'WE HAVE NOTHING MORE VALUABLE IN OUR TREASURY': ROYAL MARRIAGE IN ENGLAND, 1154-1272

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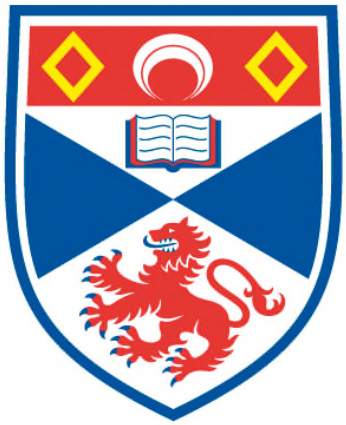

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Abstract

That kings throughout the entire Middle Ages used the marriages of themselves and their children to further their political agendas has never been in question. What this thesis examines is the significance these marriage alliances truly had to domestic and foreign politics in England from the accession of Henry II in 1154 until the death of his grandson Henry III in 1272. Chronicle and record sources shed valuable light upon the various aspects of royal marriage at this time: firstly, they show that the marriages of the royal family at this time were geographically diverse, ranging from Scotland and England to as far abroad as the Empire, Spain, and Sicily, Most of these marriages were based around one primary principle, that being control over Angevin land-holdings on the continent. Further examination of the ages at which children were married demonstrates a practicality to the policy, in that often at least the bride was young, certainly young enough to bear children and assimilate into whatever land she may travel to. Sons were also married to secure their future, either as heir to the throne or the husband of a wealthy heiress. Henry II and his sons were almost always closely involved in the negotiations for the marriages, and were often the initiators of marriage alliances, showing a strong interest in the promotion of marriage as a political tool. Dowries were often the centre of alliances, demonstrating how much the bride, or the alliance, was worth, in land, money, or a combination of the two. One of the most important aspects for consideration though, was the outcome of the alliances. Though a number were never confirmed, and most royal children had at least one broken proposal or betrothal before their marriage, many of the marriages made were indeed successful in terms of gaining from the alliance what had originally been desired.

Introduction

One of the most significant royal marriages of the Middle Ages took place at Poitiers in May 1152. The inheritance brought by the bride and its absorption into the Anglo-Norman realm changed English and French politics for hundreds of years. It involved the English crown in disputes far from the centre of royal power, and further shifted the priorities of many of its kings away from Britain and towards the continent. This marriage was that of Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, and Henry Fitz Empress, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. Even on the surface, this was a vitally important match, uniting the ruler of most of northern France—Henry controlled not only Normandy and Anjou, but also Maine and Touraine—with the heiress to a good portion of south-western France, Aquitaine and Poitou. Though she was eleven years his senior, Eleanor was the ideal mate for Henry at least politically, for he would no longer need to worry about the potential for a hostile count of Poitou bordering Anjou and Touraine. The marriage was as much defensive as offensive—it would have been dangerous to allow Eleanor to marry a man hostile to him, while the wealth, influence and prestige brought by her were yet further support for his final goal: the throne of England. Though on its face it would appear a simple alliance of neighbouring powers, it was of course in fact a much more complicated arrangement. Eleanor, along with being heiress to Aquitaine, was also the queen of France, or had been until her very recent divorce from Louis VII.[1] Furthermore, she and Henry had failed to request permission for the marriage from her overlord, also Louis VII, doubtless due to what would have been his inevitable refusal. The refusal would have come not only from the potential threat posed to the crown by the unification of lands under Henry of Anjou, but more personally from the fact that Henry was as closely related to Eleanor as Louis was, and the official reason for their divorce had been consanguinity.[2] Furthermore, Louis may have hoped to marry Eleanor to one of his supporters, or certainly someone who posed less of a threat than Henry of Anjou.

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[1] Torigni states that she was, 'only a little before divorced from King Louis,' p. 165.

[2] Torigni, p. 165 and Warren, Henry II, p. 44. Eleanor, Louis, and Henry were all descended from Robert the Pious, king of France (996-1031).

We can guess that Louis may have felt rather emotional about the whole situation; his reaction, therefore, was understandable: he gathered a conglomeration of the enemies of Henry of Anjou, including Henry's own brother Geoffrey, and his rival to the throne of England, Eustace of Boulogne, and attacked. Fortunately for Henry, he had not yet departed for his invasion of England and was able to stave off a battle, concluding a temporary truce with Louis.[3] Several months later, in 1153, he treated with King Stephen and was named heir to the throne of England, while his wife gave birth to the first of what would eventually be five sons. The gamble Henry took in marrying Eleanor and enraging Louis paid off, and at the time of his coronation in 1154, on his way to becoming one of the most powerful rulers in western Europe, he, 'quite eclipsed his nominal suzerain, the king of France, in wealth, territory, and power,'[4] with overlordship over a gathering of lands stretching from Scotland to the Mediterranean.

For the purposes of this study, the marriage of Henry and Eleanor is important in several ways. Firstly, it involved the rulers of England in interests and disputes well beyond the reaches of the British Isles and Normandy, where they had been for better or worse contained since before 1066; as has been observed, the marriage to Eleanor represents the start of a turn towards southern lands that would last for generations.[5] Secondly, it set up a further personal and political involvement with the French crown, setting off the first in another long series of disputes over sovereignty and lands. And finally, it established marriage and marital alliances as central to the diplomacy particularly of Henry II,[6] but also to that of his heirs, who, as will be explored in this study, used marriage as the basis for relations with foreign powers throughout Europe. Though of course marital diplomacy had been used before this time, throughout the Angevin period there is evidence for it being particularly central to royal policies.

Despite the centrality of marriage to foreign relations, there is difficulty at times in discovering the details of the negotiations and marriages. For that reason a variety of sources, both record and chronicle, have been used. From the reign of Henry II, record

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[3] Warren, Henry II, pp. 47-8.

[4] Robert Bartlett, England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings (Oxford, 2002), p. 22.

[5] Ibid., p. 37

[6] For more on this idea see C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Marriage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine,' in The Historian, Vol. 20 (1988), p. 7.

sources grow more plentiful, and increase yet further after the 1190s, meaning that in many cases we can find out more about later alliances than earlier ones. The record sources certainly provide a filling out of otherwise scanty details of some marriages, but for others they are frustratingly empty. Record sources are primarily letters and treaty agreements preserved through various means, though some information can be gleaned on later marriages from financial records. The treaties saved are often of the most value, and can include the details of dower and dowry agreements, and any further terms of peace or promises made. Sometimes we are fortunate enough to have the record of several stages of negotiation, such as Henry III's negotiations with the Capetian crown in the 1220s,[7] or of the issues dealt with after a marriage, for example Berengaria of Navarre's efforts to be granted a proper dower.[8] As well as the details of negotiations, we are sometimes able to see in the letters and treaties something of the process of negotiation, though these occasions are fewer than had been hoped. The Pipe Rolls are most illuminating in discerning the cost of royal marriage, at times recording the money paid to entertain ambassadors from foreign courts, such as the Sicilian ambassadors in 1176, or the gifts sent with a daughter on her way to meet her future husband, as in the case of Matilda in 1167/8. Again, though, while the Pipe Rolls were detailed accounting of the king's finances, they produced less information regarding marriage alliances than some other types of records. Patent and Close Rolls were often useful in determining the grants made to the different parties, and again in determining the terms of agreements not always mentioned in the formal treaties, such as the favours granted to Eleanor of Provence's family after her marriage to Henry III. They can also provide evidence for when terms have not been met, or are in the process of being met, as in the case of Richard of Cornwall's gradual receipt of lands from the king for the dowry of his second wife, Sanchia.

The most illuminating details often come from the chroniclers, who at times speculate on the motives for marriages, record the identity and arrival of envoys, what terms were eventually negotiated, what gifts were exchanged, and what splendour was sent along with a departing princess. At other times, they are silent, not even mentioning a marriage or doing so only in passing, occasionally under the wrong date.

[7] DD, nos. 174 and 215.

[8] Foedera, pp. 84 and 161.

The most important chronicles to this study are those of Robert of Torigni, Roger of Howden—both the Gesta Regis Henrici and the Chronica—and Matthew Paris. Others such as Ralph of Diceto, William of Newburgh, and Gervase of Canterbury shed light on certain marriages, but the three chroniclers mentioned above are the most constant in recording the facts and details of the royal marriage negotiations. It is also interesting to note the geographical spread of these main chroniclers of the period—Torigni in western Normandy, Howden writing in Yorkshire,[9] and Diceto and Matthew Paris, close to London at St Paul's and St Albans, respectively. This is particularly advantageous as it means we are not limited to a single regional point of view, but have a wide range of positions to consider.

Robert of Torigni had a strong personal tie to the Angevin royal house. He became abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154, and during his tenure—which lasted until his death in 1186—was visited at least twice by Henry II, and travelled twice into England.[10] Furthermore, Torigni was made godfather to Henry's second daughter, Eleanor, after her birth in 1162.[11] The abbot also had a long-standing interest in history and the recording of history; he had met Henry of Huntingdon as a young man, in 1139, and borrowed extensively from Huntingdon's Historia for the early years of his own chronicle.[12] As someone with ties of friendship to the king and a love of history, Torigni can be depended upon to be revealing in his statements. His factual evidence is usually accurate, at times far more accurate than other contemporary chronicles, and he occasionally includes some information regarding the royal family that no other chronicler mentioned, but it must also be remembered that he highly favoured Henry II, so was not without bias. We also cannot forget Henry II's benefaction of Mont-Saint-Michel during Torigni's abbacy, pointing again towards the idea that the chronicler might be less willing to record an event wherein Henry's behaviour was less than

[9] John Gillingham has made a good argument for the fact that while Howden was often travelling, both with the court and on diplomatic missions, he had a strong emotional and educational tie to York, and so while Howden was not always writing from York, he was certainly writing with that regional bias. See John Gillingham, 'The Travels of Roger of Howden and his Views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh,' in Anglo-Norman Studies XX, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 155-6.

[10] Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England I: c. 550 to c. 1307 (London, 1974), p. 261.

[11] Torigni, p. 211.

[12] Gransden, Historical Writing in England I, pp. 199-200.

exemplary.[13] Torigni is the most informative chronicler about the marriage of his god-daughter Eleanor in 1170—although even his information is pitifully slight—and he points out the advantages for John in the 1172 betrothal to Alice of Maurienne more carefully.[14] He is also one of the only chronicle sources to tell us of the 1159 betrothal of Richard to the daughter of the count of Barcelona, and the only evidence that Henry II's daughter Joanna, Queen of Sicily, ever bore a son to her first husband, in 1181.[15] While these incidents can be considered proof of his intimacy with the royal house, he is also, as pointed out by W.L. Warren, frustratingly brief regarding events; while Torigni provides the only mention of several of these occasions, the mention is only a sentence long, and he does not bother to elaborate or analyse events.[16] Lack of loquaciousness or analysis aside, he was a contemporary chronicler of events close to the royal family, and therefore extremely useful for the study of royal marriage.

Unlike Torigni, Roger of Howden tended to be detailed in his descriptions, and provides some of the more in-depth records of the marriages of Henry II's family. Howden wrote both the Chronica credited to him, and the Gesta Regis Henrici II et Ricardi I once credited to Benedict of Peterborough, as shown by David Corner in his article on the subject.[17] He also appears to have been a royal clerk as well as a chronicler, giving him easy access not only to occurrences in the court but also to the court documents he often inserts into his chronicle, and tales from elsewhere that he could include, also royal itineraries.[18] Furthermore, it is evident that Howden was present at the siege of Acre allowing for his detailed chronicle of Richard's crusade, though he apparently departed the Holy Land at the same time as Philip II of France, in 1191.[19] Certainly, Howden had a strong interest in the royal administration, and the

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[13] Ibid., p. 263.

[14] Torigni, pp. 247 and 250.

[15] Ibid., pp. 200 and 303.

[16] Warren, Henry II, p. 92.

[17] David Corner, 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger parson of Howden,' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. 56 (1983), pp. 126-44.

[18] Gransden, Historical Writing in England I, pp. 226-7.

[19] John Gillingham, 'Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden, King's Clerk and Chronicler,' in Writing Medieval Biography, 750 – 1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow, eds. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 210.

king himself, placing him in an ideal situation to provide details for royal marriages, though he, like Torigni, was favourable towards Henry II and later Richard I, both of whom he praises.[20] It is through Howden's chronicle that we have the full agreement for the betrothal of John and Alice of Maurienne in 1172/3, and the dower assignment to Joanna by William II of Sicily in 1177.[21] He also tells us stories that Torigni in his economy does not, for example giving a far more detailed tale of negotiations between the Sicilian ambassadors and Henry II in 1176, the story of Joanna's arrival in Palermo, telling of John's potential agreement to ally with Philip against Richard in 1192, and by far the most detailed account of the twenty years of negotiations over the marriage of Richard and Alys of France.[22] Though he is extremely detailed at times, Howden was not above making errors. At least once he confuses the date of a betrothal, wrongly stating that Richard and Alys were betrothed along with the Young King and Margaret in 1161,[23] and he puts the date of Matilda's marriage to Henry of Saxony in 1164, though in fact they were only betrothed at this point and not married until 1168.[24] Howden also leaves out a great deal; no mention is made of Geoffrey's betrothal or marriage to Constance of Brittany, only passing reference is made to Matilda's marriage, and he does not include her sister Eleanor's simultaneous betrothal. Howden's accounts, nevertheless, are for the most part accurate. Most importantly, his chronicle and the Gesta are both focused on royal government, making them highly useful for the study of marriage.

While Torigni and Howden are by far the two most useful chroniclers for this study, for the age of Henry II, Ralph of Diceto also merits discussion here. Though he either omits or mentions only in passing the marital arrangements for Richard, Geoffrey and Matilda, he does make some useful observations about the Young King's betrothal

[20] Gransden, Historical Writing in England I, p. 223.

[21] Howden, Chronica, II, pp. 42 and 96.

[22] Howden, Gesta, I, 116-17; Chronica, II, p. 95; Chronica, III, p. 203 and Chronica, II, pp. 143, 308, and 334 and others.

[23] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218. It is known from other sources that the Young King and Margaret were married in 1160, betrothed in 1158, and while Richard and Alys may have been betrothed in 1161 it was clearly not at the same time as their siblings. See pp. 20 and 127 for more discussion of this issue.

[24] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 220.

and marriage, including the correct date,[25] is one of two chroniclers—the other being her godfather Robert of Torigni—to mention Eleanor's marriage in 1170, and gives a relatively detailed account of Joanna's betrothal, journey to and marriage in Sicily.[26] As a canon and then deacon of St Paul's in London he was close to the court, occasionally visiting, was known to Henry II, and was friends with a number of important ecclesiastics including the bishop of Ely, and the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen, as well as Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London from 1163 until 1187.[27] His account, like those of Torigni—who he in fact used for some facts until the mid-1170s—and Howden, is basically contemporary to the Angevin period, with his writing beginning in the late 1180s, so that from 1188 onwards he is giving a year-to-year account.[28] Diceto also showed a wider interest in the greater Angevin empire, probably at least partially due to his contacts on the continent.[29] Like Torigni and Howden, Diceto was quite positive regarding Henry II, praising him and portraying him in a good light.[30] He was not entirely benevolent to the Angevins, though, criticising John's behaviour in 1193, and again in 1200.[31]

The most significant chronicler of Henry III's reign was Matthew Paris, a monk of St Albans from about 1217 until his death in 1259. The Chronica Majora, his primary work and 'the most comprehensive history yet written in England,' was begun around 1240, meaning that from then on his chronicle was contemporary, and many of the events he wrote about were those he lived through personally.[32] Up to c. 1234 he used Roger of Wendover's chronicle. Roger is a chronicler about whom little is known; he was prior of the cell of Belvoir until around 1219. It is unsure when exactly he began writing his work, the Flores Historiarum, though it could have been any time between 1204 and 1231; its content continues to 1234, and he died in 1236. He appears

[25] Diceto, I, p. 302.

[26] Ibid., I, pp. 334, 408, 414-15.

[27] Gransden, Historical Writing in England I, pp. 230-1.

[28] Ibid., p. 231.

[29] Ibid., pp. 235-6.

[30] Ibid., p. 232.

[31] John Gillingham, 'Historians Without Hindsight: Coggeshall, Diceto, and Howden on the Early Years of John's Reign,' in King John: New Interpretations, ed. S.D. Church (Suffolk, 1999), pp. 8-9.

[32] Gransden, Historical Writing in England I, pp. 356 and 359.

to have used Diceto's chronicle to the end of the reign of Richard I, in 1199, but from then on used only his own experience, and other annals which are now lost. [33] Most importantly, though, Wendover was a strong influence on Matthew's views; he was, according to Gransden, 'the originator of Matthew's hostility to the king and pope.'[34] Matthew used his chronicle but also added to it as he re-wrote it, choosing to elaborate on certain issues. Like Torigni in the generation before him, Matthew could boast a strong connection to the royal family. He was personally known to Henry III, and the abbey of St Albans included a guest-house for visitors from across England and beyond, bringing endless sources of information to him.[35] As a chronicler, Matthew and his source Roger of Wendover are the primary sources for marriage negotiations and arrangements of the time, providing details and insights for the marriages both of Henry III's generation and those of his children, most of which were made from 1220 onwards. Unlike Torigni, Howden, and Diceto, Matthew Paris was not uncritical of the king. Rather, he indicates at times—and at others outright states—that Henry III was, 'politically naive and weak, neglecting of his 'natural' counsellors, and imposed on by the pope.' He was particularly unfavourable towards aliens, and disliked Henry's close advisors from his Savoyard and Poitevin families, as well as the papal interference in the English church, sanctioned, or at least not prevented, by Henry III. [36] With these biases in mind, Matthew Paris can still be read as a very useful source for marriages, based as he is writing on information from numerous sources, including the king himself.

In general, then, the chroniclers of this period are highly useful, when used in combination and backed up by record sources, for the study of marriages. Foreign chronicles are also helpful in some cases, for example Romuald of Salerno's insight into William II and Joanna proved that it was papal interferences that caused renewal of Sicilian interest,[37] while the Muslim chroniclers are in fact the primary source for the proposed marriage between Joanna and al-Adil in 1191, a proposal for which most

[33] Ibid., p. 359.

[34] Ibid, p. 368.

[35] Ibid., p. 360.

[36] Ibid., pp. 369-70.

[37] Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, *Toma Settimo* (Bologna, 1900), p. 268.

Christian chronicles are completely silent. In general, though, and particularly later when record sources combined with Anglo-Norman chronicles are more illuminating, foreign sources do not provide any additional information. The German sources available for the time of Matilda's match to Henry of Saxony add nothing to the analysis of the marriage, but provide confirmation of what was already known. For most of this study, therefore, Anglo-Norman sources are the basis for analysis, for the primary focus of the work is on the English crown's perspective on the marriages, a perspective that is seldom added to by examining foreign works.

It is important to consider marriage itself; what it was, and what issues there were surrounding it. The three most important ideas that affected royal marriage were: what made a marriage, the age of consent, and consanguinity. There was a significant debate going on in the twelfth century amongst churchmen as to what exactly constituted a marriage. Gratian had outlined marriage as a two-step process, the first being two parties exchanging the promise to wed, and the second being consummation. Both stages of the process were necessary for a valid marriage.[38] Some twelfth-century theorists, though, were unhappy with consummation as a valid part of marriage, finding it offensive, and so arguing for only consent as necessary for marriage. Another group believed marriage to have to do neither with consent nor consummation but with the delivery of a woman to her husband.[39] Peter Lombard, a French theologian, believed something close to Gratian's idea, of intention to marry being the most important idea, with consummation sealing the pact.[40] Finally the pope, Alexander III, found it necessary to adopt one or the other forms, to clear up any troubles over the matter. His decision was that the contract by *verba de praesenti*, or words of present consent, constituted the marriage bond. Consummation, while important, was not needed to make a marriage valid.[41] Instead, it became a further bond; sexual intercourse precluded subsequent marriage between either party and the other party's immediate

[38] James Brundage, Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1987), p. 235.

