – 100

[69] *GS*, p. 205

[70] Warren, *Henry II* p. 39

[71] Ibid. p. 208

[72] Gerald of Wales *De Invectionibus* in *Opera iii* J. S. Brewer (Ed.) (London, 1863) p. 30. The full incident reads as follows: *Accidit aliquando quod Anglorum rege Ricardo Latinis verbis in hunc modum*

was in Rennes, apparently without either parent, in order to receive homage from the Breton barons, (Henry was certainly absent; he is recorded as being in Gascony for the entire month).[73] Then for the six months beginning shortly after his eleventh birthday he was with Henry, after which he is placed in his own household for a year in Northampton.[74] Therefore it is possible, even likely given their closeness in age, that Richard and Geoffrey were taught together in Eleanor's household until around 1169.

The Young King had a seemingly similar experience to his father in relation to his early formal education; however, their experiences diverge later in the *pueria* stage. Initially, like his father, the Young King was placed under a *magister* within his father's household. From 1156 – 1158 a Master Mainard drew expenses of £6 *per annum* for '*mag. regis filii'*.[75] While it is unlikely that the Young King was receiving formal grammar lessons between the ages of one and three years, the appointment of Master Mainard does suggest that, rather unusually, he was separated from the female dominated household of his mother at a very early age and placed instead into the care of men long before the start of his *pueria* stage. That pattern continued in 1162 when Henry sends his son to the home of Thomas Becket to be educated. This was a more normal arrangement than that with Master Mainard as the Young King was around the age of seven years and ready for a proper schoolroom education. The exact date of the Young King's entry into Becket's household is not explicitly stated in the sources; however it is usually taken to be 1162, when Henry ordered Becket to take the Young King into England to prepare for his recognition by the magnates. He may already have been in Becket's household prior to that order, but without firm evidence 1162 remains the best estimate available.[76] It is certain that the Young King was with Becket by the beginning of 1163 as the

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proponente: "Volumus quod istud fiat coram nobis;" prædictus archiepiscopus, qui cum aliis multis et magnis viris tunc præsens extiterat, regem corrigere volens, ait: "Domine, coram nos, coram nos." Quo audito, cum rex Hugonem Conventrensem episcopum virum literatum et facundum respiceret, ait ille: "Ad vestram, domine, grammaticam, quia plus valet, vos teneatis;" risu cunctorum qui aderant subsecuto.

[73] *Itinerary,* p. 98 and pp. 132 – 133
[74] Ibid. p. 145
[75] Hunter, J. (Ed.) *The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third and Fourth Years of the Reign of Henry I, 1155 – 1158* (Record Commission, 1884) pp. 66, 101 and 180
[76] Edward Grimm, in: *MTB,* Vol. II p. 366

Itinerary notes that he accompanied Becket to meet Henry at Southampton, in this entry the Young King is noted as being "Becket's pupil".[77]

Educating the next king was not simply a matter for the parents; it also seems to have been the collective concern of the Angevin episcopate. Sending the Young King to Becket for tuition may in part have been in reaction to the following letter that Henry received from Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, in which he is urged to place his son under the care of a tutor.[78]

> *Cum enim aliis regibus fit rude et informe ingenium, vestrum, quod exercitatum est in litteris, in magnarum rerum administratione est providum, subtile in judiciis, cautam in præceptis, in consilio circumspectum. Ideoque omnium episcoporum vestrorum unanimiter in hoc vota concurrunt, ut Henricus filius vester et hæres litteris applicetur, ut quem vestrum exspectamus hæredem, habeamus tam regni quam prudentiæ successorem.*

> Although other kings are of a rude and uncultivated character, yours, which was formed by literature, is prudent in the administration of great affairs, subtle in judgements, and circumspect in counsel. Wherefore all your bishops unanimously agree that Henry, your son and heir, should apply himself to letters, so that he whom we regard as your heir may be the successor to your wisdom as well as your kingdom.[79]

Most of our information about Becket's life as chancellor of England comes from a William Fitzstephen, and in the matter of Becket's household he is most descriptive. Fitzstephen tells us that:

> *Cancellario et regni Angliæ et regnorum vicinorum magnates liberos suos servitures mittebant, quos ipse honesta nutritura et doctrina instituit, et cingulo donatos militiæ ad patres et propinquos cum honore remittebat aliquos, aliquos retenebat.*

> Magnates of the kingdom of England and of neighbouring kingdoms placed their children in the chancellor's service and he grounded them in honest education and doctrine and when they had received the belt of knighthood he sent some back with honour to their fathers and family and retained others.[80]

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[77] Diceto, Vol. I p. 534 b: *Itinerary* p. 58

[78] The letter itself appears to suffer from a confusion of dates. Strickland (in 'The upbringing of Henry, the Young King' *Henry II: New Interpretations* ((Woodbridge, 2007) p. 189) claims that the letter dates from 1167/8; however Migne, the original editor of the *Epistolae* places it firmly in 1161. Migne's date appears to be the more accurate given that the Young King was sent to his first formal tutor in 1162. By 1167 the Young King was aged 12, well beyond the usual point of beginning his education and the lack of such to that point would surely have been commented on before it had reached that stage.

[79] Rotrou, Archbishop of Rouen, *Epistolae,* Letter 67 (c.1161) in Petri Blesensis (Peter of Blois) *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 1: J.P. Migne (Ed.) (Paris, 1855) col. 210 – 213 [Trans. Rotrou*,* Letter 67: translated by Appleby, J. *Henry II, the Vanquished King* (London, 1962) p. 70]

[80] *MTB,* Vol. III. p. 22 [Trans. Staunton, M. *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester, 2001) p. 51]

This single sentence provides several interesting points for study. Firstly that Becket was clearly in the habit of providing an education to the ruling classes. More significant still is that he provided it to not only sons of English lords but also that his reputation as provider of education (for he cannot have been the boys' tutor personally given his duties as Chancellor and later, Archbishop) was such that his services were sought out by the nobles of other countries. Secondly the sentence confirms that it was considered normal to remain in another's household until the completion of military training; however, the wording is ambiguous enough to hint that he would take boys below the usual age for physical training as well and therefore also provided instruction in letters.

> Fitzstephen confirms this when he goes on
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> *Rex ipse, dominus suus, filium suum, hæredem regni, ei nutriendum commendavit; quem ipse cum coætaneis sibi multis filiis nobelium, et debita eorum omnium sequels, et magistris, et servitoribus propriis, quo dignum erat honore, secum habuit.*
>
> The king himself, his lord, commended his son, the heir to the kingdom, to his training, and the chancellor kept him with him among the many noble's sons of similar age, and their appropriate attendants and masters and servants according to rank.[81]

Therefore it seems that there were several high ranking boys of around the Young King's age who were taught alongside him during his time in Becket's household. Moreover it also shows that the Young King was far from abandoned in a strange house, but rather that he had continuity via the attendants and servants who would have been sent with him who, as well as their usual duties would have provided familiar faces for a boy so far from home.

For the Young King, his time in Becket's household must have been quite an eye opener if you take as truth the description of Becket's lifestyle provided by Fitzstephen.

> *Laudebat plerumque, sed perfunctoriem non dedita opera, in avibus cæli, nisis et accipitribus suis, et canibus venaticis, et in calculis bicoloribus "Indidiorsorum ludebat bella latronum." … Cancellarii domus et mensa communis erat omnibus cujuscunque ordinis indigentibus ad curiam Regis venientibus, qui probi vel essent, vel esse viderentur. Nulla fere die comedebet absque comitibus et baronibus quos ipsemet invitabat. Jusserat quaque die, novo stramine vel fæno in hieme, novis scirpis vel frondibus virentibus in æstate, sterni hospitium suum,*

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[81] Ibid. [Trans. Staunton *The Lives of Thomas Becket* p. 51]

ut militum multitudinem, quam scamna capere non poterant, area munda et læte reciperet; ne vesta eorum pretione, vel pulchræ eorum camisiæ, ex areæ sorde maculam contraherent. Vasis aureis et argenteis domus ejus renidebat, ferculis et potibus pretiosis abundabat; ut siqua esculenta vel poculenta commendaret raritas, emptores ejus nulla eorum comparandorum repellete deberet caritas.

[Becket] often played sports, hunting with dogs and birds, his hawks and falcons, and he played chess, 'the war game of stealthy mercenaries'…. The chancellor's house and table were open to the needs of any visitors to the king's court of any rank, if they were known to be genuine, or appeared to be. Hardly a day did he dine without earls and barons as guests. He ordered his floors to be covered every day with new straw or hay in the winter, fresh bulrushes or leaves in the summer, so that the multitude of knights, who could not all fit on stalls, could find a clean and pleasant space and leave their precious clothes and beautiful shirts unsoiled. His house glistened with gold and silver vases, and abounded in precious food and drink, so that if a certain food was known for its rarity, no price would deter his ministers from buying it.[82]

In fact, such was the reputation of Becket's household that even the king would visit sometimes '*videndi quae de ejus domo et mensa narrabantur'* [to see for himself what he had heard about his house and table].[83] In addition, Fitzstephen tells us that Becket was also lavish with gifts, saying:

Transfretaturus interdumsex aut plures naves in sua habebat velificatione, nullumque qui transfretare vellet, remanere sinebat; applusus gubenatores suoset nautas ad placitum eorum remunerabat. Nulla fere dies effluebat ei, qua non ipse aliqua magna larieretur donaris, equos, aves, vestimenta, auream, vel argenteam supellectilem vel monetam.

Sometimes he would cross the sea with a fleet of six ships or more, and he would not leave anyone behind that wished to sail with him. When they reached land he would reward his pilots and sailors as they wished. Hardly a day went by when he did not make a gift of horses, birds, clothes, gold or silver wares, or money.[84]

And that he was generous with his patronage of knights as:

 '*Cancellario homagium infiniti nobiles et milites faciebant; quos ipse salva fide domini Regis, recipiebat, et ut homines suos patrocinio eos ulteriore foveba.'*
[Countless nobles and knights gave homage to the chancellor, and he, saving fidelity to the lord king, received and cherished them with extraordinary patronage as his own men.][85]

The Young King may have been used to such a household as this when with his father. After all, Fitzstephen does say that Becket's house was closely linked to the king's court and that visitors to the court were welcomed there. What was different was that this was not the

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[82] Fitzstephen *Vita Sancti ThomæMTB* Vol. III pp. 20 – 21 [Trans. Staunton, M. *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester, 2001) p. 50]
[83] Ibid. pp. 25 [Trans. Staunton *Lives of Thomas Becket* p. 53]
[84] Ibid. pp. 22 – 23 [Trans. Staunton *The Lives of Thomas Becket* p. 51]
[85] Ibid. p. 22 [Trans. Staunton *The Lives of Thomas Becket* p. 51]

home of the king but rather his chancellor, a servant, all be it a high ranking one, and there is no hint that Becket's lifestyle altered when the king was away.

Witnessing such an extravagant lifestyle during his formative years must have stuck in the Young King's mind, his conspicuous consumption while on the tournament circuit later in life appears to have been a direct attempt to emulate or even surpass Becket's lifestyle.[86] Strickland argues that there was personal jealousy from the Young King toward Becket for his lifestyle and this is a reasonable conclusion, because his father limited his retinue to just one hundred knights following the escalation of the cost of the Young King's tournament following to £200 a day.[87] However, I believe it can be taken further. Becket's household provided the Young King with an example of a lifestyle that was both opulent and fitting for a man of status but was nonetheless still that of a lesser man than a king. Therefore the Young King, once a little older, equated his own manliness with a lifestyle even more lavish than that of Becket.

It is possible to argue that a mere year or so in Becket's household at such a young age would be unlikely to have had much of an impact. However, this is an impressionable age and the experience of one of Henry II's schoolroom companions indicates that twelfth-century boys could have long memories indeed.[88] Henry II was under Matthew's guidance at his half-uncle, Robert of Gloucester's home for a single year, which as we have seen, was considered by Henry to be enough time to expect certain behaviours toward him from those with whom he had shared his schoolroom. This may have been in part down to the fact that the two (Henry and the Bishop) were also blood related through an illegitimate line. However, Henry made no mention of that in his comments to his cousin; rather it was their time together as pupils of Master Matthew that was drawn upon to make his point. It is certain that in common with his father, the Young King was not taught in isolation during this period. Therefore there is no

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[86] Strickland, M. 'On the Instruction of a Prince: The Upbringing of Henry, the Young King', in Harper-Bill, C. and Vincent, N. (Eds.) *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: 2007) 184 - 214
[87] Ibid.
[88] For more on the gendered nature of medieval memories see: Van Houts, E. (ed.) *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300* (Harlow, 2001)

reason to assume that the Young King would have forgotten the way of life he experienced during his time with Becket, just as Henry did not forget his schoolmates at Bristol Castle.

Consequently, if the Young King was measuring his own ability to live as a properly adult male even partially against the lifestyle of Becket as he had witnessed it in his formative years, he was bound to be disappointed. The best estimate of the duration of the Young King's time with Becket is that he stayed for only a little over a year before the relationship between his father and Becket deteriorated to the point where Henry had his son removed from his chancellor's household. The records show that the Young King was taken from tutelage of Becket in October 1163.[89] However, as previously noted, events that occurred in so short a duration could and were remembered by, and affected the events and opinions of those adults, much later in life.

That the prince's education was disrupted by his father's political machinations was not unheard of, after all, Henry himself was subject to a similar pattern in his own childhood when he was first placed in the household of his half uncle in order to further his mother's cause during the war with King Stephen and then abruptly removed when his father no longer felt it prudent to have his eldest son in a war zone.

The lives of father and eldest son during the *pueria* stage follow very different paths after the age of ten. At the age that Henry was being recalled from England to his father's household and given over to the tutelage of Conches, the Young King was instead placed in his own discreet household in England.[90] This household does appear to have moved around somewhat during the Young King's stay in England. Between February and Michaelmas 1165 there are three entries in the pipe rolls in relation to the expenses for the Young King's household; Winchester (£30), Wiltshire (£22 10s.) and Berkshire (£20), the latter two being charged by the local Sheriffs, Richard de Wilton and Adam de Catmera respectively.[91]

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[89] *Itinerary,* p. 86
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

However, there is no evidence that the Young King was residing in the homes of said sheriffs, but rather the payments were correspondingly made on behalf of '*Ailwardo Pincernæ*' and '*Willelmo filio Johannis*'. Neither of these two men was noted specifically as being the Young King's *magister,* but equally they are not expressly ruled out as such. As their status remains unspecified it is likely that they simply acted as hosts to the Young King as he and his household travelled through England over the period he was without direct parental supervision. The amounts of money claimed do not appear to be excessive when compared to the sums required by the Young King once he had entered the knight errant life phase and embarked on a tour of the tournaments. A total of £72 10s (approximately 290 *livres Angevin*) for a period of seven months seems positively frugal when compared to the annual allowance of 15,000 *livres Angevin* (approximately £3750) granted to the Young King in 1184.[92]

Geoffrey, too, was left in his own household in England in 1170, at age eleven, but this appears to have been far more static than that of his eldest brother.[93] The time in his own household ends an extended period of Geoffrey and Henry spending time together. At Christmas 1169 Henry and Geoffrey were together in Nantes in Brittany, no other children are mentioned as being present.[94] The other siblings are mentioned as being with Eleanor in the previous September, with the exception of the Young King, who may already have been in England in order to prepare for his coronation. Although, he is last mentioned as hunting in the company of his father in Damfront (August 1169), and next mentioned as being in England with neither parent around the time of his coronation (June 1170), so it is entirely possible that he was still in Henry's continental holdings in the intervening period.[95] Geoffrey and Henry are then noted as spending the whole month of January 1170 together in Brittany, so it is likely that they remained in Nantes, although this is not specified.[96] They next appear together in March when Henry brings Geoffrey to England and, we are told, takes the time to settle him

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[92] RH, Vol. II p. 68 (Sir James H. Ramsey establishes Angevin currency as worth approximately one quarter of sterling in the tweltfth century. Ramsey, J. H. *The Angevin Empire, or the Three Reigns of Henry II, Richard I and John (1154 – 1216)* (New York, 1903) p. 167
[93] *Itinerary,* p. 145 and p. 154
[94] Ibid. p. 132
[95] Ibid. p. 124, p. 129 and p. 137
[96] Ibid. p. 133

in Northampton by the end of April.[97] It seems unlikely that they spent any prolonged period apart in the intervening six to eight weeks. Henry we are told leaves Geoffrey to 'travel' and Eleanor appears to be in France at this point, so it seems certain that this is the beginning of Geoffrey's period in his own household.[98] Geoffrey remained there for approximately one year; we are told that he left 'his domicile' in Northampton some time in February or March 1171, which happened to be around the time of the Duke of Brittany's death.[99] No destination is given; however, Henry was most likely in Brittany at the time and given the circumstances it is almost certain that Geoffrey would have gone to join him.[100]

That these two brothers spend time in their own households is of interest. Eleanor was available to them; she certainly had Richard, Eleanor, Joanna and John with her and could surely have easily added her other sons to her household without too much trouble. However, that these boys were not taken or sent to join her suggests that Henry was following the medieval practice which held that for sons, the *pueria* stage was best spent in an all-male, or male dominated environment.[101] That Richard remained with his mother during this stage was presumably because of his intended role as duke of his mother's lands, his education at that stage must have been best served in her household. In this instance it seems that Eleanor was acting more in the role of Richard's "lord" than acting as his mother, making the decision less unusual.[102] Eleanor does not seem to have suffered the usual negative treatment by chroniclers that was reserved for women who were performing masculine roles.[103] This is likely to be simply because she was very successful in her position as Duchess of Aquitaine; her vassals certainly appeared to trust her leadership over that of her husband.[104] This suggests that there was a deeper relationship between gender and status than perhaps appears at first

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[97] Ibid. p. 145
[98] Ibid. p. 144
[99] Ibid. p. 154
[100] Ibid.
[101] Orme, *Medieval Schools* p. 129
[102] For another example of a married woman successfully acting in the role of "lord" see: LoPrete, K. *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord* (Dublin, 2007)
[103] Hivergneaux, M. 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 - 1189', in Wheeler, B. and Carmi Parsons, J. (eds.) *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (Basingstoke, 2002) pp. 55 - 76
[104] Martindale, J. 'Eleanor, suo jure duchess of Aquitaine (*c.*1122–1204)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: May 2006
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8618> [Accessed 23 October 2010]

glance. However, the fact that Richard was within his mother's household during this life stage does not mean that he was educated in a female dominated environment. There is no evidence that suggests that Richard was not still removed to a male dominated schoolroom within his mother's household. The pattern of removing all the sons except Richard from Eleanor's company at the age of seven was repeated with John. However, that may, either wholly or in part, be due to Eleanor's imprisonment in John's seventh year.

When John reached the age of seven, when he entered the *pueria* stage, he was still resident in Fontevraud Abbey. This arrangement was not to last for much longer. In July 1174 Henry and Eleanor travelled to England with Joanna, John and Margaret, the Young Queen (who was presumably being held by Henry as some sort of hostage or leverage over the Young King) at the height of the rebellion of the elder sons.[105] John was removed from the Abbey to make this journey but Joanna's previous location is unclear. It is almost certain that she was also collected from the abbey along with her brother, but she is not mentioned specifically in the reports of John's removal. Nor is the length of time Joanna spent in the abbey recorded. Therefore it is possible, if unlikely, that she had been removed earlier and was in fact with Eleanor prior to their arrival with Henry to collect John.

There are several possible reasons for Henry's removal of John from Fontevraud in 1174, none of which are mutually exclusive. The most urgent reason for Henry was the rebellion of his elder sons. John was in effect his last remaining trustworthy heir and his safety would therefore surely have been imperative. Removing John to England, far from the worst of the fighting was perhaps the only sensible option at that stage. That Henry also moved Eleanor, by that time a prisoner of her husband, and the Young Queen, to a place less likely to see them "rescued", taken from his control, supports this possible reason.[106] That Henry did not move his youngest son sooner is of interest, the rebellion had after all been on-going for around a year. Why then did it take Henry so long to move his only loyal legitimate son to a

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[105] *Itinerary*. p. 179
[106] See figures 1 and 2 pp. 24 – 25 for the Young King's wife and her relationships to the royal houses of France and England.

place of greater safety? The answer may be a straightforward one: until Henry was free to accompany John in person it may well have been felt that a religious house was the safest place in the meantime. Henry would after all have been busy suppressing the rebels and may not have had the time to make the journey. In addition it may be that Henry would prefer not to trust the protection of John to anyone other than himself, especially in times when the question of who he could truly trust was a thorny issue.

It is also possible that having turned seven years old, John's age would have become a factor in his remaining at the Abbey. Even without the background of a rebellion to force the issue there were two other factors that meant that Henry might have removed John from Fontevraud at this stage anyway. Firstly, and quite simply, John was entering the *pueria* stage of life and therefore he would need to be removed from the female controlled environment of the double house in accordance with medieval thinking on the raising of males. Secondly, at the age of seven John had reached the age of tonsure, Henry may have wished to remove him before it became expected that John would join the church on a formal basis. John's placement in Fontevraud Abbey has in the past been seen as an indication that Henry intended his youngest son for a life in the church. However, this appears to rest on the wording of the obituary notice in the Abbey's records, which names John as an 'oblate'.[107] The document owes much to the Abbey's own oral tradition and its choice of the word 'oblate' cannot therefore be given too much significance as there is no contemporary evidence that Henry ever intended his youngest son for a clerical life.[108]

While it is possible that people at the time may have suspected that John was intended for the church the chroniclers did not repeat any such speculation. This may be because by the time of writing it was obvious that it was not the case, or it could be that any such suspicions were unfounded. Additionally, while it was not uncommon for a younger son or daughter to be given to the church in higher-class families, it was extremely unusual for royalty. A younger

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[107] For a full explanation of the nature of the notice, its wording and the possible meanings for John see: Lewis, 'The Birth and Childhood of King John' pp. 159 - 175
[108] Ibid. p. 166

royal child, male or female, was a valuable political commodity when it came to marriage prospects and was rarely, if ever, wasted on a church career. Certainly no legitimate son(s) of an English king had been placed in the church between the Conqueror and the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, even if Henry had indeed planned to place John in the church, with his other sons in a state of rebellion against him, Henry would surely no longer have wished to have his only remaining loyal heir removed permanently from any possibility of taking the throne by way of taking religious vows. That Henry took this prohibition seriously is evident in the career he chose for his eldest bastard, Geoffrey Plantagenet.[109]

After being removed from Fontevraud Abbey in July 1174 John vanishes from the records for around two and a half years, reappearing at Christmas 1176. In the interim the other brothers are seen with Henry, including an intriguing entry for April 1176 in which Henry is noted as spending Easter with 'his three sons', naming those three as the Young King, Richard and Geoffrey.[110] Why John has been seemingly omitted from his place as one of Henry's sons is unclear, it could simply be an error on the part of the chronicler involved or perhaps a different understanding of the phraseology. It needs to be remembered that Eleanor was imprisoned during this period of John's absence from the written sources. While it is possible that she had Joanna with her during some of this time it is highly doubtful that John was also in her company given Henry's pattern of moving his *pueria* aged sons into a more male dominated environment. In addition, and more significantly, given Eleanor's role in the recent rebellion, the chances of Henry being happy to leave John under his wife's now presumably hostile influence are very slim indeed. Henry's authority over his one remaining unmarried daughter was still absolute, regardless of close contact with her mother, but his authority over his sons had been challenged once already and he would not have been willing to have it challenged again, especially by the one son who had so far remained loyal to him, if only by reason of his young age.

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[109] For more on the career of Geoffrey Plantagenet see: Lovatt, M. 'Geoffrey (1151?–1212)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: Oct 2007 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10535> [Accessed 5 Nov 2010]

[110] *Itinerary,* p. 201

Having spent Christmas of 1176 with his father and brother Geoffrey, it is fairly clear that John was not with Henry often during the remaining years of his *pueria* stage.[111] There is reference to his being present at Waltham with Henry in June 1177 when Henry and John attest a grant to Waltham Abbey that is attributed to this visit, but it is undated.[112] However, John is not yet eleven years old and when Geoffrey Plantagenet and Geoffrey of Brittany witness a charter to Waltham Abbey in December 1178 John does not sign despite presumably being present having spent Christmas with his father and brothers.[113] In fact the first dated witnessing of a formal document by John does not occur until he is fifteen, in 1182.[114] It is therefore unlikely that the undated document is connected to the 1177 visit and therefore John may not even have been present.

In fact, the above named appearance of the twelve-year-old John in December 1178 is the last glimpse we see of him prior to his entry into the *adolescentia* stage. It is clear that he spent less time with his parents than his elder brothers did in both his *infantia* and *pueria* life stages. How this may have affected his personality is a matter for debate, but he clearly had a very different childhood to his siblings, both male and female, in this regard. It seems unlikely that anyone could remain unaffected by such protracted periods of absence from their parents, especially when the different treatment of his siblings is factored in, a difference in treatment of which John must surely have been aware. It is certainly an interesting dichotomy, to be both the son who had the most absent parents and yet to clearly be his father's favourite. It may in part explain why John appears to have felt less loyalty toward his older brothers than they did to each other. Additionally, it must certainly have affected his personality and outlook later in life; John was known for his paranoia, something that may well be seen to have had its roots in his rather isolated childhood.[115]

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[111] Ibid. p. 209
[112] Ibid. p. 216
[113] Ibid. p. 224
[114] Ibid. p. 246
[115] Brown, E. A. R. 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen, and Duchess' in Kibler, W. W. (ed.) *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician* (Austin, 1976) pp. 9–34, esp. p. 24

Intriguingly, Henry himself had had some experience of an absent mother during his *infantia* and *pueria* stages. This may have affected his view on the potential harm that could possibly have come to his youngest child under similar circumstances. Matilda was still in England in 1142 when Robert brought Henry to England to help in their war against Stephen.[116] Matilda was absent from her sons' lives for around nine years when Henry was six to fifteen years, Geoffrey was five to fourteen years, and William was three to twelve years.[117] This indicates that Henry himself did not experience the pattern parental involvement in the *pueria* stage of his childhood that he was to provide for his own children. The exception to this was John, who lived the majority of his childhood from the age of three without his mother present and large chunks of it without any regular contact from either parent. Overall circumstances played the largest part in these decisions; however the implications may be wide reaching. John's lack of parental closeness during his formative years may be significant in his later behaviour toward his brothers and it cannot be ruled out as a speculative cause for some of his more serious problems as king such as his inability to trust his barons and his paranoia.[118]

2.3: *Adolescentia:* Martial Training

The third and final stage in a young noble or royal male's formal education was training in the arts of war (see figure 3, p. 46). This stage was named as *adolescentia* by Anglicus and was more flexible in its boundaries than the earlier stages.[119] Once he had reached puberty, usually expected around the age of fourteen, a youth embarked on a series of military exercises that aimed to prepare him for adult life in a feudal society. It ended upon the youth's dubbing into knighthood rather than at an arbitrary biological age.

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[116] Matilda arrives in England to begin her campaign in 1139: *GS* pp. 86 – 88; Matilda leaves England "before Lent" 1148: *GS* pp. 206 – 207
[117] Ibid.
[118] Warren, W. L. *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086-1272* (Stanford, California, 1987) p. 132
[119] Bartholomaeus Angelicus Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum bk. 6. ch. 5 De Puureo taken from John Trevisa's Translation, (Oxford, 1975) pp. 300-1

The exact format of this stage of education is not documented, but there was a clear awareness that strenuous exercise was best left until after puberty.[120] Aristotle stated that 'when boyhood is over, three years should be spent in other studies; the period of life which follows may then be devoted to hard exercise and strict diet.'[121] This would suggest that physical training should not start until around the age of seventeen, but it is clear that unlike the earlier stages of education, medieval thinking on this matter did not follow Aristotelian lines. Rather it appears to have emphasised a regime for hard physical training beginning as soon as the young male was physically able to cope with the arduous nature of the exercises. It was also focussed almost exclusively on gaining the required strength and skills for knighthood.[122] This is clear from the circumstances of two of the men under consideration here. Henry and Richard were both dubbed into knighthood below the age that Aristotle gives as ideal to begin training, suggesting strongly that in this area a different path was chosen.[123]

The sources are unfortunately quiet on the details of such a regime in the twelfth century, though with the increasing formalisation of knighthood as a social class, much was written about a knightly education in later centuries. However, we can gain some understanding of the ideal end results for our period in the work of Peter Alfonsi.[124] In tale four of Alfonsi's collection (*Exemplum de mulo et vulpe [The Mule and the Fox])* a son asks his father what the true meaning of nobility was. The father replies by quoting Aristotle, saying '...*qui septem liberalibus artibus sit instructus, industriis septem eruditus, septem etiam probitatibus edoctus....*'[125] [... [a man] who has been educated in the seven liberal arts, disciplined in the seven cardinal virtues, and polished by means of the seven accomplishments....]'[126]

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[120] Orme, N. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066 – 1530* (London, 1984) p. 187; Aristotle *Politics,* Book 8, Chapter IV, Ellis, W. (Trans.) (Teddington, 2006) p. 174
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] (See section 2.4, pp. 86 – 94) for more on the dubbing of Henry and his sons.
[124] See section 1.4.8 pp. 42 – 43 for more on Alfonsi's work and use as a source.
[125] Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis,* Chapter VI. Hilka & Werner Söderhjelm,(Eds.): in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ* 38/4 (1911) available at: <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alfonsi.htm> [Accessed 15 September 2010]
[126] Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis* W. H. Hume (trans) (Cleveland, 1919) p. 22

It is the seven accomplishments that are of interest here as they describe the general fields a knight would usually be expected to be able to perform well at or even excel in. As listed by Alfonsi they are: '...*equitare, natare, sagittare, cestibus certare, aucupare, scaccis ludere, versificari.*'[127] [...riding, swimming, archery, boxing, the chase [hunting or hawking], chess, writing verse.][128] On this list there is one accomplishment that does not appear to have become part of the standard knight's training in western society, and one that none of the individuals under examination here is ever recorded as taking part in, swimming. This, it seems, was not considered to be a proper recreational pursuit for the higher end of the social spectrum, for example, when Edward II was on his way to attend the parliament he had called in Lincoln in 1315 from a lake-based holiday, he is described as being '*cum insipido natanium collegio'* [with his silly company of swimmers].[129]

Of the other six accomplishments five can be seen as being at least a part of knightly life in royal circles. Riding and archery are after all the "bread and butter" of the knight's life and therefore must have been a significant area for training, riding in particular is likely to have been something that was on-going from an early age. The kind of horsemanship however would have altered as young men entered the *adolescentia* stage to include the kind of riding required for battle, individual fighting, and riding with weapons, in particular how to command a horse with leg pressure to free the hands for weapons and shield.[130] Similarly, hunting, for sport or for military practice is also well documented as being expected of the knightly class. For royal youths, given the nature of their expected adult role, the addition of training for the leadership of warriors was also a significant aspect. The results of the training, the actions and abilities of the adult men, if not the training itself, provided the evidence that these were part of the final stage of a young male's education. For the other two accomplishments, poetry and

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[127] Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis* Chapter VI. . Hilka & Werner Söderhjelm,(Eds.): in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ* 38/4 (1911) available at: <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alfonsi.htm> [Accessed 15 September 2010]
[128] Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina Clericalis* p. 22
[129] *Flores Historiarum* Vol. III H. R. Luard (Ed.) (Rolls Series, 1890) p. 173 [My Translation]
[130] For the training, use and nature of the medieval warhorse see among others: Bennet, M. 'The Medieval Warhorse Reconsidered' in Church, S. and Harvey, R. (Eds.) *Medieval Knighthood V. Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference1994* (Woodbridge, 1995) pp. 19 – 40; Davis, R. H. C. *Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London, 1989); Hyland, A. *Medieval Warhorse: From Byzantium to the Crusades* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996)

chess we have some contemporary or near contemporary evidence that these were familiar elements of life for Henry II's sons.

We have evidence that Richard was, if not an accomplished poet, at least able to compose verse acceptably; two of his poems survive.[131] Their quality may be subject to personal preference, but that they were written without any comment about being an unsuitable pastime for a king is significant.

It is John who provided the evidence for chess being a part of noble or knightly life. Although we have no contemporary evidence that John or his brothers ever played chess, that they might be expected to have a familiarity with the game is recorded in a later work, in an incident that was intended to illustrate John's temper, rather than presented as a factual representation.[132] We are told that one day the young John and Fouke, his squire, or companion, '…were sitting all alone in a room playing chess. John picked up the chess board and struck Fouke a great blow with it.'[133] That chess is used as an easily recognisable example of a game for children of high status and that it was also intended to be played to teach self-control as well as strategy may not be overtly stated here, but it is at least implied, suggesting that chess does indeed belong on the list of accomplishments.[134]

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[131] Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978) pp. 236 - 237

[132] The text was written in the late thirteenth century but the original text does not survive; the biography of Fulk III (d. 1197) survives in a French prose "ancestral romance", extant in a miscellaneous manuscript containing English, French and Latin texts, which is based on a lost verse romance. A sixteenth century summary of a Middle English version has also been preserved. Jones, T. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, "Foulk de Fitz Waryn" and National Mythology' *Studies in Philology* 91:3 (1994:Summer) pp.233 – 249

[133] *Fouke le Fitz Waryn* Kelly, T. E. (trans) Originally Published in: *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales* Knight, S. and Ohlgren, T. H. (Kalamazoo, 1997) Available at: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/fouke.htm> [Accessed 10 October 2009]

[134] The concept of self-control as a masculine marker has been identified as a major element of several categories of masculine lived experiences and life paths in the Middle Ages. See among others: Christie, E. 'Self-Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr' Cullum, P. H. & Lewis, K. J. (eds.) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2005) pp.143 – 157; Lewis, K. J. 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry IV and Ideals of Kingly Masculinity' in Cullum, P. H. & Lewis, K. J. (eds.) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2005) pp. 156 – 173; Kerr, Julie. "Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest': hospitality in twelfth-century England' *Journal of Medieval History* Vol. 33 Issue. 2 (June 2007) pp. 130 – 146; Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 7 – 9, 57 – 58,19 – 120, 138

Boxing is the listed accomplishment that falls into a grey area. We have no direct evidence that knightly training in the twelfth century included physical fighting in an organised environment. However, given that the aim of training was to improve physical strength, stamina and coordination it does not seem unlikely that some form of sparring could have been used as a learning tool. That said, as we have no information about any type of specific or general curriculum for military training it cannot be supposed with any certainty. If written texts for the training of youths for knighthood existed none have survived from this period, nor are any mentioned by other sources. Therefore it appears that in this period martial training was not usually taught from books, rather the techniques used were apparently either considered to be general knowledge, or if formal curricula were developed they were perhaps unique and personal to each individual tutor in arms. However, there was a classical manual available for the instruction of military leadership: *De Re Militari*. This fourth-century work by Vegetius was popular in the high medieval period (and beyond) and it is therefore likely that Henry and his sons would have had access to it.[135] In addition, the question as to whether boxing would have been considered a suitable method of learning for the sons of kings is open to speculation.

We have no information about who trained Henry II in the knightly arts, but we do know that he must have learned his lessons well and comparatively early to be not only knighted at the young age of sixteen but also to lead men against his mother's enemy, King Stephen, with the aim of gaining the throne of England for himself.[136] What is more this was not the youthful Henry's first attempt at military action in England, he had also made an abortive attempt at the tender age of fourteen, when his training should only just have started.[137] We are told that in 1147, '…*Henricus, filius comitis Andegauiæ, iustus regni Anglorum heres et appetitor, cum florida militum caterua, ex transmirinis partibus Anglium aduenit.*' [… Henry, son of the Count of Anjou, the lawful heir and claimant to the kingdom of

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[135] For more see: Allmand, C. *The* De Re Militari *of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011)
[136] *GS,* p. 217
[137] Ibid. p. 205

England, came to England from overseas with a fine company of knights.][138] That these attempts failed was perhaps not surprising, Henry was after all still young and presumably still learning the tactics and man management required to lead knights into battle, but that they were attempted at all is to Henry, and his military tutor's credit.

For Henry's sons there is similarly little information about their military training; however we do know of one man whose influence, if not his methods, at least over the Young King, is well documented and significant, William Marshal. The Marshal's relationship with the royal family began in 1168 when he was taken into Eleanor's court for deeds of valour while acting as a hired "bodyguard" for his uncle.[139] In 1170 he was placed in the household of the fifteen year old, newly-crowned Young King to act as his 'tutor in arms'.[140] It seems that the Marshal also may have had some influence over Richard's training.

Between 1168 and 1170 the Marshal was in the court of Eleanor. Richard is also noted a being with his mother at Michaelmas 1169, and there is no reason to suppose that Richard was not with his mother both before and after that date, we know for example that he was also with Eleanor in May 1170 when he laid a foundation stone of a monastery in Limoges.[141] Richard may only have been aged ten to twelve during the Marshal's stay with Eleanor's court and we have no direct evidence that the Marshal ever formally trained Richard, and given his age it is perhaps unlikely. However, even if Richard was too young to have already started formal military training, it is entirely possible that the Marshal was still able to provide a strong military figure for the young prince to model himself upon.

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[138] Ibid. pp. 204 – 205

[139] Much has been written about the life of William Marshal and his connection to Henry II and his family, the most recent and thorough monograph is: Crouch, D. *William Marshal Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219* (London, New York, 1990);See also Crouch, D. 'Marshal, William (I), Fourth Earl of Pembroke (*c.*1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18126> [Accessed 16 September 2009]

[140] *HWM,* pp. 98 – 99: See also Crouch, D. 'Marshal, William (I), Fourth Earl of Pembroke (*c.*1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18126> [Accessed 16 September 2009]

[141] *Itinerary,* pp. 129 & 137

The Marshal's placement in the Young King's household is recorded in the *History of William Marshal*, which says:

Li reis ovoc sum fiz le mist;	The King put him in the company of his son;
Granz biena a faire li pramist	he promised to do the Marshal much good
Por lui garder e esseigner.	in return for his care and instruction.[142]

This indicates that the relationship was in some way designed to benefit the Marshal in addition to the Young King. It is the phrase 'care and instruction' that is of interest here. It is clear that 'instruction' directly translates to the Marshal being placed with the Young King in order to train him militarily as he was fifteen years old, the ideal age to be trained in the arts of war. That the Marshal was also expected to 'care' for his young charge in addition to his formal touring duties is worthy of note as it suggests that he was also required to act in a quasi-parental role for the Young King in the absence of his father. That the Marshal was a competent tutor is evident in the following lines from the *History* which occur shortly after he had been place with the Young King in 1170:

Monta li giembles reis en pris	the Young King's reputation increased,
E en enor e en hautesce;	along with his eminence and the honour paid to him;
A lui s'acompaigna proësce.	he also acquired the quality of valour.
Des ce ku'il out tantes bontez,	Now that he had so many qualities,
Si fu il al plus beal contez	he was reckoned to be the finest
De toz les princes terrïens	of all the princes on earth,
Ne sarrazins ne crestïens.	be they pagan or Christian.[143]

It goes on to explain:

Les armes conut, e en sout	The young King knew about the use of arms, as much
Tant con vaislet saveir en pout;	as any young nobleman could be expected to know.
Molt le plout des armes le estres,	The life of combat pleased him well,
E ce fu molt bel a sis mestres.	which was very pleasing for his tutor.[144]

The *History* was of course intended to flatter the Marshal, but even disregarding the flowery language and the pretty standard excessive claims of greatness for the Young King under the Marshal's instruction, it cannot be ignored that he was clearly believed to be more than simply

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[142] *HWM,* Lines 1943 – 1945, pp. 98 – 99
[143] Ibid. Lines 1952 – 1958, pp. 100 - 101
[144] Ibid. Lines 1963 – 1966, pp. 100 - 101

competent at the knightly skills as a trainee. The Marshal was the only man who could claim credit for that fact.

There is no evidence for the training of Geoffrey and John. Geoffrey was not apparently with his mother at the same time as the Marshal was in Eleanor's court.[145] John was still an *infantia* during that period and therefore highly unlikely to have been influenced by the Marshal at that time. However, we do know that Geoffrey must have received some useful training at some point in his youth as he was also considered a competent warrior at a relatively young age. At seventeen years old, and as yet unknighted he was entrusted with the task of governing Normandy in the aftermath of the Young King's rebellion of 1183. Peterborough explains that; '…*rex pacem fecit inter filios suos … misitque Gaufridum filium sum in Normanniam cum caeteris custodibus ad custodiendum eam…*' […the king made peace between himself and his children, … and sent his son Geoffrey to Normandy with the rest of the guards to watch over it….][146] Geoffrey was, despite his young age and lack of knightly status, seemingly entrusted with the task of governing his father's maternal inheritance. That guards were sent with him is worthy of note; while they may have been sent to keep an eye on Geoffrey's actions, it seems more likely that they were there more to support their young leader than to scrutinize him. At the same time as he sent Geoffrey to Normandy Henry had opted to '*retentis secum Ricardo et Johanne*' [keep Richard and John with him].[147] If Henry had had doubts about Geoffrey's abilities, and therefore wanted him to be closely supervised he would surely have retained him at his own court as he did Richard and John.

