

ROYAL CHILDHOOD AND CHILD KINGSHIP

Refining adult-focused perspectives on medieval rulership, Emily Joan Ward exposes the problematic nature of working from the assumption that kingship equated to adult power. Children's participation and political assent could be important facets of the day-to-day activities of rule, as this study shows through an examination of royal charters, oaths to young boys, cross-kingdom diplomacy and coronations. The first comparative and thematic study of child rulership in this period, Ward analyses eight case studies across north-western Europe from *c.* 1050 to *c.* 1250. The book stresses innovations and adaptations in royal government, questions the exaggeration of political disorder under a boy king, and suggests a ruler's childhood posed far less of a challenge than their adolescence and youth. Uniting social, cultural and political historical methodologies, Ward unveils how wider societal changes between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries altered children's lived experiences of royal rule and modified how people thought about child kingship.

EMILY JOAN WARD is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Edinburgh. She began her British Academy funded project on 'Adolescence and Belonging in Medieval Europe, *c.* 1000–*c.* 1250' in her previous role at University College London. *Royal Childhood and Child Kingship* is her first book.

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ROYAL CHILDHOOD AND CHILD KINGSHIP

*Boy Kings in England, Scotland, France
and Germany, c. 1050–1262*

EMILY JOAN WARD

University of Edinburgh



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Emily Joan Ward
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Pro salute consortis mei et parentum meorum et sororum meorum
(For the wellbeing of my partner, parents and sisters)

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The only thing known to go faster than ordinary light is monarchy, according to the philosopher Ly Tin Wheedle. He reasoned like this: you can't have more than one king, and tradition demands that there is no gap between kings, so when a king dies the succession must therefore pass to the heir instantaneously. Presumably, he said, there must be some elementary particles – kingons, or possibly queons – that do this job, but of course succession sometimes fails if, in mid-flight, they strike an anti-particle, or republicon. His ambitious plans to use his discovery to send messages, involving the careful torturing of a small king in order to modulate the signal, were never fully expanded because, at that point, the bar closed.

Terry Pratchett, *Mort*

Child rulers were crucial cogs in the larger machinery of monarchy across north-western Europe between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The intersections between childhood and kingship are many and various, and it has been my aim since 2013 to draw out some of these intersections and place children more centrally within our understanding of medieval rulership.

It should go without saying that no small kings were mistreated in the making of this book, but I cannot deny that its completion is thanks, in no small part, to ambitious ideas expounded in (and out of) bars. I owe an incalculable debt to all those who constructively guided and encouraged these ideas, from the project's early beginnings as a Ph.D. thesis through its revision, expansion and refinement into the finished monograph.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

and Child Kingship is based (2013–17).¹ A bequest from Moses and Mary Finley then funded the Research Fellowship at Darwin College, Cambridge, which I held between October 2017 and December 2020. The same bequest also equipped me with an idyllic Painted Room of my own where parts of this book first took shape. Although a global pandemic unfortunately meant that I could not express my gratitude to the Master and Fellows in person before leaving, the community at Darwin was a wonderfully dynamic and multidisciplinary environment in which to spend a little over three years of my academic life cycle. The book was finalised during the initial months of a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at University College London, and I thank my colleagues at UCL for their support as I was finishing the monograph. A British Academy/Leverhulme Small Research Grant (SRG1819\190794) funded some of the archival research underpinning various of the book's chapters. The inclusion of the images which crucially augment this publication was made possible with a grant from the Scouloudi Foundation in association with the Institute of Historical Research.

I am indebted, above all, to those who have read all or large parts of the work at different stages of preparation, especially Adam Kosto for his insightful observations and patient editing. Liesbeth van Houts not only supervised the original Ph.D. thesis but also read a draft of the book in its entirety. Her support has been fundamental throughout the process, and I could not have asked for a better supervisor. Suggestions from John Arnold and an anonymous reader for Cambridge University Press expediently guided revisions to the initial work sample, and I thank them both for their detailed, constructive comments. Working with Cambridge University Press has been a pleasure, and I am grateful to everyone there for their assistance and hard work in seeing the book through to completion. Especial thanks must go to Liz Hanlon, Victoria Phillips and Liz Friend-Smith. Julie Barrau and Nicholas Vincent examined my thesis in November 2017, and I have returned many times to their remarks while expanding and refining the Ph.D. into its current form. Their assistance and suggestions have been invaluable. I have also heavily relied on the generosity of several colleagues and friends who have read over individual chapters or sections of the book, sometimes at very early stages of drafting (for which I beg their forgiveness). Thanks to Hazel Freestone, Simon Parsons, Levi Roach, Alice Taylor and assorted members of the Cambridge Medieval ECR Work-in-Progress group. Their comments and criticisms have considerably shaped the book's content

¹ E. J. Ward, 'Child kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany, c. 1050–c. 1250', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge (2017).