[39] Ibid., p. 262.

[40] Ibid., p. 264.

[41] R.H. Helmholz, Marriage Litigation in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1974, reprinted Florida, 1986), pp. 26-7.

family. Consummation could also establish a marriage between a couple who had made a promise to wed in the future.[42]

The most important aspect of marriage, then, was consent. However, there were several prerequisites that one must reach in order to be able to grant consent. Firstly, both parties must be of an age to give 'meaningful consent'. This started at seven at the time of Gratian, after which age consent to a betrothal could be binding, [43] but later the ages of twelve for girls and fourteen for boys were used, the time at which the children were said to have reached puberty, according to the church.[44] This issue becomes particularly important in royal marriage, where so many children were betrothed, and even at times married, at very young ages. According to Gratian, there were other issues required for binding consent, for example Christians could not marry Jews or infidels, and one bound to celibacy could not marry.[45] However for the terms of royal marriage, it would be age that was the most pressing issue. An exception to the rule of the appropriate age was an idea particularly relevant to royal marriage, and that was the exception of necessity, wherein the marriage of two minors was necessary to confirm a treaty of peace.[46] Such necessity would appear to be evident in the cases of the Young King and Margaret in 1160, as well as the Scottish marriages of 1221 and 1251.[47]

The final issue central to any discussion of royal marriage during the Angevin period was that of consanguinity, or blood relations. Until 1215, the received doctrine was that no marriage was permitted between partners related within the seventh degree of consanguinity. After the Lateran council of that year, the prohibited degree was reduced to fourth, but for the Angevin royal family, even this would have included many of the ruling houses of Europe. In order to determine what degree of relations two partners were in, it was necessary to determine a common ancestor. The children of that ancestor are related in the first degree; their children are related in the second, their

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[42] Brundage, Law, Sex and Christian Society, pp. 334-5.

[43] Ibid., p. 238.

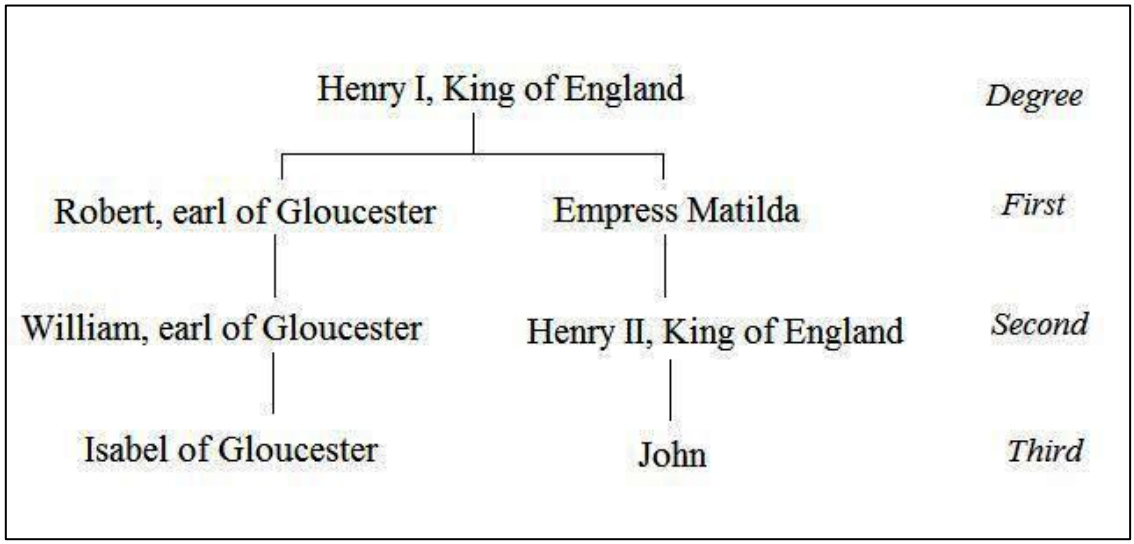
[44] Christopher Brooke, 'Marriage and Society in the Central Middle Ages,' in Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage, ed. R.B. Outhwaite (London, 1981), p. 20.

[45] Brundage, Law, Sex and Christian Society, p. 238.

[46] Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, The History of English Law from the Time of Edward I, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1968), p. 391.

[47] See below, pp. 17, 45, and 51-2.

children in the third, and theirs in the fourth; [48] great-great grandchildren of a common ancestor are therefore still within the prohibited degree, for example see the below table of how John was related within prohibited degree to his first wife.



In order to guarantee a valid marriage to someone within the prohibited degrees, a papal dispensation was required, though it seemed to be generally accepted that one could be obtained with enough money and influence. On only one occasion is an English royal marriage ever close to prevented by a lack of dispensation, that of Jeanne de Ponthieu and Henry III, the latter of whom gave up his attempts after realising the influence of the French king against his plea to be too strong.[49] What was an option, though, was to marry without the dispensation, as was done for example by John and Isabel of Gloucester in 1189. This meant that, as is pointed out by D.L. D'Avray, the rulers of Europe at this time had a tool for making consanguinity barriers work for them; any marriage made within prohibited degrees but without a dispensation could be easily annulled, should no heir be born or some other cause arise to make the marriage undesirable.[50] Cases of this can be seen in Louis VII's annulment of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, but also of John's eventual annulment of his marriage to

[48] Pollock and Maitland, The History of England Law from the Time of Edward I, p. 387.

[49] For more discussion see later, 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 131-2. There was objection to the marriage of John and Isabel of Gloucester in 1189, but the marriage was performed anyway. See below, p. 33.

[50] D.L. D'Avray, 'Authentication of Marital Status: a Thirteenth-Century English Royal Annulment Process,' EHR, 120 (2005), pp. 993-4.

Isabel of Gloucester in 1200. Brooke even goes so far as to say that in the twelfth century, annulment of marriage on the grounds of consanguinity was common.[51] Both of these issues, age of consent and consanguinity, will arise throughout this study of royal marriage, and both rules, as will be seen, were commonly broken both by Henry II and his heirs.

A great deal of work has been done studying the Angevin 'Empire',[52] the Angevin kings of England, and also the marriage of Henry II and Eleanor. In contrast, no attempt has been made to put together all the marriages of their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. There have been some studies on individual marriages, such as Lindsay Diggelmann's discussion of the wedding of 1160,[53] John Gillingham's article on Richard and Berengaria,[54] Nicholas Vincent's work on John and Isabelle of Angoulême,[55] and Björn Weiler's article on Henry III's plan to marry into the empire in 1225.[56] There have also been articles closely related to the marriages of royal children, such as Joseph Baylen's discussion of the Castilian Treaty of 1254,[57] and Evelyn Jamison's article on the Anglo-Sicilian alliance.[58]

Much work has also been done on marriage in the Middle Ages, and on the Angevin kings and empire. A number of detailed biographies have been done on the Angevins, particularly W.L. Warren's Henry II, John Gillingham's Richard I, Kate

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[51] Brooke, p. 27.

[52] There has been much debate over the use of the term Angevin 'Empire'; I am using it in this case not as a political division but a territorial one, to encompass the lands over which Henry II had sovereignty: England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Brittany, Poitou and Aquitaine.

[53] Lindsay Diggelmann, 'Marriage as a Tactical Response: Henry II and the Royal Wedding of 1160,' EHR, 119 (2004), pp. 954-64.

[54] John Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre,' The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 53 (1980), pp. 157-73.

[55] Nicholas Vincent, 'Isabelle of Angoulême: John's Jezebel,' in King John: New Interpretations, ed. S.D. Church (Suffolk, 1999), pp. 165-219. This article also considered aspects of H.G. Richardson's earlier article on Isabelle, 'The Marriage and Coronation of Isabelle of Angoulême,' EHR, 61 (1946), pp. 289-314.

[56] Björn Weiler, 'Plans,' pp. 173-88.

[57] Joseph Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254,' Traditio, 17 (1961), pp. 482-91.

[58] Evelyn Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the 12th Century,' Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 6 (1943), pp. 20-32.

Norgate's John Lackland, and the newer series of articles on John, S.D. Church's King John: New Interpretations. Eleanor of Aquitaine herself has also been closely studied, both in her role as queen to Henry II and queen mother to Richard and John.[59] Close studies have also been done of the primary members of the next generation, with D.A. Carpenter's two works on Henry III,[60] N. Denholm-Young's biography of Richard of Cornwall,[61] and Margaret Howell's biography of Henry III's queen, Eleanor.[62] There have also been a number of interesting articles and studies on relations between England and greater Europe at this time, for example the articles put together for England and Her Neighbours, 1066 – 1453, a series which covers English foreign relations with the Iberian peninsula, Germany, and Italy.[63] Evelyn Jamison published several pieces important to the understanding of England's relationship to Sicily in this period,[64] Michael Brown has written an interesting article on England and Scotland in the reign of Henry III,[65] and Björn Weiler has done extensive study on the relationship between England and Empire, including the Sicilian Business of the 1250s.[66] And, as was seen above, there have even been articles on particular marriages, usually those which are uncommon or stand out in some way, such as with the young ages of the 1160 marriage, the seemingly random nature of Richard's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre, or the

[59] For example, Regine Pernoud, Eleanor of Aquitaine, tr. P. Wiles (London, 1967); Amy Kelly, Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings (Cambridge, MA, 1950); and recently, Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and John C. Parsons (Basingstoke, 2008), among others.

[60] D.A. Carpenter, The Minority of Henry III (Berkeley, CA, 1990) and D.A. Carpenter, The Reign of Henry III (London, 1996).

[61] N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947).

[62] Margaret Howell, Eleanor of Provence (Oxford, 1998)

[63] Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale, eds, England and Her Neighbours, 1066 – 1453 (London, 1989).

[64] Evelyn Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century,' Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 6 (1943) and Evelyn Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries,' Proceedings of the British Academy (1938).

[65] Michael Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' in England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III, eds. Björn Weiler and Ifor Rowlands (Burlington, VT, 2002).

[66] Björn Weiler, Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216 – 1272 (London, 2006) and 'Henry III and the Sicilian Business: a reinterpretation,' The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 71 (2001) among others.

failed German alliance of 1225 that was the basis of one of Henry III's favourite foreign policies.[67]

This thesis, then, does not present new material that has never before been examined. Rather, it aims to look at the old material in a new light, and put it together in a way it has not been done before, to examine the kings and indeed kingdom of this period from the point of view of marriage, and to examine the collected group of marriages not from a social point of view, but from a political one. In order to do so, the study of royal marriage has been broken down into seven sections, the first one being a survey chapter in which each of the sixteen royal children is discussed in order of birth. The purpose of this survey is to provide a reference point for the thematic analysis which follows. The second chapter is a study of the geography of marriage, in which is examined the homeland of each potential match, and the location of marriage ceremonies, and includes a summation of the ten major geographical categories and the political motivations for allying with each one. The third chapter, on age and sex, is primarily a study of the male versus female practice of marriage; how old they entered the marriage market, how old they were when they were first betrothed and married, and the differences between the two sexes in those cases. The fourth section covers negotiation, both who first approached whom to suggest a marriage, and how the process of negotiation continued—who was involved, how much money and time was involved, and where possible, the varying offers that could be made. Because many negotiations were begun but broken off before a marriage or even formal betrothal could be reached, the next chapter is devoted to those cases. The sixth chapter is a study of dower, dowry, and inheritance, not only which lands were involved but when possible what they were worth, and how they were used. And finally, the last section examines the twenty-one marriages made by royal children in the Angevin period, and attempts to assess their level of success. This will be attempted by comparing the political motivation for the marriage to its outcome, but also in considering the personal relationship between the couple, where such determination can be made, and whether the marriage succeeded in producing an heir. It is important to note that this study pertains only to the legitimate royal children of this period. Though certainly significant members of the royal family, illegitimate children of the kings must be

[67] All three of these articles are referenced above, and will be discussed in far more detail.

viewed in very different light from the legitimate; indeed, they cannot be properly compared, as large differences arise in political motivations and outcomes. Illegitimate children were of a different class than legitimate ones, and so should be given their own, separate study, before any attempt could be made to compare them.

In presenting the material in a new light, I will be attempting to answer a number of questions: Was there a policy for Angevin royal marriage? To what extent was the king in control of that policy? Who else may have been involved? Did policy change after the accession of Henry II in 1154, or more particularly after the loss of Normandy in 1204? Were the Angevin kings normal in their use of marriage? And finally what relation did marriage diplomacy have to overall foreign policy, what role did it play, and just how important was it to the king, financially and politically?

Chapter One – Case Studies

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a reference point for later analysis, to ensure that in the process of analysis, the chronology of who married whom when is not lost, and also to see the progression of betrothals and marriages over time, how patterns changed, or not. This is especially important in determining how one marriage might, either directly or indirectly, lead to another occurring a generation or two later.

Henry the Young King, b. 1155

In 1144, during the civil war in England between Stephen and Matilda, Matilda's husband Geoffrey of Anjou invaded and conquered the duchy of Normandy. Along with his son Henry, Geoffrey ceded the Norman Vexin, a vital strategic slice of land on the border of Normandy and the French-held territory, to the French king in exchange for Louis' acquiescence as to their conquest.[1] In the interest of further securing his hold on the Duchy of Normandy and the safety of his empire, in 1158 Henry, now king of England, challenged Louis VII for the rights to the land and its three most important—and strongly fortified—castles of Gisors, Neufles and Châteauneuf.[2] A peace agreement was finally reached between the two kings in which they contracted a marriage between Henry's heir, the future Young King, and Louis' daughter Margaret, his eldest daughter by his second wife.[3] The agreement was that Margaret would be wed to the Young King when they both came of age—Margaret was

[1]Gillingham, Richard I, p. 29 and Powicke, Loss, p. 85. There is some question as to what exactly was ceded in 1144; most historians believe that it was the entirety of the Vexin, though there is some evidence that it was just the castle of Gisors. Certainly by 1151 at the latest, the Vexin had been ceded to Louis VII. See Judith Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin,' in War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich, eds. John Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 48. Daniel Power makes a strong argument for Geoffrey ceding the whole of the Vexin at this time due to his need for recognition by Louis VII, see Daniel Power, The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries (Cambridge, 2004), p. 392.

[2] Howden, Chronica, I, pp. 217-18.

[3] After Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Louis had married Constance, daughter of the king of Castile. She gave him two daughters, Margaret and Alys, before dying in 1160.

only an infant in 1158, and the Young King three years old—at which point the three castles and the Vexin would be handed over to Henry II as her dowry. They were placed in the hands of the Knights Templar, who would act as custodians until the marriage.[4] Despite Margaret's young age, Thomas Becket, then Chancellor for Henry II, was sent to Paris to fetch the princess and bring her back to the Angevin court: 'Thomas...went to Paris in order to accept Margaret, the daughter of the king of the Franks as wife for Henry the son of the English king.'[5]

All appeared to be in order, until the death of Louis VII's wife Constance in October 1160. As the chronicles point out, he hardly waited a decent interval before he was wed again, 'with very little time passing,' to Adela, daughter of the increasingly powerful—and also close advisor to Louis—Count Theobald of Champagne.[6] 'Without delay,' Henry II acted to counter this marriage, by immediately having the two children married, and the Vexin and castles handed over to him, with, according to Torigni, Normandy's safety in mind: 'Henry held these fortifications, which pertained to the duchy of Normandy.'[7] There seems to be some question as to which was a reaction to the other—Warren states that Henry was reacting to Louis' marriage, a match that strengthened the French crown and potentially endangered Normandy,[8] an idea supported by Torigni's sequence of events, which as is seen above places Louis's marriage ahead of his daughter's. However, Diceto mentions only that the castles were 'long desired' by Henry,[9] while Howden points out the extreme youth of the bride and groom, 'but still children crying in their cradles,'[10] indicating that perhaps he felt the marriage was rushed. Needless to say, Louis was less than pleased, but the agreement had been made, and he could not stop the Templars from handing over the castles.

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[4] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218.

[5] Diceto, I, p. 302. '*Thomas regis cancellarius in apparatu magno venit Parisius, Margaritam filiam regis Francorum accepturus uxorem Henrico filio regis Anglorum.*'

[6] Torigni, p. 208.

[7] Ibid., p. 208.

[8] Warren, Henry II, p. 90.

[9] Diceto, I, pp. 303-4.

[10] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218: '*Cum adhuc essent pueruli in cunis vagientes.*'

The two remained married until the death of the Young King in 1183, and while Howden records Margaret giving birth to a son in 1177,[11] he did not survive infancy. Though the king of France demanded the return of both Margaret and her dowry, the Vexin had been back in Henry's hands for over twenty years, and he was understandably unwilling to relinquish it. Howden records an agreement made at this time that the English king was to pay Margaret £2,750 annually in exchange for the rights over the land,[12] and shortly afterwards the Vexin would be re-designated the dowry for Margaret's sister Alys, as will be discussed below.

Matilda, duchess of Saxony, b. 1156

Matilda, the eldest daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, was around eight years old when Rainald, the archbishop of Cologne, arrived at her father's court at Rouen in 1165. He came on the heels of Philip, count of Flanders, and as chancellor to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, brought with him 'many other great powerful men.'[13] His mission was to request the hand of Matilda for Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, one of the greatest lords of the Empire, and the hand of her younger sister Eleanor for the infant son of the Emperor. The proposal was quickly accepted, and, despite being heavily pregnant, Queen Eleanor travelled across the channel from Dover with her daughter, in order to begin preparations.[14]

We do not have as vivid an account of Matilda's arrival in her new home as we do of her sister Joanna's entrance into Palermo in 1177, but it is clear that Henry II spared no expense to send a rich dowry with his eldest daughter. The Pipe Roll for the year 1166-67 includes details of the money spent to send Matilda to Germany, which will be detailed later.[15] Despite this detailed accounting, chroniclers are reserved about the marriage, mentioning it merely in passing. Howden even places the account of the marriage in the wrong year, claiming Henry gave Matilda to the duke of Saxony in

[11] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 136.

[12] Ibid., p. 281.

[13] Torigni, p. 224.

[14] Gervase, p. 204.

[15] PR, *13 Henry II*, p. 2.

1164, when in fact negotiations did not begin until the following year, and the marriage was yet further in the future.[16] Diceto is the most reliable, not only correctly dating the marriage, but also naming two of the earls who escorted Matilda to Saxony: Arundel and Striguil.[17] This would prove to be the first of many marriages between the Angevin royal house and the Empire.

Richard, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, later king of England, b. 1157

Richard, the second son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine to survive childhood, was first a candidate for betrothal in 1159. There has been some suggestion that at the same time as the Young King's betrothal in 1158, Richard was also betrothed, to Louis' next daughter, Alys. However this stems from Howden incorrectly placing the meeting in 1161; it is clear from other chronicles that Margaret's marriage was arranged in 1158, yet Alys was not born until the following year, so could not have been part of an 1158 agreement. Howden is the only chronicler to mention a simultaneous betrothal,[18] and it seems likely that he merely confused the issue, placing Richard's eventual betrothal to Alys at the same time as his brother's betrothal. Rather, in 1159 Henry II was forming an alliance with Count Raymond of Barcelona—also married to the queen of Aragon—at Blaye, on the Gironde. Henry wished to declare war on the County of Toulouse, and an alliance with Raymond created the perfect safety net for him, both protecting his back and providing material aid. In exchange for Raymond's support, Henry offered a marriage between the count's daughter and Richard, with the understanding that on the completion of the marriage Richard would be given the duchy of Aquitaine.[19] Though this match never came to be, Gillingham points out its significance as one of the first strong ties between Richard and Aquitaine,[20] ties that would remain throughout his life. It is also the first of many Anglo-Spanish matches over the next generations.

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[16] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 220.

[17] Diceto, I, p. 330.

[18] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218.

[19] Torigni, p. 200.

[20] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 30.