John's training, like that of his brothers, is also largely undocumented in the area of specific details. However we do know that John was placed in the household of Henry's Chief Justiciar, Ranulf de Glanville in 1182 at age sixteen, where he remained for around seventeen months and presumably he would have received some form of education or training whilst

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[145] The Itinerary shows no entries for Geoffrey between 1166 (when he is recorded as being with Henry in August and Eleanor at Michaelmas) and 1169 (with Henry), he is excluded from the list of children with Eleanor in 1169 and appears exclusively with his father or in his own household from 1170 onwards. *Itinerary* pp. 98 – 99 & 132 – 209
[146] BP, Vol. 1, pp. 320 – 321 [My Translation]
[147] Ibid. [My Translation]

there.[148] It is tempting to think that perhaps John also received some late training from the Marshal, who joined Henry's household after the Young King's death in 1183. However, as the Marshal went away on crusade in honour of his former charge before returning to a permanent position in Henry's court, it seems most likely that any training John may have received from him would have been both brief and perhaps too late to be of use.

2.4: Dubbing: Entering the Adult world

The culmination of all noble boys' training was being dubbed into knighthood. The practice had its roots in earlier coming of age rituals and during the ceremony a young man would receive his sword and/or be girded with a sword belt.[149] The ceremony in which a squire became a knight is not discussed in any detail in the primary sources during the twelfth century.[150] However, the fact that noble youths' dubbing were frequently noted in the chronicles, (whether because the youth himself was politically significant or because the man dubbing him, his sponsor, was) reinforces its significance in noble lives in the Middle Ages.[151]

Being a knight was central to medieval concepts of masculinity for noble males.[152] Society was organised around military service and knights held the pinnacle role within that service. The importance of being dubbed into knighthood to an adult, fully masculine, identity in the Middle Ages is rather nicely demonstrated in one description of Henry's dubbing in 1149.

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[148] *Itinerary,* p. 259

[149] Ormrod, W. M. 'Coming to Kingship: Boy Kings and the Passage to Power in Fourteenth Century England' in McDonald, N. F. and Ormrod, W. M. (Eds.) *Rites of Passage, Cultures of Tradition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004) pp. 31 – 49

[150] In the later Middle Ages, with the formation of orders of knighthood such as the Order of the Garter, the ritual takes on a far more proscribed and consistent order of ceremony; which included a night of prayer, a sermon and the ritual blow to the face or neck. None of these elements are recorded as being applicable in the twelfth century, but that does not exclude any or all of them from being a part of the ceremony. Presumably they were at least frequent enough to be regarded as "traditional" by the end of the thirteenth century. For more information on later dubbing ceremonies see among others: Boulton, D'A. J. D, 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity: The Knighting of Counts and Kings' sons in England, 1066 – 1272' in Church, S. D. and Harvey, R. (Eds.) *Medieval Knighthood V. Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference* (Woodbridge, 1995) pp. 41 – 100; Boulton, D'A. J. D. *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520.* 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 2000): Forey, A. J. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries.* (Basingstoke, 1992): Keen, M. *Chivalry* (London, 1983): Gautier, L. *Chivalry* Levron, J. (Ed.) Dunning, D. C. (Trans.) (London, 1965): Orme, N. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy from 1066 – 1530* (London, 1984): Crouch, D. *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000 – 1300* (London, 1992)

[151] Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 232-235

[152] Bennett, 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88.

The ritual is simply described as Henry being '*virilia tradidit arma'* [given the weapons of manhood].[153]

Henry's own dubbing into knighthood is reasonably well documented; the ceremony was performed by King David of Scotland, a kinsman of Henry, on 22 May 1149 in Carlisle when Henry was sixteen years old, and David '*largissime'* [ungrudgingly] bestowed on Henry '*gloriosa militaris honorificentiae insignia … commisit'* [the splendid emblems of a knight's dignity].[154] It is worth noting at this point that, as the son of a duke, once again Henry is a little premature in his participation of an adult signifying event, it is unusual to find a young man of his status being dubbed under the age of eighteen and the early twenties was the more common. The only regular deviation from this norm is seen in the sons of kings. Perhaps Henry was making a significant statement when he chose, or agreed, to pursue dubbing at such a young age. As we shall see the way Henry is represented by William of Newburgh supports the theory that even at sixteen Henry had either a genuine belief in his future as king of England, or a conscious desire to represent himself as such. Both the *Gesta Stephani* (see section 1.4.1 p. 36 for the times of writing for the sections of the *Gesta*) and William of Newburgh record the occasion of Henry's knighting and they even agree largely on the details. Although this could be due to Newburgh writing long after the events, it is even possible for Newburgh to have used the *Gesta* as a source for his own work.

The *Gesta* records the dubbing of Henry as follows:

Henricus iustus Anglorum heres a suae parties fautoribus consilium accepit, quatinus aut a patre suo aut certe a rege Scotio, familiari sibi et praecipuo amico, militaris honoris insignia suspciperet, sicque uiribus reparatis in regem consurgeret quodque sui erat iuris fortiter animose conquireret.

…Henry, the lawful heir to England, received advice from his adherents to get the emblems of a knight's rank from his father, or else from the King of Scots, his intimate and special friend, and then with renewed vigour rise up against the king and gain with resolution and spirit what was rightfully his.[155]

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[153] Hunt, p. 282 [My Translation]
[154] *GS,* pp. 216 – 217
[155] *GS,* p.214 - 215

However Newburgh states that Henry '*matre missus jam pubes accessit*' [had been dispatched thither [Scotland] by his mother].[156] Clearly the two descriptions are somewhat at odds. While the *Gesta* has Henry travelling with '*comite Herefordiae Rogerio in comitatum, sed et nobilium quorundam filiis, ut militaribus secum armis honorarentur*' [Roger Earl of Hereford, and the sons of some men of birth, that they might receive the honour of a knight's arms at the same time as himself,] Newburgh mentions no companions at all.[157] Warren, making use of both the *Gesta* and the work of Gervase of Canterbury, names Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, whom Stephen was refusing to accept as Archbishop of York, and Ranulf Earl of Chester as being companions of Henry alongside Roger Earl of Hereford during the trip to Scotland.[158]

It seems that Newburgh is alone in his inclusion of Matilda in the knighting of Henry, although it is unlikely that a mother of Matilda's status would not involve herself in the process in some way. It is also Newburgh who points out the relationship between King David and Matilda; she was his niece.[159] It is this relationship that allowed Henry the luxury of being knighted by such a high status figure, usually the status of the sponsor reflected directly on the reputation of the receiver. It is therefore safe to assume that it was King David's superior status that led Henry (or his mother) to choose him to perform the dubbing ceremony over Henry's father, who was after all only a duke.

That Henry chose to knight two (possibly three) of his sons himself is interesting as it implies that he felt it important to show himself to be the best man for the job. It may be that Henry also wished to use the dubbing of his sons to maintain dominance over them as they entered the adult arena. It is possible, even probable, that Henry saw the dubbing of his sons as a means by which he could reconfirm his own power and his status in relation to theirs. A means by which he could maintain and/or reflect the masculine hierarchy of the royal family to his sons and also in the eyes of his subjects and remind them that what his sons had they had

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[156] WN, Book I, Ch. 22
[157] *GS,* p. 214 - 217
[158] Warren, *Henry II* p. 36
[159] WN, Book I, Ch. 29

only through him. Although, given his problems with his neighbouring kings over the years, it is perhaps unsurprising that he chose not to involve Louis VII of France or William I of Scotland whenever possible.

Louis did, however, knight Richard, almost certainly without Henry's permission given that it took place in the period immediately prior to the 1173 rebellion and placed Richard under a bond of vassalage with his father's most dangerous enemy. It is difficult to view this as anything other than a deliberate and public affront to Henry by both Richard and Louis. Given the state of Richard's relationship with his father at the time his motivation is painfully clear, and for Louis the chance to cause any kind of embarrassment to his rival king must have been too good an opportunity to resist. Richard is also the only one of the brothers certain to have been knighted at an earlier age than their father; he was approaching his sixteenth birthday at the time of his dubbing. Richard's dubbing is recorded very briefly, and no detail is given other than the year and his sponsor: *'Eodem anno Ludowicus rex Francorum fecit Ricardum filium Henrici Regis Anglire militem.'* [In the same year [1173] Louis, king of the Franks, made Richard, son of King Henry of England, a knight.][160]

A similarly brief account is given of John's dubbing in 1185: *'Deinde dominus rex venit usque Windeshoveres, et ibi in Dominica... fecit Johannem filium suum militem, et statim misit eum in Hyberniam, et inde eum regem constituit.'* [Our lord the king next came to Windsor, and there, on the Lord's Day... he dubbed his son John a knight, and immediately after sent him to Ireland, appointing him king thereof.][161] With John being eighteen years old at the time of his dubbing it is perhaps not surprising that Henry chose that moment to elevate his son into adult society. However on this occasion we are given a hint as to an additional reason why Henry might have chosen that particular point to knight his youngest son. With the intention to send John to rule his own kingdom, it would have been vital for him to have knightly status in order to gain respect from the men Henry was sending to accompany John into his new 'kingdom'. Either way, being eighteen or about to be king in his own right are both compelling

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[160] RH, Vol. II p. 55 [My Translation]
[161] RH, Vol. II p. 303 [Trans. Vol. II p. 50]

reasons to knight his youngest son, even if (as we shall see) John lacked the skill and maturity for the role of knight at the time.

The dubbing of the Young King and Geoffrey are more remarkable than the commonplace experiences of their brothers because of some unusual circumstances which surround their entries into knighthood. Hoveden's record of Geoffrey's knighting in 1178 at the late age of twenty is slightly more verbose that that of Richard or John's and he takes special pains to point out how Geoffrey was aware of his elder brothers' reputations and his desire to measure up. This awareness by Geoffrey of the need to match the feats of others above him in the familial masculine hierarchy strongly supports Karras' assertion that competition was inherent to knightly masculinity.[162] Hoveden explains:

> *Eodem anno rex Angliæ pater transfertavit de Normannia in Anliam, et aput Wdestok recit Gaufridum filium suum, comitem Britanniæ, militem: qui statim post susceptionem militaris officii transfertavit de Anlia in Normanniam, et in confinibus Franciæ er Normanniæ militaribus exercitiis operam præstans, gaudebat se bonis militibus æquiparari. Et co magis ac magis probitatis suæ gloriam quæsivit, quo fraters suos, Henricum videlicet regem, et Ricardum comitem Pictavis in armis militaribus plus florere cognovit. Et erat eis mens una, videlicet, plus cæteris posse in armis: scientes, quod ars bellandi, si non præluditur, cum fuerit necessaria non habetur. Nec potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen afferre, qui nunquam suggillatus est.*

> In the same year [1178], the king of England, the father, crossed over from Normandy to England, and at Woodstock knighted his son Geoffrey, earl of Brittany; who, immediately upon receiving the rank of a knight, passed over from England to Normandy, and on the confines of France and Normandy, giving his attention to military exercises, took pleasure in making himself a match for knights of reputation in arms; and the more ardently did he seek for fame to attend his prowess, from knowing that his brothers, king Henry, and Richard, earl of Poitou, had gained great renown in arms. However, they had but one common feeling and that was, to excel others in feats of arms; being well aware that the science of war, if not practised beforehand, cannot be gained when it becomes necessary. Nor indeed can the athlete bring high spirit to the contest, who has never been trained to practise it.[163]

This is particularly interesting as Geoffrey had been in positions of authority (such as his time governing Normandy for his father) and was considerably older than his brothers when he was dubbed. At twenty years, Geoffrey was the oldest of all his siblings at the time of his entry into

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[162] Karras, R. M. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003) p. 51
[163] RH, Vol. II p. 166 [Trans. Vol. I pp. 489 – 490]

knighthood proper, and while twenty was not an unusually late age to be knighted for nobles, royalty tended to be dubbed in or prior to their eighteenth year. The delay in Geoffrey's dubbing is unlikely to have been based on a lack of ability; therefore another reason for it must be sought. It is entirely possible that Geoffrey was simply too busy, or his schedule clashed with his father's to the point that arranging the time for a ceremony was difficult, he had been on the continent on Henry's business during 1177 and was knighted upon his return. That said, Geoffrey had spent the Christmas of his eighteenth year (1176) in the company of Henry, so the question needs to be asked as to why it was not done then, perhaps the circumstances were simply not quite right.[164] Perhaps Henry wished to deliberately impede Geoffrey's entry into knighthood in the hope of also delaying his marriage and the associated access to the wealth of Brittany.[165] It is also possible that it was Geoffrey himself who postponed the ceremony, perhaps, given Hoveden's assertions, wishing to wait until he had matched his brothers' feats in arms before feeling he fully deserved the title of knight. Geoffrey's reputation as a capable knight does not, however, appear to have been harmed by his delayed dubbing. Whatever the causes or reasons behind his late entry into knighthood, once dubbed Geoffrey immediately set about proving himself capable of his new title. He spent the time immediately afterwards on the tournament circuit building his reputation as an adept warrior and competent leader of men. This time on the tournament circuit has been referred to as Henry sending Geoffrey on a form of holiday after his dubbing to allow him some kind of period of recreation before he was given full adult responsibilities as an agent of his father.[166]

The dubbing of the Young King is the most problematic for historians. There are two accounts of the Young King's entry into knighthood, they were both written after the events and their versions of the event are mutually exclusive. The first is provided by Gervase of Canterbury who gives a brief account that appears to be the standard for the reporting of dubbings: '*Ipsa die Henricum filium suum,... militem fecit, statimque eum,... in regem ungui*

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[164] *Itinerary* p. 209

[165] For an account of similar actions taken by a father to deliberately infantilise his son and delay his entry into adulthood see: Aird, W. M. 'Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son' in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999) pp. 39 – 55

[166] Everard, J. *Brittany and the Angevins: province and empire, 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000) p. 95

præcepit et coronary' [At the same time he [Henry II] made his son Henry [the Young King] ...a knight and at once... commanded him to be anointed and crowned king].[167] This event can be easily dated to 1170 and placed at Westminster, when and where the Young King was crowned. Gervase is reporting a similar knighting to that received by John; the fifteen year old Young King was dubbed by his father and then immediately made king. However, Gervase is known to have spent his entire career within the bounds of his monastery in Canterbury.[168] Therefore his assertion that the Young King was knighted at the same time as the order was given to crown him may be a supposition based on the assumption that an unknighted youth was unlikely to be crowned king. It may also be coloured by the controversy surrounding the coronation taking place without the Archbishop of Canterbury's involvement.

There is however a much longer and very different account in the *History* which begins with a conversation between the Young King and a member of his tournament team:

"Qu'encor n'estes pas chivaliers	"You have still not been knighted,
Ne plaist pas a toz, ce me semble.	and that is not to everyone's liking, we feel.
Meilz en valdrion buit assemble	We would all be a more effective force
Si endreit vos ert ceinte l'espee;	if you had a sword girded on;
Plus hardie e plus enoree	that would make the whole of your company
Sereit tote vostre maisnie	more valorous and more respected,
E plus tresjoiose e plus lie."	and would increase the joy in their hearts."
Il dist: "Jol ferai volunters.	The young King replied: "I will willingly do that,
Certes, li meldres chevaliers	and I can tell you that the best knight
Qui en toz tens est ne sera	who ever was or will be,
E plus a fait e plus fera	or has done more or is to do more,
Me ceindra, si Dex plait, l'espee."	will gird on my sword, if God please."
Lors fu devant lui aportee;	At this the sword was brought before the King,
E quant li reis l'espeie tint,	and, once he had it in his hand,
Tot dret al Mareschal vint,	he went straight to the Marshal,
Con cil qui molt ert coragos,	brave man that he was,
Si li dist: "De Deu e de vos	and said to him: "From God and from yourself,
Voil aveir ceste enor, beal sire."	My lord, I wish to receive this honour."
Cil ne l'en volt pas escondire:	The Marshal has no wish to refuse him;
L'espee li ceinst voluntiers	he gladly girded on his sword
Sil baisa; lors fu chevaliers;	and kissed him, whereupon he became a knight
Pus dist que Dux en grant proësce	and he asked that God keep him most valorous,
E en enor e en haltesce	honoured and exalted,
Le meintenist, com il si fist.	as indeed God did.[169]

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[167] GC, Vol. I p. 219 [My Translation]
[168] Martin, G. H. 'Canterbury, Gervase of (*b. c.*1145, *d.* in or after 1210)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10570> [Accessed 19 Nov 2010]
[169] *HWM*, Lines 2072 – 2095, pp. 106 – 107

This account differs from Gervase's in every important factor: in this account it is the Marshal, not Henry who dubs the Young King; it is done at the Young King's request after persuasion by peers, not decided by his father; it appears to have been done "in the field" rather than in a formal ceremony; and most significantly of all it takes place three years after the Young King's coronation when he was eighteen years old. Some work has been done in attempting to discover whether 1170 or 1173 is the more accurate date for the Young King's dubbing.[170] A case has been put forward that the lack of a sword on the Young King's seal may indicate he was not knighted at the time of his coronation, but concludes that the seal alone does not provide compelling evidence as the Young King continued to use it after 1173, when he must have been a knight.[171] Both Boulton and Hallam prefer the later date and name William Marshal as sponsor without giving any mention of the possible earlier dubbing by Henry.[172] It seems then that no consensus has yet been reached on the matter, although more recent works tend towards preferring the later date, perhaps because it provides the better "story", and unfortunately there is no real way of knowing which the correct date is, only that the Young King was a knight by 1173 at the latest.

These divergent accounts may simply be caused by the author of the *History* wishing to increase the significance of the Marshal in the life of the Young King. The inference that he was a worthy sponsor of the heir to the English throne, indeed a crowned junior king, was a significant statement as to his political and military prowess. It may be that who actually performed the ceremony was inconsequential. However, if the Marshal was in fact the Young King's sponsor it would mean that Henry had missed an opportunity to display himself both publicly and to his heir as being his son's superior. Such an opportunity was rarely missed by Henry and the implication that he made such an omission is significant in the context of the patriarchal hierarchy.

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[170] Smith, R. J. "Henry IIs Heir: the Acta and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170-83." *The English Historical Review* 116 (466) (2001) pp. 297-326

[171] Ibid.

[172] Boulton prefers the later date and names William Marshal as sponsor in his work 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity' in Church, S. & Harvey, R. (eds) (Woodbridge, 1995) *Medieval Knighthood V. Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994* pp. 41 – 100; Hallam, E. 'Henry (1155–1183)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: May 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12957> [Accessed 15 October 2009]

By 1185 all of Henry's sons had passed through their childhood years, the linear section of the model (figure 3, p. 46), that leads from birth to dubbing. John, the youngest son had reached eighteen, all of the sons had been educated and trained and they had all been dubbed into knighthood, the institution that marked them out as adult men in noble society. But each had had their own unique experiences of the processes involved, particularly in the final stage of dubbing. From this point on all that was remaining for them to do was to pass through a period of proving themselves worthy of the title of knight, and meet a few other masculine markers, such as marriage, in order to consolidate their status as fully adult males.

3: Knighthood: the Knight-Errant in War

Kirsten Fenton identifies violence as a significant category of twelfth-century male experience.[1] With this category established it is unsurprising that knighthood was central to the masculine constructs of the medieval period for those born to the higher social strata of society. However, the dubbing ceremony was not a rite of passage in the sense of its completion being an automatic transition from boy to man. After dubbing a young male would move on to the more flexible life stages as set out in the model (figure 3, p. 46). The first of these is labelled "the 'errant' phase" and it is the stage where Bennett's idea of proving oneself worthy of the newly acquired title of knight begins in earnest.[2] This chapter examines the military proof required during the errant phase. First it considers the notion of proof and briefly looks at the term "knight errant". It then establishes the boundaries of the errant phase as a social construct of masculinity before moving on to discuss the individual lived experiences of those of Henry II and his sons who proved themselves on the battlefield.

As an individual was not automatically considered *vir* simply on completion of the ceremony, once dubbed into knighthood a young man was still under obligation to prove himself worthy of his new status.[3] This proof usually took the form of feats of arms and such feats needed to be carried out by displays that fell within the boundaries of the expected and correct behaviour patterns. Doing so would enable a young man to build his adult reputation and once in a more established position such displays also served to maintain that reputation.[4] While failure to prove oneself worthy could not result in the removal of knightly status, it could bring about substantial and lasting, or even permanent damage to the reputation. This phase of a knight's life rarely followed a prescribed and common path; the routes taken to build and maintain reputation were as diverse as those undertaking the process and would frequently depend as much on outside circumstances as it did on individual choices or actions.

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[1] Fenton, K. A. *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008) pp. 26 – 55; see also Halsall, G. 'Violence and society in the early medieval west: an introductory survey' in Halsall, G. (Ed.) *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 1998) pp. 1 – 46
[2] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225' in Hadley (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* pp. 71 – 88
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

This period of proving oneself worthy once knighthood had been entered can most appropriately be termed the "errant" phase. Initially "knight-errant" was the title given in medieval romances to young men who roamed the land in search of adventures or opportunities for deeds of valour specifically in order to prove their chivalry. It can however also be seen as a factor of real life in the twelfth century for young men of the knightly class with no fixed income. Perhaps the classic example of this type of authentic knight-errant is the early life of that paramount twelfth-century knight, William Marshal.[5] Before the errant phase can be examined in relation to the individuals of this study the boundaries of the stage need to be established and the Marshal's experience can be used to aid in doing so. The beginning of the errant phase is simple to determine, it must begin with the dubbing ceremony, the point of entry into knighthood. The opposite boundary, the end of the phase, is more problematic to define as the male in question must not only have proved himself worthy of the title of knight but must also have established himself as a fully adult male. Consequently it is possible that an individual may have a reputation as a great warrior and be worthy of the title, but if he could not provide for his household, was unmarried or dependant on a superior male family member or another patron he would still be considered to be a youth and therefore still in the errant phase.

Such a pattern can be seen in the career of the Marshal, as he was dependant on his patron Henry II until the king's death. Upon his accession, Richard rewarded the Marshal's loyalty by giving him the hand of Isabel de Clare, damsel of Striguil, who was widely believed at the time to be the second richest heiress in all of England.[6] The Marshal had been landless and a celibate bachelor for around thirty years. Now, at the age of forty three it seemed his knight-errant days had finally come to an end. There is an argument then that it was marriage that signalled the end of the errant phase in a knight's life.[7] However, on rare occasions, some

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[5] See, among others; Painter, S. *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933); Crouch, D. *William Marshal, Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147 – 1219* (London, New York, 1990); Mullally, E. 'The Reciprocal Loyalty of Eleanor of Aquitaine and William Marshal' in Wheeler, B. and Carmi Parsons, J. (Eds.) *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (Basingstoke, 2002) pp. 237 – 45

[6] Crouch, *William Marshal* pp. 60 – 62

[7] Shadis, M. 'Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage, and Succession' Carmi Parsons, J. and Wheeler, B. (Eds.) *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996) pp. 335 – 358

males were married prior to their entry into knighthood; the clearest example of this is seen in the Young King whose marriage came so early in his life that it cannot be viewed as an adult signifier. Richard, although late to marry by contemporary standards, had full independence as king prior to his marriage. The two examples suggest therefore that marriage alone could not be the end of errantry. If it was not marriage that signalled the Marshal's change of knightly status we must turn to what the Marshal gained along with his marriage that could explain the end of his errant period. Isabel was the sole heiress of her father and with his marriage to her the Marshal was transformed from a landless knight-errant, younger son of what has to be considered a minor family into one of the most land-rich, and therefore one of the most moneyed men in the kingdom.[8] He had gone from being a man who was wholly dependent on his patron to one who was independently wealthy.

The adult marker of parenthood was not far behind for the Marshal (his wife was known to be pregnant within just three months of the marriage) but it seems that his status change was immediate upon the marriage suggesting that an individual need not be a father to exit the errant phase.[9] In support of this it should be noted that Richard had fathered a child, albeit an illegitimate one, prior to exiting the errant phase, so parenthood in itself can be safely excluded from the criteria that mark the end of the errant phase.[10] That Richard's masculinity was not threatened by his "immorality", fathering a child outside wedlock, reflects the notion that such breaches could be disregarded simply as youthful behaviour, sowing wild oats perhaps. Using the Marshal as a model of errantry, it can be said that the end of the phase is more closely linked to financial independence than it was to any other adult marker.

With the boundaries of the errant phase established it is possible to produce a model for the passage through the phase from dubbing to adulthood (see figure 3, p. 46). This leads to the necessity to explore what exactly constituted the proof and consolidation of an

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[8] Crouch, *William Marshal* p. 68 – 69
[9] Ibid. p. 61
[10] Gillingham, J. 'Richard I (1157–1199)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: Oct 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23498> [Accessed 15 Oct 2010]

individual's suitability for the rank of knight. Proof of readiness is reasonably simple to determine as it rested largely upon the simple matter of physical ability to perform the role of a mounted warrior. Taking the Young King as an example here the *History* explains that prior to his dubbing:

Les armes conut, e en sout	The young King knew about the use of arms, as much
Tant con vaislet saveir en pout;	as any young nobleman could be expected to know.[11]

Therefore it seems that a good, but not necessarily complete, knowledge of the use of arms was one of the required factors in the proof of readiness stage of the errant phase of life. Quite reasonably there is an unambiguous indication that there were limits of expectation for those just beginning their military careers. Quite how, or by whom such ability can be judged is more problematic as it seems to be an area that is open to some interpretation. For those who have participated in military action prior to dubbing it would seem that there no one individual bears the responsibility for the decision as there can be said to be general consensus as to his abilities. For those without such experience it appears that suitability for entry into knighthood is decided by either the individual conducting the ceremony or by the young man's sponsor, usually his father or lord.

The consolidation phase also needs to be examined in more detail. This phase appears similar in make up to that of the proof of readiness stage in that it required open and public display of military ability. However, there is one significant addition for those of the ruling class. High status youths, once knighted, would be expected to exhibit a capacity for leadership in addition to the usual military skills.[12] This was ideally demonstrated in battle, leading men in a military situation where the stakes were high was arguably the best indication of readiness and was after all the aim of all knights in a society that was organised entirely by a military hierarchy. While it was entirely possible for a young man of sufficient status to lead a group of men into battle prior to his dubbing, it was rare and there is a clear preference for a war leader to be a "proper" knight, the *History* illustrates this when it recollects a conversation between the as yet unknighted Young King and his band of tournament followers:

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[11] *HWM,* Lines 1963 – 1964, pp. 100 – 101
[12] Bennett 'Military Masculinity' p. 76

"Qu'encor n'estes pas chivaliers	"You have still not been knighted,
Ne plaist pas a toz, ce me semble.	and that is not to everyone's liking, we feel.
Meilz en valdrion buit assemble	We would all be a more effective force
Si endreit vos ert ceinte l'espee;	if you had a sword girded on;[13]

This passage also indicates that the Young King's men believed that he had passed though the proof of readiness phase and should be embarking on the proof of ability stage; the errant phase. It shows that proof before peers was as important as having the support of a sponsor. Perhaps more significantly the context in which this statement was made also suggests that tournament was a viable alternative to war in the processes of both proof and consolidation: a concept that we shall return to in the following chapter.

Having established the boundaries of the errant phase, the next stage is to measure each of the young men under investigation against the model (figure 3, p. 46) in order to evaluate their performance of military masculinity during their personal periods of errantry. We shall see each of the males under scrutiny here found that their own experience of the errant phase was different, but that the common link to the end of errantry was financial independence rather than any other adult signifier. It should also be noted that those males in the pre-dubbing, proof or consolidation phases of errantry could be more easily forgiven for errors than those who had completed the errant stage of their life.[14] Such errors could be dismissed as brave attempts at the correct behavioural patterns or simply blamed on youthful exuberance.

Of the five men under scrutiny here two, Henry II and Richard I, can be said to have proved themselves in battle. Another two, the Young King and Geoffrey of Brittany, owe their successful consolidation of their knighthood during the errant phase largely to the tournament circuit and one, John, took a different path altogether; although he did have an opportunity to prove himself in battle, as we shall see, it can be argued that he failed to take advantage of it.

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[13] *HWM,* Lines 2072 – 2075, pp. 108 – 109
[14] Bennett 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88

3.1: Proof in Battle

3.1.1: Henry II

Henry II's errant phase was to be both short and by all accounts a successful one. Knighted in 1149 at the age of sixteen by King David of Scotland it would be just a year before he gained the title, lands and income of the Duke of Normandy. He did, however, manage to fill that year with deeds that were within the realms of errantry, deeds that began almost at the close of his dubbing ceremony.

It has been suggested that the festivities surrounding Henry's knighting were 'a cover for a rally of the opposition to Stephen' and given the events that were to follow after the formalities were over it appears that this is an accurate assertion.[15] According to the *Gesta*:

> *… [Henricus] congregataque Scotensium immensa multitudine, sed et comite Cestriæ et nonnullis suæ partis fautoribus in maximum exercitum secum conspirantibus, Eboracensium ciuitatem quasi eam expugnaturus appropinquauit.*

> …[Henry] gathering together a vast number of Scots with the Earl of Chester and some adherents of his party joining him to make his army a very large one, *he approached the city of York as though he intended to storm it.*[16] (Italics for emphasis)

Moreover the implication in the *Gesta* is that this was done not only with King David's knowledge but also with his active encouragement. Huntingdon however, has a slightly different view on the actions of Henry at the opening of the episode stating that:

> *Cum autem congregati essent in solemnitate illa, rex Scottorum sum viribus suis et nepos suus eum occidentalibus Anglie proceribus, timens rex Stephanus ne Eboracum invaderent…*

> As during this solemnity [Henry's dubbing ceremony] a large force was assembled, David being numerously attended, and his nephew having in his retinue the nobles of the west of England, King Stephen was alarmed *lest they proceed to attack York*….[17] (Italics for emphasis)

The two chroniclers here seem to be unable to agree whether the threat from Henry and his army was actual or merely perceived as a possibility by Stephen. The *Gesta* here gives the more active role to Henry, suggesting that his military manoeuvres were both organised and deliberate. He also omits David from any part in the march upon York, commenting only that

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[15] Warren, W. L. *Henry II* (London, 1973) p. 36
[16] *GS,* p. 216/217
[17] Hunt*,* p. 287 [My Translation]

Henry was accompanied by Scots. Huntingdon on the other hand implies that it was Stephen's reaction to the march that was the catalyst for the standoff outside York. For Huntingdon the credit for leadership is given to David and Henry is not even mentioned by name, being referred to only as "his [David's] nephew". This may be because the author of the Gesta had changed his allegiance to Henry at the time of writing (see section 1.4.1, p. 36) whereas Huntingdon preferred to attempt to be as neutral as possible. They do agree more readily as to the outcome of the standoff, but the implications as to the manner in which Henry's troops withdrew again differ in each account.

The *Gesta* describes the new knight's troops as fearfully retreating from Stephen's forces;

> *Cum ecce rex Stephanus, a ciuibus ut sibi subueniret præmonitus, cum instructissima militantium caterua subito aduenit, dispositoque bellico more fortiter et ingeniose exercitu incunctanter hostes expetiit; et nisi ipsi, Regis audito aduentu eiusque quampotenti præcognita uirtute, metu illius depressi ad tutiora loca regressi fuissent, omnes uictoriosepariter inuoluisset.*

> When, behold, King Stephen, having had a warning beforehand from the citizens to come to their aid, suddenly arrived with a highly equipped body of knights, and arraying his army in military fashion with resolution and skill made an immediate advance of the enemy; and had not they, hearing of the king's approach and knowing already his pre-eminent prowess, become discouraged from fear of him and withdrawn to safer positions, he would have triumphantly overwhelmed them altogether.[18]

Whereas Huntingdon gives a view that implies a more mutual withdrawal:

> *…venit in urbem cum magno exercitu, ibique moratus est per mensem Augustum…. Rex vero Anglorum et rex Scottorum, quorum alter erat apud Eboracum, alter apud Carloil, sibi mutuo caventes et offendere thnentes per se ipsos divisi sunt, et ad domicilla regnorum repedaverunt.*

> …he therefore established a large army and remained there all the month of August …. But the kings of England and Scotland, the one at York and the other at Carlisle, fearing a rupture mutually avoided meeting and thus separated peaceably, each to his home.[19]

The *Gesta's* account, contrary to its usual favouring of Henry at this point in its writing, serves as an illustration that enhances Stephen's military reputation because Stephen heard about the move toward York in good time and the potential attack was thwarted. However, the *Gesta's* emphasis on the result that Henry and his men went "on the run" and generally made a

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[18] *GS,* p. 216/217
[19] *Hunt,* p. 287 [My Translation]

nuisance of themselves around the country is more in keeping with the general tone of this section of the work. It also counteracts the possible undermining of Henry's youthful abilities as suggested by his being routed by Stephen. Huntingdon, however, seems more inclined to provide a peaceable ending to the tale than the author of the *Gesta*. Whichever of the two has the more accurate portrayal - and it is likely that the different versions were believed by different people depending on personal loyalties - it is clear that while the newly knighted Henry was unable to take York he was not completely trounced by the king.

Following the incident at York Stephen was forced to dedicate a large proportion of his forces to attempt to apprehend Henry, which they failed to do, and Henry was able to reach the safe ground of Bristol unharmed. Stephen's son Eustace (also recently knighted and therefore in the midst of his own errant phase) was kept busy by the rebels. The *Gesta* records that after Eustace had chased Henry almost as far as Bristol he returned to Oxford and from there led his troops to several rebel strongholds where he occupied himself with: '*Glaornenses incendio et prædæ uacabat'* [arson and pillage in Gloucestershire], '*circa castettum Merlebergiæ … insidias texebat'* [[laying] ambushes…round the castle at Marlborough], '*perturbandas Diuisas'* [molesting Devizes] and '*Salesbirienses inquietandos'* [harassing the people of Salisbury].[20] However Eustace did not have the luxury of having everything his own way. At Devizes Eustace seemed to have had the upper hand as Henry's men were spread thinly at the time and he managed to breach the walls; the inhabitants are recorded as defending themselves boldly and fortunately they were able to hold Eustace off until Henry managed to get reinforcements from Devon to Devizes at which point Eustace was forced to retreat '*inglorii'* [with discredit].[21] It seems that Henry was finally fulfilling the role as the figurehead of rebellion that was set out for him at the age of nine even though his planned march on York had failed.

Why then was King David so keen to aid Henry in his attack on York? Newburgh seems to hold at least part of the answer:

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[20] *GS,* p. 218/219
[21] *GS,* pp. 223 – 225

> *[Henricus] cingulum militare accepit, præstits prius, ut dicitur, cautione quod nulla parte terrarum quæ in ejusdem regis ex Anglia ditionem transissent, ejus ullo tempore mutilaret heredes*
>
> [Henry] received the badge of knighthood …from David, he having first pledged himself, as it is reported, that he would never despoil this king's heirs of any portion of the English territory, which was now subject to king David.[22]

At this point Newburgh seems to have been assuming that it was common knowledge that Henry would be on the English throne at some point in the near future, otherwise the promises would not have been achievable. It is possible that Henry's promises may have been more a case of if rather than when he became king and Newburgh with his gift of hindsight gave a slightly different impression. However, knowing that Newburgh was writing with hindsight does not rule out the possibility that Henry may have been confident of his position regarding the English throne at the time even though he was only sixteen and the succession was far from certain at that time. Given his childhood role as figurehead and focus for his mother's claim to the throne it is more than likely that once Matilda realised the futility of persisting with her claim, if not prior to that, Henry was raised to expect the crown as his birth right. Therefore, with the backing of his parents' combined power on the continent he would have had little reason to doubt that such expectations would prove to be accurate.

Warren asserts that from this point on Stephen's actions meant less to those in England than did Henry's intentions. There is no reason to question Warren's view as events bear out Henry's influential position in England even when he was not physically present on English soil.[23] The surprising factor is that such hope, loyalty and belief could be shown in a sixteen-year-old youth who was fresh from his dubbing ceremony, although Warren points out that Henry's dubbing and the role he was about to assume in his father's territories 'marked an end to his formal training'.[24] Therefore it seems that Henry was no longer a boy, and although there would need to be the usual period of proving, and a few other markers that needed to be passed before he was truly considered a fully adult male, from this point on Henry was well on his way to adult status.

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[22] WN, Book I, Ch. 22
[23] Warren, *Henry II* p. 41
[24] Ibid. p. 38

Henry soon had another reason to believe his future as a leader and his adult status was assured. Having left England in chaos for Stephen he followed advice from an unnamed source and travelled back to Normandy for reinforcements with the aim of returning with to overcome king Stephen.[25] Upon his arrival in Normandy

> … *receptusque cum gloria ab omnibus qui audito illius aduentu undecumque confluxerant, cumulatissime in omni prouincia a singulis fuit honoratus utope eorum dominus, et munerum impensione largissime donatus. Nec multo post hoc transcurso tempore … Normanni deuote illi et hilariter subdidissent quippe domino suo et iusto heredi….*

> …and [he was] welcomed magnificently by all who had flocked together from every quarter on hearing of his arrival he was most amply honoured by everyone in the whole duchy as their lord and presented most lavishly with gifts. And not long afterwards … the Normans had made submission to him with gladness and devotion as their lord and the lawful heir…[26]

Both the *Gesta* and Newburgh record Henry as receiving Normandy, Anjou and Maine at the same time, perhaps because at this time events began to move in quick succession.[27] Potter and Davis note that by March 1150 Henry had been invested with the duchy of Normandy because it was his birth right through his mother and he was now of age, but that his father retained the county of Anjou (which was his own birth right) until his death on 7 September 1151.[28] It is noteworthy that Henry was being considered of age at just sixteen as eighteen or twenty-one would be more common. However, as we have seen, Henry was in an unusual situation and this frequently led him to do things at unusually young ages. Therefore it is maybe not surprising that his dukedom followed the same pattern. It is also possible that Geoffrey may have simply been happy to absolve himself of the responsibility for what had been a difficult territory to manage, as the Norman barons had ever been troublesome to him. Whatever Geoffrey's true reasons for granting Henry his maternal inheritance in such good order, it is an interesting contrast to Henry's own attitude to the giving of land and titles to his own sons later in his life.

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[25] *GS,* pp. 225 – 227
[26] Ibid. p. 224/225; WN, Book I, Ch. 29
[27] Ibid.; WN, Book I, Ch. 29
[28] Ibid. p. 224 (footnote 2)

Having been formally invested as Duke of Normandy Henry had finally been placed in the position where he had an opportunity to do what was necessary for any man's reputation: he must move through the errant phase and having swiftly proved himself worthy of knighthood after his dubbing it was now time for him to enter the consolidation phase. He needed to build upon that proof and maintain a proper adult masculine reputation until the age of majority, when his adult status would, barring major errors of judgement, finally be secure.[29]

According to the *Gesta,* events moved quickly for Henry after he received Normandy. Having received the ducal title Henry had '*ad regem Stephanum expugnandum Angliam regredi proposuisset'* [resolved to return to England to overthrow King Stephen] and for around a year and a half had been making preparations '*maximo apparatu'* [on a very great scale] to that end.[30] But before Henry could make use of his careful preparations his father died, leaving Henry the county of Anjou that was his paternal inheritance.[31]

It seems that Henry followed the masculine model of errantry fairly closely, although he does not appear to have spent much (if any) time at tournaments. There are two possibilities for why that was the case; firstly, Henry had real wars to participate in during this stage of his life. The second possibility is that Henry simply did not approve of tournaments; he banned them in England during his reign.[32] However, he did not ban them in his continental holdings and nor did he ban his sons from participating in them.[33] Now that he had Normandy, Anjou and Maine he was financially autonomous. At the age of just seventeen Henry had passed most of the milestones that signified adult male status; he had passed swiftly through the proof stages of the errant phase and taken the first steps in achieving adulthood. From this point on it when it came to his adult status it was very much more a matter of consolidation than of establishment. He had already had some military success, which boded well for his

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[29] Bennett, 'Military Masculinity' p. 76
[30] *GS,* p. 224/225
[31] Ibid. It should be noted at this point that while the *Gesta* only mentions Anjou, Newburgh (Book I, Ch. 29) includes the county of Maine as part of that inheritance
[32] Crouch, D. *Tournament* (London, 2005) p. 9
[33] Ibid.

future leadership, and as we shall see he was soon to have emphatic success both on the battlefield and as a diplomat. He was also close to making a good marriage for himself. At the age of twenty-one Henry was made king of England, he was married, he had an heir (although this son would die before reaching the age of four), and therefore he was undeniably a fully adult male.

