

BLOOD ROYAL

Throughout medieval Europe, for hundreds of years, monarchy was the way that politics worked in most countries. This meant that power was in the hands of a family – a dynasty; that politics was family politics; and that political life was shaped by the births, marriages and deaths of the ruling family. How did the dynastic system cope with female rule, or pretenders to the throne? How did dynasties use names, the numbering of rulers and the visual display of heraldry to express their identity? And why did some royal families survive and thrive, while others did not?

Drawing on a rich and memorable body of sources, this engaging and original history of dynastic power in Latin Christendom and Byzantium explores the role played by family dynamics and family consciousness in the politics of the royal and imperial dynasties of Europe. From royal marriages and the birth of sons, to female sovereigns, mistresses and wicked uncles, Robert Bartlett makes enthralling sense of the complex web of internal rivalries and loyalties of the ruling dynasties and casts fresh light on an essential feature of the medieval world.

Robert Bartlett is the author of many acclaimed history books, including *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (1993), which won the Wolfson Literary Prize for History in 1994, and *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (2015). He is Professor Emeritus at the University of St Andrews and is well-known as the writer and presenter of several BBC documentary series, including *Inside the Medieval Mind* (2008), *The Normans* (2010) and *The Plantagenets* (2014).



THE JAMES LYDON LECTURES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND CULTURE

In the millennium between the fall of Rome and the Reformation – commonly known as the 'Middle Ages' – Europe emerged as something more than an idea, and many of the institutions, cultural forces and political ideas we associate with the 'modern' world were born. What is the continuing relevance of this era for contemporary society? And how are we to understand medieval history and culture on its own terms, rather than through the distorting prism of presentist concerns? These are among the most urgent and problematic questions facing medieval scholarship today.

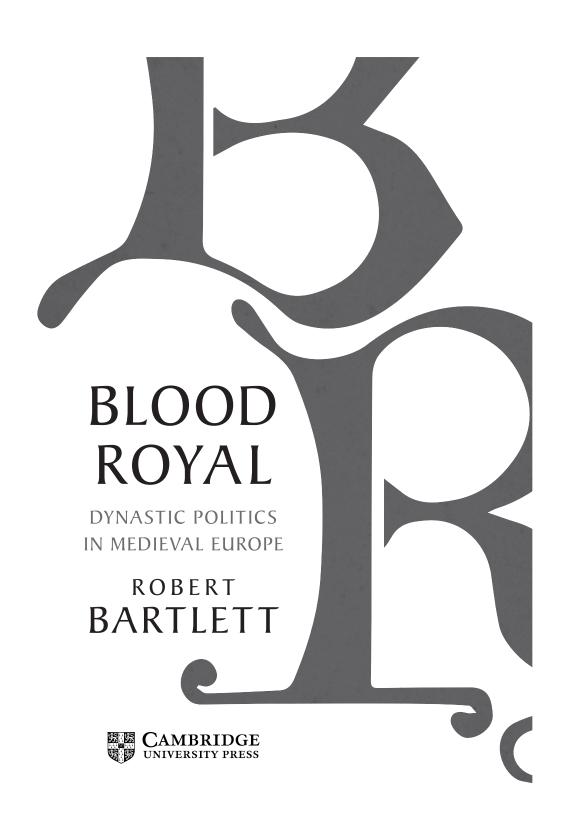
The James Lydon Lectures in Medieval History and Culture, delivered at Trinity College Dublin and named for James Francis Lydon FTCD, Lecky Professor of History at Trinity College Dublin (1928–2013), is a biennial series providing a unique platform to reflect on these issues.

Series Editors:

Peter Crooks, David Ditchburn, Seán Duffy, Ruth Mazo Karras, Immo Warntjes

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/lydonlectures







CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108490672 DOI: 10.1017/9781108854559

© Robert Bartlett 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Bartlett, Robert, 1950– author.

Title: Blood royal : dynastic politics in medieval Europe / Robert Bartlett.

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019039298 (print) | LCCN 2019039299 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781108490672 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108854559 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Royal houses – Europe – History – To 1500. | Kings and rulers,
Medieval. | Monarchy – Europe – History – To 1500. | Civilization, Medieval. | Kinship –
Political aspects – Europe – History. | Europe – Politics and government – 476–1492.
Classification: LCC D131 .B35 2020 (print) | LCC D131 (ebook) | DDC 929.7094/
0902–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019039298 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019039299

ISBN 978-1-108-49067-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Ros and Len and all their descendants





Contents

List of Figures	
Preface and Acknowledgements	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xiv
Introduction: Royal Families	1
PART I: THE LIFE CYCLE	
1 Choosing a Bride	9
Marriage with Local Aristocrats	11
Foreign Queens	15
Homesick Queens	26
Foreign Ways	29
Inspection of the Bride	32
Marriage to the Royal Widow	34
Prohibited Degrees	43
The Case of Joan of Woodstock	48
2 Waiting for Sons to be Born	52
Death in Childbirth	55
The Uncertainties of Pregnancy	57
Celebration	59
Childlessness	62
Unmarried Kings and Kings Who Married Late	84
3 Fathers and Sons	89
Securing the Succession	89
Waiting for Fathers to Die	109
Minorities	114