When exactly Richard was betrothed to Alys comes back into question at this point; the fact that there are no more attempted marriages made for Richard during the 1160s suggests that Howden's assertion of a betrothal in 1161 may have some validity.[21] Gervase of Canterbury mentions Richard agreeing to take a wife at the time he was officially promised Aquitaine in 1169/70, and though Gervase does not mention Alys by name,[22] the *Chronique de Normandie* says that their betrothal occurred along with Richard's acquisition of Aquitaine.[23] Despite the inconsistencies, it does appear that by the end of 1170, Alys and Richard were certainly betrothed. However, the story does not end there.

Later, in 1176, we find the French king growing impatient for the marriage between his daughter and Richard, now at the marriageable ages of seventeen and nineteen respectively. In a letter Pope Alexander III discusses Louis' wish that the girl, 'should be returned to him, or given to the duke, as she should be given.'[24] In response to this letter, Cardinal Peter of St Chrysogonus, was sent into France, and according to Howden, threatened Henry II with interdict, 'unless he allow his son Richard, count of Poitou, to take as wife Alys.'[25] Immediately Henry moved to make conciliatory gestures, meeting Louis at Ivry, on the border of Normandy, and promising to honour the marriage arrangement, but also adding the demand that Louis name the city of Bourges and its dependencies in Berry as Alys' dowry. Louis refused, and the negotiations ended with much the same outcome as they had begun.[26]

The situation became yet more complicated when, six years later, Princess Margaret was widowed on the death of the Young King. Louis' son Philip, now king of France, demanded the return of Margaret's dowry. However as is seen above, Henry refused and instead settled money upon her. Gillingham suggests that around this time Henry II was entertaining the idea of marring Alys to his youngest son, John,[27] for in

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[21] As will be seen later in the 'Age at Betrothal and Marriage' chapter, it was very unusual for a prince to remain unbetrothed for such a long period of time, especially at a young age.

[22] Gervase, p. 208.

[23] *Extrait de la Chronique de Normandie*, in HGF Vol. XIII, p. 255.

[24] *Epistolae Alexandri III Papae*, Letter CCLXXXVIII, in HGF, Vol. XV, p. 954.

[25] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 143.

[26] Warren, Henry II, p. 145 and Howden, Chronica, II, p. 143.

[27] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 79.

1184 he welcomed an embassy from Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, led by the archbishop of Cologne and suggesting a marriage between Richard and the emperor's daughter. However, the princess to whom Richard was so briefly attached died only months later, and the argument over the Vexin continued.[28]

In 1186 Henry and Philip met again, this time at Gisors, one of the disputed castles, to treat for settlement of the issue. According to Howden, Henry did make an oath to give Alys to Richard, but the faith behind this vow can be questioned both on account of the earlier German proposal and the later claims by Richard that Henry had, by this point, made Alys his mistress. It was now, though, that Philip finally agreed to the transfer of dowries, stating that he gave Alys to Richard, 'with all that Louis his father had given with Margaret...to Henry.'[29] Philip was less willing to allow for delays in the marriage than his father had been, and two years later when the marriage had still failed to occur, he threatened to lay waste to Normandy and even invade England.[30] The increasing number of threats made by Philip may also have been at least partially encouraged by Richard, who was allied with the French king and who desired assurance that he, and not his brother John, was to be Henry's heir. At Bonsmoulins in November 1188, the kings came together once more, and Philip made a generous overture, to return 'all the lands which had been captured through war, under the condition that Henry surrender Alys to count Richard as wife, and that the same Richard be made heir to his realm of England and all his other lands.'[31] Henry refused to acquiesce to these demands, and from this time until July 1189, Richard and Philip were allied against him. Only days before his death, Henry made the oath one last time that Alys would be given in custody to one chosen by Richard, and married to him, while Richard would receive oaths of loyalty from all of Henry's vassals.[32] Not long after this agreement, Henry II died, leaving Richard king.

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[28] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 288.

[29] Ibid., p. 308.

[30] Ibid., p. 334.

[31] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 50: '*Ubi rex Franciae obtulit regi Angliae quicquid ceperat de eo per guerram; tali conditione quod tradidisset Alais sororem suam comiti Ricardo filio suo in uxorem; et eidem Ricardo fieri fidelitates hominum regni Angliae et aliarum terrarum suarum.*'

[32] Ibid., p. 70.

On Richard's accession, therefore, he was betrothed to, and it would appear had every intention of marrying, Alys of France. However, there is some evidence that this was not his intention at all, and that instead he was planning to wed Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho VI of Navarre. When exactly the plan came into being is questionable—Berengaria did not appear in Anglo-Norman chronicles until 1191, when she arrived in Brindisi accompanied by Richard's mother Eleanor of Aquitaine.[33] Eleanor had either been sent or travelled to Navarre to fetch Berengaria and bring her to Richard in Sicily, where he was passing the winter with Philip II of France on their way to the Holy Land. At the time of her arrival, Richard was still betrothed to Alys, and tensions between the French and English kings had been growing for some months. By February, Philip had roused King Tancred of Sicily's suspicions sufficiently for him to believe that Richard was plotting against him. After the death of William II, Tancred had usurped the throne from the rightful appointed heir, Constance, wife of Henry VI of Germany. According to Howden, who gives us the most detailed account of Richard's stay in Sicily, Philip convinced Tancred that Richard was creating an alliance with Henry VI; why else would Queen Eleanor have met with Henry on her travels through Italy?[34] So, Tancred refused Eleanor and Berengaria entrance into Messina, thereby forcing a confrontation with Richard, who demanded an explanation. When confronted with Philip's accusation, Richard vehemently objected, and, convincing Tancred of his innocence, left Philip's treachery exposed.

In retort, Philip challenged Richard, accusing him of planning the whole scenario so that he might escape from his agreement to marry Alys. Richard's response was damning: '[he] could never reasonably take [Philip's] sister as wife, for the king of England, his father, had known her and had a son by her.'[35] Humiliated, Philip had no choice but to allow Richard his freedom. Unfortunately, by the time this upset had been smoothed over, Lent had come, forcing more delays. Eleanor had left Sicily within days of her arrival, entrusting Berengaria to the charge of the widowed queen of Sicily,

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[33] Details of these negotiations are discussed below, p. 96.

[34] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 98.

[35] Ibid., pp. 98-99: '*His auditis rex Angliae respondit, quod sororem illius sibi in uxorem ducere nulla ratione posset, quia rex Angliae pater suus eam cognoverat, et filium ex ea genuerat*.'

Joanna, Richard's sister.[36] The couple were finally married at Limassol, in Cyprus, on 12th May 1191:

> Nicholas, the king's chaplain, performed the services of the sacrament, and on that same day the king caused her to be crowned and consecrated Queen of England by John, bishop of Evreux, who was assisted in the ceremony by the archbishops of Apamea and Auch, and the bishop of Bayonne.[37]

This is in fact one of the longer versions of the marriage; Richard of Devizes mentions it only in passing,[38] and after this point Berengaria disappears from chronicles almost completely. Her travels in the Holy Land are paired with and overshadowed by those of her companion, Joanna, who was brought to the forefront in one of Richard's many attempted peace settlements, discussed below. Berengaria's marriage never produced children, and other than during her dispute with John over her dower after Richard's death, she is all but invisible to chronicle sources.[39]

Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, b. 1158

Before the birth of Henry II's third son Geoffrey in September 1158, the situation regarding inheritance for his sons was very simple: Henry the Young King, as eldest, would inherit his father's lands of Normandy, Anjou and England, while the younger son Richard would receive his mother's lands of Aquitaine and Poitou. On Geoffrey's birth, Henry was faced with the necessity of finding a place for him. Perhaps fortunately, the king's brother, also named Geoffrey, was count of Nantes, and had died several months before.[40] Though initially, the county was seized by Conan IV, duke of Brittany, the threat of an invasion by Henry cooled Conan's ambitions, and he

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[36] Ibid., p. 100.

[37] Ibid., p. 110: '*Nicolao regis capellano officium sacramenti illius perficiente: et eodem die fecit illam rex coronari et consecrari in reginam Angliae, a Johanne Ebroicense episcopo, administrantibus illi in officio illo archiepiscopis de Appamia et de Auxia, et episcopo de Baonia*.'

[38] Devizes, p. 38.

[39] For more on this, see 'Dower and Dowry,' pp. 158-9.

[40] Torigni, p. 196.

agreed that Henry should be named his brother's heir.[41] The need for direct intervention in Brittany remained uncertain at this time, though, and Henry appeared willing to leave authority in the duchy in the hands of the native duke Conan, who had spent much of his early life at Henry's court due to his patrimonial inheritance of the honour of Richmond. Henry remained supportive of Conan, even helping to procure his marriage to the Scottish king's sister and backing his military campaigns into western Brittany in the early 1160s.[42] By 1166, however, it became clear that Conan was unable to retain control over the Breton barons. Henry II led a force into the duchy, besieged the castle of Fougères, and once the rebellion was quelled, forced Conan to agree to abdication. Conan was permitted to retain control over Richmond, while his infant daughter Constance was betrothed to Henry's son Geoffrey. Diceto states that, in order to ensure the succession of his daughter, Conan made Constance his heiress,[43] and Torigni points out that Conan made the grant, 'for the use of his son,' though it was Henry himself who went on to accept the homage of 'nearly all' the Breton barons at Thouars.[44] By the end of 1166, Henry II retained the guardianship of Constance, and of her inheritance, making him *de facto* duke of Brittany.[45] The actual marriage between Geoffrey and Constance did not take place until 1181,[46] at which point it would appear Henry granted at least nominal authority to both, though the king seems to have retained control over Nantes and the honour of Richmond, the latter until 1183 and the former until 1185, according to various charters.[47] Everard comments on the similarity of the situation between Geoffrey and his eldest brother, both of whom were prevented by their father from ruling the lands they had been appointed.[48]

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[41] Warren, Henry II, p. 77 and Torigni, p. 197.

[42] Judith Everard, Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158 – 1203 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 40-1.

[43] Diceto, I, p. 332.

[44] Torigni, p. 228.

[45] Everard, Brittany and the Angevins, p. 35.

[46] Torigni, p. 296.

[47] J.A. Everard and Michael Jones, eds. The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her Family, 1171-1221 (Suffolk, 1999), p. 1.

[48] Everard, Brittany and the Angevins, p. 50.

Eleanor, queen of Castile, b. 1162

Henry II's second daughter, Eleanor, is the sister about whom we know the least, by far. On both the occasions of her first betrothal and later marriage, only passing reference is made in chronicles, if mention is made at all. Nevertheless, it is known that she was first suggested for marriage at the age of only three years old, when a double marriage was proposed for her and her older sister, Matilda, in 1165.[49] Any particular arrangements or negotiations for this marriage are not discussed, and Gervase of Canterbury and the much later chronicle of Roger of Wendover do not even mention Eleanor's part in the double betrothal.[50] The reason is almost certainly the untimely death, some years after the negotiations, of the infant son of Frederick Barbarossa to whom Eleanor had been betrothed.[51]

Eleanor's marriage in 1170 is also mentioned only in passing by chronicles. According to Gerald of Wales, it was ambassadors from Castile who first approached Henry II with the interest of marrying their king, Alfonso VIII.[52] Only Torigni offers any further details about the kingdom to which Eleanor would be taken, 'that part of Spain called Castile, the metropolis of which is Toledo.'[53] Even Howden, who provides some of the most detailed information for other marriages, is silent on the subject of Eleanor and Alfonso, mentioning it only some seven years later, when Henry II was mediating between the kings of Navarre and Castile, the latter of whom 'took as wife [Henry's] daughter Eleanor.'[54] The lack of interest in the marriage is almost certainly due to the event occurring later in the same year, which would overshadow most happenings for months if not years to come: the murder of Thomas Becket. Indeed, Howden's entire entry for 1170 is taken up with details of this crime, and its after-effects, leaving no room for Eleanor's marriage.

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[49]Torigni, p. 224.

[50]Gervase, p. 204 and Wendover, I, p. 39.

[51] Benjamin Arnold, 'England and Germany, 1050 – 1350,' in England and Her Neighbours, 1066 – 1453, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), p. 45.

[52] Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernia:* the Conquest of Ireland, eds. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), p. 221.

[53] Torigni, p. 247.

[54] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 139.

Some context can be found for the match, however, in Henry II's acquisition of Aquitaine, and his expansion of interests to include a new set of territorial boundaries, hence a new set of territorial rivals and allies. Henry was now forced to deal with the complicated Aquitainian-Toulousin history, a conflict that prompted contact with the rulers of Christian Spain, specifically those of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre. The active interest Henry had in his southern lands is played out both in his 1159 alliance with the ruler of Aragon, and in Eleanor's marriage to Alfonso of Castile. A powerful ally amongst the Spanish kingdoms meant a safe western border in Aquitaine, and could also act as a check on the ambitions of the counts of Toulouse. The marriage also prevented a restoration of Louis VII's alliance with Castile, first established in 1154 with his marriage to Constance of Castile.[55]

Joanna, queen of Sicily and countess of Toulouse, b. 1165

Henry II's youngest daughter, Joanna, was different from her sisters in several ways; firstly, she married more than once, being the only sister to outlive her husband, despite the twenty-seven year age gap between Matilda and Henry of Saxony. Secondly, Joanna is mentioned in chronicles far more than either of her sisters; not only is her first marriage and arrival in Sicily described in detail, but also her later travels with Richard bring her into the foreground on a regular basis. Clearly, then, it is possible to discuss her matrimonial history in far greater depth.

Though not mentioned by any chronicler, there is evidence in the late 1160s of envoys from Sicily being in England. This comes from a letter of Thomas Becket, dated August 1169, in which he claims that Richard of Syracuse had allied with Henry II, who had promised him the bishopric of Lincoln. The bishop was promoting the idea of a marriage between William II of Sicily and Joanna, 'in order to influence the king of Sicily towards the destruction of the Church and of ourselves [Becket].'[56] John Julius Norwich doubts that the offer of Lincoln would be appealing to Richard of Syracuse, but he does appear to believe that an Anglo-Sicilian match was being considered at the

[55] Warren, Henry II, p. 117.

[56] 'Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury to Hubald, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia,' in The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Vol. II, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Oxford, 2000), No. 216, p. 945.

time.[57] Certainly there was a long history of political and social connections between the countries, both of which had been overrun by the Normans in the eleventh century.[58] Whatever negotiations were taking place, they were cut off sharply when the respectability and security of Henry II's position was shattered by the murder of Becket on 29th December 1170. Immediately, the English king went from being one of the most powerful men in Western Europe to being under papal sanction. No more marriage considerations for Joanna appear until six years later, and it is perhaps fortunate for her sisters that they were both married at this time. Nevertheless, to place the entire burden of responsibility for Joanna's position on the reaction to the murder would be a mistake. For all that Henry was in deep disgrace, he received a papal pardon, and it was not long before the leaders of Europe were following the pope's lead and accepting him back into the political fold. Indeed William of Sicily was one of the first to stretch out his hand to Henry, and Howden records a letter written by William to Henry expressing support after the rebellion of the princes in 1173.[59] Despite all William's acceptance, there is no further mention of a marriage alliance, and indeed Henry II almost seems to have forgotten about his daughter, instead focussing on finding John a wife. After John's betrothal to Alice of Maurienne in 1172, Joanna remained until late 1176 the only one of the king's children for whom he had not arranged a marriage.

One reason for this is that William was busy negotiating a match with the Byzantine imperial family. In March 1171, Emperor Manuel Comnenus offered his daughter Maria to William as wife, yet in a mystery that is never explained, on the day William was to meet his bride at Taranto, she failed to appear.[60] After this fiasco, William seemed eager, as Donald Matthew put it, to 'recover his prestige with the rulers of the north.'[61] This is when Pope Alexander III became involved; he could not afford a potentially disastrous alliance between William and the German Emperor, with whom

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[57] John Julius Norwich, The Kingdom in the Sun (London, 1970), pp. 303-4. This is supported by Evelyn Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the 12th Century,' Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 6 (1943), p. 23.

[58] For more discussion of connections between Sicily and England, see below, pp. 92-3.

[59] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 54-55.

[60] Norwich, The Kingdom in the Sun, pp. 304-5.

[61] Donald Matthew, The Norman Kingdom of Sicily (Cambridge, 1992), p. 273.

Alexander had a long-standing dispute, and so the pope suggested re-establishing contact with England.[62] The Sicilian chronicler Romuald of Salerno clearly states that William sent ambassadors to England, 'by the advice of Pope Alexander,' in spring of 1176.[63]

Howden records with the most clear detail who arrived in London at Whitsuntide, and what happened next:

> [Daifer] the bishop-elect of Troia, [Arnulf] the bishop of Capaccio, and count Florius [of Camerota, the Royal Justiciar], and with them Rotrou Archbishop of Rouen, cousin of the said king of Sicily. And on discovering the king at London, they asked of him that he give his daughter Joanna as wife to their lord William, king of Sicily.[64]

Henry made a show of gaining permission for this match from the barons and clergy of his kingdom, but it seems unlikely that there was ever an answer other than enthusiastic agreement.[65] According to Diceto, 'the expenses and things necessary for the journey [to Sicily], as well as an abundance of attendants, were provided by the bishop of Winchester.'[66] That is not to say that Henry's own contribution was not substantial, for he provided the travellers with 'horses and clothing, gold and silver, and precious vessels.'[67]

Joanna and her escort, 'the archbishop of Rouen, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and Geoffrey bishop of Ely, and the girl's uncle Earl Hamelin, and Giles bishop of Evreux, and Hugh de Beauchamp,' travelled through Normandy escorted by

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[62] There was no danger at this time of the English king allying against the pope, as he had been forced to re-pledge his loyalty after Becket's murder.

[63] Romuald of Salerno, p. 268: '*consilio pape Alexandri.*'

[64] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 115-16: '*Interim applicuerunt in Angliam episcopus Trojacensis, et electus Capuaciae, et comes Florius, nuncii regis Willelmi Siciliae, et cum eis Rotrodus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, consanguineus praedicti regis Siciliae. Et invento domino rege apud Lundonias, petierunt ab eo Johannam filiam suam donari in uxorem domino suo Willelmo regi Siciliae.*' For more discussion of the negotiations, see below, p. 104.

[65] Howden, Chronica, II, pp. 94-5.

[66] Diceto, I, p. 414: '*Sumptus et impensas et itineri necessaria, copiam quoque ministrorum, providit Wintoniensis episcopus.*'

[67] Howden, Gesta, I, p. 120: '*dedit eis equos et vestes, et aurum et argentum, et vasa preciosa.*'

the Young King. At the border, they were met by Richard, count of Poitou, who escorted them through his lands, all the way south to Saint-Gilles.[68] The party was greeted in Saint-Gilles by twenty-five Sicilian galleys, and though it must be assumed the intention was to travel directly to Palermo, Romuald of Salerno records a story of Joanna being so unaccustomed to ocean travel that she became horribly sea-sick. Her illness was so severe that the fleet was forced to stop at Naples, where they spent Christmas and allowed Joanna to recover her strength.[69] Diceto supports this idea, stating that Joanna was 'tested by the rage of the sea and waves,' on her way to meet her future husband.[70]

Joanna's arrival in Palermo is described in great detail by Roger of Howden, who tells of the regally dressed princess being met at the city gates by her husband:

> The whole city welcomed her. So many and so great were the lights that were lit, that the city seemed to be consumed by fire, so that the beams of stars could in no way compare. They entered the city of Palermo at night. The daughter of the King of England was led, upon a royal horse, dressed in royal garments, to a certain palace, and there she could await the day of her marriage and coronation in a state of greater comfort.[71]

For eleven days Joanna was allowed to settle into her new home, and then on St Valentine's Day Eve, William called together all of the nobles, prelates and many of the people of Sicily, to witness his marriage in the royal chapel.[72] Also in attendance were the bishop of Evreux and Henry's envoys, who had been sent to Sicily for the purpose of witnessing the marriage. Shortly after the ceremony, the bishop of Palermo performed the anointment and coronation of Joanna as Queen of Sicily.[73]

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[68] Ibid., p. 120.