3.1.2: Richard I

As we have seen, Richard's early years were poorly documented; however, his entry into the errant phase of his life was spectacular to say the least. Having been invested as Duke of Aquitaine three months prior to his fifteenth birthday and dubbed into knighthood by Louis VII of France less than a year later, Richard's first act as knight was to join two of his brothers in armed rebellion against their father. Studies of Richard usually state that his first military action was in July 1173 and that it was part of the invasion of eastern Normandy.[34] The following encounter is the most likely event that is being referred to: Benedict of Peterborough records that at some time in early July 1173:

> *…juvenis rex et fratres sui venerunt in Normanniam cum comite Flandriæ et comite Boloniæ; et obsederunt castellum de Driencurt, quod infra quindecim dies sequentes Dolfus, Bardulfus et Thomas frater ipsius, qui fuerunt inde constabularii, reddiderunt eis;*[35]

> …the Young King and his brothers entered Normandy with the count of Flanders and the count of Boulogne and they laid siege to the castle of Drincourt, which, after holding steadfast for fifteen days, was surrendered to them by the brothers Dolfus, Bardulfus and Thomas.[36]

While dating the events in Peterborough's work William Stubbs places this event as "around 6 July": Benedict states that it was '*Circa octavas vero apostolorum Petri et Pauli*' [around the octave of the apostles Peter and Paul].[37] This feast is held on 29 June making Stubbs' estimate a reasonable one. Roger of Hoveden rather unhelpfully places the same events as '*…statim post Pascha*' […immediately after Easter] of 1173, although he may be referring to the

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[34] For exampleGillingham, J. 'Richard I (1157–1199)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: Oct 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23498> [Accessed 15 Oct 2010] (The statement on Richard's first campaign is left unreferenced.)

[35] BP, Vol. I p. 49 [My Translation]

[36] The count of Boulogne dies from an arrow wound on this campaign; Peterborough informs us that his successor dies childless not long after taking the title.

[37] BP, Vol. I p. 49 [My Translation]

rebellion in general rather than the specific attack on Drincourt.[38] In addition to the evidence of dates, Drincourt Castle was located approximately thirty miles north-east of Rouen. It is therefore certain that this joint venture of the brothers and their allies was indeed Richard's first recorded military action and it is interesting that he was far from acting alone or heading his own troops at this stage, although that is unsurprising given that he was just fifteen years old and as yet untested in the field. As a newly knighted fifteen year old youth participation in a successful campaign such as this must have helped to prove his entitlement to the rank of knight. Richard had clearly begun the errant phase of his life-cycle.

We can deduce that Richard was successful in proving himself worthy in a reasonably short space of time as his untested status can be seen as being brief; by the end of the rebellion just eighteen months after it started. Richard, who was the last of the brothers to make peace with their father, can be seen to be leading troops in attacks against his father's holdings independently from any elder male, be it his brother, the king of France or the count of Flanders. Hoveden indicates Richard's activities in the second half of 1174 with the simple statement that:

> …*Ricardi comitis Pictaviæ, qui tempore illo … in Pictavia expugnana castella et homines patris sui*.

> …Richard, earl of Poitou, … was at this time in Poitou, besieging the castles and subjects of his father.[39]

That Richard was acting alone, without his main allies is certain; they were in the process of negotiating a peace with Henry, a peace that was under threat because of Richard's actions.[40] Eventually, however, they succeeded in coming to an agreement and the truce was settled on the following terms:

> …*quod Ricardus comes Pictoviæ excluderetur a treugis illis; et quod rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ filius nullum succursum ei facerent*.

> …. that they said Richard, earl of Poitou, should be excluded from all benefit of the truce, and that the king of France and the king of England, the son, should give him no succour whatever.[41]

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[38] RH, Vol. II p. 48 [Trans. Vol. I p. 368]
[39] RH, Vol. II p. 66 [Trans. Vol. I p. 385]
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

The Peterborough version agrees with the terms as Hoveden explains them, but as is often the case, it gives us a little more detail:

> *Et ipsi juraverunt, quod nec rex Franciæ nec juvenis rex, nec aliquis ex parte illorum aliquomodo succursum faceret prædicto Ricardo.*

> And they made an oath in which neither the king of France nor the Young King, nor anyone from those factions would give warning or succour to Richard.[42]

Here we see not merely a "gentlemen's agreement", but rather an oath, with all that such an undertaking included in the world of medieval male society.[43] In addition to this Peterborough adds that as well as 'succour' no 'warning' is to be given to Richard and it is that which is of interest in the light of the course of action Henry was about to take against his son.

At this point it was decided that Henry would lead his army against Richard, an action that would prove to be the one that brought an end to the rebellion. Hoveden reports that after the conference '*…rex Angliæ pater promovit exercitum suum in Pictaviam.*' [… the king of England, the father, moved his army on into Poitou.][44] Again, Peterborough offers slightly fuller information stating that: '*…hoc pacto, quod rex Angliæ iret inerim in Pictaviam cum exercitu suo ad debellandum Richardum filium suum.*' […they agreed a plan for the king of England to go into Poitou with an army to vanquish his son Richard.][45]

If Peterborough is correct then it seems that Henry's decision to take his army to subdue his own son was not one that he took alone. Louis and the Young King were also, it seems, partly responsible for the action. However, this seems unlikely given that they were effectively the beaten party during the negotiations. Therefore it is entirely more likely that they were simply in no position to attempt to steer Henry away from a course of action that he may well already have decided to take. This latter reason for their agreement to Henry's action

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[42] BP, Vol. I p. 76 [My Translation]
[43] For more on oath taking see among others: Baswell, C. "Men in the *Roman d'Eneas*: The Construction of Empire," Lees C. A. (Ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minnesota, 1994), pp. 149 – 168 (particularly p. 158 and p. 167); Fletcher, C. *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377 – 99* (Oxford, 2008) p. 28; Keen, M. *Chivalry* (London, 1984) p. 138 and p. 234 and Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 43 – 44
[44] RH, Vol. II pp. 66 – 67 [Trans. Vol. I p. 385]
[45] BP, Vol. I p. 76 [My Translation]

is borne out by the necessity for the truce to include a ban on the warning of Richard of his father's intentions. The need for such a ban implies that Henry was fully aware of his new "friends'" true loyalties.

Soon after Henry and his troops had entered Poitou, Richard's triumphant entry into life as a knight errant was brought to an abrupt end. With the truce between Henry, the Young King and Louis in place Henry had the strength of most of his holdings once again behind him and therefore he would surely have outnumbered Richard's forces by a considerable margin. Richard's actions upon hearing that his father was closing on him indicate that he was acutely aware of the discrepancy between his own and Henry's military might at this stage. Hoveden reports that when Henry:

> …*promovit exercitum suum in Pictaviam. Cujus adventum Richardus comes Pictaviæ filius ejus non ausus expectare fugit de loco in locum*.

> …moved his army on into Poitou; upon which, Richard, earl of Poitou, his son, not daring to await his approach, fled from place to place.[46]

Peterborough agrees, but adds the detail that in the process of his flight Richard was:

> …*reliquit castells et munitiones qua prius ceperat, non ausus illas retinere contra paterm suum.*

> …abandoning the castles he had taken and leaving his fortifications where they were, [because] he dare not risk keeping them against his own father.[47]

At first glance this may not appear to be particularly correct masculine behaviour, running rather than fighting could be (and frequently was) viewed as cowardly and therefore unmanly.[48] However there are two possible grounds on which Richard may have been able to take this action without damaging his masculine status. First there is simply the matter of his age. At this point Richard was only just past his seventeenth birthday and, as we have seen with Henry's actions against Stephen at the ages of fourteen and sixteen, youth could often be

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[46] RH, Vol. II pp. 66 – 67 [Trans. Vol. I p. 385]
[47] BP, Vol. I p. 76 [My Translation]
[48] Bennett, M. 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks, and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?' *Gendering the Crusades.* Edgington S. B. and Lambert, S. (Eds.) (Cardiff, 2001) pp. 16 – 30

invoked to excuse incorrect male behaviour patterns without damage to the long-term reputation of the individual.

The other possibility is that Richard was not in fact making an error in judgement in choosing to run from Henry's advancing army. As the leader of his men, his primary duty was to ensure the safety of his men wherever possible. Fighting against overwhelming odds was not in fact an acceptable choice unless there was either no other option or the stakes were so high as to demand such sacrifice. To withdraw in the absence of such compelling concerns was in fact the proper course of action. Therefore it could be said that Richard took the mature and correct decision to remove himself and his troops from a situation which would lead to almost certain death or capture. It seems that the difference between "running away" and "tactical withdrawal" was a matter of perspective.

Richard's flight from his father does not appear to have lasted for long. In the very same passage (in Peterborough's case the same sentence) in which his indignation at Louis' and the Young King's capitulation is recorded, Hoveden informs us that Richard:

> *… cums lacrymis veniens cecidit pronus in terram ante pedes regis patris sui, …*
> *postulans veniam.*

> … coming with tears, fell on his face upon the ground at the feet of his father, … imploring pardon.[49]

Peterborough rather more poetically puts it as follows:

> *… et venit lacrymans et cecidit in faciem suem pronus in terram, ante pedes*
> *Regis patris sui, veniam ab eo postulans.*

> … and it came to pass that he wept and he fell down onto his face sinking onto the ground, in front of the feet of his father the King, there he begged for forgiveness.[50]

Richard's display appears to have been successful as he is either '*postulans veniam in patris sinu recipitur*' [received into his father's bosom].[51] Or Henry '*recepit cum in dilectione et pacis osculo*' [received him with love and gave him the kiss of peace][52]

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[49] RH, Vol. II p. 67 [Trans. Vol. I p. 385]
[50] BP, Vol. I p. 76 [My Translation]
[51] RH, Vol. II p. 67 [Trans. Vol. I p. 385]

The kind of apology that Richard was performing here appears to have been of a formal nature and has a distinct sense of ritual about it. It certainly does not read as having any element of spontaneity; Richard and Henry have not simply happened upon each other on the battlefield. Instead Richard is most likely making a prearranged appearance at Henry's court specifically to make this dramatic gesture of surrender. This action from Richard is somewhat shrouded in mystery and it raises several questions, for example, it is not known whether the apology was instigated by Henry or Richard, suggested by a third party, or was simply the proper thing to do in the expected course of events.[53] Nor is it clear what the audience for this apology was. Given that it is recorded it has to be assumed that there was some audience for it outside the two participants, as it is unlikely that Henry or Richard personally provided the chroniclers with an account of the event it must be assumed that Hoveden must have either been present at the apology, or have received word from a witness who was. Therefore the most reasonable explanation is that the apology was performed at court and before Henry's usual entourage, but not witnessed first-hand by the general public or by Richard or Henry's armies. On the other hand that it was included in the chronicles makes it a public event and therefore word of it would have spread to the subjects and warriors of both men. This would have had the advantage for Henry of displaying his superiority in the masculine familial hierarchy.

Neither Hoveden nor Peterborough gives any indication, even via the tone of their words, of a sense of approval or disapproval of Richard's weeping. Both simply state the event happened in a matter of fact manner, and Newburgh even fails to mention it at all. The twelfth century offers no comparative examples to Richard's actions.[54] Therefore we are left to draw our own conclusions as to whether Richard is correctly performing a role that can be taken in the context of adult patterns of behaviour. Given that intercession was part of the traditional

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[52] BP, Vol. I p. 76 [My Translation]

[53] Eyton claims that Henry 'forces Richard to submission at Poitou', but does not reference his source for the claim. *Itinerary* p. 184

[54] There is, however, a famous late medieval example of a queen using tears to intervene and allow her husband to forgive without losing face. In a carefully planned move, Philippa of Hainault knelt weeping before Edward III and pleaded for the lives of the burghers of Calais after they had betrayed him. See Jean Froissart *Chronicles* Book I, ch. 145 (Johnes, Vol. I, pp. 186-88) The relevant section is available at <http://www.nipissingu.ca/department/history/muhlberger/froissart/calais.htm> [Accessed 21 October 2010]

role of a queen it could instead be that he was in fact fulfilling a function usually reserved for women, with a subordinate element that may imply that he was actually conducting himself in a manner that was more suited to a child.[55] Given that Richard had not yet met all of the adult markers, to apologise in a manner that fulfilled a child-like or subordinate role would be appropriate as it actively clarified both his and his father's positions in the family hierarchy. The main question raised by Richard's apology is therefore whether his masculine reputation was enhanced by correctly performing in his role as subordinate to his father, or if it was damaged by having to publicly demonstrate that he was unable to take the superior position from Henry. This event was directly intended to emphasise Henry's superiority and Richard's subordination. It may not have affected Richard's eventual passage into manhood but it was clearly intended to hinder it, even if it did not have that effect in the end.

The apology was not the end to the consequences of the rebellion for Richard, there was one more potential humiliation left for him. To further emphasise his superiority over his sons Henry had one further demand for Richard and Geoffrey. They submitted to him as lesser lords and paid homage to him in a formal and binding manner for the incomes and castles granted to them in the peace treaty that followed Richard's surrender: '*Ricardus vero et Gaufridus filii Regis devenerunt homines ejus de iis, quæ eis concessit et dedit.*' [Also Richard, and Geoffrey, his brother, have done homage to their father for those things which he has given and granted unto them.][56] Paying homage was usually a distinctly adult interaction, however at this point Geoffrey had not yet met several adult markers which suggests that in this instance the homage was more an issue of establishing a clear hierarchy which showed Henry not only as the father figure, the superior male in the family, but also marked him as the liege lord of his sons. As Newburgh explains:

> *… violator in lege naturali circa patrem servanda, saltem contemplatione hominii et duplicis, id est, juratoriæ simul et fidejussoriæ cautionis, persisteret, et caveret de cætero ne sibi a patre, non jam tantum patre, sed etiam domino, de jure diceretur,*

[55] Huneycutt, L. L. 'Medieval Queenship' *History Today*, 39:6 (June, 1989) pp. 16 – 22; Huneycutt, L. L. "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos." In Carpenter, J. and MacLean, S. (Eds.) *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (1995) pp. 126 – 146
[56] RH, Vol. II p. 69 [Trans. Vol. I p. 388]; BP, Vol. I p. 79

> …the violator of … the natural law which ought to be observed to a father, might at least be true in consideration of homage and of the double tie of an oath and fealty; and he must for the future beware lest his father -- who was now not only his father, but his liege lord -- should justly pronounce sentence against him…[57]

From this explanation it seems clear that by asking his sons to pay homage to him, Henry was effectively making it more difficult for his sons to rebel in the future as to do so would break the oath they had sworn during said homage, the oath that recognised Henry as their lord. The keeping of oaths was an important element of good masculine behaviour; therefore Richard and Geoffrey were placed in a position very early in life where they were at risk of damaging their reputation should they once again find that rebellion was the only course of action against a father who denied them access to that necessity of adult life, financial independence.

The Young King was excused from facing the same requirements as his younger brothers; even though he had also received property and a cash income under the terms of the treaty, he was not required to pay homage to his father. Peterborough and Hoveden make it clear that the Young King was in fact willing to pay homage to Henry in the same manner as his brothers and they also explain why it was not required of him:

> *Cum autem filius ejus Henricus hominium ei facere voluisset, noluit dominus rex recipere, quia rex erat, sed securitatem accepit ab eo.*

> … whereas his son, Henry [the Young King], was ready and willing to do homage to him, our lord the king was unwilling to receive the same of him, because he was a king; but he has received security from him for the same.[58]

The indication is that status alone prevented Henry from demanding homage from his eldest son. We are not told what security Henry received from the Young King, but Henry appears to have been satisfied with it, suggesting that it was Henry, rather than the Young King, who decided the form of said security. Given the circumstances of the outbreak of the rebellion, that the Young King was impatient to acquire the responsibilities and recognition that went hand in hand with his title, the lack of homage seems most likely to have simply been a conciliatory move on Henry's part; a conscious effort not to humiliate his son in defeat and

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[57] WN, Book II, Ch. 38 p. 192
[58] RH, Vol. II p. 69 [Trans. Vol. I p. 388]; BP, *Gesta*, Vol. I p. 79

therefore risk a further rebellion. After formally paying homage to Henry, Richard and Geoffrey were apparently forgiven for their parts in the rebellion without suffering a great deal of parental punishment.[59] As Newburgh puts it: '… *de quibus utique modica fuit quæstio, cum ætatis beneficio excusabiles viderentur'* [… and very little question was raised about them [Richard and Geoffrey], since their youth was their excuse].[60] This suggests that Henry, and perhaps a wider audience as well, perceived both Richard and Geoffrey as being less mature than the Young King. In the case of Geoffrey it is easy to understand as he had yet to be dubbed into knighthood. For Richard, however, it is a more complex picture: he was a knight and should therefore have had higher expectations placed upon him. It is possible that he was forgiven so swiftly for the same reasons as the Young King, or perhaps his physical age was thought to be excuse enough for his poor behaviour. Whichever reason was employed to justify Richard's forgiveness the fact that it happened supports the notion that proof of adult ability and mind set was required after dubbing as well as before.

But still the consequences of the rebellion were not yet quite over for Richard. After spending the Christmas of 1174 at Argentan with all of his sons and Easter at Cherbourg (it is not clear from either Hoveden or Peterborough's reports whether the sons were with their father at this point) Henry sent Richard back into Poitou to enforce the terms of the peace treaty. Hoveden explains that:

> *Rex vero pater misit Ricardum filium suum in Pictaviam, et Gaufridum filium suum in Britanniam: præcipiens quod castella, quæ firmata vel infortiata fuerant tempore guerræ, redigerentur in eum statum quo fuerunt quindecim diebus ante guerram.*

> The king, the father, also sent his son Richard into Poitou, and his son Geoffrey into Brittany, with orders that the castles that had been built or fortified during the time of the war, should be reduced to the same state in which they were fifteen days before the war began.[61]

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[59] As was the youngest of the rebellious brothers, Geoffrey. Geoffrey was just sixteen and unknighted at this point, which may explain his absence from the majority of the sources that refer to this incident. For example, we are not told whether Geoffrey was the first to re-join his father, if he was a part of the Young King and Louis' treaty or whether he remained in a state of rebellion until Richard surrendered, we are merely told that he was forgiven (at some point and for the same reasons as Richard but not necessarily at the same time) and that following the end of *all* hostilities between father and sons, he paid homage to Henry at the same time as Richard.
[60] WN, Book II, Ch. 38 p. 192
[61] RH, Vol. II p. 72. [Trans. Vol. I p. 390]

This action on Henry's part is open to two possible interpretations. The first is that Henry was viewing Richard as an adult, a man capable of leading troops into hostile territory and getting the job in hand done. Henry was after all entrusting Richard with the leadership of Henry's own men and it is doubtful that Henry would have sent Richard into a situation in which he was not confident Richard could succeed. Alternatively it could be interpreted as Henry still viewing Richard very much in the child role; the use of the word "*præcipiens*" by Hoveden strongly suggests that Henry was in fact sending Richard to clean up his own mess in a manner that is reminiscent of a parent sending a child to clean their room. The troops that Henry had sent with Richard were after all loyal to the father in the first instance rather than to Richard and therefore would have been in a position to keep an eye on Richard for Henry. Also, it is highly likely that such troops would have included men who were capable of carrying out Henry's orders should Richard fail to do so. It may not be possible to fully determine Henry's motivation for sending his sons back into the sites of their recent rebellions, although it has been suggested that it may simply have seemed to be an efficient and sensible way of killing not two but three birds with one stone: it enabled Henry to chastise those rebels still holding out against him; it meant that he was able to provide the warlike Richard with some useful experience; and at the same time it publicly displayed his continuing dominance over his sons within the structures of the masculine familial hierarchy.[62]

If the reason behind Henry's decision to send Richard into Poitou was indeed to provide him with experience of military leadership, it worked. It was during this period that Richard earned the label "*cour de lion*". The first major success of this campaign drew considerable attention to the young prince's military ability; in August 1175 he captured Castillion-sur-Agen.[63] It attracted attention because it was a strongly built castle and its defensive position was considered to be excellent. It was not a simple victory for Richard. A siege was necessary, but perhaps because of its strength and position it appears that he managed to take it in a manner that increased his reputation as a warrior. It is implied by Hoveden that the siege was

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[62] Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978) p. 71
[63] RH, Vol. II p. 83; BP, Vol. I p. 82

not of excessive length.[64] In fact the tone suggests quite the opposite, that Richard had taken the castle in a surprisingly short time:

> *… [Ricardus] obsedit Caslellonium supra Agiens, quod Arnoldus de Boivile contra eum munierat, nec reddere voluit. Et paratis ibi machinis suis bellicis, infra duos menses cepit, et triginta miltes in eo, et in manu sua retinuit*
>
> … [Richard] laid siege to Chatillon, beyond Agens, which Arnold de Boiville had fortified against him, and refused to surrender. Accordingly, having arranged there his engines of war, within two months he took it, together with thirty knights, and retained it in his own hands.[65]

Following this initial victory, Richard's military expeditions went from strength to strength. In the spring of 1176 Richard defeated Aimar of Limousin and Vulgrin of Angoulême, whose armies were made up mostly of Brabançons, in what was to be the only pitched battle he was to fight prior to his departure on crusade.[66] He then marched on Limoges itself, which submitted to him in July. Before tackling the castles of the count of Angoulême Richard returned to Poitiers where he was joined by the Young King and together they laid siege to Châteauneuf, which they took in just two weeks.[67] After taking the time to escort one of his sisters to her future husband, again with the Young King, Richard then turned his attention back onto Limoges, where most of the remaining rebels had now gathered, and against all expectations they yielded to him in just six days.

By the end of the year Richard was in a stable enough position to hold his first Christmas court in Bordeaux. He was in effect wielding real power in the southern region of his father's lands.[68] It seems that Richard's reputation as worthy of the rank of knight was firmly established. Although he would remain in the errant phase until he attained true financial independence upon the death of his father his reputation as a true warrior was secure. There was no danger of his appearing less than able to function as a fully adult male in the military

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[64] There does not appear to be a number that can be applied as "average" for the length of sieges during this period. For example, the siege of Nottingham Castle (1194) lasted for three days, the siege of Jerusalem (1189) two weeks, the siege of Rochester Castle (1215) seven weeks, and the siege of Acre (begun 1189) two years. For further discussion of sieges and siege warfare in the Middle Ages see among others: Bradbury, J. *The Medieval* Siege (Woodbridge, 2007); Corfis, I. and Wolfe M. *The Medieval City Under Siege* (Woodbridge, 1999); Rogers, R. *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1997)
[65] RH, Vol. II p. 83 [Trans. Vol. I p. 402]
[66] Diceto, Vol. I pp. 406ff. See also; BP, Vol. I p. 120
[67] BP, Vol. I p. 115
[68] RH, Vol. II p. 117

arena. In short his status as knight errant until such a time as he could claim his role as a financially independent adult was assured. Richard had achieved a level of maturity that indicated he was ready to move into the consolidation phase as shown in the model (figure 3, p. 46).

3.1.3: John

John's experience of what would usually be classed as the errant phase of his life was anomalous. As we shall see he did not appear to make any great effort to use the period between dubbing and meeting of other adult markers to prove himself to be a military leader of renown or even to show a level of military competence as a simple solider. Instead he appears to have waited until all other markers were met and he had an opportunity to show himself as Richard's natural heir before he made any effort to prove himself worthy of the title of knight. The question for John is less how he proved himself, battle or tournament, but rather when and why. I argue that his choice of a delayed proof was in fact a political rather than martial manoeuvre and that his choice to do so late was deliberate and motivated by personal gain rather than being simply a part of the maturation process. This can be seen in two ways: either it was the same somewhat cold and calculated method of operating that was consistent throughout John's adult life, or he was simply apathetic about the whole process until such a time as it has a direct effect in his future as king. Either way, John was rarely to be seen choosing to do anything until the outcome was all but certain to directly benefit him.

Like his elder brothers John's first opportunity to prove himself came prior to knighthood. In 1184, when John was aged eighteen, Henry attempted to have Richard hand Aquitaine over to John.[69] This was presumably because the Young King had died the previous year making Richard Henry's most obvious heir. It is understandable that Henry would wish to change his sons' holdings in light of his eldest son's death and presumably it was his intention to gift Richard the lands that had formerly been designated as the Young King's, Normandy and England, and have John take over the younger son's lands in the south, leaving Geoffrey

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[69] It should be noted that Hoveden claims that it was only the area of Poitou that was requested for John; Peterborough, however, who gives a much fuller account of the incident, is clear that it was all of Aquitaine. RH, Vol. II p. 282; BP, Vol. I p. 311

still provided for via his marriage. For Henry this would seem a simple solution to providing for John, the son who had been known as "lackland" up until this point. However Richard refused to take homage from John for those lands. Peterborough explains that having been asked to give Aquitaine to John, Richard replied that: …*se nunquam daturum alicui aliquam partem de Aquitainnia, quamdiu viveret.* […he would never give anyone any part of Aquitaine as long as he lived.][70] It was this refusal by Richard that led to John's first chance to demonstrate that he had the skills required of a warrior. Henry was displeased [*indignitus est*] by Richard's response and lent his support [*concessit*] for John and Geoffrey to launch an attack on Richard's domains.[71] The assault began between February and April of 1184, but was short lived as all three brothers were with Henry in England by December of that year. John had failed, Richard kept Aquitaine and all three brothers were received with the kiss of peace, presumably in an attempt to end the hostilities.[72]

It seems then that even with the help of an elder brother John's first attempt to prove himself was not successful; he remained landless for the time being. His failure may have been because of his own shortcomings, up until this point we are given no information about his abilities in the arts of war or alternatively it could be that Richard's abilities and support in the south were just too great for John to defeat him there. It appears that John's reputation did not suffer too greatly from this first defeat, probably because he was as yet unknighted he benefited from the idea that his youth made it a good try, but that as an unknighted youth he was not really expected to prevail over his experienced sibling. Had he succeeded under such circumstances his reputation would have taken a great leap towards manhood, but in any case he lost nothing by trying.

John's next chance to establish himself came reasonably quickly, but was to prove more damaging to his future reputation as a warrior. His opportunity came because Henry was attempting to solidify a claim to some land that he had previously designated to his youngest

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[70] BP, Vol. I p. 311 [My translation]
[71] Ibid.
[72] RH, Vol. II p. 288

son, Ireland. However, on this occasion John would not be able to fall back on an unknighted status in case of his failure as Henry had knighted him in March 1185.[73] John was around the age of nineteen at this point, so, for a prince, he was somewhat late in receiving the badge of knighthood. Immediately after being dubbed John was appointed king of Ireland by his father.[74] He then provided him with a substantial number of well-equipped men and a generous allowance of money, and sent him into Ireland to curb the power of Hugh de Lacy, whose level of independence was becoming increasingly worrying to Henry. This was not John's preferred commission; he had wanted to go to the aid of Jerusalem, a far more prestigious undertaking.[75] John's lack of enthusiasm for the mission may in part explain why his expedition into Ireland went so spectacularly wrong (having arrived Ireland in April, by September John had returned to England a failure) although simply a lack of experience and ability is the more likely reason. That having been said, both Hoveden and Gerald of Wales had their own opinions on John's failure and its causes.[76]

> For Hoveden it was John's avarice that was the root cause:

> *…Johannes filius Regis in Hyberniam veniens, a Johanne Dubliniensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris patris sui hominibus, qui præcesserant, honorifice est susceptus. Et quia ipse omnis proprio suo inclusit marsupio, nolens solidariis suis stipendia sua solvere, maximam exercitus sui partem in conflictibus pluribus contra Hibernensis factis amisit; et tandem ad inopiam redactus, constitutes tamen justitiis et militibus suis per loca, ad terram illam custodiendam, rediit in Agliam.*

> … John, the king's son, coming into Ireland, was honourably received by John, the archbishop of Dublin, and the other subjects of his father, who had preceded him; however, as he thought fit to shut up everything in his own purse, and was unwilling to pay their wages to his soldiers, he lost the greater part of his army in several conflicts with the Irish, and being at last reduced to want [of troops], after appointing justices and distributing his knights in various places for the defence of the country, he returned to England.[77]

For Hoveden then it seems that it was simply John's desire to keep all the money he had for himself rather than use it as it was intended that led to his downfall. This is a fairly

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[73] Ibid. p. 303
[74] Ibid.
[75] Warren, W. L. *King John* (1961, New Edition: Yale, 1997) pp. 32 – 33
[76] Both Gerald and Hoveden were writing shortly after the events but it is Hoveden's account that is considered to be perhaps the most reliable as Gerald had his own ends to serve (see section 1.4.5 pp. 40 – 41) and his account is coloured by them.
[77] RH, Vol. II pp. 304 – 305 [Trans. Vol. I pp. 51 – 52]

simple representation of a young man letting his personal greed take precedence over his successful completion of his mission. Hoveden is right to blame John for failing to pay his common soldiers, but the leaving behind of his knights, which in Hoveden's account is represented in a way which implies that John was at least doing his best to defend the land he was abandoning, can actually also be seen as part of the problem.

John was not simply leaving some troops behind in a defensive capacity but was rather giving substantial chunks of Ireland away to his cronies; he was in fact attempting to provide for his knights (the ones he presumably has failed to pay alongside the common soldiers) with grants of land that disregarded the existing Irish rights.[78] While providing for your followers was an important indicator of leadership it was not to be done at the expense of other loyal men, and therefore John appears to have failed by only taking half of the procedure into account. Loyalties were lost, and it seems that John left Ireland in an even more unstable situation than that in which he had found it. This may have been because he was unaware of the rules, or perhaps because he was poorly advised, or it could, as Gerald believed, be because of his childishness and arrogance that he thought he could get away with it. For Hoveden though it seems that it was simple greed. That it was John's desire to keep all the money he had for himself rather than use it as it was intended that led to his downfall. John of course saw things rather differently, he blamed de Lacy for his failure, but Gerald of Wales had other ideas.[79]

Gerald's representations of individual Angevins can be telling as he certainly knew how to give a particular impression, usually negative in the case of the Angevins.[80] This can clearly be seen in the way John is painted by Gerald in his discussion of the Irish expedition and the language that Gerald chooses to use is telling. He consistently uses words that give a distinct and deliberate representation of John as childish and unready for the responsibility that he has been given.

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[78] Warren, *King John* p. 36
[79] Ibid.
[80] For more on reading Gerald and his particular biases see section 1.4.5 pp. 40 – 41

Upon their arrival in Ireland Gerald informs us that John, his friends and their accompanying Normans did not only treat the Irishmen with contempt and derision, but they,'…*per barbas quoquoe, quas more patriæ grandes habuerant et prolixas, quidem ex ipsis minus decenter sunt tractate…'* […even rudely pulled them by their beards, which the Irishmen wore full and long, according to the custom of their country….][81] Gerald stops short of saying explicitly that John participated in the reported wayward behaviour of his friends, but the impression that Gerald provides is that of a young man who was unable to either behave correctly or to control those men that were supposed to be under his command. While it is unlikely that the beard pulling incident actually occurred, the portrayal of John given by Gerald was designed to lead the reader to believe that John was lacking an ability to behave as was expected in the military and political arena.

Gerald goes on to inform us of the consequences of John's failure to behave correctly when he reports the action taken by the Irish Chiefs immediately after the "pulling beards" incident. We are told that no sooner had the Irish greeting party made their escape, than they '…*cum suis omnibus se longe retrahentes….'* […withdrew from the neighbourhood with all their households….] and travelled immediately to the king of Limerick, the prince of Cork, and the king of Connaught.[82] There they are reported as giving '…*quæ apud Regis filium invenerant cuncta per ordinem propalarunt….'* […full particulars of all they had observed during their visit to the king's son….] Their description of John was understandably unfavourable, and it also reflected upon his adult status as according to Gerald '*Adolescentulum ipsum, solem adolescentium agmine stipatum; juvenculum ipsum, solum juvenili consilio datum…'* [They said that they found him to be a mere boy, surrounded by others almost as young as himself; and that the young prince abandoned himself to juvenile pursuits']. Further to this '…*nullum prorsus maturitatem, nullam ibio stabilitatem, nullam Hibernicis securitatem promittentes.'* […they declared, that what they saw promised no mature or stable counsels [and] no security for the peace of Ireland.]

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[81] *Ireland,* p. 502 [Trans. p. 78]
[82] For this and the quotations in the rest of the paragraph: Ibid.

Given this report it seems that Gerald is quite clearly presenting the nineteen year old John as immature, even childlike, and most certainly unsuited to rule. As other accounts of John's time in Ireland cover his military misfortunes with more than a hint of his inability to follow the correct or expected procedures (such as paying one's troops) it seems that although Gerald has his own personal reasons for wishing to represent John as a failure, his assessment of John's abilities may not be as far from the truth as perhaps his invention of the "pulling beards" incident implies. In other words, just because Gerald was holding a firm and immovable grudge against the Angevin dynasty and was in all likelihood creating some of his illustrative examples from whole cloth, it does not mean that the impression he was trying to convey was entirely inaccurate. In this case it appears that John's failure in Ireland was, as Gerald suggests, at least in part due to his inability to behave in an appropriately adult fashion, whether that be by being outrageously rude to his hosts, or putting his own greed above the needs of his men

The reasons for John's problems in Ireland, and his seeming lack of interest in the consequences are worthy of further consideration. It could simply be, as Gerald suggests, that he was just too young for the level of responsibility given to him, although given that each of his brothers were capable of leading troops correctly by that age it was perhaps more a case of the natural arrogance of his party, which consisted mainly of youths like himself, with privileged backgrounds and no experience of facing the consequences of their actions.[83] It could also be in part because John's military training prior to his dubbing was at fault. It is unlikely that he was able to take advantage of the same training that his brothers had. They were at least in part trained by the Marshal who, being in the Young King's household for most of John's childhood and who spent some time on pilgrimage immediately following the Young King's death, was simply not available while John was growing up; by the time the Marshal was a permanent part of Henry's own household and available to train John, John was barely a year from knighthood so any effect of the Marshal's influence would have been minimal.

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[83] Unfortunately John's companions are not named in the sources, we are only told (by Gerald) that they were as young as John himself and showed no more maturity than John did during the expedition. *Ireland,* p. 502 [Trans. p. 78]

Given the outcome it would seem then that the personal consequence of John's behaviour in Ireland was simply that he was not considered mature enough, indeed not man enough, to be Lord of these proud men. It is certain that Henry never again sent John into Ireland and in fact he does not appear to have acted in his father's name again. He did, however, come close to doing so in 1186, but was recalled at the last minute by Henry upon Geoffrey of Brittany's death. His immaturity may have been to blame but it was something that Gerald hoped John would grow out of in time, pointing out that: *'Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum, juvenilis excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas: Tunc prima est inculpabilis ætas, cum ludis ponunt tempora metas.'* [It is no disgrace to have enjoyed the pleasures of youth, but the shame lies in not bringing them to an end. Juvenile levity is excusable if the mature age be commendable; and that stage of life is blameless, if age sets bounds to indulgence.][84]

So it seems that John did not in fact pass though the errant phase of his life with any measure of success or maturity at the age usually expected. He did however act far more as if he were in the errant phase of his life when he was acting on Richard's behalf as brother, rather than son, of the king. When Henry died John was given a wealthy heiress as his bride and numerous other lands by Richard. In short, he was financially independent – although of course the usual rules of feudal lordship would have applied.[85] By the path set out in the model (figure 3, p. 46) John should have been out of the errant phase entirely at that point. However, instead it is here that we see him finally taking on, and excelling in, the duties more usually expected during the errant phase. John's willingness to act as a general for his brother, a clear and open indicator that he was the inferior male in the relationship, was perhaps a means by which he could demonstrate that his loyalties to Richard were sincere after the issues of his behaviour during Richard's imprisonment. That Richard was prepared to offer John military opportunities is perhaps surprising given his previous view of his brother's abilities. Hoveden records Richard's opinion on the matter, explaining that while captive

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[84] Brewer, J. S. (Ed.) Giraldi Cambrensis Opera 4 Vols. (London, 1862) p. 200; Translation from, Giraldus Cambrensis *Topography of Ireland* Forester, T. (trans), Wright, T (Ed.) (Cambridge, Ontario: 2001) p. 91
[85] Devizes p. 6

Richard was brought news that John was planning to take England by force (c.1192). Richard's response was damning of John's chances of success; '"*Johannes frater meus non est homo qui sibi vi terram subjiciat, si fuerit qui vim ejus vi saltem tenui repellat."'* ["My brother John is not the man to subjugate a country, if there is a person able to make the slightest resistance to his attempts."][86] Richard was not the only one with such an opinion of John at the time, in the same year Richard of Devizes describes the twenty six year old John as a '*levis animi adolescens*' [light-minded youth]. [87] Clearly demonstrating that even once past the age of twenty one, married and financially independent, a royal male who had not proved himself battle-worthy could be seen as not yet fully adult.[88] It is also worth noting that Richard is reported as using '*homo*' rather than '*vir*' in Hoveden's account, suggesting that John was not being viewed as behaving in a fashion suitable to his royal status.[89]

In 1196, around four years after Richard had belittled John's abilities, we see John having his first success as a military figure acting on Richard's behalf, the two year delay between Richard's return and this event is most likely explained by Richard's need to ensure that John could be trusted enough to be forgiven for his actions during the king's absence and perhaps to be persuaded that John was capable enough to carry out his orders. The success itself was seemingly small, but it was considered to be worthy of note by Hoveden, suggesting that it had some military or political significance. We are told that at the same time as King Philip of France '*cepit per vim Nonancurt …Johannes comes Moretonii frater Ricardi, regis Angliæ, cepit castellum de Gameges'* [took Novancourt by assault … John, earl of Mortaigne, brother of Richard, king of England, took the castle of Jumièges].[90] This is presented in a somewhat throwaway manner by Hoveden, but the taking of Jumièges may have been a significant factor for John's military reputation. Newburgh explains: '*Sane hoc damnum minus contristavit regem Anglorum, quod castelli clarioris reception compensabat*' [This loss [of Novancourt] but little afflicted the king of England, who was compensated for it by the

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[86] RH, Vol. IV p. 198 [Trans. Vol. II p. 281]
[87] Devizes, pp. 59 – 60
[88] Bennett, 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88
[89] See section 1.2.1 pp. 11 – 12 for more on the uses of *vir* and *homo* in relation to class.
[90] RH, Vol. IV p. 5 [Trans. Vol. II p.388]

possession of a more renowned castle'.][91] That John had managed to present his brother with a more valuable or useful castle at a time when Richard had lost another of lesser significance would have increased John's reputation as a warrior at the same time as demonstrating that his loyalty to his brother was unwavering. Both of these elements would have been vital to John, who was in the process of attempting to show himself to be the natural heir to his brother, who had no legitimate children to succeed him. Without a reputation for military ability and a genuine capacity for loyalty John could not hope to gain enough support to take the throne if and when the time came.

It was this possibility, the chance to one day be king, that perhaps drove John to finally behave in the manner of a knight errant and prove himself to have the fundamental requirements of a true *vir*. That the castle was retaken by Philip after a short time does not appear to have reflected badly on John as it would have been Richard who made the decisions about its defence after it came into his possession.[92] The taking of the castle at Jumièges was just the beginning of John's achievements as Richard's general, and of his belated "errant" period.

Shortly after his success in Jumièges John moved on to Beauvais, also at Richard's instruction, and there he succeeded in taking not only the castle, but also the town. Hoveden gives this victory a far more detailed treatment than the last and explains:

> *… Johannes comes Moretonii, frater rigis, et Marchades princes nefandæ gentis Bribancenorum,… equitationem ante civitatem de Bealvaiz, et dum intenderent prædæ capiendæ, Philippus Episcopus Belvacensis, et Willelmus de Merlou, una cum filio suo, et militibus multis et plebe armata, exerunt et ipsi armati; sed mox confecti sunt in prælio et capti prædictus Belvacensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Merlou, et filius ejus, et milites ninnulli, et ex pleve maxima pars interfecta est. Et eodem die, post captionem illam, comes Johannes et Marchades processerunt usque Milli, castellum prædicti Belvacensis episcope, et per insultum ceperunt illud, et prostraverunt; et sic gloriosi triumphatores redierunt in Normanniam, et tradiderunt regi Angliæ Belvacensem episcopum, et Willelmum de Merlou et filium ejus, et alios captivos multos.*

> … John, earl of Mortaigne, the king's brother, and Marchades, the leader of the infamous tribe of the Brabanters, … made an excursion before the city of Beauvais; and while they were intent on the capture of booty, Philip, bishop of

[91] WN, Vol. II. Book V, Ch. 25
[92] Ibid.

Beauvais, and William de Merle, together with his son and many knights and armed people, came forth from the city, being themselves in arms; but they were very quickly worsted in the combat, and the said bishop of Beauvais, and William de Merle and his son, and several knights were taken prisoners, and of the common people the greater part was slain. On the same day, after this capture, the earl John and Marchades proceeded to Milli, the castle of the said bishop of Beauvais, and took it by assault, and levelled it with the ground: and then, gloriously triumphing, they returned to Normandy, and delivered to the king of England the bishop of Beauvais, and Walter de Merle and his son, and many others who had been taken prisoners.[93]

The first thing to note about Hoveden's account of this battle is that it appears to have been important enough to warrant a much more detailed record than John's deeds at Jumièges. While it could simply be that Hoveden was unaware of the fine points of the Jumièges campaign but was better informed about Beuavais, it probably suggests that it was considered by Hoveden to be a far more significant event. Perhaps, it could be that because the castle at Jumièges fell back into French hands shortly after it was taken, whereas Beauvais was removed from the map entirely, that it was deemed to be a greater success and therefore worthy of a more detailed report. Alternatively, it could be the taking of prisoners at Beauvais that was the most significant factor; we are not informed as to whether prisoners were taken at Jumièges, but we are equally not told that they were not. However, given that Hoveden usually takes pains to record such things it seems to be unlikely that anyone, or at the very least anyone of any great significance, was in fact taken captive at Jumièges.

