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
Pro salute consortis mei et parentum meorum et sororum mearum
(For the wellbeing of my partner, parents and sisters)
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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 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). 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 (SR.G1819\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.

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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 lunchtime 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.

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS  Acta Sanctorum, ed. J. Bolland et al., 68 vols (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940); digitised at Acta Sanctorum Database, ProQuest
AD  Archives départementales
AHR  American Historical Review
AM  Annales monastici, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, RS 36 (London, 1864–9)
AN  Paris, Archives Nationales de France
ANS  Anglo-Norman Studies
BEC  Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes
Benzo, AH  Benzo of Alba, Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII, ed. H. Seyffert, MGH SS rer. Germ. 65 (Hanover, 1996), 84–636
Berthold, Chronicon  Berthold of Reichenau, Chronicon, ed. I. S. Robinson, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 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

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NAL  Nouvelles acquisitions latines
CCCC  Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS
CCCM  Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio
ChPa  Childhood in the Past
Chron. Fordun  John of Fordun, Chronica gentis Scotorum, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871)
Chron. Holyrood  A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood, ed. M. O. Anderson and A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1938)
DMLBS  The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, online edn (Turnhout, 2021)
EHD  English Historical Documents, ed. D. C. Douglas et al., 12 vols (1953–2011)
EHR  English Historical Review
ESSH  Early Sources of Scottish History: A.D. 500–1286, ed. A. O. Anderson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1922)
Études  A. Luchaire, Études sur les actes de Louis VII (Paris, 1885)
Foedera  Foedera, conventiones, literae…, I, 1066–1272, ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816)
FrSt  Frühmittelalterliche Studien
Herman, Chronicon  Herman of Reichenau, Chronicon, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hanover, 1844), 67–133
HR  Historical Research
HSJ  Haskins Society Journal
JMH  Journal of Medieval History
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<tr>
<td>MGH</td>
<td><em>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit</em></td>
<td><em>Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit</em>, 10 vols to date (Weimar, Munich, Hanover and Wiesbaden, 1949–)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conc.</td>
<td><em>Concilia</em>, 8 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1893–)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Const.</td>
<td><em>Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</em>, 13 vols to date (Hanover, Leipzig, Weimar and Wiesbaden, 1893–)</td>
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<td><em>DD F I</em></td>
<td><em>Die Urkunden der deutschen Köpfe und Kaiser, X, Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.</em>, ed. H. Appelt, 5 vols (Hanover, 1975–90)</td>
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<td><em>DD F II</em></td>
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<td><em>DD H III</em></td>
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<td><em>DD H (VI)</em></td>
<td>‘Die Urkunden Heinrichs (VI)’, in <em>DD Ko III</em>, 519–32</td>
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| *DD Ko III* | *Die Urkunden der deutschen Köpfe und Kaiser, IX, Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines* xviii
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Sohnes Heinrich, ed. F. Hausmann (Vienna, 1969)

DD Konst.

Dt. MA
Deutsches Mittelalter: Kritische Studientexte, 4 vols to date (Leipzig and Weimar, 1937–)

Ldl
Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum, 3 vols to date (Hanover, 1891–)

Poetae
Poetae Latini mediæ aevi, 6 vols to date (Berlin, Leipzig and Weimar, 1881–)

QQ zur Geistesgesch.
Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 30 vols to date (Weimar, Munich, Hanover and Wiesbaden, 1955–)

SS
Scriptores (in folio), 39 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1826–)

SS rer. Germ.
Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholærum separatum editi, 81 vols to date (Hanover, Leipzig, Berlin and Wiesbaden, 1871–)

SS rer. Germ. N. S.
Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series, 25 vols to date (Berlin, Weimar, Zurich, Hanover and Munich, 1922–)

SS rer. Merov.
Scriptores rerum Merovingianarum, 7 vols to date (Hanover and Leipzig, 1885–)

MoA
Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government, 1100–1250, AHRC project (2014–17); online database

NLS
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS

OCF

ODNB

Philippe Auguste, I

Philippe Auguste, V

Philippe Auguste, VI
List of Abbreviations

PoMS  The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1314, A. Beam et al. (Glasgow and London, 2012); online database
Prou, Recueil  Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108), ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908)
RI  Regesta Imperii, ed. J. F. Böhmer; online
   III.2.3.1  Die Regesten des Kaiserrechts unter Heinrich IV. 1056 (1050–1106), I, 1056 (1050–1065), ed. T. Struve (Cologne, 1984)
   IV.3  Die Regesten des Kaiserrechts unter Heinrich VI. 1165 (1190–1197), ed. K. Baaken and G. Baaken, 2 vols (Cologne and Vienna, 1972–9)
RLC  Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833–44)
RLP  Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati: ab anno 1201 ad annum 1216, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835)
RRS  Regesta regum Scottorum
RS  Rolls Series (rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores)
List of Abbreviations

SAEC  Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500 to 1286, ed. A. O. Anderson, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1991)

SHR  Scottish Historical Review

TCE  Thirteenth-Century England, 17 vols to date (1986–)

TELMA  Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France, 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 Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Vincent, Enul. Vincent of Beauvais, De eruditione filiorum nobilium, ed. A. Steiner (Cambridge, MA, 1938)