[69] Romuald of Salerno, pp. 268-9.

[70] Diceto, I, p. 415.

[71] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 95: '*Tota civitas eis applausit, et tota et tanta accensa sunt luminaria, ut civitas penitus crederetur comburi, et stellarum radii prae fulgore tantorum luminum nullatenus possent comparere. De nocte enim intraverant civitatem Panormi. Ducta est ergo praedicta regis Angliae filia, super equum regium, vestibus regalibus insignita, in quoddam palatium, ut ibidem desponsationis et coronationis suae diem gratius posset expectare*.'

[72] Romuald of Salerno, p. 269.

[73] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 95.

In spite of her spectacular wedding, Joanna's marriage proved less happy. Some historians have assumed that she was barren, though her later ability to have children shows this to be false, and there is record in Torigni, who as seen in the introduction was close to the royal family, that in 1182 Joanna gave birth to a son, who must have died very young.[74] Certainly at the time of William II's death, in November 1189, the couple were childless.[75] Some months later, Joanna's brother Richard, newly-crowned King of England, arrived in Sicily on his way to the Holy Land. Now a widow, Joanna donated all of her assets to her brother to help pay for his Crusade. As a result she became financially dependent upon him, therefore in his power regarding her future, and any second marriage.

It is in this context that one must consider the proposal made by Richard that she be married to the Muslim brother of the Christian army's enemy, Saladin. Within days of his arrival outside Acre—with Joanna and his new wife in tow—Richard was sending messengers to Saladin requesting a meeting.[76] Though Saladin refused a face-to-face meeting, he sent instead his brother, al-Adil, who was also his most trusted advisor. The relationship between Richard and al-Adil was cordial, with a grand exchange of gifts common, so that Saladin even sent fruit to Richard during one of his illnesses.[77] It was in this friendly atmosphere, therefore, that Richard put forth the idea of marriage between his sister Joanna to al-Adil, and the subsequent naming of the pair as the King and Queen of Jerusalem. There is much debate over the sincerity of this offer, and most historians tend to believe it was made in jest.[78] However Saladin, to the surprise of the Franks, accepted, though Baha al-Din claims he did so only because he knew it had not been meant in seriousness, 'the king of England would not agree to them at all and that it was intended to mock and deceive him.'[79] Whether it was meant in seriousness or not, Joanna refused to consent to marry a Muslim, and the whole idea was forgotten.[80]

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[74] Torigni, p. 303.

[75] Howden, Gesta, II, pp. 101-2.

[76] Baha al-Din, p. 155.

[77] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 20-21 and Baha al-Din, p. 193.

[78] Ann Trindade, Berengaria: in Search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen (Dublin, 1999), p. 104; Charles J. Rosebault, Saladin, Prince of Chivalry (London, 1930), p. 279.

[79] Baha al-Din, p. 188.

[80] Livres, pp. 46. For more discussion on the ending of this betrothal, see p. 123.

It should also be noted that almost all of the sources for this suggestion come from the Muslim side; only one Christian source even mentions the proposal, which may indicate that it is an episode the westerners preferred to forget.[81]

After this interlude in the Holy Land, Joanna returned to Europe. Nothing is heard of her until 1196, when her brother Richard and the count of Toulouse set about to conclude a peace between them, to end a war that had been carrying on for forty years. In 1094, William IX of Aquitaine had married Philippa of Toulouse, and their descendants therefore claimed the neighbouring principality.[82] Both of Eleanor of Aquitaine's husbands had attempted to invade and conquer the county, Louis VII in 1141, and Henry II in the 1150s and 70s, then the war had been passed on to Richard as her heir.[83] As a central part of the agreement to end this war, Joanna was married, 'with great honour,' according to William of Newburgh, to Count Raymond, in a marriage that, 'calmed the inveterate hatred that had existed between [Richard and Raymond].'[84] According to the agreement, Richard would give up his claims over Toulouse, which he made in his capacity as the heir to Poitiers, he would restore the Querci to Raymond, and he would give him the Agenais as Joanna's dowry.[85] The marriage was quite fruitful for Raymond, providing him with a son and heir, though Joanna died in childbirth at the abbey of Fontevrault in 1199, only months after her brother Richard.

John, earl of Gloucester, later king of England, b. 1167

As the fourth son to survive into adulthood, John created a significant problem for Henry, and indeed the king seemed to spend a good deal of effort in the 1170s searching for a place for John. The campaigns into Ireland and the attempt to set John up there were obviously part of this, as were the efforts to find him wife. The first was in 1172, when Humbert, count of Maurienne—who held a very impressive set of lands on both sides of the Alps—sent an embassy to Henry II suggesting the marriage of his

[81] Tyre, p. 120.

[82] Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, Capetian France: 987 – 1328 (London, 2001), p. 75.

[83] Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987 – 1328) (New York, 1966), p. 138.

[84] Newburgh, p. 491: '*Inveteratum illud odium conquievit.*'

[85] Cl. Devic and J. Vaissete, Histoire Générale de Languedoc, Vol. 6 (Toulouse, 1872), p. 174.

daughter and heiress, Alice, to John. As dowry, Humbert offered to give the couple all of his lands, creating John his heir. It was, as Torigni pointed out, no small offer, for the count was, 'very wealthy in possession of castles and cities; no one could approach Italy except through his lands.'[86] Then in February 1173, Henry II took John to Montferrand in the Auvergne, and, 'there came to him Humbert count of Maurienne, and with him he brought Alice his eldest daughter.'[87] According to Howden, Henry paid Humbert 5,000 silver marks in exchange for the count making John his heir, and betrothing him to Alice; Humbert received 1,000 immediately, with the other 4,000 still to come.[88] However, several months later, Humbert re-appeared at Henry's court, apparently dissatisfied with Henry's settlement of Mortain on John, and demanded to know 'what and how much of his land the king of England would give to his son John.'[89] In what appears to be an almost hurried reaction, Henry granted to John the castles of Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau, three strategic centres in Touraine and Anjou. Unfortunately, the latter two of these castles were held by his eldest son, the Young King, who vehemently refused to give them up: 'the king the son would in no way agree, nor would he permit it to be.'[90] As will be mentioned later, the granting of these castles was at least partially responsible for the subsequent rebellion of the Young King and his brothers in 1173/4. However, Alice of Maurienne died before a wedding could take place, and the alliance faded away.[91]

Moving away from the continent, in 1176 Henry II chose to betroth his son to Isabel of Gloucester, the only one of the earl's three daughters not yet married. There were two potential problems with the arrangement: first and most easily solved, was the fact that inheritance law dictated that Earl William's lands ought to have been split evenly between his three daughters—and their husbands—on his death. To compensate

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[86] Torigni, p. 250.

[87] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 35-6: '*Illuc venit ad eum Hubertus comes de Mauriana, et adduxit secum Aalis filiam suam majorem*.'

[88] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 41.

[89] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 45: '*Scire voluit quid et quantum rex Angliae pater daret Johanni filio suo de terra sua*.'

[90] Ibid., p. 45: '*Rex filius nullo modo concedere voluit, nec fieri permisit*.'

[91] Norgate, John, p. 6.

for the loss, Henry gave each of the two elder daughters one hundred pounds.[92] The second problem was more significant, and was that John and Isabel were related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, both being great-grandchildren of King Henry I. They would require a papal dispensation to wed, though it was clearly assumed by both parties that this would be accomplished. The marriage to Isabel would not take place for fully thirteen years after the 1176 betrothal. In the intermediate time it would appear from the Pipe Rolls for 1186-88 that John's future wife was kept—at least some of the time—in close proximity to Alys of France, betrothed of Richard: 'and for the keeping of the daughter of the king of France and the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, who are in the custody of Eustace fitz Stephen, £10.'[93]

When Henry II died on 6th July 1189, John immediately sought out his brother Richard and was warmly welcomed by him. Richard was, as Howden states, very generous, reconfirming the lands granted to John by their father:

> The counties of Mortain, Cornwall, Dorset and Somerset, of Nottingham, Derbyshire and Lancaster, and the castles of Marlborough and Ludgershall, with their forests and appurtenances; and the honour of Wallingford, and Tickhill, and Haye, and the earldom of Gloucester, with the daughter of the earl.[94]

It was also in the castle of Marlborough, on 29th August, that John and Isabel were finally wed, even before Richard's coronation.[95] Despite the king's support, the marriage did not go as smoothly as might have been hoped. On the contrary, it was strongly objected to by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, who refused to condone a match between a bride and groom related within the fourth degree.[96] At once the archbishop placed the lands of both John and Isabel under interdict, while declaring the marriage invalid. John overcame this set-back by appealing to Rome, and within a

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[92] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 100.

[93] PR, *34 Henry II*, p. 14.

[94] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 6: '*Comitatum Moretonii, et comitatum Cornubiae, et Dorsete, et Sumerseta, et comitatum de Notingham, et comitatum de Derebisire, et comitatum de Loncastre, et castellum de Merleberge, et de Lutegareshale, cum forestis et omnibus pertinentiis eorum; et honorem de Walingford, et honorem de Tikehil, et honorem de Haia; et comitatum de Gloucestria cum filia comitis*.'

[95] AM, I, p. 54.

[96] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 6.

matter of months the interdict was raised by a papal legate, though there was never a dispensation granted.[97] The archbishop departed England on Crusade in March 1190, and died at the siege of Acre.[98] Other churchmen, it would appear, lacked either the courage to argue against the marriage, the desire, or both.

Nevertheless, it is probable that John was considering annulment or divorce as early as 1192, after Richard was captured by the duke of Austria on his journey home from the Holy Land. Evidence for this comes from Howden, who asserts that at this time, King Philip of France offered to grant John all of Richard's French lands in exchange for marriage to Alys. John seems to have been eager for the opportunity, and did homage to Philip for 'Normandy and other lands of his brother across the sea...and he swore that he himself would take Alys as wife.'[99] While this scheme was cut short by the intervention of Queen Eleanor, on Richard's death in 1199 John was eager to end his marriage. After securing his consecration as duke of Normandy on 25th April 1199, he crossed to England and was crowned king on 27th May. He was forced to spend several months subduing the opposition to his throne in the person of his nephew Arthur, but at Le Goulet in May 1200, John made peace with the young rebel, and Philip of France was forced to recognise John as Richard's heir.[100]

With his crown secure, for the time being at least, John turned to his marital state. Conveniently, he was still able to play the consanguinity card, and most chronicles record the ending of his first marriage as a divorce.[101] Howden names the prelates who declared the marriage invalid, 'the archbishop of Bordeaux, and William, bishop of Poitiers, and Henry, bishop of Saintes, because [John and Isabel] are related in the third degree of consanguinity.'[102] The identity or history of these prelates is difficult to follow through the chronicles, and interestingly Diceto claims that it was a panel of

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[97] Diceto, II, pp. 72-3.

[98] H.G. Richardson, 'The Marriage and Coronation of Isabelle of Angoulême,' in EHR, 61 (1946), p. 291.

[99] Howden, Chronica, III, pp. 203-4: '*Homo suis devenit de Normannia et caeteris terris fratris sui transmarinis...et juravit quod ipse Alesiam sororem illius in uxorem duceret*.'

[100] Ralph Turner, King John (London, 1994, reprinted Stroud, 2005), p. 43.

[101] AM, II, p. 252; and AM, IV, p. 50.

[102] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 119: '*Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum, et per Willelmum Pictavensem, et per Henricum Sanctonensem episcopos: erant enim affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis*.'

Norman bishops, namely those of Lisieux, Bayeux and Avranches, that heard the petition and declared the marriage voided.[103] Norgate supposes that these Norman bishops were the first to 'obey' John in granting the divorce,[104] indicating that perhaps John approached them initially as less likely to refuse him, before continuing southwards and appealing to the three bishops mentioned by Howden to confirm the divorce. In any case, John was free, and he was king.

There is some question as to the exact sequence of events that occurred next. Norgate states that at the time of the divorce, John had already selected his second wife, due to the troublesome nature of the feudatories of the duchy of Aquitaine.[105] Diceto states that an embassy was sent by John, in early 1200, to the king of Portugal, with a request to marry his daughter, but Diceto is the only chronicler to mention it, and it does appear to have been only a smokescreen, to divert suspicion from John's actual intent:[106] to marry Isabelle, daughter and sole heiress of Count Ademar of Angoulême. Both Howden and the Annals of Osney, give Philip of France credit for knowing about the plan, with Howden even going so far as to say it was made 'with the counsel of his lord Philip,'[107] though the unlikelihood of this will be discussed further below, along with the motivations for this marriage.[108] However, a brief attempt will be made here to discuss the sequence of events in 1200, which is far from precisely known, and has sparked debate amongst historians.

What is known is that by early 1200, Hugh de Lusignan had been recognised by John as the claimant to La Marche, and an agreement was reached between Hugh, Ademar of Angoulême, and Philip of France that Ademar's young daughter Isabelle should wed Hugh, and the unification of Lusignan, Angoulême, and La Marche would be complete.[109] However, in July 1200, John called Ademar of Angoulême and his half-brother Guy of Limoges to perform their homage to him as duke of Aquitaine, at Lusignan in Poitou. It would appear to have been at this point that John and Ademar

[103] Diceto, II, pp. 166-7.

[104] Norgate, John, p. 75.

[105] Ibid., p. 75.

[106] Norgate, John, p. 77 and Diceto, II, p. 170.

[107] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 119 and AM, IV, p. 50.

[108] See 'Negotiation', pp. 98-9.

[109] Vincent, 'Isabelle of Angoulême,' pp. 171-2.

devised the scheme of depriving Hugh of his bride, and marrying her to John instead. While the terms of the treaty are unknown, it was apparently Ademar himself who took Isabelle away from her prospective husband, Hugh, and delivered her to John, to whom she was married on 26th August 1200, by the Archbishop of Bordeaux.[110] From Bordeaux they travelled north, and on 8th October Isabelle was crowned Queen of England by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury.[111] The extent to which this marriage was the cause of the series of disastrous events that took place over the following four years, culminating in the loss of Normandy in 1204, will be discussed in a later chapter on the success of marriage. John remained married to Isabelle of Angoulême until his death in 1216, and had five children by her who lived to adulthood.

King Henry III, b. 1207

Henry III was only two years old when his father, King John, confirmed the Treaty of Norham with King William of Scotland, in 1209. John wished to be able to focus his energies on recovering his lost continental lands, and so required assurance that the Scots would not cause troubles for him during his absence. Unfortunately the text of the treaty does not survive, but from later references, historians have been able to piece together what it said. While the kings of Scotland held a claim over the northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, dating back to the reign of King Stephen or before,[112] in the treaty King William swore to give up that claim, and to pay John 15,000 marks. Also at this time, William granted to John the wardship and marriage of his two daughters, Margaret and Isabel. Kate Norgate suggests that the 15,000 marks were intended to form at least the basis of dowries for the girls. As part of the agreement, the eldest girl, Margaret, was promised to John's heir, the future Henry III.[113] The two princesses were handed over to the English court until John could arrange their marriages, yet on his death in 1216, both were yet unmarried. This may be

[110] Howden, Chronica, IV, pp. 119-20.

[111] Diceto, II, p. 170.

[112] Stacey, Politics, p. 20.

[113] Kate Norgate, The Minority of Henry III (London, 1912), p. 127.

due in part to John's preoccupation with war, but more likely to the fact that Henry was not yet of age to marry, being only nine at his father's death.

The situation of Henry's betrothal was not resolved until the negotiations begun in 1219 between the king of Scotland, now Alexander II, and the Minority Council led by Hubert de Burgh, were completed in 1220. These negotiations, which will be discussed in detail later, must be seen in the context of the government's resumption of royal demesne lands and castles, which began after the death of the regent Earl Marshal in 1219,[114] as well as the closely related discussions of marriage between the regent's son William and the king's sister Eleanor. By the end of these negotiations, Henry's intended, Margaret, was married not to the king but to de Burgh himself, in a move that gained the Justiciar enough prestige to earn him an earldom.[115] It also freed Henry III again for the marriage market after a twelve-year betrothal, and ended any serious idea of a Scottish match for the king.

There is a document which spells out the motivation for most of Henry III's attempted marriage alliances. The original is so badly damaged as to make it impossible to read the date and much of the content. However, Pierre Chaplais has suggested—for reasons he does not explain—that it came as part of the negotiations of the spring and summer of 1225, agreements that renewed the peace which had run out at Easter 1224.[116] The dating of this document proposed by Chaplais is therefore plausible, though the content places it closer to a later proposal in 1229 which came with the idea of a double marriage between the royal houses of France and England. More importantly, though, the text of the 1225 document mentions the settlement of the competing claims over lands on the continent:

> Agreed is the marriage of the daughter of the king of France with the king of England and the sister of the king of England with the eldest son of the king of France. Of dower and dowry...all of Gascony to remain with the king of England and all of Normandy to be released to the king of France, just as he holds it.[117]

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[114] Carpenter, Minority, pp. 268-9.

[115] Stacey, Politics, p. 21.

[116] Carpenter, Minority, p. 344 and DD, no. 174.

[117] DD, no. 174: '*Tractatum est de maritagio filie regis Francie cum rege Angliae et sororis regis Angliae cum filio regis Franciae primogenito. De dotalicio et maritagio, est questio: si posset induci rex*

The significance of this document is in the implication of a change in the priorities of Henry III and his councillors: Normandy, once the wealthiest duchy of the English king's continental holdings, is not even being fought for. With Poitou essentially lost after Hugh de Lusignan's defection to the French in 1224, a document dated in the following year which supports English focus on Gascony over Normandy does make sense. However, nothing came of this particular proposal.

Also in 1225 the English made overtures to the Holy Roman Empire, beginning the strategy Henry III was to favour well into his personal reign, and culminating in the marriage of his sister Isabella to Frederick II in 1235. In January of that year, an embassy led by Walter, bishop of Carlisle, was sent to the archbishop of Cologne, who was a head of the regency government for the Emperor's eldest son, Henry (VII).[118] Their directions were to propose a marriage between Henry III and Margaret of Austria, the daughter of one of the emperor's closest advisors, while Henry's sister Isabella should wed Henry (VII).[119] Before any formal agreement or negotiations could be made, the archbishop of Cologne was murdered, and within a month Margaret of Austria was married to Henry (VII).[120]

After their failure with the Germans, de Burgh and Henry III turned to another potential ally, Peter of Dreux, duke of Brittany. One of the primary incentives for this move was Peter's close friendship with Hugh de Lusignan, so recently turned to the French; the English may well have hoped that in allying with the duke, they might open up friendly terms with the Lusignans once again, with an aim to regaining Poitou.[121] In return, Peter of Dreux might recover the traditionally Breton holding of the honour of Richmond.[122] While he showed initial willingness to go along with the English plan,

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Francie...quod tota Wasconia remaneret regi Anglie et tota Normannia regi Francie libera, sicut tenet eam, tractetur.'

[118] Most historians refer to Henry with his numeral in parenthesis to distinguish him from the later Henry VII of Luxembourg, due to the earlier Henry's deposition in 1235.

[119] Foedera, p. 176.

[120] Weiler, 'Plans,' p. 177.

[121] Stacey, Politics, p. 166.

[122] Foedera, p. 180, and Sir Maurice Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 1216 – 1307 (Oxford, 1953), pp. 92-3.

the duke's nerve was not as strong as it appeared; after the death of Louis VIII in November 1226, Hugh de Lusignan renewed his peaceful relations with the regency government for Louis IX.[123] Not long after, Peter of Dreux followed him: 'a treaty of peace was arranged between [Peter] and the king of France, which he could not in any way violate.'[124]

Henry was active in 1227 as well, and in April of that year suggested a marriage alliance with Bohemia, apparently as advised by the Archbishop of Cologne.[125] There is mention of a Bohemian envoy in England at this time,[126] and Henry appears to have been hoping to marry Agnes, the daughter of the king of Bohemia who was suggested as a wife to Henry (VII) of Germany in 1225.[127] If so, negotiations petered out without making any impression on chroniclers.