Perhaps the more interesting point raised by Hoveden's account of Beauvais is that John was clearly not leading alone this time. His collaboration with a mercenary leader, named only as Marchades, is made very clear in the extract above, but it is equally clear that this was a joint leadership and not one man above the other. Hoveden gives no hint of any kind of power struggle between the two men, something that would surely have been comment worthy had it existed. This joint leadership arrangement is of interest as it raises the question of why Richard did not choose to send either John or Marchades alone to do the job. It is possible that it was a straightforward case of being too big a job for one man to accomplish, but this is perhaps a little simplistic. If the job was so large as to require the help of the

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[93] RH, Vol. IV p. 16 [Trans. Vol. II p. 396]

Brabanters then it is more likely that to gain their aid in the mission they would require their own leader to ensure the smooth amalgamation of John's forces with the mercenaries. If this was indeed the case then there were effectively two armies acting in tandem and as such two leaders would seem to be the most sensible option. There is also a good chance that the Brabanters would not follow a leader that they had not worked under before and had no good reason to trust. If Richard had been leading the troops himself the situation may have been different, but this is pure speculation as there is no way of knowing this from the extract above.

An alternative explanation for Marchades' presence is that Richard did not trust John's abilities to accomplish such a large and seemingly important task, or even perhaps trust John himself to remain loyal, and so sent Marchades to oversee John's actions. But if Marchades was there to supervise John, and had John realised this, then it would be likely that some sort of power struggle between them would have developed. Therefore, as we have seen that such a struggle did not appear to occur it seems unlikely that mistrust of John was the motivating factor in Richard's decision to have a dual leadership on this mission.

The success at Beauvais would have reflected well on John and his military reputation, with or without help from Marchades. Hoveden's reference to the two leaders returning to Richard '*gloriosi triumphatores*' is a good indicator that this was a mission that not only went well, but was in fact far more successful than had been expected at its outset.[94] The apparently convivial joint leadership arrangement also reflects well on John's levels of maturity at this stage, he appears to have set aside any egotistical ideals of status and worked alongside a man who was a strong and capable leader, but of lesser standing, in order to accomplish their shared goal. He also appears to be content to share the victory as they return together to Richard to hand over the spoils of their success. Neither of which acts are usually associated with youth. His standing as a military leader was improved by this success and Richard was to make use of John in a similar capacity at least once more (that we know of),

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[94] Ibid.

although it is possible that there were other less successful missions that went unrecorded between Beauvais and John's next documented assignment. However, it is doubtful that any such missions would have taken place in France as a temporary truce was held between Richard and Philip over much of 1197.

Whether there were other unrecorded missions or not we know that John's series of successes as a military leader continued in 1198. Again it is Hoveden who provides an account of his actions and the level of achievement that is remarked upon appears to be closer to Beauvais than Jumièges. It seems that John was operating alone on this occasion, perhaps explaining why less space is given to the account; if it required just one leader, and one army, it may simply have been an easier job. However, even without additional help John appears to have managed a similar victory to that of Beauvais without needing the aid of Richard's mercenary leader. The entirety of Hoveden's account is as follows:

> *Comes … Johannes, frater Ricardi Regis, combussit Novum Bergum; quod rex Franciæ sperans a suis fieri, milites misit ad prohibendum suis ne procederent; ex quibus capti sunt xviii.milites et servientes multi.*

> Earl John... brother of King Richard, burned Neuburg, which the king of France thinking to have been done by his own people, sent some knights to forbid them to proceed in their ravages; and of these eighteen knights were taken, together with many men-at-arms.[95]

As we see, just as was the case at Beauvais, John appears to have succeeded in putting a castle out of commission and capturing a substantial number of men from Philip's forces. While there is no mention of Richard's reaction to this victory it is clearly presented as a positive achievement, not least perhaps because it fooled the king of France.

Neuburg appears to have been John's last action as a general for his brother; it is certainly his last recorded success in the role and around a year later, in 1199, Richard had died and John had become King. It is therefore arguable that it was at this point that John had finally managed to complete the proof of military ability process usually associated with the errant period of the life-cycle of the high status male. That John was at a stage in life where he

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[95] RH, Vol. IV p. 60 [Trans. Vol. II p. 431]

would have been expected to have long since passed through that stage is interesting as it suggests a form of arrested development by John. He was after all around thirty years of age, married and held large areas of land that provided him with a substantial income that was independent of Richard when he began to finally prove himself. It could be failures in his youth, most notably in Ireland, that led John to return to the proof stage. That he felt he had not managed to earn the status and respect he would need in order to be seen as competent to take the throne upon Richard's death. Although it is also possible that his primary motivation was to show loyalty to the brother he had once tried to usurp and that the proof of his military ability was merely a bonus to him. Perhaps it was in fact a combination of both of these reasons lay behind John's actions.

Either way it seems that John did indeed show himself to be a worthy successor to his brother, although there was an alternative in Geoffrey of Brittany's son Arthur (see section 1.3.4, pp. 32 – 33 for the circumstances of Arthur's birth). In weighing Arthur and John against each other, John had the upper hand in many eyes, he was the less problematic candidate as Arthur was both a minor (he was approximately twelve years old upon Richard's death) and his loyalty to the Breton barons made him a less secure choice despite being the next in line following strict primogeniture. For John, showing himself to be a capable military leader may well have been the final area that needed to fall into place to win over any support that was wavering. In this, although late, John finally succeeded and he was, in the end, the obvious candidate. He had finally managed to prove himself to be an adult. Without such proof he may have been judged to be too weak or too unmanly to take the throne and it was not at all out of the question that Arthur could have taken the crown under a loyal regent.

For each of the men who proved themselves in battle we see that the pattern for the end of the errant phase holds true, it came at the point where a young man became financially independent from superior male family members, and usually after the age of twenty-one years. If financial independence came before the age of twenty one it was usual to see a period of consolidation, but the reputation and status of the male in question was far less at

risk during such a consolidation phase than it was for a man under the age of twenty one who was not yet fully in control of his own income. For example, Henry II having been given full control of the duchy of Normandy at the age of seventeen meant that his status as a capable leader, and as a man, was far less under threat prior to his twenty first birthday than John's were with his claim to the lordship of Ireland at the age of nineteen, which was still very much under the control of his father.

This particular group of males clearly demonstrate the flexible nature of the end point of the errant phase of the life cycle, with each of them achieving the exit of errantry and entry to adulthood at a different age. This demonstrates the flexibility of the model (figure 3, p. 46). The passage through the errant phase to manhood wasn't static but depended on individual abilities, opportunities and circumstances. So some men got to exit this stage earlier than others. For Henry II reaching financial independence at seventeen with the acquisition of Normandy was followed with a period of consolidation until the age of twenty one. At that point he also gained the throne of England and thereby was arguably fully adult and fully clear of the errant period. Of all of the men under consideration he was not only the youngest when he had completed the stages as set out in the model and achieved adulthood, but he was the only one to follow both the path and the minimum timescale indicated by the model.

Richard surpassed the expectations of an errant knight militarily and had nominal control of his duchy from a young age under the watchful eye of his mother. That watchful eye meant that it was only upon Henry's death that Richard truly gained full control of his lands and therefore gained the financial liberty required to exit errantry. Although it seems extraordinary that such a gifted warrior was somehow less than a *vir* until the age of thirty two, under the requirements set out in the model, however correctly he behaved in accordance with the expected manner of an adult, Richard could not be considered fully adult until he became king, and even then he still needed to marry to fully exit the errant phase.

It was John who provides the most unusual passage through errantry via warfare; he appears to have ignored any need to prove himself until there was an opportunity for personal gain. His financial independence was, like Geoffrey, achieved via marriage to an heiress. John married at the age of twenty-three, but he had not yet proved himself as having any military skill. Early attempts at the usual age had failed, so perhaps it is not surprising that it was not until he found himself in a position to become Richard's heir that he appears to have decided to seriously attempt to show himself to have any kind of military ability and therefore we see him beginning to prove himself at the extremely late age of thirty. He did however manage to achieve a level of proof that was acceptable for him to be preferred as king within a short time, just two years, so perhaps for John the late start was less damaging than it might have been.

4: Knighthood: the Knight-Errant in Peace

Given the nature of the warrior ethos for the upper classes of the twelfth century, the burden of military proof shown in the model (figure 3, p. 46) was imperative; it was not an optional element of the maturation process.[1] Therefore, an alternative route for young males attempting to prove themselves militarily when there was no active war in which to participate was required. Most commonly the mechanism used under these circumstances was the tournament circuit. Karras identifies the tournament as a place at which young knights could perform in the arena of social proof before women.[2] However, with violence as a category of masculinity the military side was equally important.[3] Much has been written about tournaments being an arena in which to practice the knightly arts. However this chapter argues that as well as providing a general the practice of war-skills, the tournament field could also be a convenient proving ground for those knights errant who found themselves without an opportunity to engage in genuine battles.

4.1: Proof in Tournament

That tournaments were viewed by twelfth-century secular society as a valid alternative to war for the practice of knightly skills is well documented in the primary sources; in fact the *History* is very explicit on the point, stating that:

Ilores n'esteit point de guerre;	At that time there was no war,
Cil le mena par meinte terre,	so the Marshal took him [the Young King] through many a region,
Qui bien le saveit aveier	as a man who knew well how to steer him
La ou l'en deveit tornïer.	in the direction of places where tournaments were to be held.[4]

Here, the *History* appears to accept without question that the tournament field was a viable alternative for war, the simple statement that the Young King was taken on the tournament circuit purely because 'there was no war' for him to participate in suggests that it was a close

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[1] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225' in Hadley (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* pp. 71 – 88
[2] Karras, R. M. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003) pp. 41 – 49
[3] Fenton, K. A. *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008) pp. 26 – 55
[4] *HWM,* Lines 1959 – 1962, pp. 100 – 101

second to that ideal proving ground. It is also worth noting that although it does not directly state as such, it is strongly implied that tournaments were therefore also a good training ground for battle skills.

The *History* is not alone in this assertion, in fact the most common view is that the tournaments *must* be classed as sport, war games as a "hobby" for the aristocracy that became an obsession of the European upper classes.[5] Tournaments have been described in such terms by several medieval commentators. Matthew Paris called the tournament '*ludi equestres*' [sport of horsemen].[6] William of Newburgh labels them '*meditationes militares*' [practice for knights].[7] However, perhaps the most informative description is from Roger of Hoveden who explains that tournaments were '*Militaria exercita, quæ nullo interveniente odio, sed pro solo exercito, atque ostentatione virum*' [military exercises carried out, not in the spirit of hostility, but solely for practice and the display of prowess.][8] Here we see tournaments being described as both useful practice for knighthood and battle, but it also comments on another aspect; display. It seems that young men could use the tournament as an opportunity to materially show his place in the world in front of like-minded males.[9] As we shall see this was an area that could be problematic to knights without an independent income but a high status to reflect and maintain. For Hoveden the display element was equally as significant for the young man aiming to prove himself worthy of the title of knight as the practice element.

Keen patrons of tournaments, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry the Young King, Geoffrey of Brittany and Richard I are all noted as being equally keen sponsors of chivalrous court literature.[10] In addition those in the court circles of the Plantagenets also frequently patronised scholars, which played an important part in setting a new literary fashion in the middle of the

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[5] Bartlett, R. *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000)pp. 241 – 244; Barber, R. *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970) p. 162

[6] Attributed to Matthew Paris by Du Cange, C. in his work *Glossarium mediæ at infimæ latinitatis* 7 Vols. (Paris 1840 – 1850) Vol. VI p. 612

[7] WN, Book V, Ch. 4

[8] Attributed to Hoveden by Du Cange, C. *Glossarium* Vol. VI p. 612

[9] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225' in Hadley, D.M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999) pp. 71-88; Karras, R. M. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003)

[10] Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* pp. 162 – 166

twelfth century.[11] The old poems can be seen to have introduced the reader to a tough and distinctly masculine world; however, the new fashion for chivalric romances had courtesy playing a larger part than previously and that this was not received well by all.[12]

It can be argued that contemporary conservative critics of the romances opposed the new literary ethic and saw the knightly heroism and manliness as depicted in the early epic poems as being undermined by the new civility.[13] A particular kind of romance can be identified which emphasised the youthful element of knights errant, the enjoyment of freedom before the burden of responsibility became unavoidable, an outlet for youthful exuberance.[14] This kind of knighthood has been linked with the practical performances of Henry the Young King, Richard I and William Marshal and by the end of the twelfth century, partly through the examples of the men listed, the ideals of the knightly class were beginning to be followed for their own sake.[15] The romances may well have played an important role in this because as well as reflecting social norms literature could play a vital part in the spreading of new chivalrous customs and rituals.[16]

However, this was not always the case; during Henry II's reign tournaments became a more respectable aristocratic pursuit. Prior to his sovereignty tournaments were not routinely patronised by the higher aristocracy as they had the reputation for being undisciplined riots.[17] It has been argued that it was only towards the end of the twelfth century that tourneys became fashionable.[18] One possible explanation for this seeming delay in aristocratic participation of tournaments, at least in England, is that it was the strong central government in England at the time that made it possible for Henry II to ban them on grounds of the risk of

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Turner, R. V. 'Changing Perceptions of the New Administrative Class in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England: The Curiales and Their Conservative Critics' *The Journal of British Studies* 29/2 (1990) pp. 109 – 110
[13] Ibid.
[14] Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* pp. 115 and 140
[15] Ibid.
[16] Keen, M. *Chivalry* (London, 1984) p. 79
[17] Crouch, D. *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France: 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005) p. 192
[18] Ibid.

injury or death to his knightly class.[19] It is also worth noting that England was in fact unique in its attempts to regulate tournaments in such a way.[20] The ban however was not permanent. When Richard became king he saw an ideal opportunity to raise money for his crusading exploits and licensed tournaments in England from 1194. He did, however, presumably having the same concerns as his father, impose restrictions on the nature of the contests; it is at this point that the free-for-all melee began to give way to more controlled challenges.[21] There can be no denying that the tournament's popularity continued to grow throughout the Middle Ages.

In the twelfth century the tournament was not as we would perhaps imagine it today. "Tournaments" and "jousts" were not the same thing and the words were not interchangeable in the medieval mind.[22] The tournaments that Henry II and his sons would be familiar with, or in some cases would take part in, were far closer to genuine battles than they were to the carefully organised "one-on-one" charges at the tilt that were to rise in popularity in the later Middle Ages. Such a mock battle would generally be termed the "grand mêlée", an element that remained as the finale of the tournament once the more formal jousting-style contests became the norm. These mock battles and their participants were the ones described by Hoveden as taking place *nullo interveniente odio* [not in the spirit of hostility].[23]

Participants in tournaments would have to travel widely in order to follow a circuit; a mêlée could not be held just anywhere, but rather it had to take place in a recognised "field" set aside for the purpose of competition.[24] This may in part have been due to the sheer scale of such events. A grand mêlée required a similar amount of space as a good sized golf course uses today.[25] These sites also had to be reasonably close to a town in order to house the participants, who may start arriving for an event days in advance.[26] In England, once Richard had reinstated tournaments the areas designated as tournament fields were: Salisbury-Wilton,

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[19] Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* p. 178
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. p. 157
[22] Crouch, D. *Tournament* (London, 2005) p. 1
[23] Attributed to Hoveden by Du Cange, C. *Glossarium* Vol. VI p. 612
[24] Crouch, *Tournament* p. 49
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

Warwick-Kenilworth, Brackley-Mixborough, Stamford-Wansford and Blyth-Tickhill.[27] Each of these sites had a fair-sized town at either side of the mêlée field, which allowed the two opposing sides to be housed separately at their own starting end of the field.

Before the game could begin there was frequently a need to divide the participants into sides or "companies" in order to bring an element of parity in numbers between the opposing groups. Care was taken to ensure that no knight was in opposition to his lord.[28] There were often preliminary fights the night before the mêlée proper and these may have been more hostile than the mêlée itself as young men took the chance to settle scores before the spirit of non-hostility began. Such fights were often referred to as *Vespers* because of the time of day that they took place.[29] This choice of terminology may well have played a small part in the many reasons that the church looked so unfavourably on tournaments.

That the church disapproved of tournaments is perhaps an understatement. Newburgh records the thirtieth canon of the Lateran Council of 1179 which states that:

> *Felicis memoriæ papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædecessorum nostrum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nundinas quas vulgo torneamenta vocat, in quibus milites ex condicto venire solent as ostentationem virium suarum et audacia temeraria congrediuntur, unde mortes hominum et animarum pericula sæpe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. Quod si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei poscenti pœnitentia non negetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura.*

> Treading in the steps of our predecessors, popes Innocent and Eugenius, of blessed memory, we forbid those abominable sports or meetings commonly called tournaments, wherein knights, at appointed seasons, proudly exhibit their strength, and engage in rash conflict, whence frequently ensue the deaths of men and the peril of their souls. If anyone shall die upon the spot, although penance shall not be denied him if he ask it, still he shall be refused ecclesiastical sepulchre [Christian burial].[30]

That the Church saw tournaments as 'abominable' is testament to their deep dislike of the violent nature of knighthood, yet the threat of being refused a good Christian burial seems to have had little effect. Why then did Richard decide to go against the church in this manner when tournaments had been so successfully removed from English soil? Newburgh provides

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[27] Ibid. p. 53
[28] Ibid. pp. 72 – 79
[29] Ibid. pp. 67 – 70
[30] WN Book. III Ch. 3

some possible answers. The reasoning, Newburgh says, was linked to the upcoming crusade and the newly taken oath of peace between Richard and Philip Augustus. It seems that Richard was concerned about the quality of his troops:

> *Considerans igitur illustris rex Ricardus Gallos in conflictibus tanto esse acriores quanto exercitatiores atque instructiores, sui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex bellorum solemni præludio verorum addiscerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis militibus tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris*

> The illustrious king Richard, therefore, considering that the French were more expert in battle from being more trained and instructed, chose that the knights of his own kingdom should be exercised within his own territory, so that from warlike games they might previously learn the real art and practice of war, and that the French should not insult the English knights as unskilful and uninstructed.[31]

However, there is a problem with this assertion; Newburgh had already stated that during the ban on tournaments '*...qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis.*' [...those [knights] who, perchance, sought glory in arms and wished to join these sports, crossed over the sea, and practised them at the very ends of the earth.][32] So it seems that it was more than simple requirements of troop readiness or a drive to avoid French insults, which drove Richard to ignore the Church's views and sanctions against tournaments and reinstate them prior to departing on crusade. Although Richard's assertion that they were required to train the troops specifically for the purpose of crusading may have somewhat mitigated the problems with the Church. Again it is the same passage from Newburgh that provides the answer:

> *Currentibus igitur inter reges induciis, meditationes militares, id est, armorum exercitia, quæ torneamenta vulgo dicunter, in Anglia celebrari cœperunt, rege id decernente, et a singulis, qui exerceri vellent, indictæ pecuniæ modulum exigente. Nec movit hæc regia exactio alacritatem juvenum in arma flagrantium quo minus flagrarent atque exercendi solemniter convenirent.*

> In the course of the truce between these kings [Richard and Philip], those military practices, that is to say exercises in arms which are commonly called tournaments, began to be celebrated in England; and the king, who established them, demanded a small sum of money to be paid by each person who wished to join in the sport. This royal exaction had no influence upon the willingness of the young knights, who were fired with the love of arms, nor did it check their ardour, nor prevent them from holding a solemn assembly for exercise.[33]

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[31] Ibid. Book V. Ch. 4
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

From this we can see that Richard may indeed have had crusading in mind when he reinstated the tournament in England. However, it was not the training of troops that was his primary concern but rather the raising of revenue for the crusade. That the 'young knights' were reportedly happy to pay the fee indicates that tournaments were perhaps profitable ventures for those that took part as well as good practice in arms. Of course, for such young knights there would also have been a chance to prove themselves worthy of their title and perhaps even prove themselves to be adult in their ability and behaviour.

For those taking part then what was the purpose of tournaments? The simplest answer is that to undertake a tournament was by definition to practise knighthood.[34] Looking deeper, however, it seems that tournaments served a purpose in addition to keeping knights exercised in times of peace; it also served the purpose of extending their lords' fame and glory.[35] In the case of internationally attended events it also extended the fame and glory of the lord's countries.[36] Often the justification for the tournaments offered by those who were keen participants was the idea that they provided knights with a realistic training ground for war.[37] It is certainly true that tournaments were hardly a safe means of practising for war, injuries were frequent and deaths were not uncommon. According to some sources, in 1186 one of Henry II's sons, Geoffrey of Brittany, was trampled after falling from his horse on the tournament field and subsequently died from his injuries.[38]

Apart from the elements of training and exercise the tournaments provided one other advantage to their participants, money, there was an element of profit to be had at tourneys.[39] Tournament profits would come from either ransoming knights captured from the opposing team, or by selling the horses and equipment that were won from the captured knights.[40] Tournaments were well attended both by local knights and professionals such as William

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[34] Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings* p. 244
[35] Keen, *Chivalry* p. 84
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid; Crouch, D. *William Marshal, Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147 – 1219* (London, 1990) p. 199
[38] It should be noted that other sources cite an illness as the cause of Geoffrey's death and make no mention of a tournament. This topic will be discussed in full on pp. 152– 153
[39] Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* p. 166
[40] Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings* p. 244

Marshal because such men, younger sons or unlanded nobility, the men most commonly known as knights errant, drew a great deal of their income from the captures and ransoms that were to be had there.[41] This, however, is somewhat simplistic as there were often other factors involved for the impoverished nobleman, knights errant, or newly knighted cadets. While the money made from ransoms was undoubtedly an important element there was, far more importantly, a chance that they may catch the eye of a rich patron by performing well on the tournament field and thus acquire a steadier income.[42]

4.1.1: Henry the Young King

As previously discussed, there is some confusion about both the dating of the dubbing of the Young King, and the person who performed the ceremony.[43] Whatever the truth of the matter, it is certain that by the end of 1173 the Young King was a knight. Having been placed under the Marshal's care and instruction after being crowned, we have seen that the Young King was an able student. Gerald of Wales agreed and likened the Young King to Hector, son of Priam, greatest warrior of Troy.[44] Hector was a much admired figure often used as an exemplar of chivalric ideals, known not only for his courage but also for his noble and courtly nature.[45] Gerald was not alone in this comparison. Gervase of Tilbury, in his lament for the Young King's death wrote: '*…Hector alter occubuit, Alter primus, non secundus…*' […Another Hector lies asleep, not second to the first…].[46] Both Gerald and Tilbury were writing after the Young King's early death, which goes a long way to explain the rather flowery comparisons to Hector. It is by what means such a reputation was built by the Young King that is of interest in relation to the his errant phase.

The Young King may have proved himself worthy of the title of knight during the rebellion, but his consolidation period was spent almost exclusively engaging in tournaments.

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[41] Crouch, *William Marshal* p. 11
[42] Keen, *Chivalry* p. 89
[43] See pages 90 – 92 for this discussion.
[44] *Ireland* Chapters 49 – 50
[45] Ibid.
[46] Gervase of Tilbury *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor* Banks, S. E. and Binns, J. W. (Eds. and Trans.) (Oxford, 2002) pp. 486 – 487

He can clearly be seen to have fully embraced the tournament as a means by which he could show himself worthy of both his title of knight and his title of king. From the ordering of events in the *History* it seems that the Young King was taking part in tournaments after his coronation but prior to the outbreak of the rebellion.[47] This may be problematic as he was also acting as the King's regent in England (albeit under the close control of Henry's ministers) during this period. We do know that the Young King made several visits to Normandy during this period of regency, the most notable of which is that from May 1172 to August 1172 (when he was crowned again, this time with his wife).[48] It is almost certain that he was indeed taking part in tournaments during these trips, as it was in part Henry's refusal to send more money for the Young King's lavish retinue at tournament that angered the Young King and sowed the seeds of rebellious thought in his mind. However, the claim from the *History* that '*le mena par meinte terre,'* [the Marshal took him through many a region,] and that they 'travelled far and wide' in the process seems unlikely given the timescales involved and is more than likely an exaggeration designed to enhance both the Young King and the Marshal's tournament reputations.[49]

The main period in which the Young King was engaged in tournaments came after the rebellion of 1173-4. While Richard and Geoffrey were cleaning up the mess they had made across Poitou and Brittany the Young King went to England with his father. The *History* says that:

Quant apaisiee fu la guerre,	War having turned to peace,
Si s'en revint en Engletere	the king returned to England
Li reis e sis filz e sa gent;	with his son and his company.[50]

But this is an overly simple explanation. Peterborough gives a much more complex view on the situation. Sometime in March 1175, the Young King was instructed by Henry to cross with him into England, but the Young King we are told '…*ad patrem suum venire nolui, sed mandavit ei, quod nollet transfretare in Angliam.'* […did not want to come to his father, but sent word to

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[47] *HWM* pp. 100 – 130
[48] BP, Vol. I pp. 31 and 34
[49] *HWM,* Line 1960, pp. 100 – 101
[50] *HWM,* Lines 2385 – 2387, pp. 122 – 123

him, that he refused to cross over into England.][51] In addition the Young King turned to his usual ally against his father, the king of France, who is reported as saying that sending the Young King into England against his will would be to '*carcereponeret*' [put him in prison].[52] Perhaps fearing another rebellion Henry appears to have taken a more gentle approach towards his eldest son on this occasion and '…*iterum et iterum nuncios suos misit ad filium suum, et tandem adeo animi sui motum blandis et lenibus emollivit, quod ille relicto hostililtatis errore, ad voluntatem patris sui rediit….*' […again and again he [Henry] sent messengers to his son, and at last his [the Young King's] heart was moved by the flattering and gentle words, so that leaving behind the mistaken enmity, he returned to his father willingly….].[53]

This differs significantly to Hoveden and the *History's* version of events, both of which simply refer to the Young King travelling to England with Henry with no mention of any rejection of the idea by the Young King.[54] It may be that those authors preferred to emphasise the cordiality between the two rather than document another rebellious moment on the part of the son so soon after peace was restored. Additionally, Peterborough is usually concerned more with giving a full an account as possible, whereas the Hoveden version is heavily edited.[55]

It is after all not a particularly flattering event; once again the Young King is reacting childishly to a direct request from his father. It seems likely that the Young King saw returning to England with Henry to be somewhat unmanly compared to the treatment of Richard and Geoffrey. His younger brothers had been given military leadership roles in the aftermath of the rebellion, albeit to clean up their own mess, whereas the Young King, the eldest, had instead been instructed to remain within the sight of his father as if he could not be trusted. It is

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[51] BP, Vol. I p. 82
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] RH, Vol. II p. 72; *HWM,* Lines 2385 – 2387, pp. 122 – 123
[55] See section 1.4.2 pp. 36 – 38 for more on the Peterborough and Hoveden versions of the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi*

understandable that this was not pleasing to him, but his reaction does little to display his trustworthiness as he once again turned to his father in law, the king of France and his father's most problematic neighbour for aid and support rather than directly addressing the issue with Henry. Nor does it demonstrate that he was particularly adult in his thinking, he should perhaps have realised sooner that shadowing Henry in England would actually have been a useful opportunity for him. He could perhaps have used the time to learn some of the elements of kingship that would undoubtedly be useful to him in his adult role.[56]

Records show that once in England the Young King travelled widely with Henry: In 1175 they attended a Council at Westminster (18 May); held court at Reading (1 June); dealt with Episcopal elections in Oxford (24 June); another Council at Woodstock (1-8 July); held court at York, where they both received homage from the king of Scotland, his brother and the bishops, abbots and nobles of Scotland (10 August); they then travelled south together, probably via Stamford and Northampton, arriving at Windsor by 25 September. They then spent much of the rest of the year travelling around the areas of Windsor and Winchester before keeping Christmas together at Winsor. In 1176 they held a Great Council at Northampton (26 January); another period of widespread travels including Southampton, Feckenham, Nottingham, Geddington, Marlborough, Titgrave, Ludgershall and Clarendon followed throughout February and early March; a Great Council was held in London at which the Young King appointed Geoffrey, Provost of Beverly, to the position of his personal chancellor, separate of that of his father (14 March). After this last Council the Young King and his wife, Margaret, the Young Queen, travelled without Henry to Porchester with the intention of returning across the channel as soon as the weather allowed.[57] It was not to be, the Young King was recalled to Winchester by Henry on 31 March where he celebrated Easter with his father and brothers (4 April). Finally he re-joined his wife at Porchester and sailed for

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[56] For more on the expected masculinity of youthful kings see: Fletcher, C. *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377 – 99* (Oxford, 2008)

[57] See figures 1 and 2 pp. 23 – 24 for the Young King's wife and her relationships to the royal houses of France and England.

Normandy on 19 April 1176, where, upon their arrival, they immediately went to the court of the king of France.[58]

In all of these places the Young King was witness to, if not directly involved with the government of England, something that would have been a useful experience for the future king. However he does not appear to have enjoyed the process a great deal; less than a year after arriving in England the Young King had sought, and received, leave from his father to return to Normandy with the Young Queen. According to Peterborough that trip was intended to enable the Young King and Queen to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James (*Santa Jacobum*) at Compostela.[59]

Because of the unique focus of the work, the *History* gives a rather different picture of both the Young King's stay in England and his reasons for leaving. However, as it provides a more romanticised version of events it does present an image of the ideal of knighthood in relation to the Young King rather than a pragmatic one. Therefore it is entirely possible that the intentions of the Young King were in fact more akin to the *History's* version than that of the chronicles. Having been written by churchmen, they would unsurprisingly have held the Young King's spiritual reputation as the more significant and worthy of comment.

The *History's* representation of the Young King's stay in England is one of a young man who is fulfilling his role as knight rather than that of king, although it is not always easy to separate the two. For example we are told that having arrived in England, the Young King and his company:

> *Sejor troverent bel e gent*   … found a fine and beautiful place to stay
> *E deduiz de mainte maniere,*   and enjoyed a variety of sports,
> *Come de bois e de riviere.*   such as hunting in the woods
>   and hawking along the rivers.[60]

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[58] A full account of The Young King's movements and political activities with his father in England during this period are documented in *Itinerary* pp. 190 – 202
[59] BP, Vol. I p. 114
[60] *HWM,* Lines 2388 – 2390, pp. 122 – 123

This is somewhat different to the chronicles, all of which focus on the councils and courts that were held and their outcomes and give no space whatsoever to any leisure pursuits of either the Young King or his father. We know that Henry II was a keen huntsman and therefore there is no reason to assume that the Young King and his entourage did not hunt with the king regularly, yet the chronicles make no mention of it. Gerald of Wales however notes that the Young King was rather more interested in martial sports than any other occupation.[61]

Therefore the *History's* next assertion may be entirely accurate:

Mais al giemble rei pas ne plout	But such a stay was not to the liking of
Tel sejor, anceis li deplout,	the young King, indeed he disliked it.
A ses compaignons ensement	His companions were also
Ennuia molt tresdurement,	extremely annoyed by it,
Car a esrer plus lor pleüst	for they would have found greater pleasure in errantry
Qu's sejorner, s'estrepleüst;	than in staying put, if that would have been possible.[62]

In this case it is fair to assume that by "errantry" the *History* is referring to participating in the tournament circuit for financial gain as it goes on to stress that the Young King specifically uses tournaments as an argument for being allowed to leave England, an interesting choice as tournaments were banned in England for the duration of Henry's reign.[63] The *History* also uses the Young King's persuasion of his father to emphasise his ability with words, usually a trait considered to be feminine and therefore undesirable in men, but in this case it seems to be intended more to show a diplomatic ability. We are told that the Young King:

Par le conseil e par le los	acted upon the advice and council
Ses compaignons al pere vint,	of his companions and approached his father,
Qui en molt grant chierté le tint,	a man who loved him very dearly.
Si dist: "S'il ne vos despleüst,	He said: "If it would not incur your displeasure,
Molt me fust bel e me pleüst	it would be most welcome and pleasing to me
A aler outré dedure,	to go over the channel for my sport,
Quer molt me puet grever e nuire	for it could be a source of much harm to me
E molt m'ennuie durement	to stay idle for so long,
A sejorner si durement.	and I am extremely vexed by it.
Ne sui oisels a metre en mue;	I am no bird to be mewed up;
Giembles hom qui ne se remue	a young man who does not travel around
Ne porreit a nul bien monter;	could never aspire to any worthwhile thing,
A naient le deit l'om conter."	he should be regarded as of no account."[64]

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[61] *Ireland* p. 90
[62] *HWM,* Lines 2395 – 2400, pp. 122 – 123
[63] Crouch, *Tournament* p. 9
[64] Ibid. Lines 2406 – 2418, pp. 122 – 123

Tournaments were indeed what the Young King and his entourage did upon their release from England and the reach of Henry.[65] That the *History* uses the word "*dedure*" [sport] to describe them rather than a more military term is noteworthy as it suggests a more recreational and therefore perhaps more decadent reason for participation. Also of interest is the use of travel as an argument, the suggestion that a young man who did not travel for his sport was incapable of achieving worth later in life seems to be a strange one for a young man with the title of "king" who had already led troops into battle. It could be that non-participation in the tournament circuit could be seen as a weakness in a youth who had no land to manage. On the whole though the Young King's reasons for wanting to persuade his father to allow him to participate in tournaments were unlikely to be those that are documented in the *History* but rather that he simply wanted to be away from England and the perhaps oppressive company of his father and to indulge in the display and enjoyment of the errant lifestyle.

It has been suggested that what the Young King found in tournaments was an '…exciting and lavish way to establish a reputation in his world….'[66] Emphasis here should most certainly be on the word "lavish" as the Young King is recorded as spending a great deal of money on his tour of the tournament circuit once he had been released from England. His charters suggest that he maintained a permanent entourage of twelve, predominantly Norman, knights during the period prior to the rebellion, a seemingly modest number of followers.[67] But this was augmented by a large number of seasonal knights that were equipped and given substantial cash fees for their services at the Young King's expense, and he was often forced to request more money from Henry in order to meet the costs. After the rebellion Henry raised the Young King's income to '*quindecim millialibrum Andegavensium*' [15,000 *livres angevin*].[68] When you take into account that the Young Queen was awarded 2,700 *livres angevin* per annum as a pension after the Young King's death in 1183 it is clear that this was a vast

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[65] Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 21 – 27
[66] Ibid. p.22
[67] For a full review of the Young King's acts (genuine and suspect) see Smith, R. J. "Henry II's Heir: the Acta and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170-83." *The English Historical Review* Vol. 116 issue. 466 (2001) pp. 297 – 326. For details of his long-term household after 1174 see: Ibid. pp. 300 – 301
[68] RH, Vol. II p. 68

amount of money to receive and should have been ample to maintain the lifestyle of an errant knight, if not that which the Young King expected for a king.[69]

Although under normal circumstances the Young King may have been expected to be able to maintain his entourage with such a generous income, his time on the tournament field was not particularly successful, his team consistently lost throughout 1175 and 1176 and he was to find that losing was an expensive business. Ransoms for men, horses and equipment had to be paid at every tournament that was unsuccessful, that was the point of the tournament.[70] It would have been via such ransoms flowing in the opposite direction that the Young King would have hoped to make his name and his fortune, as the Marshal had prior to joining the royal household. However, at first it seems that was not to be, the *History* explains,

En cel contemple avint issi	At this time, it so happened
Que bien esra an e demi	that the young King and his retinue,
Li giembles reis e sa maisniee,	which was eager to perform high exploits,
Qui de bien fait ert molt haitiee;	journeyed for at least a year and a half.
Mais si faitement le avint	But things so turned out for the King
Que unques en place ne vint	that he never came to a single tournament site
Qu'il ne fust laidiz e folez	without being humiliated and ill-used,
E sa gent pris e defolez	his men being captured and ill-treated
E par force mis a la voie.	and sent on their way by force.[71]

Considering that the Young King had a strong reputation as a successful tournament leader by the end of his life, it is surprising that his career appears to have had such an ignominious beginning.[72] Even more remarkable is that his rocky start to what was to become his longest period of tournament participation does not appear to have damaged his reputation in any significant manner, although the reasons for that are not clear even to the author of the *History*:

Esi li avint; tote voie	That is what happened to him, and yet
Si aveit it gent a eslite	he had the pick of fighting men
Qui en bien faire se delite,	who delighted in performing high exploits,
Tant que li mondes s'en merveille	so that people were surprised
E le tienent a grant merveille.	and thought it very strange indeed.[73]

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[69] Ibid. p. 281; BP, Vol. I p. 306
[70] Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 21 – 27
[71] *HWM,* Lines 2563 – 2571, pp. 130 – 131
[72] Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 21 – 27
[73] *HWM,* Lines 2572 – 2576, pp. 130 – 131

The best possible explanation for the Young King's popularity in the face of failure is twofold; first there is the issue of a form of cult of personality and second there is the sheer amount of money he was willing to spend on his tournament group.

We know that he was a popular figure in his father's holdings during his lifetime; descriptions of him written shortly after his death are couched in terms such as: '*decoret*', '*decus*', '*Gloria*', and '*militiae splendor*' [charming, honour, fame, brilliant at war].[74] Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the extraordinary popularity of the Young King as a public figure is what occurred upon and immediately after his death. His body was moved from the place he died in Martel to Rouen for his burial at the cathedral there in accordance with his wishes; however the journey did not go smoothly. When his funeral train halted in Le Mans overnight his body was placed in the church of St Julian and his servants;

> *…et in ecclesia Beati Juliani confessoris atque pontificis, circa illud cum hymnis et psalmis pernoctassent, et mane voluissent inde cum cadavere illo recedere, episcopus civitatis et clerus una cum plebe non permiserunt illos asportare ilud; sed sepelierunt illud honorifice in ecclesia Beati Juliani.*

> … passed the night in the church of Saint Julian the Confessor and Pontiff, singing hymns and psalms in its vicinity, and wished in the morning to depart thence with the body, the bishop of the city and the clergy, together with the common people, would not allow them to carry it away, but buried it in an honourable manner in the church of Saint Julian.[75]

After threats of force against Le Mans by the citizens of Rouen, and Henry II's firm insistence that his son's wishes be observed, the Young King's body was exhumed and continued on its way to his final resting place at Rouen. Added to this is the fact that there was a concerted effort to have the Young King recognised as a saint all of which indicates that his personality had won him much favour in his lifetime as well as in death.[76]

The Young King's generosity with money is well documented. We have seen that even prior to his entry into knighthood he was lavish with his gifts and payments to his followers. He

[74] *Ireland* pp. 157 – 164. (The passages of poetry these terms are included in in Gerald's description of the Young King are not translated by Forester and are therefore my translation)
[75] RH, Vol. II p. 280 [Trans. Vol. II pp. 27 – 28]
[76] Moore, O. H. *The Young King, Henry Plantagenet (1155-1183): in History, Literature and Tradition* (Columbus, Ohio, 1925) pp. 26 – 28

personally paid the ransoms for team members that were captured during the tournament and often supplied their equipment at his own expense.[77] Although "at his own expense" here may be a misleading term for the Young King had quickly used up his allowance and was once again forced to rely on older family members to step in and fill the financial gap. During this period it was not from his father that the Young King sought additional financial support but rather Henry's first cousin Philip of Flanders.[78] The Young King had travelled to Philip's court soon after arriving back in France and Philip appears to have been happy to fund much of his tournament expenses.[79] Such an arrangement, while allowing the Young King to live a lifestyle he may have felt to be appropriate to a crowned monarch (albeit a junior king) it cannot however have contributed much to his adult status.

After this unsteady start the Young King's tournament team began to have more consistent successes, according to the *History* this was due entirely to the Marshal's closer involvement, although given the nature of the source such a claim is only to be expected.[80] Whether solely because of the Marshal or not it is clear that the Young King had become the darling of the tournament circuit, a position that remained until his death. In November 1179 he rode with a retinue of over two hundred knights, and paid them all well for it. His daily costs for his retinue are estimated at around two hundred pounds and each knight was paid (or the amount was accrued) each day from the day he left his home to join the Young King's company. Such extravagance was unheard of, but the Young King certainly seems to have felt that it was justified in his attempt to become the most famous knight in Europe. Eleanor's favourite troubadour, Bertran de Borne, appears to feel that he achieved this as he glorified the Young King in poetry as being 'sovereign of the courtly knights', 'emperor of champions' and 'captain and patron of the young'.[81]

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[77] Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 21 – 27
[78] Henry II's father and Philip of Flanders' mother were siblings and the two therefore shared a Grandfather, Fulk V of Jerusalem.
[79] Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 21 – 27
[80] *HWM,* pp. 130 – 132
[81] Thomas, A. (Ed.) *Poésies completes de Bertran de Born* (Toulouse: 1888) p. 25

The Young King's prowess on the tournament field appears to have enhanced his military reputation, albeit after success became more regular. But his excessive displays of largesse, his immoderate spending, may have had the opposite effect to that which he was hoping for. Giving generously to one's military or tournament followers would normally be considered to be correct behaviour for an adult male and could even be seen as an important element of chivalry for those in such high positions.[82] Therefore on the face of things it seems that the Young King was performing admirably in that area, however this was tempered by the fact that the money that the he was so liberally distributing had not come from lands under his own control but from superior males in the family.