Preface and Acknowledgements

and structure, although they bear no responsibility for my interpretations, and any errors which remain are entirely my own.

Many other scholars have shared their work, directed me towards pertinent references, answered queries or kindly tolerated lengthy conversations regarding subjects that, to me at least, appeared particularly pressing. I have tried to acknowledge what I owe to their generosity and collegiality wherever possible in what follows. For sharing unpublished articles, books, chapters or theses I am especially grateful to Alison Creber, Johanna Dale, Jess Nelson, Alice Taylor and Benedict Wiedemann. Conversations or email communications with David Bates, David Carpenter, Paweł Figurski, Lindy Grant, Simon John, Randall Todd Pippenger, Matt Raven, John Sabapathy, Anna Siebach-Larsen, Sally Spong, Björn Weiler and Megan Welton have all been instrumental in clarifying points or in guiding me towards further examples and relevant context. Whilst at Darwin College, I benefited enormously from lunch-time discussions with Geoffrey Lloyd and Jenny Zhao about historical comparison, anthropology and childhood. Jenny's help was vital in convening an interdisciplinary seminar series on childhood in the ancient and medieval worlds which inspired and influenced my thinking on these topics. I would like to thank all the speakers and attendees of these sessions for such enthusiastic and engaging exchanges. Stephen Church supplied the initial encouragement and inspiration for the thesis topic from which this book grew, and I thank him for all his support, both then and since. I am also very grateful to Laura Ashe, Caroline Goodson and Tom Licence for their guidance on a range of academic matters.

Attending conferences, seminars and workshops has been an eminently enjoyable way to spark intellectual inspiration and force myself to discuss some of the book's central ideas with others. My thanks go especially to the organisers and attendees of the Aberystwyth Research Seminar, Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, Cambridge Medieval Research Seminar, Darwin Humanities Seminar, Haskins Society Conference, IHR Seminars (especially the Earlier Middle Ages and European History 1150–1550 seminars), Leeds IMC, Thirteenth-Century Conference (formerly Thirteenth Century England) and UEA Medieval History Research Seminar. Comments from those attending the 2018 Swansea University Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Research (MEMO) Symposium by the Sea helped structure my thoughts around children's roles in diplomacy and cultural exchange. Participants in the Verbis et Exemplis workshop in 2019 contributed formative remarks which influenced my thinking around royal mothers and children in the documentary evidence. The same year, the conference 'Non-Royal Rulership in the Earlier Medieval West, c. 600–1200' at the University

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of Leeds provided an engaging environment for discussing the terminology of rulership and guardianship.

Researching, writing and editing this book would have been impossible without access to a wide range of libraries and archives, and without the expertise and professionalism of their staff. I am especially appreciative of everyone at Cambridge University Library, the Seeley Library and the UCL Main Library who calmly handled my many and various requests to scan material or pursue inter-library loans during the months it was impossible to access resources in-person. Similarly, I would like to thank the staff at St John's College for the prompt help they provided remotely with a manuscript-related query. The IHR Library and British Library have been regular, much-treasured London bases for tracking down obscure articles and sources. In Paris, I had the privilege to meet Jean-François Moufflet and Marie-Adélaïde Nielen who both kindly offered their help during my time at the Archives Nationales de France and afterwards. Additionally, staff at the Archives départementales des Yvelines, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Buccleuch Collections, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Lichtbildarchiv älterer Originalurkunden (LBA), National Library of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Parker Library and The National Archives have been essential in aiding the research for this book and in helping me source images and secure permissions.

Working on this project has been vastly improved by friends undergoing similar processes with whom I could share some of the highs and lows. Staunch companions on the journey from thesis to book were Hazel and Felicity. Moments of emotional and intellectual self-doubt were often improved by a cup of tea with Mags or a drink with Simon. Regular Zoom catch-ups with Felicity, Lesley and Sam were a welcome distraction throughout the oddities of 2020 and 2021, as were chats with and messages from Anaïs, Dan, Gabby, Rich, Ryan, Sally and the lovely Nobwoms. Support from other friends has taken a variety of different formats. Tom helped me through many days (weeks? months?) of lockdown dining table writing, and he and Holly cheerfully diverted my attention from the book to more serious matters such as sampling Cambridge takeaways, critiquing our landlord's interior décor choices and feuding with squirrels. UEA friends have been there since the very start of my medieval history journey (looking at you, Liam and Rich) and continue to be an unfailing source of light relief and cheerleading (especially when worming [*sic*] from home...). Cambridge friends provided an ever-so-precious sense of community as well as abundant opportunities to grab a Savino's or pop to the Free Press, Maypole or Mitre. And dear friends spread further afield gave me additional excuses

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to make conference trips or visit medieval sites abroad (thank you especially Bryn and Ele!).