In 1229, the peace treaty arranged between Richard of Cornwall and Louis VIII five years before came to an end. Consequently, ambassadors were sent by Henry to Louis IX to arrange 'the terms of a more lasting peace, if such could be had.'[128] The document survives in which four possible outcomes are suggested, one of which is a marriage arrangement wherein the kings essentially traded sisters, with Henry III marrying a Capetian princess and Louis IX marrying Isabella.[129] Henry could have been seen as being in a position of strength at this time, as many of Louis IX's supporters were fighting amongst themselves, and envoys had been sent to Peter of Dreux to re-open the prospect of marriage to Yolande of Brittany.[130] Nonetheless, the queen regent for Louis IX rejected the English offer, an offer that embodies Henry's most direct attempt to settle the land dispute.

Roger of Wendover describes how, in 1231, Henry III rekindled his interest in a Scottish marriage: '[the king] proposed at this time to take as wife the sister of the king

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[123] Stacey, Politics, p. 166.

[124] CM, III, p. 123.

[125] Foedera, p. 185.

[126] Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1226 – 40, Public Record Office (London, 1916), p. 36.

[127] Weiler, 'Plans,' p. 175.

[128] Stacey, Politics, p. 167.

[129] DD, no. 215. For more see 'Negotiation', pp. 97 and 113-14.

[130] Stacey, Politics, p. 168.

of Scots.'[131] Clearly this was not the same sister to whom he was betrothed in 1209, for she was long since married to Hubert de Burgh. Nor was it the second sister sent to England, Isabel, who had been married to the earl of Norfolk in 1225. Instead, this appears to have been a third sister, Marjorie, sometimes called Margaret, thereby causing confusion with her elder sister. Unfortunately for Henry, when he turned to the council to request permission, the idea was 'scorned by all his earls and barons, especially the Marshal, for it was not fitting that the king should take a younger-born daughter, when the Justiciar Hubert had married the elder girl.'[132] The barons refused to let Henry make what would be seen as an embarrassing marriage, nor did they like the possibility that Henry should be tied that much further to—indeed become family of—de Burgh, whose popularity was beginning to wear thin.

From this point until 1234, there does not appear to have been any activity regarding a marriage for the king. This may have to do with the fall of Hubert de Burgh and rise to power of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, under whom there was a closer focus on the repair of royal finances and less on campaigns to the continent. A renewed need for continental alliances was eventually fuelled by the end of yet another four-year truce with Louis IX, due to expire in 1234.[133] Matthew Paris records that in 1235, the king sent Walter, bishop of Carlisle, to the pope to procure a dispensation so that he might marry Jeanne, heiress to the county of Ponthieu.[134] The county lay between Flanders and Normandy, both lands held tenuously by the French crown, so it is understandable that Louis IX and his mother should be opposed to the match. Through his constant contact with his envoys at the papal curia, Henry quickly became aware of the efforts being made by the French to prevail upon the pope to refuse the dispensation request.[135] Nevertheless, unlike in any of Henry's previous attempts at matrimony, this proposal did reach the state of formal betrothal, having been contracted

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[131] Wendover, III, p. 15.

[132] CM, III, p. 206: '*Indignantibus comitibus et baronibus suis universis, praecipue Marescallo. Non enim, ut ajunt, decebat, quod rex duceret natu filiam minorem, cum Hubertus justitiarius natu majorem haberet sibi matrimonio copulatam.*'

[133] Stacey, Politics, p. 176.

[134] CM, III, pp. 327-28.

[135] Stacey, Politics, p. 180 and Howell, Eleanor, p. 12.

by proxy, thereby necessitating a lengthy correspondence between the pope and Henry III in the 1250s, when he wished to wed his son to Jeanne's daughter.[136]

In the midst of the negotiations, though, Henry changed his mind, almost certainly due to the efforts of Louis IX, which it would soon become evident were going to succeed. By July 1235, he was writing to his representatives to stop the requests for a dispensation, while at the same time contacting the counts of Savoy and Provence, voicing his desire to wed the latter's daughter Eleanor.[137] In October 1235, envoys were sent to negotiate with Ramon-Berenguer of Provence, and Henry moved quickly afterwards to obtain consent for the marriage from his council. As for Jeanne de Ponthieu, in May 1236 we find a mandate to the provost of Beverley, as well as the canons of Chartres and Pisa, to annul 'the marriage made by proxy between the king of England and Joan, daughter of the count of Ponthieu, but which, on its being discovered that they were in the 4th degree of kinship, was not consummated.'[138]

In November 1235, Eleanor of Provence and Henry III were promised by an exchange of *verba de presenti*, made on Henry's behalf by one of his envoys, Robert de Mucegros.[139] Almost immediately, Eleanor left for England and there, in January 1236, she and Henry were married at Canterbury, by the archbishop.[140]

Richard, earl of Cornwall and king of Germany, b. 1209

The marital alliances made by Richard of Cornwall were very different from those of almost all of the Angevin house, in that instead of being married off by his father or brother, he himself chose whom to marry, often with disregard to the wishes of or effects upon the king and council. Richard is also unusual in that he boasts one of the oldest first-time marriage proposals of the royal children, the comparatively mature age

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[136] D.L. D'Avray, 'Authentication of Marital Status: a Thirteenth-Century English Royal Annulment Process,' in EHR, 102 (2005), p. 991.

[137] Howell, Eleanor, p. 12.

[138] Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Vol I. (London, 1893), p. 153.

[139] Flores Historiarum, Vol. II, ed. Henry R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1890), p. 216.

[140] AM, II, p. 316.

of sixteen.[141] His first brush with matrimony came in 1225, when he was in Gascony with the earl of Salisbury, endeavouring to secure the land for himself and the English crown. In a move similar to that made by his uncle Richard the Lionheart, the young prince proposed a marriage between himself and the daughter of King Alfonso IX of León. One of the only reasons we know of this attempted match, however, is the stern letter from Henry III and his council, refusing permission: 'it is our opinion and that of our magnates that there are many rational reasons, shown to you, why this marriage should not in any way come to pass.'[142]

If it was the council's intention to control Richard's marriage, they were to be sorely disappointed. In October 1230 Gilbert de Clare, the earl of Gloucester, died leaving a widow, Isabella Marshal, the sister of William Marshal, a baron to whom Richard had been allied in friendship since 1227.[143] Despite the age difference between them—Isabella was nearly ten years older than Richard, and had been wed to Gloucester for fourteen years—Richard saw a perfect opportunity for a match that would greatly enhance his standing, and in late March 1231 he married Isabella,[144] without the permission or knowledge of his brother the king. While most chronicles only touch on mention of the marriage, Matthew Paris goes into a little more detail, and tells of the subsequent almost immediate death of William Marshal, 'with the nuptials being completed with much ado, Earl William, a man of great strength in war, died, causing pain to many, and was buried in London.'[145] Only one chronicle mentions the seemingly inevitable displeasure of the king at this sudden marriage, and that is the Annals of Tewksbury, written in the place whose Abbot married Richard and Isabella. Apparently, Henry was, 'greatly agitated, and opposed the marriage, but was appeased a little later by the perseverance of the bishops, and others familiar to him.'[146] Whether

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[141] See also 'Age at Betrothal and Marriage', p. 77.

[142] Rot. Litt, p. 83: '*Co[n]siliu[m] n[ost]r[u]m et eor[um] hoc e[ss]e vob[is] sig[n]amus multis causis et r[atio]nabilib[us] ne aliq[u]o modo d[i]c[ta]m fiat maritagiu[m]*.'

[143] N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947), pp. 18-19.

[144] AM, I, p. 38.

[145] CM, III, p. 201: '*Et nuptiis vix completis, idem comes Willelmus, in militia vir strenuus, in dolorem multorum diem clausit supremum, et Londoniis apud Novum Templum sepultus est*.'

[146] AM, I, p. 78: '*unde valde commotus est dominus rex adversus eundem, et pacificatur paulo post ad instantiam episcoporum, et aliorum familiariorum*.'

Henry's objection came from the political advantages that the marriage would present to Richard, or from not being consulted, is unclear, though reconciliation appears to have been swift and it was not long before Richard was again being granted favours by the king.[147]

Isabella Marshal gave Richard a son and heir, Henry, in 1235, but died in childbirth in January 1240. By this time, Richard's brother had also married and had produced an heir, thereby removing the position as heir to the throne which Richard had enjoyed until 1239. So, after Isabella's death, Richard wasted very little time before setting off on Crusade, and on his return in 1242 passed through Provence. There he met the count, Ramon-Berenguer V, and his third daughter, Sanchia, with whom many historians seem to believe he immediately fell in love on account of her beauty.[148] Whether this or some political motive was behind the match, Sanchia arrived in England in November 1243, escorted by her mother, the countess Beatrice.[149] The couple was wed at Westminster where the celebrations took place in the king's own hall, at the king's expense, and attended by 'many nobles from the remote parts of England, and even from those lands neighbouring Scotland, came by order of the king.'[150] The pleasure of the crown in this match is quite clear not only in the wedding celebration but also in Henry III's assumption of the cost of Sanchia's journey north to England, and the favours shown to the Countess Beatrice before her departure home.[151] The marriage to Sanchia appears to have been a successful one; she bore him several children and was crowned together with him after he made his bid for the throne of Germany, in 1257. She died of a lingering illness four years later.[152]

Richard's third marriage to Beatrix von Falkenburg in 1269 is the one about which we know the least, for those chroniclers who do mention the wedding have virtually nothing to say about it. This is most evident is the fact that the article written

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[147] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, p. 19.

[148] Howell, Eleanor, pp. 33-4. See also Eugene L. Cox, The Eagles of Savoy (Princeton, NJ, 1974), p. 114.

[149] AM, I, p. 132.

[150] CM, IV, p. 261: '*Venerunt autem obviam et etiam de remotis Angliae partibus et Scotiae conterminis multi nobiles, jussu regio coarctante*.'

[151] CCR, *1242 – 47*, p. 14.

[152] Howell, Eleanor, p. 185.

about the marriage in 1937 could not even fill ten pages of the English Historical Review, and most of the content is spent on proving who the bride was, while almost nothing is said regarding any political motive Richard might have had in marrying her.[153] One of Cornwall's biographers T.W.E. Roche observed that Beatrix's father, Dieter, had been a supporter of Richard as far back as the 1250s, and attended his coronation at Aachen.[154] English chroniclers have little to stay of the match, usually just noting its occurrence, though the Annals of Osney do mention the bride's exceptional beauty, stating that 'because of her beauty she had been spoken of as a jewel of womanliness.'[155] Modern historians seem to tend towards this idea as well, for Frank Lewis says that Richard was 'impressed by her beauty' and so married her,[156] while Denholm-Young states that she, 'was extremely beautiful, and [Richard] was passionately in love with her.'[157] What is known is that they were wed in Germany in June 1269, but remained married only three years, until Richard's death in 1272. While after this Beatrix remained in England, supported by the crown, she herself lived only another five years.[158]

Joan, Queen of Scotland, b. 1210

Joan, eldest daughter of King John, was only four years old when an agreement was made between her father and Hugh IX de Lusignan, count of La Marche, regarding her marriage. According to a document dated 1214, she was betrothed to a son of the count,[159] and handed over into the custody of the Lusignans until she was of marriageable age. As part of the agreement, John confirmed the Lusignans' rights to La

[153] Frank R. Lewis, 'Beatrice of Falkenburg, the Third Wife of Richard of Cornwall,' in EHR, 52 (1937), pp. 281-2.

[154] T.W.E. Roche, The King of Almayne (London, 1966) p. 204.

[155] AM, IV, p. 224: '*Quae propter ejus pulchritudinem vocabatur gemma mulierum*.'

[156] Lewis, 'Beatrice of Falkenburg,' p. 282.

[157] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, p. 141.

[158] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, p. 153.

[159] It should be noted that the document actually names this son as Geoffrey, however all later sources and historians agree that Joan was betrothed to Hugh X de Lusignan; either the name is wrong, or this Geoffrey died leaving Hugh to take his place in the agreement.

Marche, and demanded their homage.[160] Two years after the agreement was made, King John died, and his widow, Isabelle of Angoulême, returned to her native Poitou. Hugh IX de Lusignan, the man with whom the agreement had been signed, died in 1219 and was succeeded by his son, Hugh X; in an act that astonished the Minority Council for Henry III, in 1220 this Hugh cast aside the young princess and instead married her mother, the dowager Queen Isabelle.[161] What was even more shocking, and difficult for the Minority Council headed by Hubert de Burgh, was that Hugh was now refusing to release Joan until he was promised both Isabelle's dower and Joan's dowry, of which he had been given custody until their marriage.[162] This was particularly unsettling as the Council was busy negotiating a marriage between Joan and Alexander II of Scotland, in order to settle the dispute over the northern counties.[163] An agreement with Scotland was reached in June 1220, in which Joan was promised to Alexander II, though it included the addendum that should Joan not be available for marriage at Michaelmas, the time they had agreed, then Henry's younger sister Isabella would take her place.[164] Finally, in October 1220, the Council gave in to Hugh de Lusignan's demands, agreeing to hand over Queen Isabelle's English dower lands to the couple; in response, Hugh eventually released Joan to the king's appointed representatives.[165] Though she was not returned in time for Michaelmas 1220, apparently some agreement had been reached, wherein Alexander agreed to wait for Joan; they were married at York, in June 1221.[166] Alexander was granted £15 in compensation for 'travelling through Northumberland, all the way to York, to take as wife Joan, sister of the king.'[167] Though the marriage produced no children, they remained married until her death in 1238.

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[160] Foedera, p. 125.

[161] Carpenter, Minority, p. 193.

[162] Ibid., p. 220 and DD, no. 92.

[163] John of Oxenes, Chronica, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (Rolls Series, 1859), p. 145.

[164] Wendover, II, p. 253 and The Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, compiled by James Scoular (Edinburgh, 1959), p. 16.

[165] Carpenter, Minority, p. 221.

[166] CM, III, pp. 66-7.

[167] PR, *5 Henry III*, p. 9 : '*Et a regi Scotie ad expensas suas adquietandas quas fecit in comitatu Norhimbr' in veniendo versus Ebor' ad ducendum in uxorem Johannam sororem R. xv li. per breve ejusdem*.'

Empress Isabella, b. 1214

As was seen above,[168] in 1225 Henry III and his Minority Council attempted the first of many Anglo-German marriage alliances in the thirteenth century. While it was proposed that the king should wed the daughter of the duke of Austria, his sister Isabella was to wed the son and heir of Emperor Frederick II, Henry (VII).[169] The match was well-supported by the Archbishop of Cologne, the head of the regency government for Henry (VII). However as Björn Weiler points out, Henry III was not the only one who wished to ally himself with the future emperor; the king of Bohemia had offered his daughter to Henry and the papal legate was supporting a marriage alliance with the Capetians.[170] None of these matches would come to be, though, for shortly after the murder of the archbishop, Isabella's prospective husband was wed to Henry's prospective wife, and any chance of an alliance was ended.[171]

Isabella's next potential betrothal came in 1229, during Henry's attempt to settle land disputes with France. In the first offer made to the French, she was again proposed for a double-marriage as part of a bride swap with Louis IX, wherein Louis's sister would marry Henry. However, in Henry's final offer, Isabella alone would be wed, to the king of France, with 'Anjou on this [north] side of the Loire and all of Maine,' as her marriage portion.[172] This proposition was rejected by the French, though, and yet another possible marriage for Isabella dissolved.

Matthew Paris reports that, in February 1235, two German Hospitallers, 'with other knights and solemn messengers,' sent by Emperor Frederick II, arrived in England bearing letters requesting Isabella's hand in marriage.[173] Though ten years earlier she had been requested as a bride for Frederick's son, this time the emperor himself wished to marry her, and so Henry disappeared into a council session to discuss the matter. After three days, they 'agreed unanimously' to allow the match, and so Isabella was

[168] See above, p. 38.

[169] CPR, *1216 – 1225*, p. 558.

[170] Weiler, 'Plans,' p. 175.

[171] Ibid., p. 177.

[172] DD, no. 215.

[173] CM, III, pp. 318-19.

formally betrothed to the emperor through the swearing of oaths, both by herself and the imperial envoys. By Easter, the emperor had sent the archbishop of Cologne and 'many other strong nobles' to England as an escort for Isabella,[174] while a dowry of 30,000 marks was agreed upon, as well as a detailed long-term payment system, which will be discussed in more detail below.[175] The Close Rolls detail the preparations made by Henry III in order to send his sister to Germany in great state, including an order to the Sheriff of Norfolk that he should bring 'all the ships in the port of Orwell' to Sandwich, in order to escort Isabella across the sea. The order included assertions that the ships be supplied with wine, corn, bacon and 'all other provisions needed to carry Isabella.'[176] This order was given in May, and by July 1235 Isabella had been likewise conveyed to the Emperor, escorted by the bishop of Exeter and others. According to Matthew Paris, the wedding in Worms Cathedral was so magnificent, 'that it seemed to exceed the royal or even imperial wealth,' with celebrations continuing for four days.[177]

Eleanor, countess of Pembroke and Leicester, b. 1215

The two marriages of Eleanor, youngest daughter of King John, represent the two ends of the spectrum for how marriages were arranged by the royal family. Her first marriage, to William Marshal, involved detailed discussion to arrange, complicated terms that included benefits for both parties, and a strong political agenda. Her second marriage, to Simon de Montfort, occurred essentially in secret, with no discussion and no political advantages—and indeed several disadvantages—to the crown. The reasons for this extremity in style are easy to speculate on, but little evidence exists to explain why Eleanor's marriages represent both an ideal royal marriage, and one arranged so poorly that it came close to starting a civil war.[178]

When William Marshal, eldest son of the regent who had died in 1219, returned to England in April 1221, he discovered that his Bedfordshire lands had been seized by

[174] Ibid, p. 319.

[175] Foedera, p. 223.

[176] CCR, *1234 – 37*, p. 84.

[177] CM, III, pp. 319-20 and 324.

[178] For discussion see 'Negotiation', pp. 90 and 108, and 'Success in Marriage', pp. 170-1 and 186-7.

the sheriff, Falkes de Bréauté. In writing to Hubert de Burgh, head of the Minority Council, the Marshal demanded the return of his lands, and informed the Justiciar that he would be travelling to Westminster to discuss the issue. Instead, de Burgh sent out a delegation to meet the Marshal, beginning negotiations that concluded with the agreement of a marriage between the Marshal and Eleanor, the king's sister. The details of these negotiations will be discussed later, though it is important to note that this marriage was central to the resumption of the king's castles occurring at the time, in which the government endeavoured to gather back into the royal fold castles and lands lost during the turmoil following John's death.[179] Among the properties de Burgh wished to control were Marlborough and Ludgershall, both in the hands of the Marshal, and the former of which would be central to negotiations for another marriage, that of Joan and Alexander II of Scotland.[180]

Though William and Eleanor were betrothed in 1221, their marriage itself did not take place for another three years. The Waverley Annals record that, in April 1224, William Marshal took as wife, 'the daughter of John, king of England, named Eleanor.'[181] While most chronicles mention the marriage in passing, none discuss the terms, and Matthew Paris merely alludes to it at later times, recording nothing in either 1221 or 1224. While the agreement, which will be discussed below, benefitted the Marshal, he was unable to enjoy the advantage for long, dying shortly after the wedding festivities of his sister to Richard of Cornwall, in 1231.[182] Shortly afterwards, Eleanor did something rather surprising that should have removed her permanently from the marriage field thereafter. Matthew Paris describes the situation in the most detail; in 1231, at the age of no more than sixteen, Eleanor followed the lead of her companion, Cecelia de Sanford, 'very wise and clever and eloquent, she was the teacher and shaper of the character of Eleanor.'[183] Together, they took a vow of chastity, in front of the Archbishop of Canterbury, promising to remain a chaste widow. The charters for the

[179] Carpenter, Minority, pp. 247-48.

[180] Stacey, Politics, p. 19.