By spending so outrageously on his tournament troupe it could be argued that the Young King was attempting to buy his passage into full adulthood, that by displaying the outward trappings of financial independence he would be seen as an independent, and therefore fully adult, male. However, his indiscriminate spending had the opposite effect; the lack of control in the matter of largesse was in fact counterproductive. Additionally, by relying on others to pay his way he was in fact very much in the position of a dependant and lesser male and therefore not fulfilling the full *vir* role. Whether the Young King was aware of this is a matter for debate. It may be that he was aware that largesse was required but had no conception of the acceptable boundaries. Alternatively he could have been fully aware that his generosity with the money of others higher than him in the masculine hierarchy was not a true adult indicator, but saw no other path to fulfilling the largesse element required to keep his tournament troupe loyal to him.

Whether his followers viewed the Young King as fully adult or not is also of interest. It is certain that plenty of knights felt loyalty to him and many sought the opportunity to be a part of his troupe. However, it is likely that the cash and success rather than his adult status were the deciding factors. It is also possible that his followers were simply taking advantage of the Young King's generosity, or perhaps they hoped to benefit once he was an adult. It may

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[82] Bennett, 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88

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also have been difficult for the Young King to appear as the leader of the group when it was clear that the tactics used were provided by the Marshal rather than the Young King. While accepting good advice was an important element of leadership it appears that the Young King took more of a figurehead role in the tournaments and allowed the Marshal to be the true leader. Overall I would argue that the Young King's spending on tournaments did little to improve his adult status, but it may have contributed greatly to the cult of personality that grew up around him and led to the events after his death.

4.1.2: Geoffrey of Brittany

Having been knighted at the considerably late age of twenty in 1178, long after taking part in the first rebellion against his father, Geoffrey was known to have spent much of his early errant years subduing rebellions in the duchy of Brittany. The duchy that would come under his full control upon his marriage to Constance, to whom he had been betrothed since 1166.[83] This would suggest that he had ample opportunity to prove himself in battle, however, as we shall see, he was also noted as a keen participant in tournaments. Therefore, the focus while considering Geoffrey's errant period will be upon this element.

We know that Geoffrey was a keen participant in tournaments as we are told that:

… statim post susceptionem militaris officii transfertavit de Anlia in Normanniam, et in confinibus Franciæ er Normanniæ militaribus exercitiis operam præstans, gaudebat se bonis militibus æquiparari. Et co magis ac magis probitatis suæ gloriam quæsivit, quo fraters suos, Henricum videlicet regem, et Ricardum comitem Pictavis in armis militaribus plus florere cognovit. Et erat eis mens una, videlicet, plus cæteris posse in armis: scientes, quod ars bellandi, si non præluditur, cum fuerit necessaria non habetur. Nec potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen afferre, qui nunquam suggillatus est.

…immediately upon receiving the rank of a knight, [Geoffrey] passed over from England to Normandy, and on the confines of France and Normandy, giving his attention to military exercises, took pleasure in making himself a match for knights of reputation in arms; and the more ardently did he seek for fame to attend his prowess, from knowing that his brothers, king Henry, and Richard, earl of Poitou, had gained great renown in arms. However, they had but one common feeling and that was, to excel others in feats of arms; being well aware that the science of war, if not practised beforehand, cannot be gained when it

becomes necessary. Nor indeed can the athlete bring high spirit to the contest, who has never been trained to practise it.[84]

What is of particular interest here is the reasons given for Geoffrey's participation in the tournaments. Hoveden is quite specific in both motivation and expected outcome. That Geoffrey is hoping to emulate his older brothers in military ability is interesting, but perhaps not unusual for a younger brother. We are not told what drove this motivation. It may have been admiration or jealousy of the Young King and Richard. It could also have been a sense of being in competition with his brothers. All we are told is that the Young King and Richard's success made him desire his own more ardently, it may have been a combination of all three reasons. What is apparent is that he saw tournaments as a means by which he could show himself to be their equals at the very least. It may have been somewhat galling to Geoffrey that at the age of twenty he was only now getting the chance to prove himself properly as a knight when Richard, who was after all just one year older than him, had been a knight and been proving himself militarily for the last six years, and doing so most successfully. Hoveden also appears to be intentionally drawing attention to Geoffrey's situation as a "late-starter" in this passage by quite deliberately pointing out that his older brothers had already 'gained great renown in arms'. It is perhaps in this context that Geoffrey took the most 'pleasure in making himself a match for knights of reputation'. It is entirely possible that despite the late start Geoffrey was able to prove himself quite quickly, as he was after all not without experience of military action, his experience just happened to fall before he was formally invested with the title of knight.

In contrast to the Young King it appears that Geoffrey was more interested in tournaments as military practice than as means for gaining prowess and reputation.[85] Richard as we know was not a particularly active participant in tournaments having his hands full keeping the peace in Aquitaine and it appears that Geoffrey was more akin to Richard in this area. Brittany was an unstable place during this period and the Breton barons were resentful of Henry II as their overlord, meaning that much of Geoffrey's errant period was spent

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[84] RH, Vol. II p. 116 [Trans. Vol. I pp. 489 – 490]
[85] Bennett, 'Military Masculinity' pp. 71 – 88; Crouch, *Tournament* pp. 203 – 204

suppressing rebellions in the lands which would become his upon marriage. Given the circumstances it would have been entirely sensible for him to use tournaments to practice and hone his martial skills in such a manner. I would suggest that any gain in reputation was welcome, but perhaps rather than being used simply to improve his popularity it would be put to use to deter rebels from questioning his authority. After all, given the unsettled nature of the area, any potentially rebellious vassals may be more inclined to behave themselves in the face of a fearsome and well-practiced warrior than a paragon of chivalry.

After this first period of participation on the tournament circuit Geoffrey appears to have remained a periodic contestant rather than a permanent feature like his eldest brother. We know that (possibly while attending the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1179) he was present and took part in a tournament at Lagny-sur-Marne, which is mentioned in the *History of William Marshal*.[86] It is also implied that during this tournament Geoffrey had been a part of the Young King's team and may have been a little too keen to prove himself equal or greater than his eldest brother. In what appears to have been a deliberate move we are told that:

Li quens Geifreis o sa baniere	Count Geoffrey and his company
Poingneit si d'estrange maniere,	rode on with such incredible speed that,
Quant li reis vint, qu'esloingnié furent	when the [Young] King arrived, all those who should have been with
Tuit cil qui o lui estre durent,	him were in the far distance,[87]

We are later informed that Geoffrey appears to have been upset that few of his men were able to keep up with him at this tournament, suggesting that his practice the previous year had paid off. Following a rout that saw all of Geoffrey's men fleeing their opponents we are told that:

Molt pesa al conte Guiffrei	Count Geoffrey was greatly grieved by this
E molt en fu en grant effrei;	and very much dismayed.
Souventes feiz lor trestorneit,	Often he turned round to face his opponents,
Mais ove lui ne retorneit	but nobody in his company turned to do the same,
Nus; por ce n'i poeit remaindre.	so there was no possibility of his standing his ground.
Quant il poeit a els ateindre,	But when he was in a position to strike them,
Molt troveuent ses gieus porvers,	they found the games he played were wicked ones,
Souvent en i laissout d'envers.	and often he left them face up on the ground.[88]

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[86] *HWM,* pp. 246 – 247
[87] Ibid. Lines 4841 – 4844, pp. 246 – 247
[88] Ibid. Lines 4919 – 4926, pp. 250 – 251.

If this account is to be believed then it appears that not only was Geoffrey a keen participant to the point of wanting to take on overwhelming odds, but also that his tactics once engaged with his enemy were somewhat underhanded. Perhaps he was taking the practice element of tournaments a little too seriously and using methods that may be more appropriate for an enemy in battle rather than a sporting opponent. To describe his "games" as "wicked" suggests that his methods were perhaps considered too aggressive and unsporting in this instance. If so then his use of tournaments to improve his battle reputation appears to have been successful, if however he had been hoping to improve his chivalric reputation then he seems to have fallen short.

For the next few years Geoffrey's life is undocumented. There were no chroniclers in Brittany during the second half of the twelfth century and those outside Brittany do not account for Geoffrey's movements except in periphery to his father and brothers. We next hear of him in 1184 when he participates in an attack on Richard alongside John before all three were summoned to England by Henry and forced to accept a truce.[89] There is no further evidence of participation in tournaments for this period; however there were regular tournament meetings on the borders of Brittany throughout those years and it seems likely that in the event of having no pressing military action to see to that Geoffrey may well have participated in at least some of them in order to remain well practised in the military arts, although this is pure speculation.

We hear of Geoffrey in relation to tournaments one last time in the reports surrounding his death in 1186. These reports are subject to some debate. Hoveden explains that Geoffrey was knocked from his horse and trampled to death while participating in a tournament in or near the French capital: '*…in conflicta militari pedibus equinis contritus, Parisius obiit'* ['…died at Paris from bruises which he had received from the hoofs of horses at a tournament'].[90] However, once again Peterborough goes further and although he initially agrees that Geoffrey was trampled at tournament and died from it, in the very next sentence contradicts himself

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[89] RH, Vol. II. P. 288
[90] RH, Vol. II p. 309 [Trans. Vol. II p. 56]

and states that Geoffrey was taken ill with stomach pains immediately after announcing that he was to once again rebel against his father and lay waste to Normandy and that he later died from said illness.[91] It is small comfort that they do agree that however he died, it was in Paris.

It is most generally agreed that Geoffrey died during the tournament or from the injuries received there, although it has been argued that the tournament story was invented in order to remove Philip Augustus from his association with Geoffrey's planned rebellion.[92] At first glance such an invention seems reasonable as it was apparently based on the public knowledge that Geoffrey was a frequent participant in tournaments, making the story believable. However, I would argue that if it were an invention then for it to stand up to scrutiny there must at the least have been a tournament arranged at the time and place stated. Given that there is no argument about Geoffrey's presence in Paris it does not seem unlikely that he would have participated in it had he been free. As he was known to be visiting with Philip at the time and presumably having some leisure time available it is therefore probable that he was indeed participating in a tournament at the time of his death. This is made more likely when it is considered that medieval chroniclers frequently used the mechanism of being struck down with an illness as divine punishment for rebellious behaviour as a teaching tool. I believe it is therefore most likely that Geoffrey died as a result of injuries received on the tournament field and that the true question for debate is whether he died on the tournament field at the time the injuries were received or a short time afterwards.

Perhaps more significant to this study than the method of his death is Geoffrey's status at the time he died. Having finally married Constance in the middle of 1181 Geoffrey at long last received control over her inheritance. Although when Henry did devolve power over Brittany to Geoffrey he chose to withhold Richmond, the English holding that was also attached to the title of duke of Brittany, for another two years, his reasons for doing so are

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[91] BP, Vol. I p. 350
[92] A full account of the debate and the argument that the tournament story of Geoffrey's death was wholly fictional can be found in: Everard, J. A. *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire, 1158 – 1203* (Cambridge, 2000) pp.142 – 145

unrecorded.[93] Although he now had what appeared to be full autonomy over the duchy Geoffrey was not yet permanently out from under the influence of his father. Henry had put in place an administrative system that Geoffrey used in his own governance, perhaps because he did not wish to anger his father with wide ranging changes, but more likely simply because it was a system that worked. The continuing influence of his father is perhaps best demonstrated by the actions Henry took following the second rebellion in 1183, when, to punish Geoffrey for his part in the uprising, Henry deprived him of several fortresses within the borders of Brittany.[94] To be able to take such action, to remove military and strategic positions from within a man's own lands, strongly implies that Geoffrey was not quite as free from parental control that perhaps his position as duke indicated. However, it is clear that Geoffrey had achieved the major milestones to exit the errant phase of his life prior to his death.

Of all the brothers I believe that Geoffrey was the only one to achieve fully adult status during his father's lifetime. Being over the age of twenty-one he had successfully consolidated his proof of military ability. He did so in battle as an independent leader of men in his own lands of Brittany and as an agent of his father in Normandy. He had also proved himself on the tournament field gaining a reputation as a keen and able participant, although he did not develop the level of following that his eldest brother attained. Unlike Richard and John he was married (1181, aged twenty three) before Henry's death and unlike the Young King, whose wife brought little of monetary value into the marriage, he had gained a good measure of financial independence from his parents and other senior family members through his marriage to an heiress. He had also fathered a daughter and was expecting another child who was born after his death.[95] Therefore, under the model established in figure 3 for the passage through the errant phase, Geoffrey could be said to have reached the life stage of *vir,* he had achieved adult status.

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[93] Jones, M. 'Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1158–1186)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10533?docPos=6> [Accessed 22 July 2011]
[94] Ibid.
[95] See figure 1, p. 25

There were just two minor elements that had the potential to place Geoffrey's achievement of adult status in danger of failure. Henry's withholding of the estates of Richmond and his punishment of Geoffrey by removing some strategic fortresses following rebellion.[96] Neither of these were overly damaging, however, as they were both linked to Henry's position as the head of the patriarchal hierarchy. Henry was entitled to detain Richmond as the area was only attached to Brittany under the gift of the king of England. Additionally, as Geoffrey's overlord Henry had every right to punish poor behaviour by removing castles form him. While this may have been embarrassing for Geoffrey given his successful meeting of the major milestones it is doubtful that it had any long-term harmful effect on his becoming fully adult.

The significance of the errant phase part of the life cycle of high status males in the twelfth century should not be underestimated. Far from being simply a means to fill time before taking on adult responsibilities it is instead a necessary element to establishing oneself as capable of taking on such responsibilities when the time comes. The beginning of the errant phase is clearly defined as the point at which a young man becomes a knight, but the exit point is more difficult to establish as there is no one definitive path through the phase and each individual has to find opportunities to prove themselves worthy of both the title of knight and of being seen as a true adult. Such opportunities are not uniform in either their form or their arrival and therefore each youth's path through the phase will be an individual one, although there will usually be common elements that appear in most experiences.

An individual's proof of military ability was not finished once the errant period of life was over; consistent and repeated proof of ability throughout life was required in a society that was organised around a structure of military service. However, the proof of ability that was manifested during the errant phase was often a strong indicator of future ability and also provided a base from which an adult could build and maintain his martial reputation and

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[96] Jones, M. 'Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1158–1186)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10533?docPos=6> [Accessed 22 July 2011]

therefore his standing in society. Connected to this is the method that young men used to prove themselves. In a military society battle was considered to be the best way to gain experience and for the sons of kings battle leadership was the ideal as this best prepared them for their adult lives. However in the absence of war the tournament field could provide an acceptable alternative as these were organised around the battle formations and tactics used in real battle situations and could even offer similar levels of danger, as we see from the fate of Geoffrey of Brittany.

The Young King's military ability was in part proved to his peers in battle, but that proof was tainted; as his rebellions against his father failed, they did little to enhance his reputation. For him, the most significant arena for his proof of adult abilities was in tournament. In this area his reputation does not appear to have been in doubt, after all he was a more than competent participant and he certainly excelled in displaying the expected largesse element of an adult knight. Unfortunately he failed to reach a state of true financial independence from his father prior to his death at the age of twenty-eight. Therefore the conclusion has to be drawn that he did not in fact succeed in exiting the errant phase despite meeting most of the expected markers.

Perhaps the smoothest passage through errantry after Henry's was that of Geoffrey of Brittany, his proof both in battle and tournament was efficient and effective and his marriage at the age of twenty three provided the last two necessary elements for full adulthood; he became both a married man and a financially autonomous man at the same time. That he was just two years over the minimum age of majority was also in his favour and it appears that he was of all Henry's sons both the youngest when he gained the status of *vir* and the first of them to do so despite being the third-born son. Geoffrey's advantage is clear, his marriage to an heiress was the key to his early success as it provided few ways in which Henry could deliberately or otherwise delay his progress and although the wedding was delayed for a time, either by Henry or Geoffrey himself, and Henry did withhold some titles and land from his third son, they were of little consequence to Geoffrey's exit from errantry.

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The errant phase was perhaps the most significant factor on the path to manhood for those of the "knightly classes" as it indicated whether or not a male had the ability to operate successfully in a military society. This is why it was also the most flexible of life stages. As long as the markers were reached, the time scale, the order of meeting the markers and the method(s) of reaching them were irrelevant. For Henry II and his sons, whether they proved themselves via battle, tournament, or both, and whether they exited the phase early, on time, late, or not at all, appears to have been a result of a combination of circumstance and personality. In the experiences of just five men we see a large variety of methods and routes through the phase that all, with the exception of the Young King who had he lived would have surely exited the phase once he was king in more than name alone, did pass through successfully to reach the *vir* stage of the life cycle, the stage that Painter labelled adult military maturity.[97]

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[97] Painter, S. *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933) p.33

5: Brotherhood: Social and Political Proof

There was more to proving oneself capable of adult responsibilities than a correct display of military ability during the errant phase of the model (figure 3, p. 46); there was also a requirement for socio-political proof.[1] For example, social proof could be sought through correct displays of masculine chivalric behaviour towards women.[2] Political proof could be displayed through formal acts of diplomacy. One means by which to capture both the social and political aspects of this stage of proof is through the notion of brotherhood. To date there have been no historical studies that combine sibling relationships and gender as a theoretical framework.[3] As such this thesis offers entirely new work in this area.

Being a brother was and is an inherently male experience. Brothers and brotherhood have much to offer in helping us to understand the lived experiences of medieval masculinity. Brothers formed a patriarchal hierarchy that was in addition to, or replaced, that of father-son.[4] The public nature of display, even for family interactions, for royalty in the twelfth century meant that how brothers interacted was frequently commented upon in the chronicle sources. For this reason brotherhood can provide a valuable tool for understanding both how correct masculine behaviours were reported and how they functioned as lived experiences.

Additionally, the socio-familial language of "brother" and "brotherhood" could, and often was, used in political situations. In particular those political uses manifested as "sworn brotherhood" and "battle" or "blood brothers". Therefore "brothers", as a historical framework, provides a rare opportunity to examine both aspects of the socio-political proofs as highlighted by Karras within a single analytical category.[5]

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[1] Karras, R. M. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003) pp. 20 – 66
[2] Ibid.
[3] See section 1.2.4 pp. 20 - 21 for more on the current corpus of work on medieval siblings.
[4] For more on the social hierarchies of masculinity in the Middle Ages see: Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 57, 87 – 88 and 134
[5] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 20 – 66

This chapter looks first at the various ways in which the language of brothers and brotherhood are used in both the narrative and literary sources before moving on to discuss the political phenomenon of "sworn brotherhood". Finally it examines what was expected of brothers in a familial context and explores how Henry II and his sons behaved in relation to those expected behaviours.

5.1: Constructing the Framework for Analysis: Examining the Sources

In order to establish the various notions of brotherhood that were used in the twelfth century it is first essential to examine the sources for how they constructed an idealised concept of what it was to be a brother. Chronicle and literary sources are examined for the ways in which "brother" is used and "brotherhood" is invoked in the arenas of social, familial and political life.

Although this chapter is largely concerned with full blood siblings or sibling-like political bonds, it is useful to first look briefly at a holistic picture of brothers as represented in the sources. For example, how illegitimate medieval siblings were seen and treated was significantly different to the way they are looked upon in modern society.[6] In the Middle Ages it was uncommon for family members to differentiate between illegitimate half siblings and full siblings in their lived experiences, with all usually being called simply "sister" and "brother". The writers of chronicles, however, did take pains to differentiate between these divisions of siblings, even if this was not to be taken as a reflection of the individual's abilities or value. For instance, Henry I's son, Robert of Gloucester is referred to in the *Gesta Stephani* as '*filius Regis Henrici, sed nothus'* [son of King Henry, but a bastard], despite being described immediately afterwards as '*uir probati ingenii laudabilisque prudentiæ'* [a man of proved talent and admirable wisdom].[7] This may be a symptom of the *Gesta's* author's preference of being exact rather than a reflection of common or usual usage as he also takes pains to point out

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[6] For more on the concepts and treatment of illegitimate siblings in the earlier twelfth century see: Thompson, K. 'Affairs of State: the illegitimate children of Henry I', *Journal of Medieval History,* 29/2 (2003), pp. 129 – 151. For the Church's view on the matter see: Wertheimer, L. 'Illegitimate birth and the English clergy, 1198-1348', *Journal of Medieval History,* 31/2 (2005), pp. 211 – 229

[7] *GS,* pp. 12 – 13

that King Stephen's brother (Henry, Bishop of Winchester) was his '*ex ambobus genitribus frater ei progenitus'* [brother by both parents].[8]

The author of the *Gesta* was not alone in attempting to be precise in describing sibling relationships, Richard of Devizes also takes pains to point out the illegitimacy of Geoffrey Plantagenet, this time in reference to his brothers rather than his (by then deceased) father. Devizes however uses "*non ex legitima"* [illegitimate] a more delicate phrasing than the author of the *Gesta's* very direct "*nothus*" [bastard] as he reports that Richard has banned both Geoffrey and John from entering England during his absence while on crusade: '*Rex Ricardus sacramemtum exegit a duobus fratribus suis, Iohanne uterino et Gaufrido non ex ligitima….'* [King Richard extracted an oath from his two brothers, John the legitimate one and Geoffrey the illegitimate [one]….][9] This may be because at the time Devizes was writing Geoffrey was Archbishop of York and Devizes was, wisely, not keen to offend the second most important and powerful churchman in the land. Regardless of the language choices, however, here we see a deliberate and clear distinction and comparison between the brothers in question based entirely on their legitimacy, yet both are, as Devizes later states, '*duobus fratribus suis'* [his [Richard's] two brothers].[10] This may in part have been an attempt to differentiate Geoffrey Plantagenet from Geoffrey of Brittany, but given the context, with Geoffrey of Brittany having been dead for many years at the time of the event being documented, it seems unlikely that potential confusion between the two was a worry.

Chronicle uses of the words *frater* [brother] and *fraternitas* [brotherhood] during this period fall into three main categories. The first two are similar in their use, either as a simple familial identifier or as a designation as a member of a religious group. The first of these is the one that has the most frequent usage, the simple familial identifier; '*Henricus…et fraters'* [Henry [the Young King] … and his brothers].[11] This is the most basic of the uses, describing a group of males by their familial connection. *Frater* is also used in the same way to mark an

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[8] Ibid. pp. 8 – 9
[9] Devizes, p. 13
[10] Ibid.
[11] RH, Vol. II p. 68 [Trans. Vol. I p. 388]

individual by his familial relationship to another individual; '*Iohannem comitem fratrem regis'* [Count John, the king's brother].[12] In addition to this, and uniquely to these particular Angevins, we frequently see '*regis fratris'* [the king, the/his brother] used to differentiate the Young King from his father, (although more commonly this is seen as '*regis filius'* [the king, the son]).[13] However, under different circumstances, with no junior king, this form of usage is employed as a basic identifier in the same way as the example with John above. The use of *frater* and *fraternitas* in the context of religious orders and church hierarchy are used in the same simple way as familial signifiers. In this area the military orders also feature with such uses as '*frater Templi'* [brother of the Temple].[14]

The chronicles are not alone in using imagery of brothers and brotherhood to make a point. There are some twelfth-century literary sources which use *frater* rather differently to the chronicles; they provide examples, which use the language of sibling relationships where there was no direct blood or religious association. In these cases it is the imagery and concepts that the word *frater* invokes in the medieval mind that are displayed rather than the simple familial identity and related behaviours that the chronicles provide. As such the literary sources can offer an insight into alternative acceptable uses of the concepts surrounding brotherhood in a form that was presumably recognisable to the intended reader.

First committed to paper sometime between 1040 and 1115, *La Chanson de Roland* was a popular heroic poem in the twelfth century, which had developed through the oral tradition and has no named single author.[15] The relationship between Roland and Oliver in the epic is portrayed as a close one. In verses CX – CLX alone of the *Song* Roland uses the word *frere* five times in reference to his companion Oliver.[16] However, the impact of the familial tie is less than clear to the modern reader. Roland, we are told, was betrothed to Oliver's sister, but the

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[12] Devizes, p. 48
[13] RH, Vol. II p. 93 [Trans. Vol. I p. 412]
[14] Ibid. p. 120 [Trans. Vol. I p. 439]
[15] Taylor, A. 'Was There a Song of Roland?' *Speculum* 76 (January 2001) pp. 28 – 65
[16] Verses CX – CLX of The *Chanson de Roland* is available at: Bibliotheca Augustana website, <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~Harsch/gallica/Chronologie/11siecle/Roland/rol_ch00.html> (Old French) [Accessed 28 September 2010] and Internet Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/roland-ohag.asp> (English translation by John O'Hagan) [Accessed 29 September 2010]

couple are not yet married.[17] Today we tend not to refer to one's in laws, or future in laws, in the same terms as we would refer to full blood siblings, but it seems that to the medieval reader this is a more blurred distinction. It may be that the main reason for choosing to represent the two great warrior-heroes as bound by the ties of brotherhood through an extended family bond, but it needs to be noted that their relationship is also one that is framed in the context of brothers in arms. However, they are referred to as "brothers-in-arms" only once in that same section.[18] This indicates that the more frequent use of *frere* was either expected to be taken in an expanded familial context, supporting the idea that the sibling relationship was seen as casting a wider net than simple blood ties. Or that a medieval readership would understand the word to be one that was multi-layered without needing to be qualified, suggesting that "brother" on its own enjoyed a broader meaning and usage than it does today. In addition, an idealised notion of brothers in arms may have gained a romanticised popularity in the twelfth century, especially when combined with the concept of sworn brotherhood, as we shall see.

Such broader usage of the word *frater* is supported by the use to which it is put in Alfonsi's *Exemplum de Aureo Serpente* [The Tale of the Golden Serpent]. The Tale of the Golden Serpent is intended to demonstrate the virtue of honesty and the Solomonic ideal of wisdom that kings should aim to display in deciding legal matters. The story tells of a poor man who finds a bag full of coins, which also contains a golden badge in the shape of a snake. Despite his wife's urgings to keep the bag and its contents for themselves, the poor man returns the bag (the implication is that the reward offered for the return of the bag is sufficient for the humble and honest man). The rich man then tries to cheat the poor man of the reward by claiming that there was a second snake badge and refuses to pay him until both badges are returned. The matter ends up before the king. At this point a philosopher volunteers his services to question the poor man and determine his honesty. The philosopher decides that the poor man is honest and the king, believing the philosopher's opinion, declares that this bag is to be retained by the royal treasury as it always contained only one badge and therefore

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[17] Ibid. Verse CCXXV
[18] Ibid. Verse CXCVIII

cannot be the bag lost by the rich man, which, by the rich man's own admission, contained two. Faced with the loss of the entire bag to the king, the rich man capitulates and the poor man receives his just reward for his honesty.[19]

It is during the philosopher's questioning of the poor man that the use of *frater* appears. The philosopher asks just one question of the poor man: *…dic mihi, frater, si huius hominis pecuniam haberis….*[…tell me, my brother, if you have this man's money….][20] and goes on to explain that if the poor man has not stolen it, then the philosopher will take his side before the king.

Clearly this example of the use of "brother" is one that contains no implication or even attempted implication of a blood relationship. It is also non-religious in its nature, Alfonsi mentions no clerical figure in the entirety of the tale and for him this seems to be a wholly secular matter. Therefore the language of brotherhood must have been selected for other reasons. It may be that the philosopher calls the poor man "brother" in order to offer some sort of comfort in a difficult circumstance. Or perhaps it is intended to reassure the man who was surely afraid of arrest and punishment for theft should the king find against him. Finally, and perhaps the most overt reason for using such language was an attempt to gain the trust of the poor man and allow him to tell the truth, by invoking an expected reciprocal loyalty of brothers. Any, or indeed all, of these literary reasons for the word choice of *frater* are likely to have been understood by the audience, for moralising tales are useless if they are not easily understood by their intended readers. Again, the implication is that the word "brother" held a wider range of meanings in the twelfth century than it does today.

It is also interesting that within the question posed by the philosopher there is another deliberate word choice that Alfonsi used to emphasize an aspect of masculinity. Given that the

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[19] Petri Alfonsi *Disciplina Clericalis* Latin text. Available to download at:
<http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Alfonsi.htm> [Accessed 4 June 2011]
[20] Ibid. pp. 16 – 17: [Trans. *The Disciplinia Clericus of Petrus Alfonsi* Hermes, E. (ed. Trans.), (Translated into English by Quarrie, P. R.) p. 40]

rich man is of higher social standing, it would be more usual in Latin texts to refer to him as a *vir* rather than *hominis*. That Alfonsi prefers the latter is most likely a calculated choice to reinforce the lack of honour of the rich man, it certainly carries the clear implication that the rich man is not of the knightly class, or if he is that he fails to live up to the expected standards of behaviour and attitude of such.[21]

Having established the ways in which "brother" and "brotherhood" were used in the primary sources we can begin to measure the performances of individual men in relation to those notions of sibling bonds. First the concept of political "sworn brotherhood" will be discussed in the context of its place as a mechanism for political proof of adult ability.

5.2: Sworn Brothers

The significance of the concept of fraternal bonds to kings in the high Middle Ages is demonstrated by two examples of eleventh century kings who used the bonds of non-relational "brotherhood" in a very particular manner. The first example of this is shown in Hoveden; when, in 1017, Eadric Streona put forward the possibility of removing Cnut's enemy, King Edmund. Cnut's response was to declare that should he be successful '*eris mihi carior fratre germano*' [...you [Eadric] shall be dearer to me than my own born brother.][22] This tale may be apocryphal; Eadric was executed by Cnut shortly after this event supposedly occurred. He was widely regarded as a turncoat and traitor, which is unsurprising given the nature of his death. That Hoveden chose to include this story in his history does indicate that his twelfth-century audience would recognise the concept of bestowed non-familial brotherhood that is indicated by this narrative. Namely that Cnut was using the concept of brotherhood as an incentive to persuade a subject to perform a particular task or as an encouragement to fulfil a previously suggested undertaking. Presumably, should Eadric manage to achieve said task the "brotherhood" of the king would serve as a reward mechanism for the correct display of extraordinary loyalty. The natural extension of this is that those who displayed such loyalty, or

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[21] Moorwood, J. (Ed.) *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* second edition, (Oxford, 2005) p. 85 (*homo*) and p. 205 (*vir*)
[22] RH, Vol. I p. 86 [Trans. Vol. I p. 103]

perhaps those who performed any particularly useful political deeds, could also potentially receive the honour of the kings "brotherhood" and with it an associated elevated position in the king's court.

The second example of political brotherhood from the eleventh century in relation to a king is slightly different in both its emphasis and its outcome. In around 1058 Malcolm III of Scotland embarked on a series of raids on Tostig's earldom of Northumbria in order to test him.[23] Tostig, rather than using the usual military might to repel the Scots, responded instead by wearing them down '*tam prudenti astutia*' [by cunning schemes], until Malcolm agreed to serve Tostig and King Edward.[24] In 1059 Malcolm presented Tostig with hostages and it is most likely at this point that the two men entered into a pact of sworn brotherhood.[25] Similar to Cnut and Eadric, this is a brotherhood of political convenience, a tool to be used to maintain the balance of masculine hierarchical power, rather than stemming from any form of genuine affection such as in the brothers-in-arms model. However, it is at this point that the most significant difference in emphasis between these two examples of sworn brotherhood by kings becomes clear. In this instance it is Malcolm, the man with the higher status, who is in the supplicant role. This may be because of the balance of power between Scotland and England at the time, it is after all not only Tostig that Malcolm is choosing to serve but also the King of England, Tostig's brother-in-law. Although it is worth noting that Tostig also stands to gain a great deal of benefit from having a peaceful northern neighbour. Or so he would hope.

Tostig's safety from attack by Malcolm would only go so far under the guise of sworn brotherhood. Hoveden gives a brief account of what was to follow after just a few years of peace between them:

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[23] Barlow, F. (Ed. Trans.) *The life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster* (2nd edition)(Oxford Medieval Texts series) (Oxford, 1992) pp. 66 – 67
[24] Ibid.
[25] For more on this estimate of the beginning of the period of sworn brotherhood between Malcolm and Tostig see: Aird, W. M. 'Tostig, earl of Northumbria (*c.*1029 – 1066)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27571> [Accessed 12 September 2011]

> *Anno MLXI Aldredus Eboracensis archiepiscopus cum Tostio comite Romam ivit, et a Nicolao papa pallium suscepit. Interim rex Scottorum Malcolmus sui conjurati fratris Tostii comitatum, id est, Northimbriam, fortiter depopulatur….*

> In the year 1061, Aldred, archbishop of York, set out for Rome with earl Tosti, and received the pall from pope Nicolas. In the meantime, Malcolm, king of the Scots, boldly laid waste Northumbria, the earldom of his sworn brother, Tosti….[26]

However, this is not the breach of sworn brotherhood that it may at first appear. It has been suggested that Malcolm deliberately scheduled the raid to coincide with Tostig's excursion to Rome.[27] The argument follows that this was done because, apart from the obvious military advantage to having Tostig far from his lands and therefore unable to provide any leadership or reaction to the invasion, Malcolm would also avoid breaking his oath of sworn brotherhood with the earl.[28] So it seems that the oath of brotherhood, at least in this case, was personal to the bodies of the participants and therefore not in any way extended to the property or lands of either party. By deliberately arranging to not fight Tostig in person Malcolm was able to maintain the oath of brotherhood despite a clear act of aggression against his holdings. This is supported by the fact that there does not appear to have been any recriminations on Malcolm after Tostig's return to England and in what was to take place in 1065.[29]

Tostig's relationship with his barons broke down, Harold, Hoveden tells us, summoned '*omnes dihinc fere comitatus illius*' [almost all the people of that earldom] for the purpose of establishing peace between them and their earl.[30] The attempt failed spectacularly and Tostig was exiled. After leaving England with his wife and children he travelled around northern Europe attempting, and failing, to gain support abroad for a return to England, either with or without force. What happened next deserves a full recounting, if only to fully understand just how desperate the position Tostig found himself facing in the middle of 1066:

> *…comes Tostius de Flandria rediens, ad Vectam insulam applicuit, et postquam insulanos sibi tributum et stipendium solvere coegrat, discessit, et circa ripas maris donec ad Sandicum portum veniret, prædas exercuit. Quo cognito, rex Haroldus, qui tunc Lundoniæ marabatur, classem nin modicum et equestrem*

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[26] RH, Vol. I p. 104 [Trans. Vol. I pp. 125 – 126]

[27] Aird, 'Tostig', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

[28] Ibid.

[29] Hoveden places these events in 1066; however, they took place late in 1065. The convention of dating the new year from Michaelmas may account for the discrepancy.

[30] RH, Vol. I p. 107 [Trans. Vol. I p. 130]

exercitum congregari præcepit. Ipse vero Sandicum portum adire parabat. Quid dum Tostio nunciatum fuisset, de butsecarlis quosdam volentes, quosdam nolentes secum assumens, recessit, et cursum ad Lindiseiam direxit. In qua villas quamplures incendit, multosque hominess neci tradidit. His cogniti, dux Merciorum Edwinus, et Northimbrorum comes Morkarus, cum exercittu advolant, illumque de regions ipsa extrudunt.

…earl Tosti, returning from Flanders, landed in the Isle of Wight, and, having compelled the islanders to find him tribute and provisions, took his departure and collected plunder near the sea-shore, until he came to the port of Sandwich. On hearing this, King Harold, who was then staying at London, ordered a considerable fleet, and an army of horse, to be levied, and himself made preparations to set out for the port of Sandwich. When this was reported to earl Tosti, taking with him some of the mariners who were well inclined and some who were ill-wishers to him, he retreated, directing his course to Lindsey, where he burned a great number of towns, and put many men to death.

On learning this, Edwin, earl of Mercia, and Morcar, earl of Northumbria, flew to their rescue with an army, and drove him out of that country.[31]

It is where, under such dire circumstances, Tostig could turn that is of the greatest significance to the matter in hand. Here was a man whose earldom was gone, and with it all of his formerly loyal supporters (although arguably his supporters deserting him led to his loss of status). His own brother, the king, was making plans to bring an army against him. It seems Tostig had but one place to go:

Ille autem inde discendens, regem Scottorum Malcolmum adiit, et cum eo per totam æstatem permansit.

On his departure thence, he repaired to Malcolm, king of the Scots, and remained with him all the summer.[32]

So it seems that sworn brotherhood had some real meaning for Tostig and Malcolm. That Tostig was able to find safety, and without any apparent ill will, in the court of a man who had attacked his former lands speaks volumes for both the strength of oaths in the eleventh century and for the concept of sworn brotherhood. For Malcolm it meant accepting a man with whom he has taken an oath, presumably under some duress, as the lesser man some eight years before.

While it is entirely possible that Malcolm had his own reasons for accepting such a controversial guest, if that is the case no record has been made of Malcolm's motivation. What

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[31] RH, Vol. I pp. 133 – 134 [Trans. Vol. I p. 111]
[32] Ibid.

is significant is that both men could claim the oath of brotherhood as reason for Tostig's arrival, and Malcolm's acceptance of him. A claim, had deeper questions been asked about Malcolm's choice of company, which could have given Malcolm a perfect rationale for his actions that would have been accepted by all as a mark of a man who keeps his word rather than a hostile act by a rival king. This was a factor that may, just, have been a comfort to the king of Scots while Tostig was plotting with Harald Hardrada against Harold while in Malcolm's safekeeping.

Oath-keeping was a significant aspect of correct masculine behaviour as it was closely linked to the concepts of honour and loyalty that were essential to correct chivalric masculinity.[33] Given this, and the public nature of oath talking for kings, swearing an oath of brotherhood was a meaningful method for an individual to display political proof of correct adult masculine behaviour.

The bond of sworn brotherhood between Malcolm and Tostig sets the scene for another pair of sworn brothers, Richard and Philip of France, in two important ways. First it indicates that the notion of such an oath of brotherhood was in place as a part of Anglo-Norman political interactions for over a century by the time Richard and Philip swore a similar bond. Second it shows that the relationship formed by sworn brothers could be as deep and abiding as the familial sibling bond, if not more so.

The oath taken between Richard and Philip in preparation for the third crusade was remarkably similar to the sworn brotherhood of Malcolm and Tostig. Although in this case it was between two kings, meaning that the issue of which male held the higher status can be largely set aside. Both kings are entering into the oath equally, as we shall see it was intended

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[33] See among others: Baswell, C. "Men in the *Roman d'Eneas*: The Construction of Empire," Lees C. A. (Ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minnesota, 1994), pp. 149 – 168 (particularly p. 158 and p. 167); Fletcher, C. *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377 – 99* (Oxford, 2008) p. 28; Keen, M. *Chivalry* (London, 1984) p. 138 and p. 234 and Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 43 – 44

to be an oath of mutual benefit, and so neither was subservient or superior to the other in the arrangement.

Newburgh describes the process of Richard and Philip's agreement early in 1190 simply as '…*ambo inter se mutuae societatis jura firmantes, et germanam alterutrum compromittentes caritatem….*' […both of them confirmed their oaths of mutual alliance and, promising brotherly love on either side….][34] It is notable that Newburgh sees no differentiation between or conflict in using both the expected political language of "alliance" and the emotional familial language of "brotherly love" in the same sentence. It seems that there was little difference in his mind between the two, that they are both useful and significant terms in describing something that was entirely political in its conception, enactment, nature and purpose. However, Newburgh's account is a brief and simple statement of the fact that a treaty was undertaken, therefore, for a description of what exactly such "brotherly love" might entail in this context we need to turn to Hoveden.

We are fortunate that Hoveden provides a much fuller description of the contents of the treaty, even if he does so entirely without using any reference to brotherhood:

> ….*Ricardus rex Angliæ, et Philippus rex Franciæ, collocuti sunt as Vadum Sancti Remigii, ubi pacem firmam statuerunt inter se et regna sua; et ipsi eam, commendatam sacramento et sigillis suis confirmaverunt….*
>
> *Erat itaque talis forma pacis: quod uterque illorum honorem alterius servabit, et fidem ei portabit, de vita et membris et terreno honore suo; et quod neuter illorum alteri deficiet in negotiis suis; sed rex Franciæ ita juvabit regem Angliæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ipse vellet civitatem sua, Parisius defendere, si esset obsessa; et Ricardus rex Angliæ juvabit regem Franciæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ipse vellet civitatem suam Rotomagi defendere, si obsesa esset. Comites autem et barones utriusque regni juraverunt, quod a fidelitate regum non discedent, nec guerram movebunt ullam in terris illorum, quamdiu ipsi fuerint in peregrinatione sua. Et archiepiscopi et episcopi firmiter promiserunt in verbo veritatis, quod in trangressores hujus pacis conventionis, sententiam anathematis dabunt.*
>
> *Præterea prædicti reges statuerunt, quod si altr illorum decessisset in peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, alter qui vixerit, pecunias defuncti et gentes habebit ad servitium Dei faciendum. Et quia ad præfixum terminum Paschæ parati esse non poterant, iter Jerosolimitanum distulerunt usque ad festum*

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[34] WN, Book IV. Ch. 22

Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ; statuentes quod immutabiliter essent apud Vizeliacum.