The burden of tolerating the fluctuating moods that accompanied the research and writing process fell largely on my partner, parents and sisters. Mike, thank you for long walks on which I talked at you not to you and for ensuring that I ate and slept when I couldn't focus on eating and sleeping. The permanence of your love is a constant tonic. Mum and Dad, you bear the ultimate responsibility for subtly introducing me to medieval history from childhood through the mixed media of Lego, DK Castle Explorer and family trips to heritage sites. More seriously, I cannot thank you enough for always being there for me (despite my wilful obstinacy). Becky and Anna: best of sisters and best of friends. I dedicate this book to the five of you, without whom neither I nor it would have ever reached this stage.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bolland <i>et al.</i> , 68 vols (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940); digitised at <i>Acta Sanctorum Database</i> , ProQuest
AD	Archives départementales
Ælred, <i>Eulogium</i>	Ælred of Rievaulx, <i>Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum</i> , ed. J. Pinkerton, in <i>Vitae antiquae sanctorum</i> (London, 1789), 437–56
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Alexander III	<i>The Acts of Alexander III King of Scots, 1249–1286</i> , ed. C. J. Neville and G. G. Simpson, RRS 4 pt. 1 (Edinburgh, 2012)
AM	<i>Annales monastici</i> , ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, RS 36 (London, 1864–9)
AN	Paris, Archives Nationales de France
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
ASR	<i>Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents</i> , ed. and trans. E. L. G. Stones (Oxford, 1965)
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
Benzo, <i>AH</i>	Benzo of Alba, <i>Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII</i> , ed. H. Seyffert, <i>MGH SS rer. Germ.</i> 65 (Hanover, 1996), 84–656
Berthold, <i>Chronicon</i>	Berthold of Reichenau, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. I. S. Robinson, <i>MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S.</i> 14 (Hanover, 2003), 161–381
BL	London, British Library MS
Add.	Additional
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS
Lat.	Manuscrit latin
NAF	Nouvelles acquisitions françaises

List of Abbreviations

NAL	Nouvelles acquisitions latines
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1966–)
ChPa	<i>Childhood in the Past</i>
Chron. Fordun	John of Fordun, <i>Chronica gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871)
Chron. Holyrood	<i>A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood</i> , ed. M. O. Anderson and A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1938)
Chron. maiora	Matthew Paris, <i>Chronica maiora</i> , ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols, RS 57 (London, 1872–83)
Chron. Melrose	<i>The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey, a Stratigraphic Edition</i> , ed. D. Broun and J. Harrison (Woodbridge, 2007), accompanied by a CD-ROM containing an electronic version of London, BL, Cotton Faustina B. IX; references are to relevant folios
DMLBS	<i>The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> , online edn (Turnhout, 2021)
EHD	<i>English Historical Documents</i> , ed. D. C. Douglas <i>et al.</i> , 12 vols (1953–2011)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ESSH	<i>Early Sources of Scottish History: A.D. 500–1286</i> , ed. A. O. Anderson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1922)
Études	A. Luchaire, <i>Études sur les actes de Louis VII</i> (Paris, 1885)
Foedera	<i>Foedera, conventiones, literae...</i> , I.1, 1066–1272, ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816)
FrSt	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
Gall. christ.	<i>Gallia christiana...</i> , ed. D. Sammarthan <i>et al.</i> , 16 vols (Paris, 1716–1865)
Herman, <i>Chronicon</i>	Herman of Reichenau, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hanover, 1844), 67–133
HR	<i>Historical Research</i>
HSJ	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
JH	John of Hexham, <i>Historia regum continuata</i> , ed. T. Arnold, in Symeon of Durham, <i>Opera</i> , 2 vols, RS 75 (London, 1882–5), II, 284–332
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
Kölzer, ‘Königtum’	T. Kölzer, ‘Das Königtum Minderjähriger im fränkisch-deutschen Mittelalter: eine Skizze’, <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> , 251 (1990), 291–323