[181] AM, II, p. 299.

[182] Ibid., p. 309.

[183] CM, V, p. 235: '*Docta valde et faceta et eloquens, electa est, ut esset magistra et morum informatrix Johannae sororis domini regis*.' The editor of the CM points out that *Johannae* is clearly an error for *Alienorae*, for Joan was married to Alexander II of Scotland, and Eleanor took the vow with Cecilia.

next few years are spotted with gifts and favours for Eleanor from the king, including a weekly market on her manor at Sele.[184]

Then in January of 1238, the upset occurred. In a ceremony described by Paris as taking place in, 'the small chapel of the king, in the corner of his chamber,' Eleanor was married to Simon de Montfort.[185] De Montfort was a foreign-born lord who had come to England with virtually nothing and, attempting to claim his father's former earldom of Leicester, had risen in the ranks of the barons to become one of the king's favourite companions. Despite his favour with the king, de Montfort was not the ideal choice for Eleanor. Perhaps as a result, the marriage ceremony took place in a small chapel and was performed by the king's chaplain, without the knowledge of any nobles or even the brother of the king and bride, Richard of Cornwall. When compared to the grand marriage of her sister Joan to the king of Scotland, in the cathedral at York, performed by an archbishop, with significant political advantages to both parties, one can understand why Eleanor's marriage aroused serious objections.

The obstacles to the marriage were significant. One issue was Eleanor's vow to remain chaste. De Montfort wasted little time in dealing with this, and not long after the marriage set sail for Rome in order to obtain a papal dispensation which would permit their marriage, a dispensation he did receive.[186] However, one of the other, very pressing reasons for his leaving England so quickly was the outcry raised by Richard of Cornwall at his discovery of the marriage; not only had he not known about the wedding, but no political advantage could be claimed—Henry III had, in essence, wasted one of his most precious commodities. So, according to Matthew Paris, Richard together with Gilbert Marshal and the support of almost all the barons confronted Henry and demanded that he cease his support of all foreigners, as well as promising that in the future he would consult the barons on such vital issues as the marriage of members of the royal family. Though Paris states that only Hubert de Burgh supported the king, very little came of the matter, and Simon de Montfort 'humbled himself' before Richard, asking for peace.[187] For Simon and Eleanor, the marriage was certainly a

[184] ChR, Vol I, p. 186.

[185] CM, III, p. 471.

[186] Ibid., p. 471.

[187] Ibid., pp. 475-6.

success, and produced a number of children, though they would spend over ten years battling the king over Eleanor's dowry.

Edward I, king of England, b. 1239

Henry III's eldest son and heir, Edward, was seven or eight years old when he was first considered for marriage to the daughter of Henry, duke of Brabant. There is very little evidence for this proposal; the only chronicler to mention it is Matthew Paris, who tells us that the abbot of Westminster and John Mansel were sent to Germany to propose the marriage.[188] There is some evidence of good relations between Henry III and the duke, who the king refers to as his 'dearest friend' in a 1235 document allowing merchants from Brabant to sell their goods in England.[189] Any further motive for the marriage is not told, however, and Paris is very vague about the reasons for the failure of negotiations, about which no historian seems willing to guess.[190]

Whatever the reason, the fact that Edward did not marry the daughter of the duke of Brabant proved to be most advantageous, for it left him available for a far more profitable match. As far back as 1159, when Henry II first made an alliance with the count of Barcelona based on the marriage of Richard of Poitou to the count's daughter, the Angevin house had been making very useful marriage alliances with the various kingdoms of Christian Spain. Through Henry II's daughter Eleanor's marriage to Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1170, the Castilian crown had been granted the rights to Gascony, but failed to follow them up until the death of Fernando III in 1252,[191] except for a failed invasion of the duchy by Alfonso in 1204.[192] Fernando's son, Alfonso X, was eager to press these rights, and began his strategy by summoning all the Gascon

[188] CM, IV, pp. 623-4.

[189] CPR, *1232 – 47*, p. 110.

[190] CM, IV, pp. 623-4 and Michael Prestwich, Edward I (London, 1988), p. 9.

[191] F.M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1947), p. 232.

[192] Yves Renouard, Bordeaux sous les Rois D'Angleterre, Vol. II (Bordeaux, 1965), pp. 24-7. This event is all but forgotten by historians, either left out of accounts completely or mentioned only in passing, such as by John Gillingham. It would appear that the effort was such a dreadful failure, due to the strong resistance of the Gascon towns, that historians such as Powicke do not even count it as a significant effort by the Castilian throne to claim Gascony. See also John Gillingham, Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century (London, 1994), p. 125 n 20.

nobles to him, and demanding the homage owed to him as rightful overlord.[193] This, paired with Simon de Montfort's aggressive time as seneschal of Gascony, drove the barons of the duchy to rebel against the English crown, siding with Castile.[194] Left with few options, Henry III set out for Gascony with an army, to quiet the rebels.[195] At the same time, an embassy was sent to Alfonso X headed by one of Henry III's most prominent advisors, John Mansel, with the intention of suggesting a marriage between Edward and Alfonso's sister Eleanor.[196]

Though the negotiations carried on for some time, rebellious rumblings instigated by Alfonso's brother Henry urged the Castilian king into making an agreement, and in 1254 Edward was endowed with lands worth 15,000 marks a year. In March, Alfonso relinquished his claims to Gascony.[197] Several months later, Edward travelled to Castile, where he was knighted by Alfonso along with several of his companions, and on 1st November he married Eleanor at Burgos.[198] Most historians seem to agree that Henry III got a very good deal out of the Treaty of Toledo, while Edward's marriage to Eleanor was clearly a personal success, and produced at least fifteen children.

Margaret, queen of Scotland, b. 1241

Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry III, was first betrothed at the very young age of two years old. In 1242 Henry III was planning an expedition to France to enforce his rights there, and he wished, before his departure, to ensure the safety of the Scottish border. According to Matthew Paris, he met with King Alexander II of Scotland, his former brother-in-law,[199] with the bishop of Durham as intermediary, and arranged a

[193] CM, V, pp. 231-2.

[194] John Carmi Parsons, Eleanor of Castile (London, 1995), p. 12.

[195] AM, IV, p. 104.

[196] Joseph Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254,' in Traditio, Vol. XVII (New York, 1961), p. 486.

[197] Howell, Eleanor, p. 122.

[198] AM, I, p. 323.

[199] As mentioned above, Alexander II's first wife was Henry III's sister Joan, but she had died in 1238, and Alexander had married Marie de Couci a year later.

betrothal between Margaret and Alexander's heir and namesake.[200] The young Alexander whom she was to marry was just one year old; after the arrangements were made, both parties returned to their respective kingdoms.

Several years after the agreement, in July 1249, Alexander II died leaving Scotland to a minority rule. Walter Bower, writing nearly two hundred years after the events, states that the magnates of Scotland saw the danger of a minority government and sent envoys to the king of England; however his distance from events means that one cannot take his tale at face value.[201] Most of the contemporary English historians of the time do not mention the idea of Henry III being invited to intervene in Scottish affairs, which is curious considering one might think they would wish to emphasize the king's role as protector and saviour of the turmoil in Scotland, a role that would be taken again by his son Edward in the 1290s. Indeed, several modern historians seem to believe Bower's version of events, with Alan Young hypothesising that the magnates of Scotland viewed Henry III as a 'bringer of stability'.[202] Whether the clergy of Scotland sent envoys or not, it would appear that there was some stimulus from Scotland for the wedding between the two children to take place; Henry III was pleased to intervene. Michael Brown suggests that Henry did not want formal authority, but instead simply wished to exercise informal influence in Scotland.[203] If this is so, it was not to go as smoothly as Henry wished.

The Annals of Winchester for 1251 state that Henry III held his Christmas court at York, 'with all the magnates of England,' and on the same day knighted the young Alexander III, now age nine.[204] On the following day, Margaret and Alexander were wed, before the magnates of Scotland and England, who according to the chronicler Thomas Wykes got along so well that no one could tell them apart.[205] Interestingly, while all of the chronicles mention Alexander III being knighted by Henry, only two directly mention the word homage: the Annals of Winchester, claims that Henry

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[200] CM, III, p. 193.

[201] Walter Bower, Scotichronicon, Vol. 5, ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1990), p. 299.

[202] Alan Young, 'Noble Families and Political Factions in the Reign of Alexander III,' in Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249 – 1286, ed. Norman Reid (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 5.

[203] Michael Brown, The Wars of Scotland (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 47.

[204] AM, II, p. 93.

[205] AM, IV, p. 103.

'accepted homage from [Alexander].'[206] What Matthew Paris emphasizes, though, is that while Alexander happily did homage for lands he held in England, when Henry asked the young king to do homage for Scotland as well, Alexander refused.[207] This event, which is passed over by most of the chronicles, opens the door to the subject which would be the basis of Anglo-Scottish relations for the next hundred years and more. The marriage itself was initially successful, but none of the three children born to Margaret before her death in 1275 lived to succeed their father.

Beatrice, duchess of Brittany, b. 1243

Though Beatrice was not the youngest daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, she was the youngest to survive infancy, and she was involved in a number of potential marriage alliances. Unfortunately, little to nothing is known about most of them. There is evidence that, at the time of her brother Edward's marriage negotiations in 1253, Beatrice was suggested as a wife for the eldest son of the king of Aragon, further cementing the Anglo-Iberian connection.[208] However, it would appear that nothing came of this plan, for it is not mentioned again.

Michael Brown states that as part of an attempt to draw Norwegian support for his efforts to conquer Sicily, in 1255, Henry opened negotiations for a marriage between Beatrice and Hakon IV of Norway's eldest son, Magnus.[209] There is evidence in the Close Rolls of a Norwegian embassy in England at that time,[210] but no mention is made of any negotiations. Also, as will be seen shortly below, part of the negotiations for Edmund's coronation included a possible marriage alliance with Cyprus. Beatrice appears to have been part of this as well, with discussions of a betrothal to the queen of

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[206] AM, II, p. 93.

[207] CM, V, pp. 268-9.

[208] Foedera, p. 290.

[209] Michael Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' in England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III, eds. Björn Weiler and Ifor Rowlands (Hants, 2002), p. 50.

[210] CCR, *1254-56*, p. 360.

Cyprus' infant son, Hughes, later King Hughes II.[211] Like the previous three proposals, this too came to nothing.

Success in marriage for Beatrice finally came in May 1259, when John Mansel was granted the power to negotiate a marriage for her to John, eldest son and heir of the duke of Brittany.[212] Very little is known of the negotiations or motives for this marriage, however the former were concluded by Henry III at Paris in January 1260.[213] Later that year, at Westminster, John was knighted by Henry III and, 'on that same day took as his wife the lady Beatrice.'[214] Eight years after the marriage, Henry would finally grant to John the honour of Richmond, so long associated with Brittany.[215]

Edmund, earl of Lancaster, b. 1245

After the marriage of Prince Edward in 1254, Henry III turned his efforts to finding a bride, and indeed a place, for his second son, Edmund, not unlike Henry II had done for his youngest son, John, in the 1170s. Though what became known as 'The Sicilian Business' will be discussed further later, it can be summed up briefly here; after the death of Emperor Frederick II in 1250, the pope desired to replace Staufen rule in Sicily, and so offered the crown to several claimants in Europe, including Richard of Cornwall. Spying an opportunity, in 1254 Henry III accepted the crown on behalf of Edmund, with the intention of raising an army to enforce his son's rule.[216] Part of negotiations in 1256 included a proposal that Edmund marry the queen of Cyprus,[217] and later proposals would include a marriage between Edmund and the daughter of Manfred, who was actually ruling as king of Sicily. This plan, it is assumed, would

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[211] Simon Lloyd, 'Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245-1296),' in Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 2.

[212] Foedera, p. 382.

[213] Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, p. 257.

[214] AM, IV, p. 124: '*Dominus rex Angliae Johannem filium et haeredem comitis Britanniae, totius Angliae magnatibus apud Londoniam convocatis, militiae cingulo solemniter insignivit. Idem que Johannes eodem die dominam Beatriciam filiam regis in uxorem accepit.*'

[215] Foedera, p. 478.

[216] Weiler, Staufen, p. 147.

[217] Foedera, p. 341.

mean Manfred's resignation of the title to Edmund on marriage to his daughter;[218] however neither of these ideas came to pass. Nor, in the long run, did Edmund's kingship; in 1263, the pope agreed to relieve Henry III of his promise to win Sicily for his son, and the whole affair was over.

There is very little information regarding the first marriage Edmund did make. In August 1267 he was granted the earldom of Lancaster,[219] and just over a year later he was granted 'the marriage of Isabel late wife of William de Fortibus [Forz], sometime earl of Albemarle, or the fine, if any, which she made for a marriage.'[220] Whether it was this grant that involved Edmund in the family of William de Forz or whether he had previous interest, it was only months after this November 1268 grant of Isabel's marriage that Edmund took as wife Isabel's daughter, Aveline. Through this marriage, Edmund hoped to obtain the rights to Aveline's inheritance of the earldom of Devon, as well as the lordships of Holderness and the Isle of Wight.[221] Unfortunately, though, Aveline died childless in 1274, disqualifying Edmund from her lands.

In total, then, there were forty-five proposals, betrothals, and actual marriages made by the royal children during the Angevin period. The eight children of Henry II made seventeen of these actual and potential matches, eighteen were made by John's five children, and nine by the four children of Henry III who lived long enough to be used in alliances. For Henry II's children, many of these arrangements were made by him before he died; only six were made by Richard and John during their reigns, though John did then go on to negotiate two more marriages for his eldest son and daughter. His early death of course meant that the arrangements made for Henry III and his siblings were mostly made by the Minority Council or the king himself, once he came of age. Richard and John, then, were the two least active kings of the period regarding marriage alliances, mainly due to the lack of available royal partners—Richard had no children, and by the time of his coronation had only one unmarried sibling, who he married off several years later. On his accession, John was one of only two of his

[218] Lloyd, 'Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245-1296),' p. 2.

[219] CPR, *1266 – 72,* p. 100.

[220] Ibid., p. 303.

[221] Lloyd, 'Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245-1296),' p. 4.

siblings still alive, and aside from his own divorce and marriage had to wait for the birth of his first son, seven years later, before he could make a matrimonial alliance. Henry II and III, by default then, are the two more active kings on the marriage front, though this may be as much due to circumstance as policy, a possibility that will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Marriages and Betrothals of Royal Children

Royal Child	DOB	Partner	Date of Initiation	Type of Arrangement	Date of Marriage	Location of Marriage
Henry the Young King	1155	Margaret of France	1158	Marriage	1160	Neubourg, Normandy
Matilda of England	1156	Henry, duke of Saxony	1164	Marriage	1168	Minden Cathedral, Germany
Richard I	1157	Daughter of Barcelona	1159	Proposal	—	—
		Alys of France	c. 1161	Betrothal	—	—
		Agnes of Germany	1184	Proposal	—	—
		Berengaria of Navarre	1190	Marriage	1191	Limassol, Cyprus
Geoffrey	1158	Constance of Brittany	1166	Marriage	1181	Unknown
Eleanor of England (1)	1162	Son of Emperor Frederick I	1164	Proposal	—	—
		Alfonso VIII, king of Castile	1170	Marriage	1170	Castile
Joanna of England	1165	William II, king of Sicily	1169/76	Marriage	1177	Palermo, Sicily
		Al-Adil	1191	Proposal	—	—
		Raymond VI, count of Toulouse	1196	Marriage	1196	Rouen, Normandy
John ‘Lackland’	1167	Alice of Maurienne	1172	Betrothal	—	—
		Isabel of Gloucester	1176	Marriage	1189	Marlborough Castle, England
		Alys of France	1192	Proposal	—	—
		Daughter of Portugal	1200	Proposal	—	—
		Isabelle of Angoulême	1200	Marriage	1200	Bordeaux, Aquitaine
Henry III	1207	Margaret of Scotland	1209	Betrothal	—	—
		Margaret of Austria	1225	Proposal	—	—
		Yolande of Brittany	1226	Proposal	—	—
		Agnes of Bohemia	1227	Proposal	—	—
		Sister of Louis IX of France	1229	Proposal	—	—
		Jeanne de Ponthieu	1235	Betrothal	—	—
		Eleanor of Provence	1235	Marriage	1236	Canterbury Cathedral, England
Richard of Cornwall	1209	Daughter of León	1225	Proposal	—	—
		Isabel Marshal	1231	Marriage	1231	Fawley, Buckinghamshire
		Sanchia of Provence	1242	Marriage	1243	Westminster Abbey, England
		Beatrix von Falkenburg	c. 1269	Marriage	1269	Kaiserleutern, Germany
Joan of England	1210	Hugh X de Lusignan	1214	Betrothal	—	—

		Alexander II, king of Scotland	1220	Marriage	1221	York Minster, England
Isabella of England	c. 1214	Henry (VII) of Germany	1225	Proposal	—	—
		Louis IX of France	1229	Proposal	—	—
		Emperor Frederick II	1234	Marriage	1235	Worms Cathedral, Germany
Eleanor of England (2)	c. 1214	William Marshal, earl of Pembroke	1221	Marriage	1224	
		Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester	1238	Marriage	1238	Westminster Palace, England
Edward I	1239	Elizabeth of Brabant	1247	Proposal	—	—
		Eleanor of Castile	1252	Marriage	1254	Burgos, Castile
Margaret of England	1241	Alexander III, king of Scotland	1242	Marriage	1251	York Minster, England
Beatrice of England	1243	Son of king of Aragon	1253	Proposal	—	—
		Magnus of Norway	1255	Proposal	—	—
		Hughes II, king of Cyprus	1256	Proposal	—	—
		John, duke of Brittany	1260	Marriage	1260	Westminster Cathedral, England
Edmund of Lancaster	1245	Plaisance, queen of Cyprus	1256	Proposal	—	—
		Daughter of Sicily	1256	Proposal	—	—
		Aveline de Forz	1269	Marriage	1269	London (possibly)

Chapter Two – The Geography of Marriage

The geographical considerations when examining royal marriages range from the homeland of the intended spouse, to the location of the marriage, and of dower and dowry.[1] To start off with, we will examine the first of these categories, and analyse the statistical data surrounding the forty-five matrimonial situations in which the royals of the Angevin era were involved. These forty-five situations include marriages we know took place and betrothals that were formally agreed upon, as well as the proposals made for marriages that never reached a formal state. The homelands of the prospective matches can be broken down to fit into one of ten geographical categories:

1. England (the English nobility)
2. Scotland (the Scottish crown)
3. Brittany (dukes or counts)
4. The Ilê de France (Capetian kings of France)
5. Aquitaine (vassals of the Angevin kings in south-western France, including Poitou)
6. Southern and South-Eastern France (counts of Toulouse and Provence, also Maurienne and Savoy)
7. Spain (kings of Aragon, Castile, León, Navarre, and Portugal)
8. The Holy Roman Empire (the Emperor and his vassals, including Saxony, Austria and Brabant)
9. Italy (including the kings of Sicily)
10. Other (the Low Countries, Holy Land, Cyprus, and so forth)

In order to simplify comparisons, I will break the marriages into two chronological categories: 1154 to 1204, and 1204 to 1272, using the familiar date of the loss of Normandy as the point of division.