> …Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, held a conference at Vé Saint Remy, where they agreed to a lasting peace between them and their respective kingdoms, and, committing the treaty to writing, ratified it by their oaths and seals….
>
> The tenor of this treaty was to the effect that each of them would maintain the honour of the other, and would keep faith with him for life, limb and worldly honour, and that neither of them would forsake the other in the time of need; but that the king of France would aid the king of England in defending his territories as he himself would defend his own city of Paris, if it were besieged, and that Richard, king of England would aid the king of France in defending his territories as he himself would defend his own city of Rouen, if it were besieged. The earls and barons also of both kingdoms made oath that they would not depart from their fealty to the said kings or wage any war in their territories, so long as they should be on their pilgrimage. The archbishops also and bishops strictly promised, on their word of truth, that they would pronounce sentence of excommunication against such as should be guilty of a breach of the said treaty of peace and compact.
>
> The said kings also make oath that if either of them should die on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the one who should survive should have the treasures and forces of him who had died, to employ in the same in the service of God. And because they could not be in readiness at Easter, the time previously appointed, they postponed setting out for Jerusalem till the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist [24 June], determining that then without fail they would be at Vezelay.[35]

Hoveden writes here of the practical and political terms of the treaty. However most of the clauses are perhaps things that would be expected of brothers, for example, that Richard and Philip agreed to defend each other's land as if it were their own. We frequently see cases of a brother or brothers joining forces with a sibling to assist in a claim to land or an attempt to gain territory, or to defend his or her property and/or person. Such as the rebellion of 1173, when the three elder sons of Henry II join together in an attempt to prise some landed income from their father. Or, in the latter case, Richard's use of his crusading army to rescue his sister Joanna from a difficult inheritance situation in Sicily.[36]

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[35] RH, Vol. III pp. 30 – 31 [Trans. Vol. II pp. 135 – 136]
[36] Nicholson, H. J. (trans) *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade:* The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi (Aldershot, 1997) pp. 154 – 169

The clauses about crusading treasure and each other's armies are telling.[37] While at first glance they appear to be nothing more than a simple, practical solution to a potential future issue, they are in fact more complex when viewed in the context of Richard's relationship with John. For Philip to inherit any treasure that Richard may accrue in the Holy Land would bypass his logical heir, John. Given the state of England's finances after Richard's crusading preparations, it could be said that any gains from the crusade would be sorely needed by the treasury of his successor.[38] It may be that this simply did not occur to either King in the preparation or discussion of the treaty, or if it did it was decided that the needs of the fellow crusader would be more important. That the armies were to remain with the surviving leader does suggest that thoughts of military success were uppermost in their minds and that their heirs (for Philip was denying his share of the treasure to his infant son) were either not thought of or disregarded. For Philip this may not have been an issue, the effect of the crusade on the financial sate of his kingdom was likely to have been less severe than that of Richard's. But for Richard, denying his brother riches may have been seen as an advantage, albeit a spiteful one, for as we shall see their relationship at the time was more than a little strained.

While Hoveden's account does inform us about the practical and political elements of the treaty, and although the language used is deeply chivalrous in its nature (for example *honorem* and *fidem*), it does nonetheless also indicate some of the brotherly behaviours expected to be performed between the two Kings. However, Hoveden does not come close to expanding on the emotional elements of "brotherly love" that are expressed in Newburgh's brief description. For a clearer picture of a possible emotionally based brother-like relationship between the two men we can turn to Devizes.

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[37] The connection between crusading and masculinity as discussed by twelfth-century commentators is fully explored in Fenton, K. A. 'Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*' in Beattie, C. and Fenton, K. A. (Eds.) *Intersections of gender, religion and ethnicity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2010) pp. 125 – 139
[38] Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978) p. 245

Devizes describes the eventual meeting of Richard and Philip in Vezelay, which occurred as stipulated in the treaty: '*Ipso die rex Francie, cognito sodalis sui et fratris aduentu, uolat in eius occursum, nec potuit inter amplexus et oscula gesticulatio satis exprimere quantum eorum uterque gauderet ex altero.*' [On the same day the king of France, when he learned of the arrival of his companion and brother, flew to meet him, and gestures, between embraces and kisses, could not sufficiently express how much they delighted in each other.][39] Devizes certainly paints a picture of genuine affection here, the two kings appear to be expressing an emotional attachment, but whether this was typical of the behaviour expected of brothers is still unclear.

Today we might imagine that it was less than manly for two men to be showing such physical signs of fondness, particularly in the notion of kissing in this manner. John Boswell puts forward the idea that Richard and Philip were engaged in a homosexual relationship in his work.[40] However, John Gillingham has suggested that the idea that Richard was homosexual probably stemmed from an official record announcing that the kings of France and England had slept overnight in the same bed. He goes on to express the view that this was "an accepted political act, nothing sexual about it; ... a bit like a modern-day photo opportunity".[41] Therefore, in the context of the kiss of peace it may be seen more in the light of two rulers outwardly displaying a lack of aggression rather than an active or even genuine affection for each other. That Philip has "flown" to meet Richard suggests that they were encountering each other in public, in the view of their armies. In which case it could be argued that a clear and unambiguous display of this kind would serve to reinforce the joint nature of the venture and perhaps aid in the process of bringing the two forces together. These were after all armies that had, certainly among the knightly ranks, been more used in the past to fighting against each other than on the same side. It could also be that Richard and Philip were deliberately attempting to combine the political elements of their oath of brotherhood with at least the

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[39] Devizes, p. 16
[40] Boswell, J. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay people in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980) p. 231
[41] Gillingham, J. *Richard I* (Yale, 2002) p. 170

outward appearance of the emotional bonds of blood brotherhood, battle brothers, as understood by the example of Roland and Oliver. Or it could be that in recording the meeting it was that Devizes was actively choosing to represent the relationship between the two kings in such a way.

The question remains, however, as to how far this greeting and the clauses of the treaty represented brotherly behaviour. What was it that made behaviour correct or incorrect in the context of both social proof of adult ability and familial-sibling relationships?

5.3: What was "brotherly" behaviour?

The third way in which chronicles use the terms of brother and brotherhood is the one which is of most use to this work, the use of *frater* as a descriptor of expected or recognisable representations of behaviour patterns that the authors designate as being "brotherly". This occurs in two ways. Usually there is a simple use of *frater* or *fraternitas* to invoke or reflect the expected bonds of brothers. More rare, and of most interest here, is when expectations of brotherly bonds are breached. Unfortunately the actual correct or expected behaviours in question are rarely if ever described fully, rather they are implied by the presentation of "other" or "incorrect" behaviours.

Take for example the incident in 1139 between Henry, Bishop of Winchester and Robert of Gloucester, half-brother and supporter of the Empress Matilda. Bishop Henry was younger brother to King Stephen, the brother described quite carefully by the author of the *Gesta Stephani* as '*…ex ambobus geniteribus frater ei progenitus….*' […brother by both parents….][42] The author goes on to emphasise a number of positive elements of Bishop Henry's personality and abilities, it seems that the aim was to support the worthiness of the family in general and the king specifically by the means of association with such an excellent, and clerically accomplished, brother. However, the positive picture of the Bishop was not to last. The incident that occurred in 1139 involves a decidedly unbrotherly display by the Bishop. After

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[42] *GS,* pp. 8 – 9

arranging several road blocks specifically to prevent his passing through to Bristol with his army, the Bishop allowed the rebel Gloucester to pass freely following a lengthy meeting and a rumoured compact of '*pacis et amicitiæ*' [peace and friendship].[43] This is commented on as follows:

> *Et hoc quidem uulgus, sed omni sane sentienti dubium constat et prorsus incredibile, ut frater regni fraterni inuasorem cum osculo susciperet, eumque a suo prospectu ad regnum in fratrem grauius permouendum illæsum dimitteret.*

> This was the popular report but to every man of right feeling it must be doubtful, or rather quite incredible, that a brother should greet the invader of his brother's kingdom with a kiss and let him go uninjured from his sight to rouse the kingdom to more violent rebellion against his brother.[44]

So here we have a clear, if unsurprising, expectation of the brother of the king expressed through the explanation of "other" or "incorrect" behaviour. The "correct" behaviour seems obvious by comparison; Bishop Henry was expected to actively support his brother in preventing the rebel army from moving forward and possibly to capture the rebel leader on his brother's behalf. To ignore the army, fail to enact the road blocks, or ignore the problem and passively allow the rebels to move on would be bad enough, but the Bishop goes further even than that. He is active in his decision to allow the rebel army through; he enters into a promise of friendship with his brother's enemy. However, the display of greeting Gloucester with a kiss (presumably in the kiss of peace tradition) is perhaps the most shocking element of the Bishops unbrotherly behaviour here. The author's emotive word choices of "*dubium*" and "*incredibile*" clearly express to the reader just how unusual Bishop Henry's behaviour was seen to be.

However, the Bishop's behaviour does not appear to be a case of random "bad" brotherhood, instead it is likely that it was in fact an "eye for an eye" type response to being in receipt of unbrotherly behaviour on the part of Stephen. According to Gervase of Canterbury Stephen and his Queen had actively blocked the Bishop's election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury the year before and this was, in the opinion of some quarters, the reason behind

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[43] Ibid. pp. 88 – 89
[44] Ibid.

his switch to supporting Matilda against his own blood.[45] It seems then that neither brother here is blameless in the breakdown of the sibling bonds, and although Stephen is noted as the initial protagonist in the dispute by Gervase, the reaction of the author of the *Gesta* suggests that the Bishop was not expected to behave improperly toward his brother regardless of provocation (given the date of writing, it is likely that the author was fully aware of the King's actions toward the Bishop). Newburgh also comments on the subject of a brother taking revenge for perceived wrongs or unbrotherly behaviour.

The story is long by Newburgh's standards, covering two chapters in the fifth volume of his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*. In it he describes the behaviour of one Londoner, a William Longbeard, who was supported by his elder brother through school. It seems that William took offence when his demands that his brother supply increasing amounts of cash to fund an ever more extravagant lifestyle were refused due to his elder brother's lack of ability to support him in such style while maintaining his own household. In retaliation for this perceived failure of proper brotherly support, Longbeard spent some time ingratiating himself with the court in general and the King in particular (Newburgh does not name the king in question, but Richard is the most likely candidate of the three kings he covers in his work, if so then the strong reaction we will see may be a reaction to his own experiences of betrayal by a younger brother). Longbeard then publicly accuses his brother of treason, of plotting against the King's life. Fortunately for Longbeard's brother the King does not believe the lies and it is Longbeard who is punished for making false accusations. It is how Newburgh describes the King's reaction to Longbeard's allegation that is of particular interest here:

> *… [principe] inhumanissimi hominis malatiam forsitan exhorrente, et tanta naturæ injuria jura pollui non sinente.*
>
> … [the king] who probably looked with horror on the malice of this most inhuman man, and would not suffer the laws to be polluted by so great an outrage against nature.[46]

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[45] Ibid. (footnote) and GC, Vol. I p. 109
[46] WN, Book V. Ch. 20

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What is particularly striking is that Newburgh describes disloyalty to a brother as an "outrage against nature". Which brother was at fault is not in question, the elder brother had done justice to the loyalty expected in regard to Longbeard and supported him to the best of his ability. There is a clear indication that there was a general understanding that his own household was not expected to suffer in doing so. But Newburgh goes further, calling the behaviour of Longbeard, the "malice of this inhuman man".[47] Describing Longbeard in such a way is perhaps a little extreme; the language is clearly designed to evoke a strong reaction from the reader. However, given the circumstances, and the fact that Newburgh is trying to make a moral point in his recalling of this story it is perhaps understandable. This is, after all, a man so disloyal to his brother that he is attempting to have him executed for treason and in doing so ruin his reputation, his household and his immediate family by association, as well as cost him his life. The moral of the story is clear, Longbeard is the brother who loses his life and his reputation, and loyalty towards a brother was a serious business and should be upheld under any and all circumstances. Failure to do so is presented by Newburgh as nothing less than abhorrent to right thinking men. This is perhaps unsurprising given the masculine chivalric ideals of loyalty and honour, however, earlier in the work Newburgh also introduces the idea that for high status brothers in the twelfth century, loyalty and correct brotherly behaviour was perhaps a little more flexible than this tale suggests.[48]

When Richard returned from his period of post-crusade imprisonment in 1194 he found his younger brother in rebellion and in league with Philip of France with the aim of taking England for himself. Newburgh's choice of language in documenting those events is telling. Upon receiving news of Richard's capture by the Duke of Austria John, we are told, reacted by '...*fratris in periculo positi fidelitate exsufflata, ejus se hostam inverecundissime declaravit.*' [...setting at nought his fidelity to his brother, when surrounded with danger, [and] most shamelessly declared himself his enemy.][49] There are two main points of interest in Newburgh's narration of events here. First that John sets "at naught" his fidelity, suggesting

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid. Book IV. Ch. 32

that faithfulness was a behaviour expected between brothers, or at the least expected from the younger brother. Second is the implication that declaring yourself an enemy of your brother is something that should be considered shameful. These two are of course interconnected, if fidelity is expected then turning on your brother would indeed be considered dishonourable, possibly even shocking, and to do so publicly would indeed therefore be regarded as particularly brazen behaviour.

Later in the episode, when Richard had returned from his captivity, Newburgh again provides some useful clues to the state and expectations of brotherhood in his description of John's behaviour and choices:

> *Eodem tempore Johannes frater Regis Anglorum sum multo dedecore contra fratrem militabat regi Francorum, a quo scilicet dum frater in Alemannia teneretur abstractus erat atque illectus, ut rupti naturæ legibus fraternis hostibus jungeretur.*

> At the same time, John, the brother of the king of England, with great disgrace to himself, was serving in the army of the king of France, against his own brother. While his brother Richard was detained in Germany, he had been led astray, and enticed by the French king; so that, having broken the laws of nature, he had associated himself with his brother's enemies.[50]

Just as he did when discussing William Longbeard, Newburgh uses the idea that brotherly loyalty is an inherent phenomenon and that displaying disloyalty against a brother is against the natural order, against nature itself. John is declared to have disgraced himself in his unbrotherly actions, but this is mitigated by his being "led astray" and "enticed" to do so by his brother's enemy. The implication is perhaps that John was seen as being weak in allowing himself to be turned against his brother, but again Newburgh somewhat mitigates this by attributing it to Richard's absence. The general impression given by this passage is that John behaved unusually badly toward his brother; the strength of the language used is significant here. However, there were, it seems, circumstances that perhaps meant that John's actions had an explanation, if not an excuse, which could soften the seriousness of his breach of correct brotherly behaviours. This is likely to be in large part because John had not yet proved himself militarily. It was not until he was acting as a general for Richard after this breach of loyalty that he managed to do so, therefore these mitigating factors were forming a part of the

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[50] Ibid. Book V. Ch. 5

"youth as an excuse" element frequently seen in the sources. However, the account by Newburgh here does provide a peculiarly mixed message, and one that was perhaps necessarily mixed because John, as we shall see, was swiftly forgiven, meaning that Newburgh would have to carefully balance his commentary in order to adequately show the seriousness of John's betrayal without presenting Richard as being weak in his apparently sympathetic response.

That said, Richard's forgiveness of John and John's seeking of forgiveness were not perhaps as simple as might appear at first glance. Newburgh tells us why John changed his mind about attacking his brother:

> *Qui nimirum dum plurimum potuit, regi Francorum honorabilis fuit; ubi vero captis munitionibus quas in Anglia patris vel fratris profusa laritione acceperat, tanquam nihil habens ad nocendum fratri, factus est impotens, sprevit eum rex Francorum, tanquam opera ejus non indigens. Ille autem videns fratrem non modo salvum ad propris remeasse verum etiam bene prosperari tandem dignatus est ei reconciliari.*

> As long as John had power, he was held in honour by the king of France; but when he was deprived of the fortresses which he had received in England through the profuse liberality of his father or his brother, and had become powerless (having nothing wherewith to injure his brother), then the king of France despised him, as though he no longer needed his assistance. But when John saw that his brother had not only returned in safety to his own country, but was even prospering well, he sought at length to be reconciled to him.[51]

So it seems that John was only persuaded to return to his brother and seek reconciliation when he was deprived of his power base and his chief ally, and when he saw the nature of Richard's strength and popular support upon his return. These do not appear to be the actions of a repentant and remorseful brother who had rediscovered his fraternal loyalty, but rather the conduct of a desperate and suddenly powerless man who found himself with no other option but to seek forgiveness from the brother he had betrayed.

John's foremost problem at this point was deciding how best to approach the man he had so recently been at war with and to do so with the hope that Richard would be merciful toward his younger sibling. As he had when Richard banned him from England during his absence on crusade, John turned to his mother for help: '*Itaque, mediante matre, supplex ad*

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[51] Ibid.

fratrem rediit.... [So, at the mediation of their mother, he returned as a suppliant....][52] John then was returning to Richard to beg for forgiveness and was utterly reliant on Richard's good favour. Eleanor's role in this is not explained by Newburgh, but it is reasonable to assume that she was responsible for bringing the initial plea from John, and securing some sort of guarantee of a favourable reception for him before he appeared before his brother. In doing this for John Eleanor was performing a traditional role for both royal mothers and queens in this period.[53] Additionally her bond with Richard would have played a part; Eleanor was ever supportive of Richard, who was widely believed to be her favourite son.[54] They certainly spent more time together during Richard's childhood than any of the other sons. To appear before the king in the role of a suppliant without such security would be unwise at best and potentially fatal at worst. It would perhaps have been preferable to enter into a self-imposed exile rather than risk one's life under such circumstances.

John was not the only younger brother of the king who was brought as a suppliant to his older sibling. In 1156 Henry II crushed a rebellion by his younger brother Geoffrey of Nantes, destroying the castles Geoffrey had hastily fortified and forcing Geoffrey to come to terms with his brother.[55] Henry then '...*fratri humiliato et supplici veniam dedit....*' [...pardoned his humiliated and suppliant brother....][56] Perhaps then this is a formulaic means of brotherly public reconciliation similar to that of sons weeping at the knees of a wronged father. Forgiveness certainly came relatively swiftly for both younger brothers in the two examples above, but in neither case was that forgiveness without some kind of cost.

For Geoffrey of Nantes the price was at least two of the three castles he was granted upon his father's death. Sources vary as to whether all three were removed from him or

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Stafford, P. 'Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century' in Duggan, A. (Ed.) *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London April 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997) pp. 3 – 26 (particularly p. 20)

[54] See among others: Kelly, A. 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Courts of Love' *Speculum*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January, 1937) pp. 3 – 19; Turner, R. V. 'Eleanor of Aquitaine, Twelfth Century English Chroniclers and her "Black Legend"' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* Vol. 52 (2008) pp. 17 – 42

[55] See figure 1, p. 25

[56] Ibid. Book II. Ch. 7

levelled by Henry, but all agree that his main power base was effectively destroyed.[57] By the end of that year however Henry had been active in helping secure the County of Nantes for his wayward younger sibling, it would seem therefore that Henry's pardon came with genuine forgiveness. John's path to forgiveness was slightly more complex.

Newburgh tells us that having returned to Richard and petitioned him for mercy John '…*quo satis fraterne susceptus….*' […was received with sufficient fraternal affection….][58] Newburgh's choice of words here is significant as it indicates strongly that not only was brotherhood a clearly defined and well understood condition at the time, but that brotherhood was a gradable phenomenon. There were socially acceptable limits or degrees of affection between brothers that were related to loyalty and behaviour. For Richard to exhibit "sufficient" affection suggests that there is a minimum acceptable level of brotherly affection that was expected to be displayed regardless of circumstance. Whether another subject who had behaved as John did, a friend perhaps, or trusted advisor, would have been received with "sufficient affection" for their status by the king and escaped with their head is debatable. It is entirely possible that it was only John's fraternal bond with Richard that saved him. That it was just an expectation of affection, even at a minimum, that stayed Richard from severely punishing John as a traitor. Fortunately for John, the period of such a meagre level of fraternal affection was to be short lived.

Like Henry II and Geoffrey of Nantes, John was soon in a position of enjoying a full brotherly relationship with Richard. Newburgh continues his account with some detail of how John came to be fully forgiven for his disloyalty:

> …*ei de cetero contra regem Francorum fideliter et fortiter militavit, priores excessus novis officiis expians, et fraternam in se charitatem ad plenum reformans.*

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[57] For more detailed information about Geoffrey, Count of Nantes and his various rebellions against Henry see: WN Book II. Ch. 7 and Thomas K. Keefe, 'Henry II (1133–1189)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12949> [Accessed 18 April 2012]
[58] WN, Book V. Ch. 5

> …and afterwards he performed military service to him faithfully and valiantly against the king of France -- thus expiating former errors by his late services, and completely recovering the love of his brother towards him.[59]

The message here is clear; John had to prove himself completely loyal to Richard in order to gain full forgiveness for his treachery and to be received back into a proper fraternal relationship. Richard's responsibility as the elder brother in this exchange was of course to forgive his younger sibling entirely and presumably with good grace once sufficient proof was attained. In literally fighting the forces of his former ally on behalf of Richard, John managed to make amends for his betrayal, performing the correct role of the younger brother in such a position. Similarly, just as his father had done in comparable circumstances, Richard appears to have fulfilled his role as elder brother correctly and John was once again received into full brotherly affection. Newburgh does not place a time scale on this process of redress and the recuperation of his brother's affection, but the fact that it is recorded in the same sentence as the gaining of minimal regard suggests that the process was reasonably brief, and may in fact have been a formality.

However, that was not the first time that John had turned to Richard for an alliance or protection in a time of need. In Richard's rebellion of 1189 John deserted his father and allied himself with Richard and Philip.[60] Accounts of this event vary but it is Hoveden who gives the fullest account, explaining that as part of the peace treaty the near-defeated and by then very unwell Henry II agreed with the rebel leaders that he should not require the allegiance of any of those of his own men who had joined Richard's side of the rebellion until a month before the start of the intended upcoming crusade.[61] We are told that in order to carry out that clause Henry requested that a list of the names of those who fell into that category be written up and brought to him. Hoveden reports that '*quod cumfactum fuisset, invenit Johannem filium suum scriptum in principo scripti illius.*' [this being accordingly done, he found the name of his son John written at the beginning of the list.][62] Henry was dismayed to find the name of his

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[59] Ibid.
[60] RH,Vol. II p. 366 [Trans. Vol. II p. 110]
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

favourite and until that point most loyal son on the list and he refused to read any further. His spirit broke, and according to Hoveden so did his heart, he died shortly afterwards.

Newburgh put a slightly different slant on the same event, choosing instead to focus on the brotherly aspect of John's change of allegiance saying that John's motive was: '*…ne fratribus dissimilis et minus frater videretur.'* […lest he [John] should appear unlike the rest of his brethren and less than a brother.][63] Once again this supports the idea that there was an understanding of expected loyalty between brothers, or at the least from a younger brother to an older one. It is interesting that the Young King and Geoffrey of Brittany, the deceased brothers, appear to be invoked at this point too, as it suggests that an individual's masculinity could be measured against the nature of the brothers he had early in life as well as those that were still alive. The other brothers may have been invoked here because of the nature of the political situation surrounding John's defection to Richard. The repeated rebellions of those brothers against their father were, after all, one of the most notable aspects of their lives.

However, the reasons behind John's abandonment of his father may perhaps be quite simple to understand, and regardless of Newburgh's assertions they could have had very little to do with brotherly solidarity. John must have become aware that his father, deserted by all but his most loyal men and ailing physically, had little if any hope of winning the war against Richard. For all his many other faults, John was not stupid, in fact when it came to his own advantage he was capable of great shrewdness and could be extremely calculating. He must surely have realised that if he wished to survive the confrontation he would need to be on the winning side, even if it meant giving up any chance of succeeding his father directly. Whether this had any effect upon Richard's later treatment of him is unclear, particularly in the light of one other account of Henry's death, that of Gervase of Canterbury.

Gervase has a very different order of events to those of Hoveden and Newburgh; he makes no mention of John changing sides at all. However, in editing the text for the Rolls

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[63] WN, Book III. Ch. 25

series Stubbs makes the following note in the margin of page 451: 'John forgiven'.[64] The implication is that John turns to Richard *after* Henry's burial and is forgiven, presumably for standing with his father against his brother. This may not in fact be the case, the line in question reads: '*…fratremque suum Johannem benigne suscepit blandeque consolatus est.*'[65] The problem lies with the word "*consolatus*" which appears to have been taken for "forgive" when in fact, in the context of a father's funeral, the more usual translation of "comforted" would, I believe, be the better choice, leading to the line's translation as: […and he generously received his brother John and comforted him with affection.][66] This leaves a rather different picture of the relationship between the brothers than perhaps we are usually given. It is possible that there was some genuine affection, or at least genuine sympathy for the youngest of the brothers; the baby of the family who had lost the father whose favourite he had always been.

The notion of Richard having some sincere brotherly fondness for John, even if only at this difficult time for John, is hinted at in his behaviour toward him once he was made King. At least it is by Newburgh, others have different views on the events that followed Richard's succession to the throne of England. While Hoveden preferred to offer no opinion on the matter, Devizes had more to say, of the three, Newburgh was by far the most forthcoming with his judgment.

Hoveden simply lists the extensive holdings now under John's control. He is clearly attempting to be as thorough as possible when he informs us that John had gained the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, the castles at Marlborough and Ludgershall, along with their associated forests, the castles at Bolsover and the Peak (now better known as Peveril Castle), the honours of Wallingford, Tickhill and Haye and the earldom of Gloucester which was gained through John's marriage to Isabella, the

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[64] GC, Vol. I p. 451 (margin note)
[65] Ibid. pp. 450 – 451
[66] Ibid. [My Translation]

daughter of the late earl.[67] The only notes that Hoveden makes about this list is that Richard retained some castles in the areas listed above for his own use and that the Archbishop of Canterbury forbade John's marriage on the grounds of them being within the fourth degree of consanguinity.[68] The Archbishop's public forbidding of the marriage had no effect, and was instead to prove useful to John when he wished to dissolve it ten years later. But was this large gift a display of affection, or something else?

> Devizes goes a little further in his commentary of the grants, he claims that:
>
> …*in tantum a fratre ditatus est et dilatus in Anglia, quod et priuatim et publice predicabatur a pluribus regem de reditu in regnum non cogitare….*
>
> In addition, his brother gave him [John] such rich and far flung lands in England that many people said, both in private and in public that the king did not intend to return to his realm….[69]

This is indeed likely to have been a genuine worry for the English, they had just lost one king, and now his heir, their new king, was about to embark on a dangerous journey; after all many did not come back from crusade. However, this was not perhaps the only problem that Devizes claims was foreseen by the "many people" who were discussing the issue of John's new status as a powerful magnate. The passage continues:

> …*quem frater, iam eo non impotentior, si innatos sibi mores non reprimat, audibitactus dominandi libidine repulsum exturbare de regno.*
>
> …and that if he [Richard] did not restrain his brother's lifelong habits, his brother, already no less powerful than he and eager to rule, would defeat him and drive him out of the kingdom.[70]

While it is not explicit as to whether this view was informed with hindsight, if it wasn't it contains a great deal of foresight on the part of the gossips that Devizes is concerned with. Given that the events "foreseen" here did not come to pass it was perhaps simply a reasonably astute prediction. As we have seen, John was indeed in the process of attempting such a coup upon Richard's return and had the king not made it back to his powerbase in time it could well

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[67] RH, Vol. II p. 115
[68] Ibid.
[69] Devizes, p. 6
[70] Ibid.

have been the outcome. What Devizes does not help to inform us of though is what Richard's motivation was in being so very generous to his only remaining brother.

For Newburgh it was a simple case of overly generous brotherly goodwill, he claims that '*Præterea circa Johannem fratrem sum uterinum rex propruim egregie declaravit affectum.'* [The king, moreover, declared his personal affection, in a remarkable manner, to his uterine brother John….][71] It seems that the gifting of so much land, (Newburgh claims that '*…illi adjecit ut quasi tetrarcha videretur.'* […that he [John] seemed to possess almost a third part of it [England].][72]) for Newburgh, was worthy of strong comment. Although it has to be noted that he does make it very clear that he is writing with hindsight. Therefore it is likely that he was in fact projecting backwards to find the cause of John's later bad behaviour towards his brother. Newburgh's disapproving tone reflects the notion that being overly generous may in fact be an unmanly behaviour. Bearing in mind the problem of gender balance for kings, which has been identified by Herrup, it could even be a feminising performance of overly generous largesse as it was seen to have been extreme.[73] Newburgh's comments on the matter are therefore worth viewing as a whole:

> *… minus quidem legitima et plus justo fraterna provisione…. Verum hæc ejus in fratrem immoderata atque improvida largitas, multa gravia mala sequenti tempore peperit, et profusum largitorem profunda pœnitudine castigavit. Indulta enim Joanni tetrarchia, fecit eum ambire monarchiam: unde et factus est de cetero fratri infidus, et ad ultimum manifeste infestus: quod nimirum plenius exponendi suum in ordine historiæ locum habebit.*

> He thus provided for him in a way that was scarcely legitimate, and one that hardly became a brother; but this immoderate and improvident liberality towards his brother produced many and great evils in the time that followed, and punished him, who bestowed so profusely, with deep regret. For John, being indulged with this tetrarchical power, became first ambitious of obtaining the monarchy, and afterwards faithless to his brother, and finally, manifestly hostile. This, however, will have its place in the order of our history, and be more fully explained.[74]

The blame for John's later behaviour is placed firmly upon Richard's head here. Newburgh chooses to use phrases such as "scarcely legitimate", "hardly became a brother"

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[71] WN, Book IV. Ch. 3
[72] Ibid.
[73] Herrup, C. 'The King's Two Genders' *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (July, 2006) pp. 493 – 510
[74] Ibid.

and "bestowed so profusely" in describing Richard's gifts to John, presumably in an effort to make his readers understand as fully as possible that such brotherly generosity was foolish at best and dangerous at worst.[75] So it seems that just as it was possible to have a bare minimum of brotherly affection, it was also possible to err on the other end of the spectrum and show too much. What is less clear is whether, as Newburgh implies, it was simply an excess of brotherly affection that led to Richard's "immoderate and improvident liberality" with his younger brother or whether there were other factors involved.

It is possible that Richard was attempting to learn from his father's behaviour towards lesser males in the family hierarchy in giving John such grants of land. Henry had withheld the lands and associated incomes that accompanied the titles he bestowed on his sons preferring instead to provide a cash allowance; a situation that had repeatedly lead his sons into rebellion against him during his lifetime. Was Richard therefore attempting to give John enough responsibility and income to keep him from a play for power the minute his brother was far enough on his crusading journey to be out of his reach? If so Richard must have had doubts about the success of such a plan given his attempts to have John remain out of England during his absence.[76] One thing is sure, whatever Richard's motivations for providing for his younger brother with such generosity it backfired, John did attempt to take his kingdom and it seems that had Richard remained absent for much longer, with Philip of France's assistance, John may have had a real possibility of succeeding.

In terms of expected behaviour between brothers it is possible to discern some common threads and it seems that these follow similar lines to other masculine ideal behaviours of the time. Firstly a brother was expected to display loyalty to his brothers above all other loyalties an individual may hold, with the possible exception of one's father or one's king. (Of course in many of the examples here which fall within the royal social strata, the elder brother and the king was the same person.) One was expected to behave honourably in

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[75] This links directly to the importance of concepts of husbandry to medieval masculine ideologies as discussed in Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 58 – 66

[76] Devizes, pp. 13 - 14

relation to a brother and to maintain a bond of fidelity. Perhaps the element of "good" brotherly behaviour that runs through all of the examples above is that of obedience to the elder brother by the younger. The concept of obedience to the superior male within the social structure is seen repeatedly through each example. Though it must be remembered that in each of the three royal examples the elder brother is the head of the family in question, there is no living father to command a higher loyalty; in the case of William Longbeard it is reasonably safe to assume that his elder brother is also head of the family as he is supporting Longbeard financially in the manner of a father figure. In every case it is the younger brother who has broken this rule of obedience: Bishop Henry ignores King Stephen's orders to prevent the passage of his enemies and instead allies with them; Geoffrey of Nantes rebels against Henry II and is humiliated; John turns to Richard's enemy in the hope of stealing his brother's crown. Even in Newburgh's cautionary tale of William Longbeard, the younger brother is the one who was behaving in an unbrotherly manner. All the chroniclers that have commented on these breaches of correct behaviour condemn the younger brother for his breach and even when Newburgh initially lays the blame for John's treachery upon Richard's decision to give him land and power when the matter is discussed at length later in the work it was John who received Newburgh's disapproval. It seems then that the masculine, chivalric ideals of honour, loyalty, fidelity and obedience are elements that run through many, if not all, aspects of twelfth-century high status male experience, even in family relationships, in brotherhood. Also highlighted by these repeated patterns of behaviour is the competitive nature of masculine hierarchies, with the younger brother in each case attempting to compete for his elder brother's land, money, power or position at the head of the patriarchal hierarchy.[77]

The notion of loyalty between brothers stands out as the primary factor in good behaviours. Therefore a discussion of the bonds of loyalty between Henry II's sons is warranted.

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[77] There is a brief discussion on the competitive nature of masculine hierarchies in Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) p. 134

5.4: How loyal to each other were Henry II's sons?

Each of Henry's four sons holds a well-justified reputation for turning against their father at one stage or another in their lives. But, what needs to be more closely examined is their tendency to fight both alongside and against each other. By exploring the brothers' actions and motivations during the two large scale rebellions that involved three of the four brothers against Henry II in 1173 and 1183, it may be possible to determine what the driving forces of the brothers were when choosing sides in such inter-generational conflicts. Was it moral choice, familial loyalty, personal gain, masculine posturing or a combination of these? As we have seen, in 1173 the Young King felt that his income was too low and that relying on his father for hand-outs was humiliating; it reflected badly on his manhood and reputation. But, were these grievances enough to propel him into all-out war with his father and drag his brothers into his quarrel? Or were there other factors involved?

Both William Aird and Bjorn Weiler discuss rebellions against kings in the Middle Ages. Aird's work on William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose is of particular interest as it directly involves a son against his father however; Curthose's brothers did not join their brother in the rebellion, although William Rufus did fight alongside his father against his brother.[78] Weiler's work on thirteenth century German and English rebellions also discusses a father-son rebellion; that of Henry VII of Germany against his father Frederick II Holy Roman Emperor.[79] Weiler also discusses the 1173 rebellion of the Young King; neither work however discusses the involvement of brothers in these rebellions beyond noting their presence.[80] That Henry II's sons sometimes cooperated with each other against their father, yet at other times sided with their father against a brother, offers a unique view of the nature of masculine behaviours in the context of the performance of brotherly expectations.

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[78] Aird, W. M. 'Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son' in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999) pp. 39 – 55
[79] Weiler, B. *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215 - c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2011)
[80] Weiler, B. 'Kings and sons: princely rebellions and the structures of revolt in Western Europe, c.1170 - 1280', *Historical Research,* 82/215 (February 2009) pp. 17 – 40

Like the Young King, both Richard and Geoffrey had titles and land promised to them, Richard had been promised his mother's lands in the South and had been invested as nominal Duke of Aquitaine a year or so before the outbreak of hostilities. While Geoffrey was betrothed to a wealthy heiress, Constance of Brittany, whose extensive lands would come to him upon their eventual marriage, but which were at the time under Henry's administration as her guardian. Both appear on the surface to be in positions where their lands were secure. They were still young, approaching their fifteenth and sixteenth birthdays respectively at the start of the rebellion, ages where they perhaps should expect their father to exercise control over both their lands and their income. Both, unlike the Young King, were as yet unmarried and therefore were not under significant social pressure to be head of their own households. It seems that the short answer to the question of the younger brothers' involvement is another family member, their mother.

When examining the reasons behind Richard and Geoffrey's participation in their brother's campaign for power the influence of Eleanor needs to be considered. That Eleanor played an active role in the rebellion is well recorded in the sources. Newburgh explains that the Young King '...*partes Aquitaniæ clam adiit, et duos fratres impuberes ibidem cam matre consistentes, Richardum scilicet et Gaufridum sollicitatos, connivente, ut dicitur, matre, in Franciam secum traduxit.'* [...went secretly into Aquitaine, where his two youthful brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, were residing with their mother; and with her connivance, as it is said, brought them with him into France.][81] It is the term "with her connivance" that is of interest here as Eleanor's involvement was certainly not a clandestine affair; she was open and active in her support of her sons throughout the rebellion. Peter of Blois wrote to Eleanor during the conflict entreating her to return with her sons to her husband.[82] He refers to Eleanor as the delinquent one in her marriage and claims that her actions will result in ruin for everyone in the kingdom.[83] For Peter the blame for the conflict is clear, Eleanor's refusal to return to her husband would mean that she would be the cause of widespread disaster. Peter begs Eleanor

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[81] WN, Book II. Ch. 27
[82] Peter of Blois, Letter 154 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/eleanor.asp> [Accessed 25 September 2009]
[83] Ibid.

to advise her sons to be obedient and respectful to their father because Henry had suffered greatly at the hands of his family.[84]

The motivations of Richard and Geoffrey are not as clear cut as they may appear in the first instance. Was it genuine anger with their father over land and inheritance issues? Was it Eleanor's maternal influence that was the primary driving source? Or was it instead that they saw the possibilities for personal gain at low risk to themselves? After all should they lose to their father they would most likely (as was in fact the case) be forgiven on account of their young ages and treated fairly leniently. But on the other hand, should the rebellion succeed, there was real potential for reward from the new king, who would presumably be suitably grateful for his younger brothers giving him the loyalty that should have been their father's as head of the family. Under the "conditions" of correct brotherly behaviour this would seem to be a sensible option for the younger two siblings, so for Richard and Geoffrey the 1173 rebellion could well have appeared to be a win/win situation.

The rebellion of 1183, if Newburgh is to be taken at face value, was simply another case of sons against father. He confidently proclaims that the Young King:

> *Juventutem quoque ingressus, eandem adolescentiæ suæ noluit esse dissimilem; et prævaricator, non tantum naturæ, ut prius, verum etiam solemnium pactorum, rebellavit iterum contra partem.*

> When he approached manhood[85] he determined that this state of life should resemble his boyish days; and, not only an apostate to nature, but even to solemn covenants, he rebelled a second time against his father.[86]

Newburgh then continues: '*Pater vero, cum rebelles filios blandis delinire mandatis frustra tentasset, improbis eorum ausibus obviaturus, fines Aquitannicos eum exercitu ingressus est.*' [Their father, having in vain attempted to soothe his rebellious sons with offers

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Note here that he is still "approaching manhood" at the age of twenty eight, ten years after we are told by the same source that he had "reached the age of manhood".
[86] WN, Book III. Ch. 7

of peace, entered the confines of Aquitaine with an army, purposing to combat their wicked designs.][87]

While Newburgh does at least acknowledge that there was a quarrel between the brothers in his account, he places the blame for that disagreement squarely on Henry's actions and the Young King's reactions to them. However, Hoveden gives a far more detailed account, which points instead to fraternal tension and disagreement as the primary catalyst for the outbreak of hostilities rather than the father-son rebellion implied by Newburgh.

What Hoveden claims to have sparked the rebellion was not Henry's actions, but rather Richard's behaviour in relation to paying homage to his brother and to his activities at the castle at Clairvaux.[88] He explains that after spending Christmas together in 1182, Henry ordered the Young King to receive homage from Richard and Geoffrey. Upon this order, and 'obediens patri' [in obedience to his father], we are told that he received the homage of Geoffrey, and was willing to receive it from Richard, but Richard refused to do homage to him.[89] Afterward, when Richard changed his mind and offered to do homage to him, his eldest brother refused to receive it. Richard reacted badly to this slight, apparently conveniently forgetting that he had snubbed his brother first, and withdrew from his father's court.[90] He travelled immediately to Poitou, his own territory, where we are informed he busied himself building some new castles and fortifying the old ones. Unfortunately Richard also fortified the Castle at Clairvaux, which lay across the border in territory that was under the Young King's administration at the time.[91] It seems that Richard was preparing for battle some time before the rebellion proper began and in doing so he broke the unwritten rule of obedience to an elder brother.

[87] Ibid.
[88] RH, Vol. II p. 274 [Trans. Vol. II p. 21]
[89] Ibid. p. 273 [Trans. Vol. II p. 20]
[90] Ibid. p. 273 - 274 [Trans. Vol. II p. 20- 21]
[91] Ibid.