CONTENTS

4	Female Sovereigns	124
	The First Female Sovereigns in Medieval Europe	124
	The Later Middle Ages	143
	The Exclusion of Women from Rule	146
5	Mistresses and Bastards	155
	Concubines	155
	Noble Mistresses of the High Middle Ages	159
	Mistresses Drawn from the Queen's Ladies-in-Waiting	162
	Bastards	165
	Bastard Kings	168
	Bastard Culture	175
	Legitimization	180
6	Family Dynamics	187
	The Shape of the Dynasty	187
	Brothers	191
	Wicked Uncles	210
	Killing Cousins	220
	Queens, Sons and Lovers	226
7	Royal Mortality	240
	Death	240
	Burial	251
	PART II: A SENSE OF DYNASTY	
8	Names and Numbering	283
	Terminology	283
	Names of Dynasties	285
	Naming Patterns within Dynasties	289
	Numbering of Monarchs	301
9	Saints, Images, Heraldry, Family Trees	311
	Dynastic Saints	311
	Public Images	315
	Heraldry	321
	Family Trees	326

viii



CONTENTS

10 Responses to Dynastic Uncertainty: Prop	ohecy
and Astrology	340
Astrology	341
Prophecy	347
11 Pretenders and Returners: Dynastic Imp	oosters
in the Middle Ages	360
Recognition	373
12 New Families and New Kingdoms	379
Foundation Legends and Founding Fig	gures 381
Healing the Dynastic Rent	384
Excluded Dynasts	388
New Kingdoms	393
13 Dynasties and the Non-Dynastic World	397
Elective Monarchy	397
Dynasties and the Church	403
Republics	413
Dynasties and Cities	416
Dynasty and the Kingdom	419
Conclusion	429
Appendix A: Main Dynasties	435
Appendix B: Minorities	444
Appendix C: Female Sovereigns	447
Appendix D: Family Trees	448
Notes	450
Bibliography of Works Cited	561
Index	



Figures

1	Map depicting marriage alliances of the kings of Aragon,	
	Denmark, England, France and Hungary, 1200–1500.	page 16
2	Anne, Duchess of Brittany (1488-1514).	41
3	The Byzantine empresses regnant, the sisters Zoe and Theodora,	
	on a gold coin (histamenon) in 1042, the year of their joint rule.	128
4	Urraca, queen of Leon-Castile (1109–26).	132
5	Melisende, queen of Jerusalem (1131-52/61), and her husband	
	Fulk of Anjou.	137
6	The Battle of Aljubarrota, 1385.	173
7	The Dunois Hours showing the count of Dunois (d. 1468).	179
8	The murder of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.	223
9	The tomb of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II (d. 1250).	266
10	The image of the 'anti-king' Rudolf of Rheinfelden (d. 1080).	268
11	Tomb effigies of Henry II of England (d. 1189) and his wife	
	Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204).	270
12	The tomb of Richard II of England (d. 1400) and his wife Anne	
	of Bohemia (d. 1394).	272
13	The tomb of Peter I of Portugal (d. 1367).	273
14	The tomb of Ines de Castro (d. 1355).	274
15	The entrails tombs of Charles IV of France (d. 1328) and his wife	
	Joan of Evreux (d. 1371).	278
16	St Louis of Toulouse (d. 1297).	314
17	Wall paintings from Karlštejn Castle: Charles IV.	319
18	Wall paintings from Karlštejn Castle: Charles' wife Blanche (d. 1348). 320



LIST OF FIGURES

19	Coins of the Byzantine rulers Constantine VI and Irene from 780–92.	322
20	A twelfth-century depiction of the Carolingian dynasty.	329
21	Bernard Gui's The Tree of the Lineage of the Kings of the French.	336
22	An English royal genealogical roll.	387





Preface and Acknowledgements

The subject of this book is the family politics of royal and imperial dynasties in Latin Christendom and Byzantium in the period 500–1500. Family politics means competition and cooperation within the ruling family, shaped at every point by the human life cycle of birth, marriage and death, and also by ideas of what a dynasty was. Hence the two parts of the book, the life cycle and a sense of dynasty. The main dynasties are listed in Appendix A. A full bibliography on this subject would fill a library but references have been given for all direct quotations and for facts other than those easily accessible. A few directly relevant titles have also been cited.

The book grew out of an invitation to deliver the Lydon lectures at Trinity College Dublin, a series of four lectures named in honour of the distinguished Trinity historian James Lydon, who was Lecky Professor of History at the College from 1980 to 1993 and died in 2013. The lectures were delivered in April 2017. Warm thanks are due to my hosts, Peter Crooks, David Ditchburn and Seán Duffy, and to the distinguished invited commentators on that occasion, Stewart Airlie, Sverre Bagge, Ana Rodríguez, Katharine Simms and Nicholas Vincent. Discussions at that time helped shape the further development of the book. Warm thanks for help of various sorts are due to Rory Cox, Michael Foster, Tim Greenwood and the late Ruth Macrides. Chris Given-Wilson, John Hudson and Simon MacLean had the great kindness to read through the whole text. I have incorporated their corrections and (most of) their suggestions and am extremely grateful to them for this act of collegiality and friendship.



Abbreviations

AN Archives nationales, Paris BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BHL Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (cited by item number)

BL British Library, London

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris CCCC Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

CCCM Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis (Turnhout)

CCSL Corpus Christianorum, series latina (Turnhout)

JL Jaffé (rev. Löwenfeld), Regesta pontificum Romanorum (cited

by item number)

MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica

AA Auctores antiquissimi

DD Diplomata

SRG Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum

SS Scriptores

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (60 vols., 2004)

OMT Oxford Medieval Texts

PL Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844–65) Po. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (cited by item number)

Reg. Vat. Registra Vaticana, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum

RHF Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France (24 vols.,

Paris)

RS Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores ('Rolls Series')

(251 vols., London)

SHF Société de l'histoire de France

TNA The National Archives, Kew, London

xiv