Firstly, let us look at the base statistics. Of the forty-five matches, seventeen took place before 1204. All of these seventeen were betrothals or marriages arranged for the seven legitimate children of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine who lived past childhood, and eleven of them were arranged by Henry II during his reign. There is no

[1] For discussion on dower and dowry, see later chapter.

one decade in his reign where he was more active in creating matrimonial alliances than any other, though the middle two decades of his reign, 1160 to 1180, were those in which most agreements were made. It could be argued that these were the two decades in which he wielded the most control, with his hold on the Angevin Empire slipping towards the end of his reign. There does not appear to be any one particular geographical region with which Henry overwhelmingly preferred to deal; rather, the matches are spread evenly around the borders of his kingdom, and beyond. There is a slight bias towards the Holy Roman Empire, though this is due to the double marriage suggested in 1165 for Henry II's two daughters.[2]

A rough division can be made between lands within or close to Henry's dominion, such as Scotland, Brittany, or Aquitaine, and those further away, such as the Empire, Italy, or the Spanish kingdoms. When examining these divisions, one finds that the ratio of matches made in the former category, five, to those in the latter, six, is almost fifty-fifty. There is a slight sex difference, with the daughters married further away—all three, in fact, were wed to men who lived distant from their homeland of England and northern France: one to Castile, one to Sicily, and one to Saxony. These were clearly diplomatic marriages, each with its own complicated set of motives that will be discussed in more detail later; nonetheless they might show that Henry had no qualms about sending his daughters far afield, further indeed than his sons. That said, matches were negotiated for both Richard and John that fell into the category of distant—Richard in Barcelona and the Empire, and John in south-eastern France. It does appear that of Henry II's sons, John was the only one intended to be sent out of the Angevin domain on marriage; Richard's potential matches, of the daughter of the count of Barcelona and Agnes of Germany, would probably have left their homelands to live in Poitou with him, as was common for brides to do. Though Geoffrey was sent to live in Brittany, the homeland of his wife, this could still be counted as within the Angevin Empire. John, on the other hand, was betrothed to the heiress of Maurienne, and it seems likely would eventually have travelled there to take over the vast lands that came as her inheritance. As will be seen later, the motives for John's betrothal differed from those of his brothers, stemming from Henry's need to find him lands, and this explains

[2] Henry III, especially, would favour double marriage alliances, but this is the only definite example of Henry II doing so.

why only John, of the four brothers, might be sent away. Matilda, Eleanor and Joanna were perfect diplomatic tools, and it was Henry's responsibility to marry them off well, as his method of strengthening relations with foreign lands. On the other hand, it was also Henry's responsibility to provide for his sons, which he attempted to do out of his own lands, as much as possible.

All four sons were, ultimately, married quite close to the centre of the Angevin Empire, Normandy.[3] Rouen became a city of so great importance that the Young King was buried there, and Henry II spent more time in Normandy than in any other part of his lands[4]— while the safety of the duchy was an issue on which Henry II and his successors spent a great deal of time and energy. This is exemplified by Henry's willingness to use the marriage of his eldest son, and heir to the kingdom, to ensure its security.[5] In fact Henry's two eldest sons, the Young King and Richard, were both linked—the former by marriage, the latter by betrothal—to the French royal house, which had its geographic base at the Ilê de France, just east and south of Normandy. The proximity of Capetian lands and influence therefore made Normandy yet more important, with its border the first line of defence against any French incursions. Geoffrey, the third son, was married within the Angevin Empire itself, to the daughter and heiress of the count of Brittany, thereby making him vassal both of his father and his brother, the Young King. John, after the death of the heiress of Maurienne, was betrothed to and eventually married the heiress of the earl of Gloucester. Even Richard's 1159 betrothal to the daughter of the count of Barcelona can actually be seen as geographically close, for while the centre of the Angevin lands might be further north, Richard was due to inherit Poitou and Aquitaine, making a match with Barcelona one of importance to the borders of his own lands. This betrothal to the daughter of the

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[3] Maurice Powicke makes a very convincing argument for Tours as one of the most important cities of the time, 'Tours dominated the passage from north to south. From this great city roads radiated towards Blois and Orleans, Dreux and Rouen, Le Mans and Caen, Angers and Nantes, Poitiers and Bordeaux, Bourges and central France.' Powicke, Loss, p. 10. However, it is known that Normandy was one of the wealthiest and most important parts of the Angevin domain.

[4] David Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy, c. 911-1204,' in England and Normandy in the Middle Ages, eds. David Bates and Anne Curry (London, 1994), pp. 31-2.

[5] The Young King's marriage to Margaret of France included the return of the Vexin to Henry II, the political ramifications for which will be discussed in detail below, p. 111.

count of Barcelona, who was married to the queen of Aragon, was the first in a number of marriages made—or proposed—by the English royal house to the Christian rulers of Spain. It would become a very common tactic, especially after the loss of Normandy in 1204 meant that Aquitaine was the only continental land still under English control.

Is there, then, an overall geographical strategy that can be determined? Is there one particular area which Henry II favoured over the others? Henry's marriage policy was relatively widely spaced geographically. There were two matches proposed with lands of south-eastern France, those with Maurienne in 1173 and Toulouse in 1196, and two with the Capetian royal house, in 1158 and the 1160s.[6] One marriage each was made with Italy, Brittany, and an English heiress; this last, incidentally, was to be the only match made by the royal family within England for another forty-eight years, demonstrating a perhaps understandable lack of interest by Henry II and his sons in marrying amongst the baronage. The kings' priorities, for the time-being, lay elsewhere, in their often troublesome continental vassals and the almost constant conflicts with France. Where this leaves us, then, is with the two geographical regions where alliances were made more often than others: the Christian kingdoms of Spain, and the Empire. Three potential alliances were made with each geographical region, each emphasizing the Angevin kings' priority of defending their continental lands. In fact, from a purely geographical point of view, almost all of the marriages and betrothals arranged in the years before 1204 stem in some way from the conflict with the French kings and the desire of the English king to hold strong against them. This has already been demonstrated in the marriage of the Young King and betrothal of Richard, while Geoffrey's marriage strengthened Angevin control in Brittany.

What, then, of the two most popular regions, the Spanish kingdoms and the Empire? Geographically they are more distant from the centre of the Angevin Empire, but they are the basis of two important strategies. The double betrothal of Matilda and Eleanor arranged in 1165, and the proposal for Richard to marry Agnes of Germany in 1184,[7] were both planned with the intention of forming an Anglo-Imperial alliance

[6] The exact date of Richard's betrothal to Alys of France is unknown, but will be discussed in further detail later.

[7] Torigni, p. 224, and Howden, Chronica, II, p. 288.

which would secure English support for the emperor and his schismatic pope.[8] The English advantage to the match was in guaranteeing German support in any dispute over lands on the continent, creating two allied enemy powers on either side of the Ilê de France. Though this German support would become much more important later, even before 1204 an alliance with the emperor meant that he was not allying with the French, and would not support their claims of sovereignty. A similar motive existed in alliances with the Spanish kingdoms—the marriage of Eleanor in 1170 to King Alfonso VIII of Castile can been seen as preventative, so that Louis VII could not renew his alliance.[9] More important, however, was a very real geographical advantage to marrying within the Spanish kingdoms. For, with Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, he had inherited her conflict with the counts of Toulouse, the details of which will be discussed later.[10] The several Spanish alliances—Eleanor's to Alfonso, Richard's betrothal in 1159, and his marriage to Berengaria of Navarre in 1191—were all designed to safeguard Angevin interests in Aquitaine, guaranteeing that there was a peaceful border with the Spanish kingdoms to counter the often violent border with Toulouse.

The Spanish marriages also follow a slight trend towards marriages in the south, with eight proposed and actual marriages arranged south of Normandy. This includes Joanna's marriage to William II of Sicily in 1176,[11] which stems from the old Norman tie to Sicily, and possibly looked forward to a crusade or pilgrimage to the Holy Land. John's second marriage to Isabelle of Angoulême was a move to ensure Angevin strength in Poitou, while Joanna's second marriage to Raymond of Toulouse was Richard's method of gaining peace in the south while he concentrated on Normandy. It goes too far to say that Henry II and his sons focused primarily on the south. However, it can be observed that the possession of Aquitaine demanded a good deal of time and diplomacy, including several marriages.

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[8] This idea will be discussed in further depth later. Both Gervase of Canterbury and, later, Roger of Wendover mention that the schism was the motive for at least the 1165 arrangement. See Gervase, p. 204 and Wendover, I, p. 39.

[9] Louis VII had been married to Constance, Alfonso VIII's aunt, until her death in 1160.

[10] See 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process' pp. 112-13, and 'Success in Marriage' pp. 173-4 for discussion of marriage into Toulouse by Joanna in 1196.

[11] Diceto, I, p. 418.

While noting the large number of southern alliances, it would be remiss not to comment on the almost complete lack of marriages made north of the English Channel. None of Henry II's children made any matches with Scotland, Wales or Ireland, and as is observed above, only John married within the English nobility.[12] The reasons for this appear to be straight-forward: it is unlikely that Henry II would have allowed any of his children to marry into the family of a Scottish baron, leaving only the Scottish royal house as a possibility. However, Henry II and William the Lion were first cousins, preventing any matrimonial agreement between the families. By the mid-1170s, Henry II had at least nominally conquered Ireland, and named his son John as Lord of Ireland without requiring a marriage. Instead he seemed content for the most part to leave the conquest and every-day rule of Ireland to his nobles; there one sees marriages, but not on the royal level. In Wales, the situation was similar—Henry led a number of royal expeditions into Wales in an effort to suppress the frequent rebellions, but with his focus regularly drawn back to the continent, it was left to the English barons to marry into the Welsh nobility. No royal marriage would be made with Wales, the only exception being that of John's illegitimate daughter, Joan, to Llywelyn Fawr, in 1205.[13]

The locations of the nine marriage ceremonies which took place before 1204 show a clear and understandable bias towards the groom. Six marriages took place in the homeland of the groom, which follows the social pattern of a bride going to live with her husband. The Young King was wed in the heartland of Henry's lands at Neubourg in Normandy,[14] John's first marriage took place at his own castle of Marlborough,[15] with his second at the centre of his southern lands, Bordeaux.[16] All three of Henry's daughters were married abroad after having travelled to meet their prospective husbands: Matilda was married at Minden Cathedral in Germany in 1168,[17]

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[12] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 6. See also table, 'Marriages of Royal Children.'

[13] Rot. Litt., I, p. 12. Again, as mentioned in the Introduction, no detailed discussion or analysis of the marriages made by illegitimate children are made here, as it would involve a completely different set of considerations and motives.

[14] Torigni, p. 208.

[15] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 78.

[16] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 120.

[17] Diceto, I, p. 330 and Karl Jordan, Henry the Lion (Oxford, 1986), p. 147.

Joanna in Palermo in 1177,[18] and while the exact location for Eleanor's marriage is unknown, she travelled to Castile before her wedding so it must have taken place there.[19]

It is not entirely clear where the marriage of Geoffrey and Constance of Brittany took place, but one can assume that it was within the Angevin Empire, probably in Brittany itself, a land that in 1181 was dominated by Geoffrey and his father Henry II. As Geoffrey was also acceding to his title of Duke of Brittany on his marriage, it would make sense for the wedding to take place in the land he was taking over;[20] therefore Constance is one of the few brides most likely married in her home land.

Setting aside the Geoffrey-Constance marriage, only two marriages between 1154 and 1204 did not take place in the homeland of the groom: that of Richard I and Berengaria in 1191, and that of Joanna the dowager Queen of Sicily and Raymond VI of Toulouse in 1196. In the first case, the deviation from normal was due to the fact that, when he left on Crusade in 1190, Richard was actually betrothed to a different woman: Alys, the sister of the king of France. For numerous reasons explored elsewhere,[21] it made more sense for Richard to delay his repudiation of Alys until he and Philip of France were already on Crusade. Therefore it was left to Berengaria to meet Richard in Sicily, half-way to the Holy Land, led by Richard's mother Eleanor. The actual location of the ceremony, Cyprus, was the product of circumstance. Richard could not have married Berengaria in Sicily, as by the time he had straightened out the complications with Alys, it was already Lent. He was not prepared to wait in Sicily until after Easter, and so they continued on, arriving in Cyprus, after a storm.[22] That Richard did not wait to marry Berengaria until he had returned to his lands is most probably because, now that she was present, he wanted to produce an heir as swiftly as possible. Marrying his

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[18] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 95.

[19] Torigni, p. 247.

[20] Everard, Brittany and the Angevins, p. 99.

[21] See 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 126-8.

[22] Howden, Chronica, Vol. III, p. 105. J.O. Prestwich has made an argument for Richard's intending to conquer Cyprus before his arrival, based on the evidence that Cyprus had been named as a rendezvous point before departure from Sicily. No absolute evidence exists to either prove or refute this argument, however. See J.O. Prestwich, 'Richard Coeur de Lion: *Rex Bellicosus*,' in Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth, ed. Janet L. Nelson (London, 1992), pp. 8-9.

new bride in a land so recently conquered by himself might also have been an affirmation of his power and influence there, though it is more likely simply to have been convenient to marry while in Cyprus rather than wait until they joined the Crusading army at Acre.

The second marriage that did not take place in the groom's homeland was that of Joanna and Raymond VI, count of Toulouse. They were married at Rouen in Normandy, in the presence of Richard I, after a short period of negotiation between Richard and Raymond.[23] It may well have been Richard himself who insisted upon the marriage taking place then and there; Raymond had only recently divorced his third wife, and the long-standing feud between the dukes of Aquitaine and counts of Toulouse meant that neither man would have willingly trusted the other. Richard arranged the marriage, and it had vital political importance, settling the decades-long dispute so that Richard could focus more closely on his war with Philip Augustus, therefore he could not risk sending his sister away with Raymond without ensuring the marriage.

The desire to have the ceremony performed as quickly and conveniently as possible is evident in three other marriages that took place within the Angevin lands, namely those of the Young King and John. There is no geographical pattern to them—in fact, they lie in quite different parts of the empire: Neubourg, Normandy; Marlborough Castle; and Bordeaux.[24] Rather than selecting a certain place for royal weddings, for which there is some evidence in later reigns, Henry II and his sons appeared to marry wherever was nearest and most convenient to them.

For close to a decade after 1204, there were no royal marriages, and only two betrothals that we know of, neither of which ended in marriage.[25] To some extent this is because, at first, there *were* no more members of the direct royal family to be wed at the time—the future Henry III was not born until 1207, Richard of Cornwall two years

[23] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 306 and Newburgh, p. 491.

[24] These last two are John's marriage to Isabel of Gloucester in 1189, and to Isabelle of Angoulême in 1200, respectively.

[25] Henry III's betrothal to Margaret of Scotland in 1209 and Joan's betrothal to Hugh de Lusignan in 1214.

later, then three sisters coming in the years 1210 to 1215. Of the twenty-eight marriages, betrothals, and proposals that occurred between the years 1204 and 1272, eighteen were made by the legitimate sons and daughters of King John and his queen, while ten were made by the four children of Henry III who lived past infancy. Only two betrothals were made by King John before his death, while three were arranged by the Minority Council that ruled England during the youth of Henry III. Eighteen were made during the years of Henry III's personal reign, though the instigators behind the matches varied, especially due to the complications over when exactly Henry III's majority began; he turned eighteen in 1225, and so simply for ease's sake that year will be used as the marker, though historians have convincingly argued that the king did not rule himself for some years after this.[26] The four proposed and actual alliances made by Richard of Cornwall, and the marriage of Henry III's sister Eleanor to Simon de Montfort, were not included in any of the above categories, as they did not result from royal but from personal choice.

The most important aspect to note of the marriages, betrothals and proposals that occurred between the years 1204 and 1272, is the significant change in geographic distribution. Whereas in the earlier years, there was only one actual royal marriage alliance within the British Isles, after 1204 there are seven, with six of those ending in wedding ceremonies. There are still no alliances with Wales or Ireland, and aside from John's illegitimate daughter Joan, the rulers of England seemed willing to leave intermarriage with the Celtic fringe to the nobles. The exception to this rule is Scotland. In the years of Henry III's reign (1216-1272), there are two marriages with the royal house of Scotland, as well as a betrothal between Henry himself and the daughter of the Scottish king. The explanation for this sudden turn can be found in several places. The first is that, another generation away from Henry I, the houses were not as closely

[26] For discussion of Henry's coming of age, see Carpenter, Minority, pp. 123-4 and 241. There was some question as to at what age Henry should be considered to reach his majority, with the fourteenth birthday being the first possible date. More popular in England was twenty-one, and the decision was eventually left up to the pope. Either way it is evident that Henry was still heavily influenced by his councillors, particularly Hubert de Burgh, at least until de Burgh's fall from power in 1232, and the subsequent departure from politics of Peter des Roches in 1234. See also David Carpenter, 'The Fall of Hubert de Burgh,' in The Journal of British Studies, 19 (1980), p. 1; and Nicholas Vincent, Peter des Roches (Cambridge, 1996), p. 209.

related, and though a papal dispensation was still needed for marriage, it was more likely to be granted. Second, when the French invaded England in 1216 with the purpose of taking the crown, the Scots had supported the French cause. Unfortunately for both parties, the conflict ended with Prince Louis' empty-handed return home, and Scotland being placed under interdict in 1217/18.[27] Nevertheless, Scotland was finally beginning to be seen as a significant player in the diplomatic dealings of thirteenth-century Europe, and England, now finding itself ruled by a Minority Council, was eager to maintain peace. No longer was it impossible that the two royal houses should intermarry, and it would become sufficiently important to the English ruling government—both the Minority and later, Henry III—that one of John's daughters and one of Henry III's would both be wed into the Scottish royal house. It is significant to note that Joan, the first of these, was actually released from a betrothal to a Poitevin noble, Hugh de Lusignan, in order to marry Alexander II of Scotland. Hugh was more than compensated when he married John's widow Isabelle instead of his daughter, but the transfer of Joan from southern France to Scotland demonstrates the increased attentiveness to the British Isles that came after the loss of Normandy, and the strategy of ensuring a peaceful northern border to allow focus on the defence of continental lands.

During the minority and reign of Henry III we find a significant number of marriages between the crown and the nobility of England. Four matches were made with English barons, two of which were with the powerful Marshal family, who held extensive lands in England and the Welsh marches. The first, that of William Marshal and Eleanor in 1224, was carefully negotiated by the Minority to secure the nobles' support and prevent yet more foreign influence in England.[28] The other Marshal marriage, though, was made by Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, who did not consult the king or council before wedding the widow of the earl of Gloucester.[29] This marriage was a bold move that demonstrated how powerful the nobility had grown during the Minority, both in Richard's free will, marrying whomever he pleased and getting away with it, and his choice to wed not a foreign princess but an English heiress,

[27] A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 524.

[28] The Marshal was debating a marriage to the daughter of the count of Dreux.

[29] AM, I, p. 38.

to increase his own political influence.[30] Both Richard, acting independently, and the Minority Council, felt that a match within England had as much merit as one with a foreign power—clearly there was a greater, and well called-for, consideration for the English barons after the fall of Normandy and the succession fight with France.

That is not to say, though, that the focus of English marriage policy completely changed. While it was in many ways necessary to include the British Isles, where now a greater proportion of the crown's resources lay, there was a still a strong interest in the continent, both the lands lost by John and those he had managed to retain. Certainly matches with the Spanish kingdoms appear to have been less important for Henry III and his siblings. One such match was made by Richard of Cornwall, in 1225, when he was only sixteen years old. However the Minority Council sternly refused permission, stating that there were, 'many rational reasons why this marriage should not in any way come to pass,'[31] though what they were is not expanded upon. The fact that Henry III chose to marry Eleanor of Provence, rather than seek a Spanish marriage, is questioned by Robert Stacey, who suggests that if Henry were truly serious about recovering his father's lands, then a Spanish marriage would have made sense.[32] Nevertheless, no Spanish marriages were made for over fifty years after Richard and Berengaria's in 1191. The match that broke this pattern was that of Henry III's son and heir, Edward, who married the sister of the King of Castile. At the time of the 1170 marriage of Henry II's daughter Eleanor to Alfonso VIII, Gascony had been named as Eleanor's dowry, to be handed over to Castile after the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine; but, no king of Castile had pressed this right with any seriousness until the accession of Alfonso X, in 1252.[33] The marriage of Edward, therefore, settled the rights to Gascony in favour of the English king, and demonstrates that though the number of proposed Spanish marriages decreased after 1204, the importance of the Spanish kingdoms did not, as Henry III was willing to marry his son, the heir to the English throne, to a Castilian princess. Evidently the Spanish kingdoms, and more importantly Gascony, were still in

[30] It should also be noted that Richard had consulted the council once before, when he wished to marry a Spanish princess, and was refused permission.