Richard's preparations were not to be in vain, the Young King acted swiftly and (according to Hoveden) '*Rex autem frater ejus sectus est eum per mandatum comitum et baronum Pictaviæ qui adhærentes ei damna multa fecerunt comiti Ricardo.*' [At the request of such of the earls and barons of Poitou as adhered to him and who inflicted many losses on Earl Richard the king, his brother, pursued him.][92] Neither was the Young King alone in his endeavours: '*Gaufridus vero comes Britanniæ in Pictaviam venit cum exercitu mango ad auxiliandum regi fratri suo.*' [Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, also came to Poitou, with a large force, to assist the king, his brother.][93] And it is at this point that Henry himself becomes involved with the whole debacle. Only when Richard had perceived that he could not make headway against the forces of his brothers, did he send for assistance to his father. Who, '*…magno congregato exercitu festinanter advenit, et obsedit castellum de Limoges, quod paulo ante traditum erat regi filio suo.*' […raising a great army, came in all haste, and laid siege to the castle of Limoges, which had been a short time before surrendered to the king, the son.][94]

Hoveden's account is supported by Ralph of Diceto and Gervase of Canterbury; both of whom recognise the role of Richard's disagreement with the Young King in the outbreak of the rebellion.[95] Even Gerald of Wales, usually so quick to remove any and all blame from the shoulders of the Young King, agrees that it was his '*…dissentionem inter ipsum et… Richardum….*' […quarrel between him and Richard] that drove him to war with his father for the second time.[96] The evidence suggests that it was the breakdown of the sibling rather than the father/son relationship that was at the core of the 1183 rebellion. Given that the brothers were fighting each other for some time before Henry became involved it should probably be questioned as to how far this could even be called a rebellion. John, who was by then seventeen years old – the same age Richard was at the end of the first rebellion – is not

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[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid. p. 274 [Trans. Vol. II p.21]
[94] Ibid.
[95] GC, Vol. I pp. 303 – 305; Diceto, Vol. II pp. 18 – 19
[96] *Princes,* p. 29 [My translation]

mentioned by any source as a participant on either side, despite being recorded as having been with Henry in both Normandy and Le Mans during that year.[97]

In 1183 the alliance of the brothers had fallen apart, they were no longer brothers in arms, united against their father, that bond was broken when Richard took up weapons against his siblings in order to protect his own inheritance from them.[98] It should also be noted that Richard may perhaps have been attempting prove a point to the Young King over his southern holdings. That Geoffrey remained loyal to his eldest brother is interesting, and could in large part be because the lands promised to Geoffrey were not dependant on the splitting of their father's holdings.[99] Brittany was secure and it was discrete from the so called Angevin Empire, therefore Geoffrey, just as he did in 1173, had little to risk in defying his father and Richard, but again, and for the same reasons, his situation had the potential to gain him a great deal.

Over these two rebellions we can see that the alliances and allegiances between the brothers were somewhat fluid. Those allegiances could shift according to the needs of the individuals, with inheritance and control seeming to be the key to those needs. John alone was the only one not to enter into battle directly against or with his brothers during either of those rebellions. This was however in large part due to his age rather than being any kind of moral choice, certainly in the 1173 rebellion. John's reasons for remaining separate from the conflict in 1183 are unclear, but the most likely explanation is that his father wished him to remain neutral and John decided to be an obedient son. After all, should all three of his elder brothers die fighting among themselves, or even displease the king to a point of disinheritance, John would stand to be the natural successor to all of his father's holdings. For John then, the best option was likely to be to play the role of dutiful son while being careful not to anger any of his brothers, and keeping out of the fight was surely the easiest way to achieve all of those aims.

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[97] *Itinerary,* p. 252 and p. 254
[98] *Princes,* p. 29
[99] RH, Vol. II p. 274 [Trans. Vol. II p.21]

What emerges most clearly from the rebellions of 1173 and 1183 is that Richard, supposedly the very paragon of honourable knighthood, the epitome of ideal chivalric manhood, was in fact the most likely to change his allegiance. He collaborated first with two of his brothers against Henry, then with his father against his brothers. The Young King and Geoffrey, commonly seen as the most scheming, cunning and calculating of the siblings remained loyal to each other throughout the upheavals they themselves had frequently caused.

It was John who was responsible for perhaps the most dubious of all the complexities of loyalty and alliance, remaining as neutral as he could while maintaining the simultaneous images of dutiful son and harmless youngest brother in 1183. Of course John did eventually show some ability to follow in his brothers' footsteps and change his loyalties, as we have seen in what was perhaps the most cynical move of all; switching as he did in 1189 from the declining father he had ever shown loyalty to, to the brother who was quite clearly in his ascendance.

Brotherhood, therefore, can be a useful tool by which to measure the social and political proofs required by young males during the errant phase of maturation according to the model shown in figure 3 (p. 46). Henry II and his sons can all be seen to achieve those proofs at least in part via their exclusively male lived experiences of being brothers. In doing so they were indicating an ability to display the correct masculine behaviours for adulthood. Additionally brotherhood was frequently required to be used to define their appropriate place within the familial masculine hierarchy. This was both in the context of their individual places in the order of brothers from eldest to youngest, and in the correct display in relation to the eldest becoming the head of the patriarchal hierarchy after Henry had died.

There were several kinds of brothers and brotherhoods in the twelfth century, and several uses of the terms. The familial and religious aspects of brotherhood are largely the same, although the use of a simple "brother" to refer to in-law familial ties has fallen into

disuse in western society. Similarly, as the political landscape has changed the notion of "sworn brothers" in a political context has also failed to continue in its twelfth-century function. Although close political relationships or alliances may still reflect some of the ideals of such a notion such as reciprocal loyalty and promises of military support it would be unthinkable today to refer to them in the same way. The concept of brothers in arms is interesting in the way it appears to have survived. We are all familiar with the fictional representations of a "band of brothers" type of masculine relationship in a modern military context, but it may be possible to see similar relationships in other areas of modern life. Close male friendships such as the one described in *Roland and Oliver* are more common than perhaps it appears at first glance. It is not unusual to hear men refer to a close personal or family friend as being "like a brother to me". The modern slang term "bromance" also has echoes of the idea of such a bond between men that is entirely platonic, yet close, personal and enduring.

The behaviour patterns expected between brothers in the high status families of the twelfth century can be seen to follow similar lines to the masculine chivalric ideals of the day.[100] The terms "loyalty", "fidelity", "honour" and "obedience" appear as frequently for brothers as they do for knights. This is perhaps unsurprising given that they are also regularly used to describe general masculine ideals for the upper echelons of society. What is interesting is that those concepts of "good" brotherliness are dependent on familial hierarchical structures, just as the same concepts in the context of chivalry are interlinked with societal and military hierarchies. Loyalty, honour, fidelity and obedience were due in the first instance to the head of the family, initially the father and after his death to the eldest brother. There is not much documentary evidence for families with more than one younger brother, but it is reasonable to assume that each brother would owe his loyalty to the eldest first, then the next eldest and so on until the youngest brother in line.

In return for this loyalty the eldest brother in a fatherless family would be expected to provide for his younger siblings in the manner of a father until they are able to provide for

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[100] See Keen, *Chivalry* for an overview of this phenomenon.

themselves, or until a point of detriment to the head of family's own household was reached. In short they took over the top of the masculine hierarchy of the family, which by extension for royalty meant taking over as the head of the societal patriarchal hierarchy.

Brotherly affection appears to have been gradable in its nature. It could be seen as merely "sufficient", implying that there was a minimum, and so it follows that there could also be affection between brothers that was inadequate by society's standards, or brotherly love could be "complete", the correct amount. The other end of the scale, an overabundance of affection for a sibling, was seen as being as problematic as the lower end. To be overly generous was not considered to be a good thing, and an elder brother could and frequently would be criticised for "spoiling" a younger sibling. In this way the elder/younger brother situation could be similar to the parent/child relationship. Forgiveness too appears to be a top down phenomenon from elder to younger sibling, there are no examples in the accounts of Henry's sons of a younger sibling being asked or expected to forgive an older brother. As we have seen, such loyalty between the brothers was not guaranteed, it could be fluid in individual cases, a fact that did not pass by many of the contemporary commentators.

Open displays that breached the ideals of brotherly behaviour were frequently commented upon by the chroniclers. Overly generous behaviour to a younger brother was seen as a flaw in Richard's otherwise positive image. But it was for those behaviours that were deemed "bad" that the chroniclers saved the most vitriolic of their comments. The language used in such commentaries was emphatic in its condemnation and leave the reader in no doubt as to the intended message. Newburgh was particularly vehement in his observations, using terms such as, *"dedecore"* [disgrace]*, "rupti naturæ legibus"* [having broken the laws of nature]*,* and *"inverecundissime"* [most shamefully] to describe unbrotherly behaviour.[101] Nor was Newburgh alone, the author of the *Gesta* similarly described such breaches of brotherly conduct as being difficult to believe using phrases such as "*dubium*" [doubtful] and

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[101] WN, Book IV. Ch. 32

"*incredibile*" [incredible] to express the right minded reaction to such violations.[102] However it is once again to Newburgh that we have to look for perhaps the most damning declaration of a bad brother; he goes as far as to call a disloyal brother an *"inhumanissimi hominis"* [most inhuman man] and declare his behaviour *"tanta naturæ injuria"* [so great an outrage against nature].[103] The message here is clear, brotherly behaviour, the loyalty, honour and fidelity and obedience to the elder was seen to be an entirely natural phenomenon and not a social construct.

Henry's sons did not always behave toward each other as "nature" intended for brothers, they were known to change their loyalties between their brothers as the situation dictated would be best for them as individuals. However, when it came to maintaining appearances of proper brotherly relationships in public it appears that they could, if need be, behave in the expected manner, at least once they were adults. Richard and John, the only two of the brothers to survive their father and therefore be in the situation of the eldest being the head of the family, did manage to come to some sort of understanding over John's betrayal of Richard, even if it did require, as brotherly quarrels often do, the intervention of their mother to bring the matter to a close.

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[102] *GS,* pp. 88 – 89
[103] WN, Book V. Ch. 20

6: The Final Requirements: Marriage and Financial Independence

Like brotherhood, to become a husband was a uniquely male experience, as were his responsibilities. Marriage therefore was central to an adult male's lived experiences in the medieval period. Any man not destined for the church was expected to marry and to be able to perform correctly both as a husband and as the head of his economically independent household. So, for each adult male that lived within the patriarchal, societal and familial hierarchies was another, minor, hierarchy that he was to lead as husband. For those that had met all other markers, becoming the head of the household hierarchy was the factor that propelled a youth into *vir* status and for that two elements were required, a wife and an independent income.

This chapter examines the final steps needed for fully adult masculine status as presented in the model in figure 3 (p. 46). Marriage and financial independence were closely connected in the twelfth century and therefore are best discussed in tandem. They have been considered in previous studies as a single entity under the umbrella of "marriage".[1] However, I argue that, due to the fluidity of the relationship between the two, they are in fact better examined as separate but linked elements of the final stage. As the model shows they could take place in either order, but both needed to be in place before an individual could properly be considered a *vir*. In the cases of younger sons it was not uncommon for both to occur simultaneously via marriage to an heiress, and as we shall see, this held true for two of the five men under examination in this study. For the lives of the other three men being explored here, the path through these final two stages were more clearly taken as separate steps.

In order to review these two stages as signifiers of adult masculinity, first the two models of marriage, church and secular, are discussed. The chapter then moves on to discuss the increasing attempts by the church to hold influence over the act of marriage during this

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[1] See section 1.2.4 p. 21 – 22

period. Marriage for the upper classes was more than a simple acquisition by a man of a wife, and so the political nature and associated parental influence on the selection of a suitable bride are then considered. Finally a discussion on the subject of ending a marriage through divorce investigates the possibilities of a man choosing his own wife once head of the patriarchal hierarchy.

6.1: Two Models of Marriage

It has been argued that the institution of marriage in northern France saw a shift during the twelfth century as two distinct patterns or models of the ideal married state evolved. These patterns were both opposing and antagonistic despite their having the same basic ideology. The Church or ecclesiastical model aimed primarily to safeguard the divine order, whereas the emerging aristocratic model evolved to preserve the social order.[2] Both models held that marriage to be the union of two people, one male and one female, ultimately for the purpose of procreation. However they differed in significant ways, most noticeably when it came either to deciding who was a suitable match or when an individual had a desire to end their marriage.

Male dominance over women was a factor in both the aristocratic and church models of marriage. The aristocratic model upheld male superiority as a means of maintaining social order, but the main concern was less about the "woman's place" than it was about the issue of procreation; it served to ensure that the woman conceived only her husband's child.[3] In medieval society there was a great deal of anxiety that another man's child, and consequently another man's blood, would become a claimant to the inheritance due to the lineage via unfaithfulness and dishonesty of the wife.[4]

With marriage under the control of both the Church and the superior male of the family there were many areas where a man's masculine status could be either enhanced or

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[2] Duby, G. *Medieval Marriage, Two Models from Twelfth Century France*, Forster, E. (Trans.) (Baltimore, 1978) p. 3
[3] Fenton, K. A. *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008) p. 54 (for male dominance via marriage) and p. 74 (for anxiety surrounding female sexual transgressions)
[4] Ibid. p. 7

threatened via his marriage. Henry II seems to have had a particular skill in using his son's marriages to both his own advantage politically, while at the same time using them to repress his sons' adult male status.

For many commentators of high medieval society, the majority of whom were churchmen, marriage was primarily a mechanism for the control of sexual relationships. For Christian thinkers of the time, sex was sinful and could usually only be justified for procreation.[5] It was only within marriage that legitimate sexual relationships could occur and sexual restraint, or self-control, within marriage was to be admired.[6] Marriage was required for legitimate children, and legitimate children were required for the stability of inheritance, the family group and the community at large.[7] It is perhaps not surprising, given that control, restraint and mastery of the self were central to ideal masculinity in the upper levels of twelfth-century society, that these elements are also present in the area of married life.

The church model also upheld male supremacy and the Bible repeatedly reinforces that message: '*mulieri quoque dixit … sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui'* [unto the woman he said … thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee][8], '*mulier diligens corona viro suo et putredo in ossibus eius quae confusione res dignas gerit'* [a virtuous woman is a crown to her husband: but she that maketh ashamed is as rottenness in his bones][9], '*mulieres viris suis subditae sint sicut Domino quoniam vir caput est mulieris sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae ipse salvator corporis sed ut ecclesia subiecta est Christo ita et mulieres viris suis in omnibus'* [Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let wives be to their own husbands in everything.][10] Clerical commentators often repeated these verses to illustrate the "natural order" in a marriage and to encourage women to perform their role as

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[5] Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest* p. 57
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. p. 59
[8] Genesis 3:16 (All Bible Quotes from King James version/*Latin Vulgate*)
[9] Proverbs 12:4
[10] Ephesians 5:22 - 24

wife correctly for the benefit of her marriage and the good of the household as well as for the protection and extension of the family with the focus falling primarily on the male's bloodline. Lineage was not however a purely male concern.

Twelfth and thirteenth century men were not at all reluctant to claim lineage via their mothers, as Henry II did with his claim to the English throne, and although women were not usually dominant within medieval families the blood, honour and connections they brought to a marriage were often highly prized, so it is unsurprising that medieval men often positively rejoiced in the family connections of their wives.[11] Given this it seems that it was frequently honour rather than gender that was the overmastering concern as far as lineage was concerned.[12] This accounts for the observation that it was common for medieval thinkers to stress the importance for noblemen to behave in a manner that would not dishonour ones lineage on either side of the family.[13]

6.2: Increasing Church Influence on Marriage

The Church can be seen to have been attempting to assert greater control in the marriage ceremony throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the fact that there was repeated issuing of legislation on the act of marriage during the period suggests that the early attempts were not successful. In 1076 the council of Westminster declared that '…no man should give his daughter or female relative to anyone without priestly blessing. If he does otherwise, it should not be adjudged a proper (*legitimum*) marriage but like the union of fornicators. We forbid in every way substitutes for churches.'[14] Clearly this was not universally

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[11] Murray, J. 'Hiding Behind the Universal Man, Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages', in Bullough, V. L. and Brundage, J. A. (Eds.) *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York 2000) pp. 123 – 52.
[12] Crouch, *Birth of Nobility* p. 123
[13] Bennett, M. 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France c.1050 - c.1225', in Hadley, D. M. (Ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow 1999) pp. 71 - 88
[14] Internet Medieval Sourcebook: Council Legislation on Marriage ENGLISH & LATERAN COUNCIL LEGISLATION, COUNCIL OF WESTMINSTER, 1076.<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/council.html> [Accessed 13 November 2008]

effective as the same council in 1173 found it necessary to reiterate that 'matrimony is not to be secret but open, in the face of the church.'[15]

It is interesting that there is such emphasis on both the male and female consent to marriage in an unquestionably male dominated society; to examine the reasons for this it is necessary to examine early Church writers on the married state. St Jerome quotes the bible verse so commonly used in support of this position: 'but if they have not continency, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn'.[16] The continence function of marriage was also a feature of the aristocratic model of marriage. However, for the aristocratic model faithfulness was for a more practical than spiritual matter; incontinence was frowned on because of the importance of preserving the family's bloodline and inheritance rather than to preserve their souls.

In the aristocratic model male infidelity was seen as less serious, as can be seen by the number of illegitimate children that were acknowledged by their married fathers compared to the almost non-existent cases of wives' illegitimate children being accepted into the household. (In contrast, the Church model, of course, condemns all infidelity, all sexual incontinence committed by either gender as sinful.) The aristocratic model required procreation for the reason of having an heir and the continuation of the bloodline. For males of high social standing the production of many offspring also served to enhance or reinforce their adult male identity, this was increased if the children were male as they were considered to be more likely to be fathered by a properly masculine, properly adult male.

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[15] Internet Medieval Sourcebook: Council Legislation on Marriage ENGLISH & LATERAN COUNCIL LEGISLATION, COUNCIL OF WESTMINSTER, 1173.
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/council.html> [Accessed 13 November 2008] It should also be noted that this was not the last piece of legislation on marriage by the church, which continued into the thirteenth century and parts of which can still be seen in the modern marriage ceremony. Also see: Brett, M. Whitelock, D. and Brooke, C. N. L. *Councils & synods with other documents relating to the English church* (Oxford, 1981)

[16] Ibid. (See also 1 Corinthians 7:9: 'But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.' (King James), '*quod si non se continent nubant melius est enim nubere quamuri'* (Latin Vulgate))

The final issue that divided the Church and aristocratic models was that of the canon laws regarding degrees of consanguinity. The aristocratic model usually involved matters of inheritance and could serve as a means to reunite land holding that had been split between sons initially and become scattered across several branches of the family. This tended towards marriages between those who were within Church-sanctioned degrees of consanguinity. Such a tendency towards marrying cousins in the twelfth century meant that in practice, at least in the upper strata of society, the incest laws reached a point that they lost all rigour outside the third degree.[17] Frequently degrees of kinship were ignored as inconvenient in order to pursue either profitable or politically advantageous marriages for the family as a whole. For medieval aristocracy, marriage was nearly without exception a political entity. The laws of consanguinity were also frequently used by members of aristocratic society in medieval Europe as a means by which males could legitimately set aside wives who failed to produce heirs, or even simply to end an unhappy marriage.

6.3: Political Nature for the Upper Classes

With such a strong emphasis on lineage it is not surprising that marriages were often, if not always, politically motivated rather than driven by love in the upper classes of medieval society. Such political motivations could include any, all or a combination of inheritance, property, power or alliance.

For the upper classes of twelfth-century society there was rarely a case of marriage purely for love. It was instead a wholly political or family matter. Children were valuable commodities to the family and their marriages were used for that purpose. Sometimes they were used to unite old family lands that had been separated between sons in earlier

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[17] Ibid. p. 8. See also the Internet Medieval Sourcebook for tables of kindred at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/images/kind-deg.gif> [Accessed 13 November 2008] Under the Roman system of computation of degrees of kin the third degree would fall between sibling and first cousin, under the Germanic system the third degree directly correlates to second cousins. Presumably Duby is referring to the Germanic system as there is little evidence of siblings and/or first cousin marriages in the twelfth century but marriages between second cousins, while not the norm, do appear.

generations. Or a marriage could be used to seal a peace treaty, such as that of the Young King's marriage to Margaret or Richard's betrothal to Alys.[18]

Probably the most frequently occurring political motive for marriage in the Middle Ages was that of adding land or property to the family's holdings. Every noble head of household would have been open to, or actively seeking, opportunities to expand the family's landholdings, secure their own borders, or to provide for younger sons without splitting the ancestral lands.

There were two distinct phases in the marriage process in the Western Europe in the Middle Ages, the betrothal and the wedding.[19] The betrothal was the initial phase and carried different significance and formality in different cultures. In general it was common for some time to pass between the betrothal and the wedding, in some cases this was comparable to a period of engagement such as is common today and provided time to plan and prepare for the nuptial ceremony and celebration. In twelfth-century France however, the betrothal was usually conducted in childhood and served as a form of marker of a future marriage that was generally considered binding and any period of time between betrothal and marriage therefore served simply to allow the young couple to become old enough to marry. However, the Church's insistence upon mutual consent of the couple meant that the Church distinguished betrothal and marriage by the fact that the former was dissoluble whereas the latter was not. In theory therefore a betrothal should not have been be able to have been enforced against the will of the bride or groom. In practice though a broken betrothal had the potential to have serious political consequences for the family and therefore loyalty to one's bloodline would often be enough to ensure that the wedding took place, however reluctantly that may have been.[20]

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[18] See figure 2 p. 26
[19] Duby, *Medieval Marriage* p. 63
[20] Ibid. p. 90

It was standard practice prior to the twelfth century for family landholdings to be split between all male children upon the death of the head of household. The eldest son would most commonly receive the largest and most valuable portion of the lands with a sliding scale of provision for any younger sons. Additionally, smaller portions still would be reserved as dower lands for daughters however; this meant that over several generations with multiple sons surviving to adulthood the lands of the core patriarchal line of the family would be gradually eroded.[21] Reuniting smaller inheritances with the original lands could be a powerful motive for marriage. However, this reason for marriage frequently resulted in unions between those within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, which was in direct conflict with the Church model for marriage. There is evidence that the Church did comment on such marriages both directly to the couple at the individual level and in the public domain. Those comments that survive appear to be aimed primarily at members of the higher social classes and while this does not rule out direct Church interference in lower class marriages it does seem likely that those of higher status, being in the public eye would attract more comment. This was because they were perceived as having a responsibility to set an example to their subjects, be they royal or manorial, and therefore they should have been showing the correct Church-approved behaviours. That they didn't apparently caused some consternation, St Bernard of Clairvaux was one influential Church figure who raised the question of incestuous marriage with those he believed to be guilty of it, he clearly felt no limitation as to who he could comment upon giving his opinion of even the highest echelons of society. In September or October 1143 Bernard wrote to Cardinal Bishop Stephen of Palestrina pointing out that Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine were in an incestuous marriage as they were related in the third degree.[22]

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[21] This system of splitting lands can be seen in practice with Henry II and his sons. Henry allocated his own lands to his eldest legitimate son, Henry the Young King, Eleanor's lands were designated by Henry to go to Richard I, Geoffrey of Brittany was to receive only Brittany, the lands of his wife Constance and John as the youngest was to receive only cash and goods causing Henry II himself to coin the term 'Lackland' in regard to his youngest son. This is documented in: WN, Book II. Ch. 18

[22] The consanguinity of Louis and Eleanor has been explained by John Besly in *History of France* as follows: Eleanor was the daughter of William count of Aquitaine. Aldeardis, great grandmother of Eleanor, was sister to the wife of Humbert II, count of St. Jean de Maurienne and so Aldeardis was aunt to Adela, mother of King Louis. Holdsworth, C. et al. (Eds.) *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Sutton 1998) Letter number 300 pp. 369 - 372

Gaining land through the female line, particularly through wives, was a common way in which twelfth-century families could provide an independent landed income for their younger sons.[23] Cadets could, and often were, matched with heiresses in order to provide the groom with an income (and sometimes also a title) without the need to divide the paternal inheritance. This could often be to the advantage of the younger son, as he would be entitled to his wife's inheritance upon marriage whereas the eldest son would have to wait until his father's death before gaining control of his patriarchal ancestral lands. This could severely delay the move into fully adult status; even if the eldest son were provided for it would be via the benevolence of his father, a superior male, and therefore could not be seen as a true signifier of adulthood. Tensions between the eldest son and his younger siblings were also frequently, at least in part, a result of this imbalance of control and incomes.

Therefore as marriage was seen as a political tool it follows that there was usually a great deal of parental involvement in the marriage process, especially in the selection of a spouse. Where parents were deceased or otherwise absent the role could, and usually would, be filled by either the senior male of the family or in exceptional cases by a matriarchal figure. Therefore this must in part be related to the patriarchal hierarchies of the family structure. Such a high level of parental involvement, when combined with the political motivations for marriages of alliance or property frequently resulted in child marriages. This was something that the church in particular took exception to and attempts were made to limit the age of consent for marriage, however the tradition of betrothal prior to marriage provided a means by which to circumvent the official position and the rules of consent for betrothal did take into account the fact that often children or even infants were involved. As previously noted, the existence of child marriage must mean that being married cannot be considered an adult masculine marker in and of itself.

All of these political motives can clearly be seen in the variety of marriages of the Angevin males in the twelfth century. Additionally child marriage was also a feature in the

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[23] Duby, *Medieval Marriage* pp. 101 - 102

family, although only in one case. Child betrothals however, whether they led to a marriage or not, were commonplace within the noble classes in general and the Angevins in particular.

Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine united vast amounts of land in modern-day France. The marriage of Henry's parents had already united England, Normandy, Anjou and Maine. Adding Eleanor's paternal inheritance (she had no brothers that survived their father) of Aquitaine, Poitou and Gascony to those already considerable holdings made Henry one of the richest and most powerful men in twelfth-century Europe.

Eleanor was Henry's senior by eleven years, which may account for the common belief that she was the driving force behind the union. It is clear that she was somewhat an expert in making good marriages as the matches she arranged for her daughters later in her life indicate that she had a formidable reputation in that usually female dominated area. Whoever was the instigator it is unlikely that Henry failed to see the substantial advantages to the marriage, especially when it came to adding Eleanor's lands to his own. The *Gesta* focuses on the quality of the land Eleanor brought to Henry, referring to Aquitaine as both the '*ditissimum comitatum*' [wealthiest county] and '*fecundam prouinciam*' [fertile provinces].[24] Newburgh preferred to emphasise the geographical size of her inheritance stating simply that Aquitaine extends from the borders of Anjou and Brittany to the Pyrenees.[25] However, by making sure to point out the borders of Eleanor's land Newburgh was also stressing the important strategic position that Aquitaine occupied. As we have seen, Henry was a well-educated man; he must surely have seen the advantage to gaining these lands, not least because through Eleanor's recent divorce from the king of France and speedy remarriage Henry was effectively gaining control of the land that had so recently been lost to Louis, one of his greatest political and territorial rivals.[26]

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[24] *GS,* pp. 226 – 227
[25] WN, Book I, Ch. 31
[26] Eleanor was divorced from Louis in March 1152 and married Henry in May of the same year. The divorce was granted on the grounds of consanguinity although Eleanor's failure to provide a son is the more likely explanation for the split. *GS,* p. 226 [footnote 1]

The significance of this was not lost on Louis either and he immediately launched attacks on Henry, the *Gesta* explains:

Rex autem super his uehementer indignatus, quod fecundam prouinciam Aquitaniæ, filiarum suarum quas ex regina susceperat iustam ut æstimabat hereditatem, duci Normanniæ cammiserat, ad arma conuolans ipsum grauissime deucem ifestare cœpit, ascitoque Eustachio Regis Stephani filio, qui sororem suam desponderat, quædam castella Normanniæ contermaina habere permisit, ut ex illis dumtaxat frequenti discursione per Normanniamerumpens, quam grauius er quam molestius posset in ducum insurgeret.

The king [Louis], highly incensed at this [Eleanor's remarriage], because she had delivered over to the Duke of Normandy the fertile provinces of Aquitaine, the lawful inheritance, in his opinion, of the daughters he had had by the queen, flew to his arms and began very violent attacks on the duke, and allying himself with King Stephen's son Eustace, who had married his [Louis'] sister, handed over to him some castles of the border of Normandy, with the object of his making constant raids over Normandy from them and assailing the duke as heavily as possible.[27]

Louis may have been using his daughters by Eleanor as an excuse to attack Henry because if she were to bear Henry sons, Louis' daughters by her would be automatically disinherited from her lands. However, it is more likely that the loss of such a large and valuable amount of land to his most powerful neighbour was the true motivation behind the assaults, or at least the main motivating factor. It is also worth noting that the man Louis chose to help him in his attack on Henry immediately after the marriage was Eustace, son of King Stephen. Once again it was a marriage that connected the two men involved. While Eustace was the most obvious choice of ally given the circumstances, and he undoubtedly had his own reasons to make war on Henry after their encounters in England, it was Eustace's marriage to Louis' sister that provided him with the means to persist in harassing Henry in his continental holdings.

The potential advantages of a marriage to Eleanor were not limited to Henry's enemies; Gervase of Canterbury relates the story of Eleanor's flight from the French court following her divorce. She hastened away from the French court, eluded an attempt by the count of Blois to waylay her, escaped narrowly from an ambush laid by Henry's younger brother Geoffrey of

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[27] *GS*, p. 226 – 227

Nantes, and reached the safety of Poitou. There Henry joined her and they were married.[28] When discussing this event Warren does not comment further on the count of Blois' motivation to interfere with Eleanor. However, he does explain Geoffrey's reasons. Geoffrey was hoping to 'cut a figure in the world', to improve his status having been disappointed with his inheritance from his father, by marrying Eleanor himself.[29] This serves to underline just how advantageous a marriage prospect Eleanor was despite her age and previous marital status. It also appears to be an open display of the rivalry Geoffrey felt toward his older and more powerful brother and underlines the difficult position younger sons could face when they saw themselves to have been unfairly treated by their more senior family members.

The *Gesta* focuses on the aftermath of Henry and Eleanor's marriage but Newburgh give a brief account of the wedding itself:

> *Denique convenientes dux Normanniæ et illa loco conducto, pactum conjugale inierunt, minus quidem solemniter ratione personarum, sed cautiori providential, ne quit scilicet impedimenti pareret solemnis præparatio nuptiarum.*

> The queen and the duke of Normandy, having met at an appointed place, were then united by the conjugal tie, which was solemnised not very splendidly, in proportion to their rank, but with guarded prudence, lest any pompous preparation for their nuptials should allow any obstacle to arise.[30]

From this it is clear that both Henry and Eleanor must have been aware that there would be objections to the match and therefore decided to wed as quickly and quietly as possible before any serious objections could arise that prevented the marriage taking place at all. In addition, they were almost certainly aware of where such objections would come from given the trouble that Eleanor faced on her way to their wedding. It is interesting that Newburgh felt it necessary to mention rank-appropriate ceremony for the union as it suggests that normally there would be a great deal of display and pageantry involved in a marriage between people of such high status. Although Newburgh may have been thinking of Henry as king (which he was at the time of writing) rather than as a "mere" duke, nonetheless it seems that an amount of public spectacle would have been considered the norm. The marriage was

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[28] GC, Vol. I p.149 cited in Warren *Henry II* p. 45
[29] *GS*, p. 227
[30] WN, Book I, Ch. 31

also likely to have been objected to on rules regarding the of degree of consanguinity, which was after all the reason for her divorce, and under that canon law Eleanor and Henry were at least as closely related as Eleanor had been to her first husband.

Political alliances were also a strong motive for marriage in the twelfth century and it is clearly apparent in the marriage of Henry and Eleanor's third son Geoffrey to Constance of Brittany. Geoffrey's marriage served a dual purpose, as well as endowing him with land to support his new household, which will be addressed later; it was also an example of a marriage for reasons of alliance: a means by which the support of the Breton barons for Angevin policy could be more easily attained. While in practice such support could not be guaranteed simply by a marriage contract it can be argued that without one such an alliance would have been far less likely, family ties via minor branches or younger sons had enormously powerful potential for the main dynastic line if properly nurtured. If not then the power could fall to the "wrong" side of the newly formed family, such as can be seen in the marriage of Henry's eldest son, the Young King to Margaret, eldest daughter of the King Louis VII of France by his second marriage.

It has been argued that Henry II was the winner in the outcome of the tactical move of marrying the Young King to Margaret before they were of age; however this depends on the definition of tactical as a short-term move.[31] It is true that the betrothal of the youngsters was a strategic, long term action and that Henry was reacting to current events when he made the tactical, short term decision to bring the wedding forward.[32] Therefore it would be reasonable to assume that while Henry may have "won" the tactical gamble of the wedding itself, it was in fact Louis who came out better of the strategic betrothal of the children; the alliance intended by the Young King's marriage to Margaret of France clearly backfired on Henry II. Margaret did not bring land to the marriage, although she did bring three castles in the Vexin, a much disputed border region. Instead of land, it was hoped that the marriage would ease relations

[31] Digglemann, L. 'Marriage as a Tactical Response: Henry II and the Royal Wedding of 1160' *English Historical Review* Vol. 119, Issue 483 (2004) p. 954
[32] Ibid. pp. 956 - 958

between the couple's fathers, which, never cordial, had been distinctly frosty since Henry's

marriage to Louis' former wife. The alliance of the two families via the marriage of their

children did bring theoretical advantages to both sides.[33] It would mix the two bloodlines and

for Louis, who was yet to father a son, it would potentially see a grandson who would one day

rule England, Louis' most troublesome neighbour, as well as possibly France, should no son be

forthcoming for Louis. For Henry II a union with the French royal house had the potential to

calm fractious relations between the two most powerful families in Western Europe and

therefore leave him free to concentrate on bringing rebellious subjects into line. To say that

the alliance with the French royal family did not prove as valuable as had been hoped by the

Angevins is somewhat of an understatement. Additionally, as we will see, the Young King's

marriage actually had a negative impact on his attempts to prove his adult masculinity when

circumstances allowed Henry to remove Margaret from the Young King's influence.

Once old enough to feel the need to begin to establish himself as an adult the Young

King became frustrated with his father's failure to provide the money he needed to maintain a

household in the manner of an adult of his status. He turned instead to his father-in-law. Louis

took full advantage of his son-in-law's frustration and used the situation to destabilise both

Henry II personally and the Angevin dynasty more generally by encouraging the Young King to

rebel against his father. Newburgh reports that:

> *Cum enim idem crevisset, et pubes jam factus vellet cum sacramento et nomine*
> *rem sacramenti et nominis obtinere, et patri saltem conregnare: cum solus, ut ei*
> *a quibusdam insusurrabatur,de jure regnare deberet, quasi eo coronato regnum*
> *expirasset paternum….*

> When the prince [Henry the Young King], grew up to the age of manhood, he
> was impatient to obtain, with the oath and name, the reality of the oath and
> name, and at least to reign jointly with his father; though he ought of right to
> rule alone, for, having been crowned, the reign of his father had, as it were,
> expired -- at least it was so whispered to him by certain persons.[34]

Newburgh seems here to be merely hinting towards who may be responsible for the Young

King turning against his own father. However later in the same chapter Newburgh makes a

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[33] Children is the correct term here as the betrothal of Henry the Young King to Margaret of France took
place when The Young King was around three years old and Margaret was a young baby, they were
married two years later aged around five and two years old respectively.
[34] WN, Book II. Ch. 27

much clearer statement of blame as he records what he attributes as a direct quote from Louis as he talked with messengers from Henry II who had been sent to Louis' court to deliver a message to the Young King who was in residence with his father-in-law at the time, Louis asks:

> *"Quis mihi," inquit, "talia mandate?" "Rex," aiunt, "Anglorum." Et Ille: "Falsum est," inquit; "rex Anglorum ecce adest, per vos mihi nil mandate. Si autem partem hujus olim Anglorum regem nunc regem appellatis, scitote, quia rex ille mortuus est. Porro quod adhuc pro rege se erit, sum regnum filio, mundo teste, resignaverit, mature emendabitur."*

> "Who is it that sends this message to me?" [the messengers] replied, "The king of England." "It is false," [Louis] answered, "behold the king of England is here; and he sends no message to me by you -- but if, even now, you style his father king, who was formerly king of England, know ye that he, as king, is dead; and though he may still act as king, yet that shall soon be remedied, for he resigned his kingdom to his son, as the world is witness."[35]

To have such an influence over the heir of his most powerful neighbour was a gift to Louis and he must have been either highly persuasive or extremely clever in his manipulation of the Young King to override the deeply ingrained concept of honouring ones lineage. Additionally Newburgh uses the term "age of manhood" in referring to the eighteen year old Young King.[36] Usually twenty one would be considered the age of majority for knights, so to see eighteen in this context may indicate that the Young King was in fact by then seen as at an age to be a physically adult male, if only in retrospect.[37] There were different ages of majority depending upon status and without further evidence to the contrary eighteen for royalty in the twelfth century may have been the norm. However, given the context of the extract, it is also possible that Newburgh may simply be indicating that the Young King believed himself to be adult.

Although The Young King was eventually reunited with his father, the tension between them continued to bubble under the surface and a decade later it broke out once again into an open rebellion that was resolved only on the Young King's death. The reopening of hostilities indicates that the process started by Louis continued to have a destabilising effect on the

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] See Among others: Bedell, J. 'Memory and Proof of Age in England 1272 – 1327' *Past and Present,* No. 162 (February, 1999) pp. 3 – 27; Fowler, R. C. 'Legal Proofs of Age' *The English Historical Review'* Vol. 22, No. 85 (January, 1907) pp. 101 – 103; Walker, S. S. 'Proof of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England' *Medieval Studies* Vol. 35 (1973) pp. 306 – 323

Angevin dynasty for a considerable period of time. Therefore it can be said that ultimately the political advantage to the marriage between the Young King and Margaret of France fell solely with the bride's dynastic line.

Richard's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre was also a match made with alliance in mind.[38] Navarre bordered the southern edge of the Angevin lands and it was to Richard's advantage to have an ally in the furthest reaches of his lands. For the bride's father the advantage lay in having the protection such a powerful son-in-law could bring to a relatively small kingdom. However, the imbalance of power between the groom and the bride's family in this case led not to conflict but rather to the quiet, unassuming, unremarkable maintenance of peaceful relations because the King of Navarre was brought status by having Richard as his son-in-law, did not have the resources to take on the king of England, nor did he seemingly have a grudge to bear as Louis did. Of course, as we shall see, Eleanor's influence and desire to protect her own southern border may have had much to do with the match. As Richard was king prior to his marriage he was already financially independent, his marriage was the final marker to his achieving fully adult status.

The marriage of younger sons to heiresses was a legitimate means of providing for a new branch-household without eroding the holdings of the main dynastic line. This method for providing for younger sons without splitting the ancestral lands can be seen as a mechanism used in the Angevin dynasty during the twelfth century. With two older brothers who were to inherit the maternal and paternal lands between them Geoffrey of Brittany, as a younger son was provided for by his marriage to Constance, heiress of the duchy of Brittany. John's first marriage to Isabella of Gloucester was also a marriage designed to provide a landed income to a subordinate male without compromising the dynastic holdings. Thereby establishing them as heads of the newly created "branch households" with independent control of their wives' lands. Therefore, provided all the other markers were in place, they became fully adult men.

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[38] Gillingham, J. *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978) pp. 138 – 140

6.4: Parental Influence

With politically important motives for marriages such as these it is only to be expected that the parents rather than the couple themselves were the primary actors in the choice of partner, negotiations and arrangements for their children's' marriages. However, while parental involvement was standard the role could fall on any family member who filled the position of head of the household. Henry II and his sons were no exception to the norm when it came to parental involvement in their marriages, although they did experience it in a variety of ways.

Henry did apparently choose his own wife in Eleanor. This was not unusual in itself. With his father dead, Henry was head of the family and therefore within his right to select his own wife. However, it seems unlikely that he would not at least have consulted his mother in the matter, although whether he took her opinion into account is unrecorded. Henry did, however, experience direct parental involvement in marriage arrangements earlier in his life.

Henry's father, Geoffrey of Anjou, entered into negotiations with Louis VII in 1145 – 1146 with the aim of betrothing the thirteen year old Henry to Louis' new-born daughter Marie. St Bernard of Clairvaux provides the evidence for the negotiations; writing to Abbot Sugar of Saint Denis in mid-1146 Bernard quotes a letter he wrote to Louis regarding the proposed betrothal:

> "….For I have heard that the Count of Anjou is pressing to bind you [Louis] under oath respecting the proposed marriage between his son and your daughter. This is something not merely inadvisable but also unlawful because, apart from other reasons, it is barred by the impediment of consanguinity. I have learned on trustworthy evidence that the mother of the Queen [Eleanor] and this boy, the son of the Count of Anjou, are related in the third degree. For this reason I strongly advise you to have nothing whatever to do with the matter, but to fear God and turn from evil. You have promised that you would not on any account do this thing without consulting me, and it would be very wrong for me to conceal from you what I think about it…."[39]

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[39] George Duby refers to this betrothal in *Medieval Marriage* p. 70, However, Duby, despite giving the year of the betrothal as 1146, states that it was between Henry and Louis *second* daughter by Eleanor, Alix. This cannot be the case, as Alix was not born until c.1150. Duby also implies that the betrothal was completed against Bernard's advice, but he does not provide any evidence for this except the letter from

The intended betrothal is not widely reported in contemporary chronicles, possibly because it was never completed or formalised. Alternatively, as Marie was the eldest daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, the inevitable scandal caused by the marriage of a man to the mother of his legally betrothed may have resulted in news of the failed betrothal being suppressed, or even removed entirely from record.

There are three reasons that can explain why it seems more likely that the betrothal was never completed rather than record of it being removed: firstly, it seems highly unlikely that all chroniclers in both England and France could be successfully prevented from giving even the slightest hint that such a significant betrothal took place. Second, and more importantly, Louis was a deeply pious man who was almost certain to react to such warnings from a churchman of Bernard's standing. Bernard's letter provides the latter reason with considerable substance when he states that Louis had 'promised that you would not on any account do this thing without consulting me…'[40] Finally, there is the possibility that Geoffrey refused the match for his son as it was not as favourable to Henry as had first been supposed. If Henry were to have married Marie it is likely that he would be in his late twenties before any chance of an heir was forthcoming, in an uncertain age this was far from an ideal proposition.