List of Abbreviations

Lampert, <i>Annales</i>	Lampert of Hersfeld, <i>Annales</i> , in Lampert of Hersfeld, <i>Opera</i> , ed. O. Holder-Egger, <i>MGH SS rer. Germ.</i> 38 (Hanover, 1894), 3–304
Lampert, <i>Libellus</i>	Lampert of Hersfeld, <i>Libellus de institutione Hersfeldensis Ecclesiae</i> , in Lampert of Hersfeld, <i>Opera</i> , ed. O. Holder-Egger, <i>MGH SS rer. Germ.</i> 38 (Hanover, 1894), 343–54
Le Goff, <i>Louis</i>	J. Le Goff, <i>Saint Louis</i> (Paris, 1996)
LTC	<i>Layettes du Trésor des chartes (inventaires et documents)</i> , ed. A. Teulet et al., 5 vols (Paris, 1863–1909)
Malcolm IV	<i>The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153–1165: Together with Scottish Royal Acts Prior to 1153 Not Included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow, <i>RRS I</i> (Edinburgh, 1960)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit</i>	<i>Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit</i> , 10 vols to date (Weimar, Munich, Hanover and Wiesbaden, 1949–)
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia</i> , 8 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1893–)
<i>Const.</i>	<i>Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i> , 13 vols to date (Hanover, Leipzig, Weimar and Wiesbaden, 1893–)
DD F I	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , X, <i>Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.</i> , ed. H. Appelt, 5 vols (Hanover, 1975–90)
DD F II	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , XIV, <i>Die Urkunden Friedrichs II.</i> , ed. W. Koch et al., 6 vols to date (Hanover, 2002–)
DD H III	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , V, <i>Die Urkunden Heinrichs III.</i> , ed. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr (Berlin, 1931)
DD H IV	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , VI, <i>Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.</i> , ed. D. von Gladiss and A. Gawlik, 3 vols (Weimar, 1941–78)
DD H (VI)	'Die Urkunden Heinrichs (VI.)', in <i>DD Ko III</i> , 519–32
DD Ko III	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , IX, <i>Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines</i>

List of Abbreviations

	Sohnes Heinrich, ed. F. Hausmann (Vienna, 1969)
DD Konst.	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i> , XI.3, <i>Die Urkunden der Kaiserin Konstanze</i> , ed. T. Kölzer (Hanover, 1990)
Dt. MA	<i>Deutsches Mittelalter: Kritische Studentexte</i> , 4 vols to date (Leipzig and Weimar, 1937–)
Ldl	<i>Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum</i> , 3 vols to date (Hanover, 1891–)
Poetae	<i>Poetae Latini medii aevi</i> , 6 vols to date (Berlin, Leipzig and Weimar, 1881–)
QQ zur Geistesges.	<i>Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters</i> , 30 vols to date (Weimar, Munich, Hanover and Wiesbaden, 1955–)
SS	<i>Scriptores (in folio)</i> , 39 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1826–)
SS rer. Germ.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> , 81 vols to date (Hanover, Leipzig, Berlin and Wiesbaden, 1871–)
SS rer. Germ. N. S.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series</i> , 25 vols to date (Berlin, Weimar, Zurich, Hanover and Munich, 1922–)
SS rer. Merov.	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> , 7 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1885–)
MoA	<i>Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government, 1100–1250</i> , AHRC project (2014–17); online database
NLS	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS
OCF	<i>Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages</i> , ed. R. A. Jackson, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1995–2000)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004; online edn, 2004–15)
Philippe Auguste, I	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France</i> , I, <i>Années du règne I à XV (1^{er} novembre 1179–31 octobre 1194)</i> , ed. H.-F. Delaborde (Paris, 1916)
Philippe Auguste, V	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France</i> , V, <i>Supplément d'actes...</i> , ed. M. Nortier (Paris, 2004)
Philippe Auguste, VI	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France</i> , VI, <i>Lettres mises sous le nom de Philippe Auguste...</i> , ed. M. Nortier (Paris, 2005)

List of Abbreviations

PL	<i>Patrologia Latina Database from Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–55)
PoMS	<i>The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1314</i> , A. Beam <i>et al.</i> (Glasgow and London, 2012); online database
PR, 1216–1225	<i>Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1216–1225</i> (London, 1901)
PR, 1225–1232	<i>Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1225–1232</i> (London, 1903)
PREC	<i>The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII</i> , trans. I. S. Robinson (Manchester, 2004)
Prou, <i>Recueil</i>	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059–1108)</i> , ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908)
RHF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet <i>et al.</i> , 24 vols, new edn, published under the direction of L. Delisle (Paris, 1869–1904)
RI	<i>Regesta Imperii</i> , ed. J. F. Böhrmer; online
III.2.3.1	<i>Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV. 1056 (1050)–1106, I, 1056 (1050)–1065</i> , ed. T. Struve (Cologne, 1984)
IV.3	<i>Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich VI. 1165 (1190)–1197</i> , ed. K. Baaken and G. Baaken, 2 vols (Cologne and Vienna, 1972–9)
RLC	<i>Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833–44)
RLP	<i>Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati: ab anno 1201 ad annum 1216</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835)
Robinson, <i>Annals</i>	Lampert of Hersfeld, <i>The Annals</i> , trans. I. S. Robinson (Manchester, 2015)
ROHL	<i>Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III</i> , ed. W. W. Shirley, 2 vols (London, 1862–6)
RRS	Regesta regum Scottorum
RS	Rolls Series (rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores)