The Young King, quite apart from the usual parental involvement in arranging his marriage, found that the influence of his parents extended into the marriage and continued throughout it. During the Young King's rebellions, Henry held Margaret, the Young King's wife, at his own court.[41] Presumably, Henry did this in an attempt to use Margaret as a hostage for the Young King's good behaviour, a ploy that apparently failed as rather than diplomacy it ultimately took force to bring his eldest son to heel. For the Young King however, the effect of his father's actions would have been a double blow to his adult masculine status. By keeping Margaret at his court, it was Henry, not the Young King, who was providing for Margaret's daily needs. This job was one of the cornerstones of the triad of adult masculine responsibilities. As

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St Bernard quoted. Holdsworth, C. et al *Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, (Stroud, 1998) Letter to Suger, Abbot, number 401, pp. 473 – 474.

[40] Ibid.

[41] RH, Vol. I. p. 61 [Trans. Vol. II p. 381]

was the responsibility of protection, by keeping Margaret in his custody Henry prevented the Young King from providing the everyday protection of his wife. What is more, the Young King compounded the blow to his masculinity by failing to rescue her from her situation. There are no recorded efforts by the Young King to rescue Margaret and this perhaps was more damning to his masculinity than even a failed attempt would have been.

Richard was also subject to a betrothal arranged in the usual manner between his father and the father of the bride. In common with his father and elder brother, Richard was matched to a princess of the French royal house, yet another daughter of Louis VII.[42] However his experience was different as unlike Henry's, Richard's betrothal was formalised and unlike the Young King's the young couple were never married. In 1161 at the age of four Richard was betrothed to the infant Alys, daughter of Louis and full sister to the Young King's wife, Margaret (see figure 2 p. 26).[43] However the betrothal contract was not formally signed by Henry and Louis until 1169.[44] Immediately upon the formal finalising of the betrothal Alys was sent to Henry's court and it is this move that has contributed greatly to the reasons behind why their betrothal had the potential to damage Richard's masculine status in two ways, but for one reason.

There were rumours that Henry had taken Alys as his mistress, indeed by 1171 it was a court scandal.[45] There is an issue with the sources for the rumour as they were arguably prejudiced and the rumour does not appear to be substantiated in the French chronicles. The *Chronicle of Meaux* (sometimes referred to as Melsa) states that Alys bore Henry a daughter 'who did not survive'.[46] However the rumour is also persistent and frequently biographical works on Henry or Richard state as true not only that this was the reason behind Richard's refusal of her but also that she bore Henry a child and that Henry wished to set Eleanor aside

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[42] Ibid. Vol. I p. 218 [Trans. Vol. I p. 257]
[43] Ibid.
[44] *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler (Oxford, 1979–86) pp. 648–9
[45] Warren, W. L. *Henry II* (London, 1973) p. 119*n*
[46] Ibid.

in favour of Alys.[47] It seems that true or not the rumour was perhaps widespread at the time and therefore was likely to have had an effect on Richard's decision to refuse her.

If therefore Henry had indeed taken Alys as a lover, for Richard to have married her would have been not only illegal according to canon law but it would also have been possibly irrevocably damaging to his masculinity to accept an "impure" bride; compounded by his father being the man who had "spoiled" her. This did not appear to have worried Henry in regard to his own marriage. There were also rumours that Geoffrey of Anjou had had a youthful dalliance with Eleanor prior to Eleanor's marriage to Louis.[48] The rumour seems unlikely to have been true when you consider that there is no record of Eleanor leaving her father's lands prior to her wedding. Nor is there any substantial evidence that Geoffrey of Anjou travelled to Aquitaine in his youth. The fact that Henry was able to ignore the rumour about Eleanor and Geoffrey of Anjou lends some weight to the argument that the rumour of Henry and Alys had some truth to it, as if it did not then Richard would have been able to act as his father did and dismiss it as idle gossip. That he did not suggests that perhaps the difference between Henry and Richard's situations was that Henry's relationship with Alys was more akin to common knowledge than rumour making it impossible to ignore.

Hoveden explains the circumstances; after Eleanor arrived at Cyprus with Berengaria, Philip, already angry with Richard over the division of spoils in Cyprus, reportedly said:

> *"Nunc scio vere quod rex Angliæ quærit causas malignandi adversus me, quia hæc ficta sunt et mendiacia: sed credo quod ipse cogitavit hæc mala adversum me, ut Alesuam sororem meum dimittat, quam ipse sibi desponsandam juravit: sed pro certo sciat, quod si ille dimiserit eam, et aliam duxerit in uxorem, ero illi et suis inimicus quamdiu vixero." His auditis rex Angliæ respondit, quod sororum illius sibi in uxorum ducere nulla ratione posset, quia rex Angliæ pater suus eam cognoverat, et filium ex ea genuerat, et ad hoc probandum multos produxit testes, qui parati errant modis omnibus hoc probare.*

> "Now do I know of a truth that the king of England is seeking pretexts for speaking ill of me, for these words are forged and false. But he has invented these evil charges against me, I suppose, that he may get rid of my sister Alice, whom he has sworn he will marry; but let him know this for certain, if he does

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[47] Ibid. p. 611
[48] Carmi Parsons, J. 'Damned If She Didn't and Damned When She Did: Bodies, Babies, and Bastards in the Lives of Two Queens of France' in Wheeler, B. and Carmi Parsons, J. (Eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (Basingstoke, 2002) pp. 265 – 300

put her aside and marry another woman I will be the enemy of him and his so long as I live." On hearing this, the king of England made answer, that he would on no account whatever take his sister to wife; inasmuch as the king of England, his own father, had been intimate with her, and had had a son by her; and he produced many witnesses to prove the same, who were ready by all manner of proof to establish that fact.[49]

If any of Richard's witnesses were reporting the true situation Richard had no option but to reject Alys or he would have seriously damaged his masculine reputation. When it became clear that Richard did not intend to honour the betrothal the French king demanded the return of Alys in order to arrange a different marriage for her.[50] In the conciliatory talks that followed this argument Richard agreed to return Alys to her family.[51] The discrepancy between the later rumours of Alys bearing Henry a daughter, and Philip's apparent belief that Richard talked of a son is of interest. It may suggest that the rumours of a child being born of the affair between Henry and Alys were false, after all had a child existed surely the sex of that child would be well known. However, it may instead lend weight to the rumour of an affair generally as it could suggest a late miscarriage, or simply indicate that the conception of a child was not impossible. Unfortunately, as there is no clear evidence of either an affair or a bastard of either sex this can only remain as speculation.

There is a hint of another potential betrothal for Richard later in his youth. Hoveden reports that in 1184 Henry sought and attained the agreement of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was visiting Henry's court, for the betrothal of Richard to an unnamed daughter of Frederic I, Holy Roman Emperor.[52] Hoveden also notes that Henry made the request because it was the particular desire of the Emperor, strongly suggesting that Henry was not the main protagonist in the plan.[53] This betrothal appears to have come to nothing; there is no further mention of the pairing. There are several reasons why the plan may have failed to come to fruition. Richard's existing betrothal was likely to have been an issue had the plan moved further, however, it may be that there was simply not enough time to finalise the betrothal.

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[49] RH, Vol. III p. 99 [Trans. Vol. II p. 195
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid. Vol. III p. 100
[52] Ibid. Vol. II p. 288 [Trans. Vol. II p. 34]
[53] Ibid.

Frederic had four daughters; one had died a decade before the proposal was made, two were already betrothed by the time the proposal was put forward, and the other, although not apparently betrothed in 1184 was dead before the end of that year. This last is the best candidate and with her death there is the possibility that Henry was serious about the match, but that she died before the betrothal could be formalised. Henry does not appear to have considered attempting to find another potential wife for Richard after this. It seems that he preferred instead to maintain the pretence of an intended future marriage and use Alys as a pawn in his dealings with the French.

As we have seen, Richard was eventually married to Berengaria after Henry's death; however this did not exclude him from parental influence in the choice of his bride. Berengaria was a princess of the Kingdom of Navarre, which bordered Eleanor's ancestral lands to the south. It therefore seems likely, given the geographical location of her home, that Eleanor was responsible for suggesting the match. This is supported by the fact that Eleanor was the one who collected Berengaria from her home and travelled with her to deliver her to her groom on his journey to the Holy Lands for the third Crusade.[54] Devizes is less than flattering of his new Queen, saying that she was '…*puella prudentiore quam pulcra….*' […a maid more prudent than pretty….][55] However, Richard must have seen something in Berengaria that perhaps Devizes did not, even if that was only that she was not Alys, as he sought out the count of Flanders to advise him as to how to proceed with ending his betrothal to the latter in order to wed the former. It was through the intervention of the count, we are told, that the king of France was persuaded to release Richard from his '…*iuramentum de sorore ducenda…*' […oath to marry his sister….][56] At the same time Philip granted Richard the lands that had been the dowry of Margaret of France (wife of the late Young King) and which had been granted as the dowry of Alys after the Young King's death.[57] This may appear generous on Philip's part, but securing the freedom from the oath and the lands did cost Richard 10,000 pounds of silver, a price he

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[54] Devizes, p. 25
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid. p. 26
[57] Ibid.

must have felt was worth paying.[58] Richard and Berengaria's marriage does not appear to have been a fond one; they had no children and appear to have spent little time together generally. However, the fact that Richard was willing to pay so large a sum for the freedom to take her hand suggests that if it was not for love or attraction, then Richard could at least see the political benefits of the match. Alternatively, it may be that Richard simply wished to have some level of autonomous control over who he married.

Geoffrey of Brittany had perhaps the most typical experience of parental influence over his marriage. However, once again Geoffrey's masculinity was affected by his father's interference with the marriage process. Betrothed in around 1166 at the age of eight to the five-year-old Constance of Brittany, Geoffrey was not rushed into formalising the marriage as the Young King was.[59] The betrothal lasted for fifteen years until 1181 when, at the ages of twenty-three and twenty, Geoffrey and Constance were eventually married.[60] It could be that Henry delayed the marriage in order to remain in control of Brittany for as long as possible. Alternatively Geoffrey may have been behind the delay; having seen the result of the Young King's early marriage Geoffrey may have been reluctant to marry Constance until he was guaranteed control of the duchy promised to him upon that marriage. This seems likely as Henry opted to retain key towns attached to the duchy of Brittany long after Geoffrey married and assumed the title of Duke, suggesting that there were control issues surrounding the father/son balance of power in Brittany. Either way it seems that Henry had, intentionally or not, once more used his son's marriage to have an effect on the young man's adult masculine status.

Although John was not married within his father's lifetime Henry was still the one who selected his bride for him, but once again Henry had made a point of keeping the young lady's land for his own benefit for as long as possible. In 1176 John was betrothed to Isabella of

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Giles, J. A. (trans.) Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History* Vol. 1 Part. 1 (Facsimile Reprint: Felinfach, 1994) p. 561

[60] Michael Jones, 'Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1158–1186)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10533?docPos=6> [Accessed: July 2011]

Gloucester in an arrangement between the fathers.[61] Isabella was the youngest daughter of the earl of Gloucester and her only brother had died ten years prior to the betrothal. In order to protect his dynasty and lands the earl betrothed Isabella to John and at the same time he made John his heir.[62] It seems that the families were well aware that there would be issues of consanguinity in the match as provision was made for Henry to select another husband for her should the marriage fail to receive papal dispensation.[63] In 1183 the earl died and rather than pressing for the marriage to take place, Henry instead took Isabella into wardship.[64] Why Henry chose this course of action is unclear but several possibilities can be considered. Firstly it is possible that Henry was simply too busy dealing with his rebellious sons to have time to arrange for the marriage to take place in 1183. This is supported by the amount of trouble that Richard was to go through in the course of getting permission for John and Isabella to eventually marry; Henry may simply not have had time to deal with it. However, the rebellion did not continue as a reason for delay beyond the beginning of 1184 and therefore it is difficult to believe that the rebellion was the sole reason behind the delay. It is far more likely that Henry delayed the marriage because by doing so it was he and not John that enjoyed the income from the Gloucester estates. It was therefore not until after Richard became king that John was finally married after a betrothal that had lasted thirteen years.[65]

Like Geoffrey, John's wife was chosen for him primarily for the landed income she could provide via her own inheritance. Isabella of Gloucester was the selected bride. She was a suitable choice for John as the youngest son of the king, and later the younger brother of the king, as she was considered to be one of the king's most eligible wards. As Newburgh explains: '*Illi Gloucestrensis comitis filiam, propriam scilicet in quarto gradu consobrinam, cum integritate juris paterni, quod esse amplissimum noscitur*' [[Richard] gave him [John] the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, his own cousin in the fourth degree, with the whole of her

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[61] RH, Vol. II p. 100
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Robert B. Patterson, 'Isabella, suo jure countess of Gloucester (c.1160–1217)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46705/46705?back=,14841> [Accessed: July 2011]
[65] Ibid.

paternal inheritance, which (as is well known) is very great.][66] The dispensation for the marriage was not straightforward to acquire and it was not obtained prior to the wedding. John was summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury to answer for the transgression of consanguinity but when he failed to appear the Archbishop placed an interdict upon John's lands.[67] However, John then appealed to an ecclesiastical council and the Archbishop's penalty was quashed (almost certainly out of respect for Richard and his crusading intentions) and it would appear that the pope did not feel the need to intervene directly. This would work to John's benefit when he later decided to set Isabella aside in favour of a new bride.

6.5: Divorce and Remarriage

The process of divorce in the Middle Ages was more akin to the process known today as an annulment. Although called divorce, it did not exist as we understand the word today but instead a medieval divorce declared the marriage to have never occurred. The Church's position on divorce was a simple one; marriage was indissoluble, except possibly for a man for the reason of adultery by his wife. St. Augustine makes it clear that the most common reason for seeking a divorce, a lack of male offspring, was forbidden; '…it is never permitted to put away even an unfruitful wife for the sake of having another to bear children.'[68] Augustine then goes on to reiterate the teachings of the Gospels which clearly state:

> *dictum est autem quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam det illi libellum repudii: ego autem dico vobis quia omnis qui dimiserit uxorem suam excepta fornicationis causa facit eam moechari et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat*
>
> It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.[69]

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[66] WN, Book IV, Ch. 3

[67] Robert B. P., 'Isabella, suo jure countess of Gloucester (c.1160–1217)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated:October 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46705/46705?back=,14841> [Accessed 22 July 2011]

[68] St Augustine (of Hippo): From *On Marriage and Concupiscence* Source: *St. Augustine: Anti-Pelagian Writings*, tr. Peter Holmes, Robert Ernest Wallace and Benjamin B. Warfield. Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Ser. 1, Vol. V (New York, 1893). Etext file created by Scott Mcletchie for the Internet Medieval Source Book Website <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aug-marr.html> (accessed 13 November 2008)

[69] Matthew 5: 31 - 32

On the practical level however the noble classes were able to use the laws of consanguinity to put aside wives for a multitude of reasons. For those who had not sought dispensation from the Pope to marry within the proscribed degrees a divorce could be pursued simply by "discovering" a supposedly previously unknown relationship of kinship. Those for whom dispensation had been granted could attempt to seek a divorce by claiming to have had a revelation from God that he was displeased with the marriage, although this tactic usually had a lower chance of success.

Of all of Henry's sons only John had first-hand experience of divorce. Knowing that he was related to his first wife in the fourth degree, they shared a great-grandfather in Henry I, John was required to seek papal dispensation for the marriage to be legal.[70] The dispensation was applied for but as we have seen John, either deliberately or accidentally, failed to complete the process prior to their wedding and in the aftermath no direct permission from the pope was obtained. That John seems to have spent so little time with his wife suggests that he was not pleased with the match. His refusal to settle the matter of his first marriage's legality implies that John may have had the intention to set her aside for some time and that he was merely waiting for an appropriate moment. Given John's shrewdness and ability to use the law to his own ends it seems that this was a highly likely scenario. That the marriage grew to be unhappy becomes clear reasonably quickly and the amount of time that they spent together reduced to the point that they were effectively estranged by 1193.[71] It was around this time when an alternative wife, if John were to set Isabella aside, was suggested for John by Philip II of France, his half-sister, the hapless Alys.[72] John, in the midst of a conspiracy with Philip against his imprisoned royal brother, seems to have been compliant with the possibility as he formally promised Philip that he would indeed marry her.[73] The marriage was not to be

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[70] Isabella of Gloucester was the daughter of the William Fitz Robert, 2nd Earl of Gloucester and his wife, Hawise. Her paternal grandfather, Robert, 1st Earl of Gloucester (the half uncle of Henry II who took him to England to rally forces for his mother during the civil war with King Stephen) was the illegitimate son of Henry I, King of England. Therefore Isabella was of the illegitimate line but nonetheless was related to John in the fourth degree.
[71] Robert B. P., 'Isabella, suo jure countess of Gloucester (c.1160–1217)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: October 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46705/46705?back=,14841> [Accessed 22 July 2011]
[72] RH, Vol. III p. 204
[73] Ibid.

however, it appears that the potential betrothal fell apart as soon as Richard was freed from captivity and John was no longer of use to Philip.

Once he was king, John set his first wife aside and selected a new bride entirely of his own choosing, with no apparent family influence. The simplest and most likely explanation for the annulment is that Isabella had provided John with no children, let alone the much needed son, but the timing of the divorce is intriguing. The fact that John felt the moment had arrived when he ascended to the throne cannot be coincidence. It seems then, that John was not enamoured of his first wife, a match politically arranged by his father that was undeniably a worthy one for a youngest son. It is possible that John felt she was not a match with suitably high status for a king, despite her wealth, as he set her aside so soon after coming to the throne. Although the timing could just be down to the fact that, as king, her lands would not return to Richard as her ward but instead would remain under John's control until a new husband was found for her. This is supported by the fact that she remained John's ward until 1214, when John sold her hand for twenty thousand marks at a time when royal revenues were strained.

John's second wife, another Isabella, was John's own choice as he was by then the senior male of the dynasty and the control over the decision was his alone. His chosen bride was just twelve years old, twenty two years John's junior, and she was already betrothed to a noble of the Lusignan house.[74] It seems unlikely that John had met his second wife prior to putting aside his first, but he may have been aware of the political ramifications of the betrothal between his second wife Isabella of Angoulême and Hugh IX of Lusignan and already decided his course of action to prevent it.[75] There are two possible reasons for John's choice of second bride; they were either political or romantic. Several sources speak of John's apparent infatuation with his second wife; Roger of Wendover comments disapprovingly that John was

[74] Vincent, N. 'Isabella , suo jure countess of Angoulême (*c.*1188–1246)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Updated: January 2006 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14483> [Accessed 15 November 2010]
[75] Ibid.

so obsessed with her that he was ignoring his duties as king to spend time with her.[76] If Hugh and Isabella had been permitted to marry the resulting alliance between Angoulême and Lusignan could have proved dangerous to John. The two regions were geographically close and both were situated in the rebellious central area of John's holdings. This was an area that was one of the first to break from rule by the English King as it was allied to the South rather than the slightly more loyal Northern regions. The situation in France therefore could not be ignored, but Isabella was famed for her beauty and that, coupled with the evidence of his enjoyment of her company, suggests that there was a genuine romantic attachment, at least on John's part.[77] Therefore it is reasonable to assume that both motives were present rather than one or the other.

The Young King found that his father was able to use his wife to attempt to elicit good behaviour, damaging his ability to establish his adult masculine identity in the process. Richard managed to avoid this by refusing his father's choice of bride, but once again it was Henry's interference that caused his resistance. Geoffrey of Brittany either avoided his marriage until he was sure of being the head of his newly formed house, or was prevented from doing so because Henry was unwilling to give Geoffrey the land associated with the marriage. Only John managed to evade his father's interference in his marriage(s) by the simple expedient of being the youngest and his father dying prior to John marrying. Even then John was given no choice as to his first bride and was married to a woman chosen for him by the superior male of the family. That John was not happy with the match is evidenced by the rapidity with which he repudiated her upon becoming king, and therefore head of the family and his own master at last. Marriage was therefore not just a political matter, it was also a large factor in establishing adult masculine status, but it could also be used to prevent such status being reached.

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[76] Giles, J. A. (trans.) *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History* cited in Danziger, D. and Gillingham, J. *1215, The Year of Magna Carta* (London, 2004) pp. 161 – 162

[77] Isabella's actions after John's death suggest that she was not as fond of John as he was of her. Abandoning her son in his minority she effectively, and seemingly voluntarily, walked away from the potential power of being the mother of a boy-king in 1217. Instead she returned to France and married, Count Hugh X de Lusignan, the son of her original fiancé, in 1220 with whom she had a further nine children.

Achieving financial independence was often closely linked to marriage. For two of Henry's sons it was marriage that brought about the last two steps in the path to adulthood simultaneously. Geoffrey of Brittany's marriage to Constance provided him with an independent income and therefore upon his marriage he can be said to have passed through the final markers and had successfully emerged as a fully adult male. John too gained economic autonomy upon his first marriage. However, his failure, prior to his marriage, to prove himself militarily, socially, or politically meant that although he had met the final markers, he had not yet passed through every stage of the model (figure 3, p. 46) and was therefore not yet *vir*. As we have seen in Chapter 5, John's passage though the various proving stages came after his marriage.

For Henry himself, his marriage to Eleanor was the final step he needed to pass through all the stages of the model. His financial independence was completed at the tender age of seventeen when his father gave him Normandy. Similarly Richard, being king, was already financially independent and was head of the both the familial and societal patriarchal hierarchies at the time of his marriage. Therefore, his marriage to Berengaria was the final step he needed to pass through all the stages of the model. If there had been any question as to his adult status or his masculine abilities prior to his wedding, his marriage ended them.

The Young King's marriage happened so early in his life that it had little impact upon his adult status, although it would have become a factor had he survived to become king in his own right. It was effectively a box ticking exercise for his passing through the marriage marker in the model. However, his inability to provide or protect his wife at some points in their marriage did damage his reputation during the proving stages. The Young Queen brought no land to the marriage and therefore, having died before his father the Young King never managed to reach a point of financial independence. Therefore the Young King, having failed to meet all of the markers shown on the model, died a youth and not a man.

What is particularly striking in the marriages of all five men under investigation is that four of them managed to assert some sort of control over the choice of their wives eventually. Henry II was free from his father's influence by the time he married and although it is likely that his mother had some sort of say in the matter the sources indicate that Eleanor was primarily his own choice. Richard, after Henry's death, outright rejected his father's choice and instead married a woman either of his own choosing, or recommended to him by Eleanor. His rejection of Alys suggests that he did have some form of right of veto over Eleanor's choice for him too. Geoffrey of Brittany did indeed marry his father's choice of bride. However, it appears that he was able to assert some control over the timing of the wedding, preferring to wait until he would gain as much control as possible over her inheritance, thereby escaping further interference in the land by Henry and assuring his independence and adult status. John initially married his father's (and brother's) choice of bride, but as soon as he was king, and therefore head of the masculine hierarchy, he rejected that bride, possibly for status reasons, and remarried a woman of his own choice. Of all the individuals only the Young King was unable to influence his own marriage in any way. It is perhaps not a coincidence that he was also the only one of them to also fail to achieve adult masculine status.

7: Conclusion

The transition from *infantia*, to *vir*, from birth to adult male status, was a complex one for members of the royal household in the second half of the twelfth century. The routes through the life stages along the way were as varied as the men involved. Some would find it easier than others to navigate their own path through, and some would find that there was no guarantee that they would successfully emerge as an adult at all. Those who did have difficulty establishing themselves as adults could find that the problems they encountered were caused either through their own choices or even by the actions, deliberate or otherwise, of the superior male of the household. However, while there were points through which each male must pass before the status of being truly adult could be conferred, the conferring was not a formalised process. Rather it was atmospheric: it was the attitude of those males around the individual in question towards him, his peers and his superiors, that established him as being properly adult. This is frequently reflected in the positions and opinions of chroniclers and the word choices they make when describing or referring to individuals are useful clues as to how the male in question was thought of in terms of his "adultness".

Gender identity began at birth and was assigned according to the sex of the infant. From a very young age children were socialised along gender lines, with the boys being removed from the influence of female adults at around the age of six or seven and placed in the care of men for the initial stage of their formal education. For Henry II and his sons this pattern was followed carefully whenever circumstances allowed. Henry himself was known to display indications of a good education, and some of his masters were so well regarded that they were mentioned by name in the sources. Out of Henry and his four sons only one, John, was geographically removed from his mother for any substantial length of time before he entered the male sphere at the beginning of the *pueria* stage. It has been argued very successfully that this would probably have been almost entirely a matter of circumstance. (However, without further evidence the possibility that John was initially intended for the church remains.) This confirms that conscious attempts were made to follow the correct or

ideal educational path for male children, as is further indicated by the nature of their *pueria*-stage education. Following the prescribed route for noble sons we know that they learnt "letters", Latin grammar and reading, in a formal male dominated schoolroom environment and that each was able to show some level of ability in Latin as adults as none were commented on as having been *illiteratus*. We can also see evidence that they were taught other chivalric ideals such as poetry, logic and possibly (given that they were royal) some elements of law.

Following puberty, at the start of the *adolescentia* stage, we see each begin to learn the military skills that they would need in their adult roles as leaders of men in a militarily organised society. That some took to the martial side of their education better than others is well documented, once again it is John who is singled out as being different to his father and brothers. This may have been because of the difference in his living arrangements as an *infantia*, or the continued separation from his imprisoned mother after the beginning of his *pueria* stage. Or it could simply be that as the youngest of four capable brothers John felt that there was no point in learning kingly skills given the very slight chance that he would ever need to wield them as king. This final stage of education culminated in the dubbing ceremony, which marked not only the end of a young man's education but also marked the beginning of his "working life" as a knight. The emphasis for the readiness for the dubbing ceremony was on whether the young man in question had reached an appropriate level of ability in the skills required to indicate his potential to be properly manly as an adult of his class.

For royal sons though it seems that there were also occasions where an element of it being politically convenient to be knighted has to be considered and a requirement for ability may have been more fluid. Such as Richard's dubbing prior to the rebellion of 1173 by his father's greatest political rival, or John's dubbing prior to his failed expedition to Ireland. While Richard appears to have met the required standards of ability, the evidence of the events in Ireland suggests strongly that John had not. Perhaps it is cases such as these that are

reflected in the need for a newly dubbed young knight to prove himself after the ceremony as well as prior to it.

Nor was ability the only area of correct manliness in which a young man must prove himself. Having been trained in the skills necessary to be good and manly warriors the onus also fell on them to prove themselves worthy of the other requirements for adultness; land, income, independence and a household of their own to head. This was achieved primarily through displaying the correct behaviour both in battle or tournament and in life in general. To earn recognition of adult status in the eyes of peers called for behaving as an adult; showing the chivalric qualities of honour, loyalty and honesty. So it was at dubbing that the journey through the differing routes of the errant period to adulthood commenced in earnest at the dubbing ceremony. However, bad behaviour was not universally condemned during this proving period, some license could be given. It was not unusual to find commentators forgiving poor or incorrect behaviours by way of using the youth of the knight errant as the excuse. This changed once adulthood was achieved, it was seemingly universally expected that such youthful excesses were to be left behind. A properly adult male was expected to have full control of himself, his temper and his ability to behave correctly in all situations. After all if a man could not govern himself how could he be expected to successfully govern his men or his household? Overall self-control emerges as being at the core of all of the most important elements of properly adult conduct.[1]

As well as proving themselves in a military capacity, young noble males of the twelfth century also had to prove that they could behave correctly in both social and political situations. Family, and particularly brotherly, relationships can be used to gauge the social-aspects of the proving stage. For royal males, whose lives were public in their nature,

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[1] For more on self-control as a masculine marker see among others: Christie, E. 'Self-Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr' Cullum, P. H. & Lewis, K. J. (eds.) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2005) pp.143 – 157; Lewis, K. J. 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry IV and Ideals of Kingly Masculinity' in Cullum, P. H. & Lewis, K. J. (eds.) *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2005) pp. 156 – 173; Kerr, Julie. "Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest': hospitality in twelfth-century England' *Journal of Medieval History* Vol. 33 Issue. 2 (June 2007) pp. 130 – 146; Neal, D. G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008) pp. 7 – 9, 57 – 58, 119 – 120, 138

brotherhood also offers an opportunity to gain an insight into how they went about achieving political proof. Brotherhood can be seen to be guided by the same ideals as that of masculine chivalric behaviours. The debt of honour to the superior male of the family, be that the father or the eldest brother, was paramount. Loyalty was the single most emphasised element of brotherly behaviour by the chroniclers that commented on such matters. Interestingly it is exclusively examples of younger brothers behaving badly to elder brothers that are represented in the sources, which indicates that it is the masculine hierarchy of family dynamics that is being maintained and enforced in the sibling bond. The elder brother is the superior male in that hierarchy and therefore it is he who should expect the loyalty of his younger sibling. Some authors went as far as to describe behaviour other to the expectations of brothers as unnatural, and used the strongest terms possible to do so. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the monks who were reporting on brotherly behaviours were undoubtedly colouring their accounts with their own experience and expectations of brotherhood as a monastic phenomenon as well as a secular one.

The ideals and concepts of brotherhood were not restricted to blood relationships between men of the same parents. Half and stepsiblings were not always differentiated from full-blood siblings in written accounts. Even less so in reported speech, for example, a chronicler may go out of his way to describe a half sibling as a *nothus*, a bastard, but when reporting the words of the legitimate brother it is rare to see such a distinction and a simple "my brother" was most commonly used. In-law relationships could also be blurred into tighter family connections with brothers-in-law referring to, or seeing themselves simply as "brothers". Similarly those who were not related at all, through birth or marriage, could enter into a brother-like relationship in the form of a political swearing of brotherly bonds. These came with the same expectations as full familial brothers as the oaths were usually sworn with words to the effect of "and treat you like a brother". There is evidence that these sworn bonds were frequently taken very seriously and similar language is used to describe those who broke such an oath as is used to describe misbehaving younger siblings. It can be argued that to break such an oath was a double betrayal, of the correct chivalric behaviour regarding loyalty

and honour that generally surround the "rules" of oath taking, and of the bond of brotherhood invoked by such an oath. To make and/or to break a sworn oath was a deeply political act for men of high social status, and the consequences were often equally political.

Marriage too was deeply political in its nature for the higher end of society during this period. It was used as a tool to be wielded for the benefit of the family, for the bloodline and for diplomacy. As a result it was rare that a son was able to choose his own wife, and this can certainly be seen to be true for Henry's sons. Henry himself appears to have had some say in his marriage to Eleanor, but it is unlikely that he would have pursued the match had it not been considered an acceptable match for a man of his status by his mother. The Young King's marriage was typical of an infant betrothal and marriage that was entirely political in its nature. Being betrothed and married prior to entering the *pueria* stage was actually relatively rare, far more common was an early betrothal followed by a formal marriage once both parties were "of age" (usually minimums of twelve for the bride and fourteen for the groom). However the political needs of his father meant that the Young King's marriage took place somewhat earlier than even the father of the bride expected. That genuine and binding marriages could take place at such young ages suggests strongly that marriage in and of itself was not a major marker of adult masculinity, something more was needed to lift it to that category. It is notable that those who managed to have some element of control over the choice of their bride correlate directly with those who managed to achieve adult masculine identities.

The point at which marriage does become an adult signifier is in those cases of younger sons whose independence and land came through his wife at the time of their marriage. When landed heiresses married the younger sons of royalty or nobility the independence of landed income, the final non-behavioural requirement for adult status, came as part of the "package" with the bride. This theoretically allowed such men to become fully adult upon marriage. Their eldest brother, their father's heir was on the other hand, unable to achieve this in one fell swoop as he would have to wait for his inheritance to become available whether married or not. Additionally it was possible for an elder son to marry an heiress and still not find himself

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to be independent if his father continued to maintain control over the bride's lands as part of the family's assets. It was for this reason that Geoffrey of Brittany had a less than straightforward betrothal to marriage journey. His wife, Constance, was indeed an heiress and her land should have devolved to her husband upon marriage, however during the long betrothal Henry, as her guardian, was administering her land. Geoffrey appears to have deliberately delayed the wedding until he could be confident of also gaining independent control of the land. By choosing to wait for such a guarantee prior to finalising the marriage Geoffrey assured that he could achieve adult status without any danger of being emasculated by his father's retaining control. Therefore Geoffrey's marriage also marked his entry into adulthood, but it was the land rather than the fact he was a married man that was the significant factor.

Similarly John gained land and independence upon his first marriage to Isabella of Gloucester, although the match was not as successful a marriage as Geoffrey of Brittany's had been. With his father dead John did not have to consider the same issues as Geoffrey. For although Richard was the new superior male in the family hierarchy he seems to have had no interest in interfering with the land John gained upon his marriage. This could be because of the different personalities of Henry and Richard, and Richard simply wasn't interested in controlling the land for John. Or perhaps it was because Richard, focussed as he was on the upcoming crusade, actively wanted to keep John busy in his own land to prevent him becoming a problem or a threat to his crown while he was away. Another possibility is that unlike Constance's lands, Isabella's inheritance was already fully contained within Richard's kingdom and was therefore simpler to administer than the problems faced by Henry in the process of adding and keeping the troublesome neighbours in the duchy of Brittany under the influence of the Angevin family.

Favourable circumstances meant that Henry II was a reasonably early achiever when it came to establishing himself as an adult. When Geoffrey of Anjou passed Matilda's inheritance of Normandy to Henry as the young man's birth right it allowed Henry a level of landed

financial independence at the unusually young age of seventeen. Whether this was Geoffrey's idea or Matilda's is unclear, but that Henry had proved himself ready for the responsibility was not in question. Just one year later, upon his father's death, Henry was the new head of the family hierarchy and was therefore undoubtedly an adult in the eyes of his peers. Three years after that Henry followed his inherited gains on the continent with both his marriage to Eleanor, adding vast areas of land to his holdings in the process, and a resounding success against King Stephen which won him the assurance of taking his grandfather's crown of England back into the family. So, by 1152 Henry was not just a proven adult man, but he was more significantly the man who would be king.

Henry's sons, however, had different experiences than the seemingly smooth path that their father had enjoyed. Richard was the son who had the most similar experience to Henry. Having been given the nominal title to his mother's lands at a young age he then continued to consolidate his position by being properly adult in his behaviour (for the most part) until, upon his father's death, he received his full inheritance and was recognised as an adult. Richard's path was a little less smooth as Eleanor's role in the lands that lent Richard his "adultness" made the situation more complex. She effectively held the position of Richard's "lord" in Aquitaine; however, Richard appears to have done well enough on her behalf to avoid the usual pitfalls of being under his mother's thumb. Nonetheless, until Henry's death Richard was more an adult "by proxy" because of his mother's status than he was a fully autonomous adult man. There does not appear to have been any kind of difficulty in deriving status from the female line for these men.[2] There no clear indication as to whether Henry suffered the same issue with Normandy and his own mother, and even if there was it was far shorter lived than Richard's period under his mother's lordship. The roles played by Eleanor and the Empress Matilda as "lords" to their respective sons indicate that some aspects of masculinity such as lordship could be performed, under certain conditions, by those who weren't men.[3] There is

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[2] The idea that honour of lineage could be drawn from either the patriarchal or matriarchal lines equally is discussed in Murray, J. 'Hiding Behind the Universal Man, Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages', in Bullough, V. L. and Brundage, J. A. (Eds.) *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York 2000) pp. 123 – 52.
[3] For another example of a female "lord" in the high middle ages see: LoPrete, K. *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord* (Dublin, 2007)

one final similarity between father and son; both were seen as akin to an adult before their marriages because they were at the top of the familial and patriarchal hierarchies before they took a wife. The only minor difference was that Henry married as a Duke, and Richard as King.

Geoffrey of Brittany was the only one of Henry or his sons who achieved adult status within his father's lifetime. His marriage to an heiress of an independent duchy was the key to this, and may explain why Geoffrey was willing to wait until control of the duchy was guaranteed to him before marrying his wife. The support of his local barons, which came via his wife, was also significant. It was they, not his Angevin peers, who saw him as an adult and conferred that status upon him by accepting him as their rightful lord.

John's experience was similar to Geoffrey's, except that his was more down to luck than judgement. Geoffrey had patiently waited for his marriage until it would make him an adult. John was "given" the trappings of adulthood along with his wife by Richard. Unlike Henry, and perhaps due to circumstance more than personality, Richard was uninterested in maintaining control over the inherited lands of the bride. This meant that John had no need to be guarded about accepting the marriage. However, John was clearly not fond of his wife. They had no children, usually a sure indicator of infrequent or non-existent visits to her bedchamber, although infertility on Isabella's part cannot be ruled out as she had no children with either of her two subsequent husbands. She took no part in John's public life in the ten years they were married, and was never crowned alongside him.[4] It could even be that John felt her status to be too low for him once he was king as he almost immediately set her aside upon his succession. That said, John may have been married and have had independent landed income, but he had not yet proved himself worthy in battle. It was therefore not until after Richard had returned from crusade and John had to prove himself loyal to the brother he had betrayed that he finally got around to proving himself as a warrior, and it was only then, despite the other factors having been in place for some time, that he was seen to be properly adult.

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[4] Warren, W. L. King John (1961, New Edition: Yale, 1997) p. 66

The Young King had the most difficult path and this thesis argues that he did not in fact achieve adulthood by the time he died. His marriage had occurred at such a young age that it could not be seen as an adult marker. Additionally, because his inheritance depended on his father's death he did not have the opportunities of early leadership that Richard had had in the south. Instead the Young King depended entirely upon his father for his income and for providing for his household and daily needs, something that was to cause repeated tension between the two. As a result, despite dying at twenty-eight years old, a proven warrior and with a wife, he died a youth and not a man.

This thesis explores the masculinity of both nobility and kingship for a group of men not previously examined using theories of gendered history. This research provides an innovative view of the maturation process that is outside the usual biographical structure of such works and instead uses a theoretical framework. This allows for a closer consideration of the concepts and theories of masculinity in the royal sphere of the twelfth century. One of the main themes to emerge is that for royal males the maturation process was not a private matter but rather it was played out entirely in the public sphere. Additionally, it shows that the path from boy to man was flexible. While all markers had to be met to be considered a man, these markers could be achieved via a variety of methods and, after the age-defined childhood stages, in any order.

A new is model for the maturation process. Drawing on Orme's work on medieval childhood the linear stage of the model was developed. The flexible "errant" phase was informed by both the military proof of manliness proposed by Bennett and the concept of social proof put forward by Karras. A new category of social proof is proposed and tested: brotherhood. The testing shows, in the cases of Henry II and his sons, that brotherhood is a useful method of measuring individuals' abilities to demonstrate appropriately adult behaviour not only in social but also in political arenas. Finally, during the testing process it was determined that becoming a father was not a necessary step to achieving adulthood. Having

status as a married householder with a good level of financial autonomy was sufficient for the men under investigation.

The relationship between constructions of masculinity and status can be shown to rest mainly in the area of power and hierarchy. Within the family a paternal hierarchy can be seen to determine the manner in which a youth may achieve adulthood. A father can delay or even deny his son(s) some of the elements required, such as refusing a marriage, or withholding land. For brothers the hierarchy can be just as powerful. An elder son would expect a high level of loyalty from a younger sibling. To behave badly towards an elder brother was seemingly universally viewed as not just unwise or unexpected, but unnatural. The male who held status as being the top of the hierarchy therefore had a great deal of power over the lower males' ability to become fully adult. Similarly masculinity and class interact primarily along the same lines of hierarchical power.

The model itself has been developed specifically for noble males of the twelfth century. However, for future research, its basic structure could be altered or adjusted to other classes or historical periods in order to be tested more widely. For example, the military training of *adolescens* and the knight-errant phases could be replaced with the apprenticeship period for males in the tradesmen classes of society, or the attendance of a grammar school and/or university for the merchant classes. In this manner it may be possible to show if class and masculinity interact beyond the royal sphere.

Masculine chivalric ideals and ideology ran through every aspect of male maturation and adult life in the upper classes of the twelfth century. To be *vir, a* "real" man, an individual had to be able to display loyalty, honour and self-control at all times. This was not only to simply prove himself worthy of the status of an adult man, but also to maintain a properly manly reputation once established as an adult. The maturation process in particular was deeply ingrained with a distinctly gendered attitude. Children were deliberately and carefully

socialised according to their physical gender from a very early age. For boys this meant entering a male dominated environment at the beginning of the *pueria* stage of childhood.

What followed was a matter of an individual finding any suitable path they could through their education, military training, early years of knighthood and marriage to emerge from youth into the adult world. Sometimes other men already holding the status of superior male blocked those paths forcing either a new path to be chosen or, in extreme cases causing a complete failure to become an adult. For others the path appears simple because the circumstances met smoothed the way for the youth in question. However, the significance of a gendered reading of this process is vital, for to explore male experiences in this period without examining the gender dynamics of masculinity is miss a large part of the picture. Being a good man and being a good king, lord, knight, brother or husband were inextricably linked in both the minds and the culture of noble and royal twelfth-century men.

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