List of Abbreviations

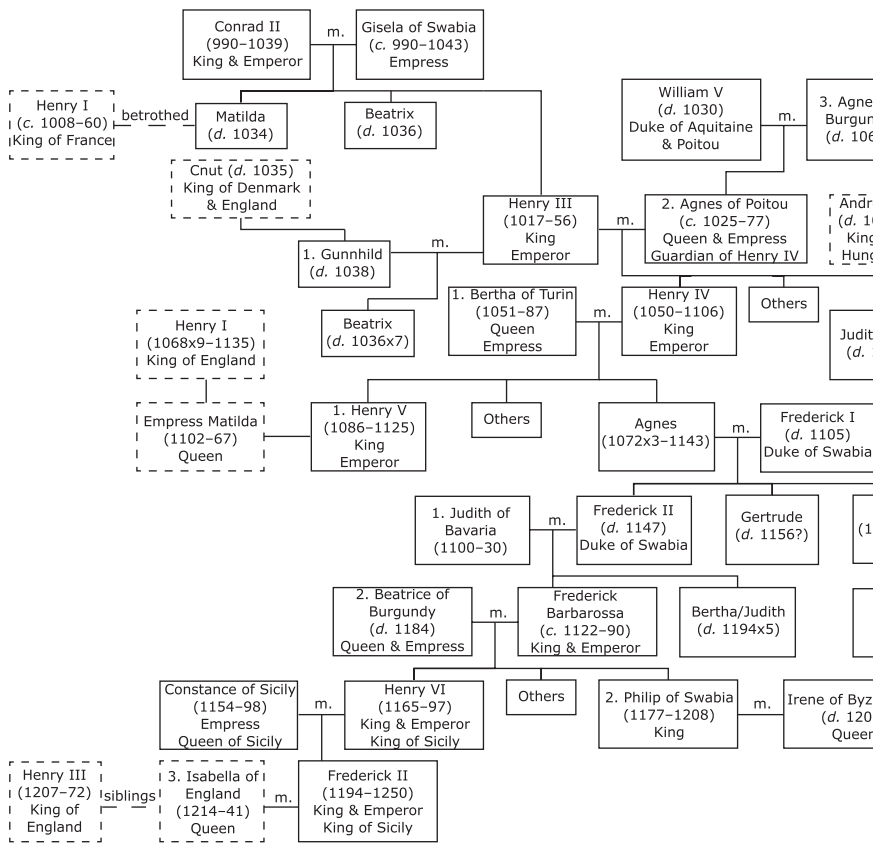
SAEC	<i>Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500 to 1286</i> , ed. A. O. Anderson, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1991)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
TCE	<i>Thirteenth-Century England</i> , 17 vols to date (1986–)
TELMA	<i>Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France</i> , ed. C. Giraud, J.-B. Renault and B.-M. Tock, online edn (Orléans, 2010)
TNA	London, The National Archives
C	Chancery
E	Exchequer
SC	Special Correspondence
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Vincent, <i>Erud.</i>	Vincent of Beauvais, <i>De eruditione filiorum nobilium</i> , ed. A. Steiner (Cambridge, MA, 1938)
Vogtherr, ‘Könige’	T. Vogtherr, “‘Weh dir, Land, dessen König ein Kind ist’: minderjährige Könige um 1200 im europäischen Vergleich’, <i>FrSt</i> , 37 (2003), 291–314

GENEALOGIES

The following four genealogies are intended to be simplified visual guides to the wider familial and dynastic networks of the eight boy kings at the centre of this book. Kinship connections between the children are shown even when they cross traditional kingdom boundaries, demonstrating the interconnected nature of the royal families of north-western Europe throughout the central Middle Ages. Unless otherwise specified, dotted lines represent members of another royal house, and some of these individuals can also be found on another genealogy.

Birth and death dates are given rather than regnal years, and the dates provided are not necessarily prescriptive. Children are not always listed in chronological order and not all siblings are included.

GENEALOGY A: RULERS OF GERMANY, c. 1024–



GENEALOGY B: RULERS OF FRANCE, c. 996–c.