[31] Rot. Litt., p. 83.

[32] Stacey, Politics, p. 181.

[33] F.M. Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1947), p. 232. For more on the invasion of Gascony in 1204, mentioned only in passing by historians, see above p. 50.

the forefront of the king's mind. This is further supported by the two high-profile marriages made by Henry III and his brother Richard, to the daughters of the wealthy and powerful house of Provence, in southern France, just on the other side of Toulouse from Gascony.

Another area of France in which Henry III showed some interest was Brittany; two matches were proposed during his reign. The first, in 1226, was for he himself to wed Yolande, the daughter of the duke of Brittany,[34] in order to confirm Breton support for his efforts on the continent and hopefully to open up negotiations with the Lusignans in Poitou. This wedding never came to pass. The one arranged by Henry for his daughter, Beatrice, to John of Brittany did occur in 1260,[35] but seems to have been made more with a mind to confirming John's grant of the earldom of Richmond, a traditional holding of the counts of Brittany, than to Henry's advantage.

The diplomatic advantage of a match with the Empire[36] was still highly significant in the years after 1204, if not more so, with a total of six matches made or proposed between England and Germany up to 1272.[37] An alliance with the Empire was one of Henry III's favourite strategies, made with the hope that the emperor would take his side in his wars on the continent. He hoped for military support from the Empire, or at the very least a partial mediator between France and England, and he endeavoured to counter Capetian influence on the continent by removing potential allies. He was ultimately to be disappointed in the majority of his efforts, with the one major exception of his sister Isabella's marriage to Emperor Frederick II in 1235.[38]

Three betrothals were proposed surrounding the Sicilian Business of the 1250s, one in which Henry III's son Edmund would marry the daughter of the ruling king of Sicily, Manfred, and become king on his abdication, and two with the ruling house of Cyprus; Edmund was to wed Queen Plaisance, while his sister Beatrice would wed the

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[34] CM, III, p. 123.

[35] AM, IV, p. 124.

[36] As stated at the start of this chapter, I am including all vassals of the emperor as part of this category.

[37] These are the double marriage proposed in 1225 for himself and Margaret of Austria, while his sister would wed Frederick's heir Henry (VII), a proposed match with Bohemia in 1227, the marriage of Isabella to Frederick II in 1235, the proposal for Prince Edward to marry Elizabeth of Brabant in 1247, and the marriage of Richard of Cornwall to Beatrix von Falkenburg in 1269.

[38] CM, III, p. 324.

infant king, Hughes II.[39] The appeal of Cyprus was to further English influence in the Mediterranean and Holy Land, and in finding a place for Edmund much as Henry II tried to do for John decades earlier. However none of these three proposals evolved into marriage.

Unlike the daughters of Henry II, almost all of the daughters of John and Henry III married very close to the British Isles—two to Scotland, one to an English noble,[40] and one to the duke of Brittany, who also held claim to the earldom of Richmond and so can partially be considered an English noble. Though proposals had been made to marry them further afield—Cyprus, Norway, the Spanish kingdoms, and Poitou—only one princess was sent far from England to live with her husband, and this was Isabella, sent to Germany in 1235 to marry Frederick II, arguably one of the most significant diplomatic alliances made by Henry III during his reign.

Finally, of the twenty-eight proposals made after 1204, twelve ended in marriage ceremonies. Two marriage locations are uncertain, those of Eleanor to William Marshal in 1224, and of Edmund of Lancaster to Aveline de Forz, in 1269, though there is evidence that this may have taken place at Westminster, for Thomas Wykes mentions it occurring, 'with parliament not yet released.'[41] For the remaining ten there is a marked change in the pattern of locations of marriage from those made in the previous generation. Firstly, only four of them took place in the husband's homeland: the marriages of Isabella and Frederick II in 1235 at Worms,[42] Henry III and Eleanor of Provence in 1236 at Canterbury,[43] Richard of Cornwall and Sanchia of Provence in 1243 at Westminster,[44] and Richard of Cornwall and Beatrix von Falkenburg in 1269 in Germany.[45]

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[39] Foedera, p. 341.

[40] In fact, Eleanor was married to an English noble twice, once to William Marshal and once to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester.

[41] AM, IV, p. 222.

[42] CM, III, pp. 319-20.

[43] Ibid., p. 336.

[44] CM, IV, p. 263.

[45] AM, IV, p. 224. Richard of Cornwall had been elected king of the Germans in 1256 so I am counting this as his homeland, or at least a power-base.

The two Scottish marriages, in 1221 and 1251, were both solemnized at York Minster, with the two parties travelling and meeting roughly half-way between London and the Scottish border.[46] On both occasions the expenses of the Scottish king were covered by the king of England, though, and in 1251 Alexander III also performed homage to Henry III for the lands he held in England, and the marriage took place during the king's Christmas court.[47] The negotiations for the two marriages also took place at York, and in 1221 had only recently been completed when the ceremony took place. Clearly, York was the primary and most sensible meeting place for the two kings, so it followed naturally that the marriages would take place there as well.

Interestingly, what might have been considered one of the most important marriages for Henry III did not take place within England or even the king's continental territories: that of his son and heir, Prince Edward, the future Edward I. Instead, the prince's marriage took place at Burgos, in Castile, the homeland of his future bride, Eleanor, sister of King Alfonso X.[48] The reasons for the location of the marriage can be found in the negotiations behind it, during which Alfonso X had held the upper hand a good deal of the time. He also demanded that he be allowed to knight Edward, and inspect him in person, before the marriage took place.[49] Edward, therefore, was forced to travel to Castile, before his future brother-in-law approved the match.

The final trend that should be noted in the locations of the ceremonies is the increasing use of Westminster as a venue for royal marriage. Henry III's brother Richard married Sanchia of Provence there in 1243,[50] his daughter Beatrice was wed to John of Brittany there in 1260,[51] and it is possibly where Edmund married Aveline de Forz in that same year.[52] Also it was at the Palace of Westminster, nearby, that Henry's

[46] CM, III, pp. 66-7 and AM, IV, p. 103.

[47] AM, II, p. 93.

[48] AM, I, p. 323.

[49] Jose Manuel Rodríguez García, 'Henry III (1216 – 1272), Alfonso X of Castile (1252 – 1284) and the Crusading Plans of the Thirteenth Century,' in England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216 – 1272), eds. Björn Weiler and Ifor Rowlands (Burlington, VT, 2002), p. 103.

[50] CM, IV, p. 263.

[51] AM, IV, p. 124.

[52] Ibid., p. 224.

sister Eleanor was married almost in secret to Simon de Montfort.[53] Henry III donated huge amounts of time and money to renovating the Abbey of Westminster, the desire to do so stemming from his devotion to Edward the Confessor, the abbey's founder.[54] More marriages took place there than anywhere else in the years before 1272; in fact the only other location that saw more than one royal marriage ceremony was York.

Clearly many marriages form part of foreign policy and interests. During Henry II's reign, many marriages were made with magnates on the continent to help secure Henry's empire. After 1204, and the disastrous loss of most of the king's lands on the continent, the geography of marriage shifts with English policies. Though he by no means forgot European interests, John was more constantly involved in the diplomacy of the British Isles than his father and brother had been before him. With this change, we find royal marriages occurring with Scotland and the English barons, who grew more influential during the troubles of John's reign and the Minority of Henry III. Nevertheless, there is still a clear interest in the continent and in re-gaining lost lands, as can be seen in the marriages proposed with the Empire, with Castile, and with various French magnates. The numbers for the matches between 1154 and 1272 show English interests most clearly. Topping the list of geographical categories with nine suggested alliances is the Empire, while the Spanish kingdoms come a close second with seven. Both of these locations, as discussed above, were clearly used with the intention of securing and supporting English continental efforts and preventing French alliances. After these two categories, there is tie for third in marriages suggested with the French crown, and those with the English nobility, totalling five in both categories. These, too, confirm English interests, increasing within the kingdom but also including efforts made directly with the king of France to settle territorial disputes. It is perhaps surprising that, in this whole span of over 120 years, only two matches are proposed with nobles within Poitou and Aquitaine, and both were made by King John,[55] in an effort to secure influence there. The dismal failure of both attempts may be the reason why no more were tried during the reign of Henry III, for he preferred to attack the

[53] CM, III, pp. 470-71.

[54] Carpenter, Reign, pp. 118-19.

[55] His own, to Isabelle of Angoulême in 1200, and his daughter Joan's betrothal to Hugh de Lusignan in 1214.

problem of keeping Gascony in different ways, outlined above. Overall, then, one can see the efforts of the English kings to maintain and re-gain lands on the continent, as well as their growing interests within the British Isles, reflected in the geography of potential and actual marriage alliances.

Chapter Three – Age at Betrothal and Marriage

As was seen in the introduction, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, there was considerable debate amongst the clergy as to what exactly constituted a marriage. Whether the clergyman believed that intercourse was required for marriage or not, all seemed to agree that consent was essential for a marriage to be legal.[1] In order for the bride or groom to be able to legally consent, it was required that both parties be at or past the age of puberty—twelve for girls, and fourteen for boys.[2] However, what this chapter examines is not what the rules for legal marriage were, as the frequency, or lack thereof, with which Henry II and his successors kept to those rules when betrothing and marrying their children. In his article, 'Marriage and Society in the Central Middle Ages,' Christopher Brooke uses Henry II as an example of the importance placed by many medieval kings and nobles on 'the marriage bond as a key to everything that made his world what it was.'[3] He goes on to mention what he sees as Henry's cunning use of his children to construct an empire based on marriage alliances, emphasizing the youth of all seven children at their betrothals and subsequent marriages. Indeed, there is no question that Henry II was quick to arrange matches for each of his children, starting with the extremely young Henry the Younger and his future bride, Margaret of France. The two were betrothed in 1158, at the ages of three and one years, respectively, then married two years later.[4] This marriage is one of the most extreme examples of young marriage, and brings up several questions regarding these situations, such as: just how young was the average age of betrothal for royal children?[5] How old were they when they married? Is there a significant gap between betrothal and marriage? And finally, is there a significant difference in the ages of male and female offspring at both betrothal and marriage?

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[1] Brundage, Law, Sex and Christian Society, p. 262.

[2] Ibid., p. 357.

[3] Christopher Brooke, 'Marriage and Society in the Middle Ages,' in ed. R.B. Outhwaite, Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage (London, 1981), p. 19.

[4] Torigni, pp. 196 and 208.

[5] For the purpose of this chapter, age of first betrothal will include the first proposal for marriage made for any child, even if that proposal never became formal.

Due to Henry's frequent use of marriage to aid in building his empire, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Young King was not the only of Henry's children to be betrothed at such a tender age: Richard was only two years old when the first discussions arose of a marriage between him and the daughter of the count of Barcelona, while Eleanor was the same age when a marriage to the son of the Emperor was proposed for her. John was betrothed to Alice of Maurienne at the age of five, while both Geoffrey and Matilda were around eight when discussions first arose for their betrothals.

There is some question as to when exactly Joanna was first considered for marriage. It appears that this may have been in the late 1160s, when she would have been around four, but the only proof of these negotiations is a single reference in a letter of Thomas Becket, dated 1169.[6] If the letter is correct, then Joanna's age at her first proposal was four, which was the average age. However, if negotiations did not begin in earnest until 1176, when she was certainly betrothed, she would have been eleven years old, bringing the average up to seven and meaning that she was betrothed at an age well over the average. She would also have been the child who went longest without betrothal. Any 1169 arrangements would have been swiftly terminated at the assassination of Becket in December 1170, and the subsequent ostracising of Henry and all attached to him. It is somewhat of a mystery why no other marriage could be arranged for her before 1176; while for the first few years after Becket's murder the offspring of Henry II were possibly deemed undesirable, by 1172/3 Henry was able to negotiate a wife for John, yet no interest appeared for Joanna until negotiations were re-opened by the Sicilian embassy in 1176. Though William II of Sicily was one of the first European rulers to re-open communications with Henry in the 1170s, his matrimonial plans had turned elsewhere during these years, explaining why no proposal was made earlier.[7] From the English side, it may perhaps be that Henry was too pre-occupied by the rebellion of his sons in 1173/4, but it is nonetheless curious that no

[6] 'Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury to Hubald, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia,' in The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Vol. II, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Oxford, 2000), No. 216, p. 945. For more discussion of this see 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process', p. 92.

[7] For more discussion, see pp. 92-3.

attempts were made by the king to find a match for Joanna who, after 1173, was the only of Henry's children for whom he had not yet arranged a spouse.

If one distinguishes the sons and daughters, one finds that the average age of first betrothal for sons of Henry II was actually just less than five years, while for daughters it was four. For the boys, this number is significant, falling right in the middle, with the two eldest sons, Young Henry and Richard, betrothed early, and the two younger sons, Geoffrey and John, betrothed slightly later, at eight and five years respectively. There are no extreme examples for the sons; the young betrothals for the elder two, both of which took place in the late 1150s, follow the pattern of Henry's desire for empire-building through marriage—the Young King's betrothal settling the dispute over the borders of Normandy, and Richard's securing a safe border between Aquitaine and the Spanish kingdoms. The later arrangements for Geoffrey and John came at a more advanced stage of Henry's reign, when his interests were on maintaining his empire—evident in Geoffrey's case, where his betrothal secured the overlordship of Brittany—and on providing for his children, evident in John's betrothal to Alice of Maurienne, which, had it come to marriage, would have made John an extremely powerful baron with lands in southern France and crossing the Alps into northern Italy. The average age of betrothal for daughters, four years, is pulled down by Eleanor, who like her brother Richard was betrothed at the age of two, and Joanna, who if Thomas Becket was correct was betrothed at the age of four, was older.

If we compare the alliances of later generations to those of Henry II's reign, we see a jump in the average age of first betrothal for both males and females. Together, the average rises from four years for Henry II's children to just under eight years for the children of John and Henry III.[8] In fact, it is during John's reign and the period of the Minority Council which followed that we see the oldest betrothal, that of Richard of Cornwall, who sought out a Spanish bride for himself at the age of sixteen.[9] It is of course important to mention that at this time the number of children considerably decreases; while Henry II had seven children, with the first born even before Henry's accession, John had only five. Of these, two were born in the last two years of his reign, years during which he was busy fighting his own barons, and no children were

[8] Richard I is of course discounted, due to his lack of offspring.

[9] And, as is discussed elsewhere, was refused permission to marry her by the king and council.

born in the first five years, almost certainly due to the young age of his wife. So, for a significant portion of John's time as king, he had few or no children on behalf of whom to negotiate. In fact, there were only two betrothals arranged or apparently even considered for royal children between the birth of Henry III in 1207 and the death of the regent William Marshal in 1219. These involved only the eldest son and eldest daughter—the future Henry III in an alliance with the King of Scotland in 1209, and Joan in an effort to ensure the loyalty of the Poitevin noble family of Lusignan in 1214.[10] Thereafter royal matrimonial politics were quiet for a number of years, due most likely to the troubles of John's reign—particularly his troubles with the papacy and the interdict of 1208—and the subsequent struggle to maintain the independence of the English crown during the wars with France in 1216/17. Despite the troubles, the average age of betrothal for both males and females remained steady at just under eight years from John's accession until 1272.

When one divides the children by sex, one finds that the average age of first betrothal for daughters rises to seven years for John's children, from four for Henry II's, then falls to five years for the daughters of Henry III. However, it must be noted that at this point the averaging of ages becomes less informative, as Henry III had only two daughters who survived infancy, and one was betrothed at the age of one year old, the other at ten. These two daughters illustrate the ends of the spectrum, showing a daughter who was promised at an extremely young age due to an urgent need to re-form the alliance with Scotland, and a daughter who was finally suggested as part of a double alliance with the Spanish kingdoms, betrothed briefly to the son of the King of Aragon in the background of the far more significant marriage of Prince Edward to Eleanor of Castile.[11]

For the princes after 1189, average age increased more significantly, to nine years for the sons of both John and Henry III. The variety of age for John's two sons is similar to that of Henry III's two daughters, in that Henry III was first suggested for marriage at the age of two, while his brother Richard of Cornwall was sixteen before he gave up waiting for the Minority Council to act and attempted to secure a bride for

[10] See above 'Case Studies', pp. 36 and 44-5.

[11] See above, 'Case Studies', p. 53.

himself.[12] Henry III's sons were closer in age, with Prince Edward first proposed for marriage at the age of eight, and Edmund at eleven. Therefore while the numbers show a rise in age, the overall average age of first betrothal of a royal child, both male and female, for the entire period of 1154 to 1272, is just over six years old.

The situation changes significantly when one addresses the next question, namely, what was the age of royal children at their first marriage? Although children were betrothed very young, the church did not consider a marriage proper until both partners had reached the age of consent, as mentioned above—twelve years old for girls, fourteen for boys.[13] Nevertheless, out of sixteen first-time marriages, there were seven in which at least one partner was below the age of consent. In five of these cases, the under-aged party was female. In fact, the average age of marriage for the daughters of Henry II was ten years old, with Eleanor married at eight years, Joanna at eleven—just months short of her twelfth birthday—and Matilda just passing the mark of twelve years by a matter of months. It may appear at first glance as though Henry II and those he was making alliances with were being careless, allowing marriages that could legally be dissolved when the underage party came of age.[14] However, it seems more likely that, due to the political motivations for the marriages, and often detailed negotiations, there was little to no worry that the marriages would be dissolved—each marriage was valuable to both parties.

In the later reigns, though the average age of marriage for girls moved up to thirteen, there were still three marriages where the princess was under the age of consent. The first was that of Eleanor to William Marshal in 1224, a marriage that had been arranged in 1221 and was perhaps hurried along to prevent the earl's alliance with a foreigner.[15] Both of the other underage marriages were alliances with the kings of Scotland: Joan to Alexander II in 1221, and Margaret to Alexander III in 1251.[16] Joan's marriage it would appear had only been delayed as long as it was due to the difficulty

[12] See 'Case Studies', p. 42.

[13] Brundage, Law, Sex and Christian Society, p. 357.

[14] Ibid., p. 335.

[15] For more on this marriage, see 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process', p. 108.

[16] See 'Case Studies', pp. 45, and 51-2.

experienced in releasing her from captivity by the Lusignan family. There was even provision made for Alexander II to marry her younger sister, Isabella, who would have been only seven at the time, if Joan could not be obtained from Poitou;[17] in fact, Joan was released in time to reach York for the July 1221 wedding at York. Margaret's wedding came after the death of her future husband's father, and the request of the Scottish nobles that Henry III intervene in their arguments and choose which side was to manage the minority government.[18]

Because girls were made into brides at such young ages, none of these brides appear to have become mothers at once. The earliest age one may find a princess giving birth is seventeen, and it is a birth for which evidence is limited; the Norman chronicler Robert of Torigni records Henry II's daughter Joanna giving birth to a son in 1182, who was baptised Bohemund and invested with the duchy of Apulia by his father, King William II of Sicily.[19] No other evidence exists for this son, and indeed the thirteenth-century chronicler Richard of San Germano laments William II's childlessness; he also believed the cathedral of Monreale, founded before Joanna's marriage, to be an offering to the Virgin Mary to induce an heir.[20] The primary Sicilian chronicler, Romuald of Salerno, had died by 1181, and so it is possible that the couple did have a son, who died very young, especially considering Torigni's close relationship to the Angevin royal family. The next youngest to give birth was Eleanor, married to Alfonso VIII of Castile, who had her first child at the age of eighteen. Whether the gap in years between marriage and childbirth indicates a purposeful delay in consummation is, in these cases, impossible to prove, though according to John Carmi Parsons there is evidence of it elsewhere.[21]

In contrast to the young age of marriage for females, the average age of marriage for princes was significantly higher—twenty-one for Henry II's sons, twenty-six for John's two sons, and lower again at nineteen for the sons of Henry III. In fact, there is only one occasion, out of all the marriages of the eight sons of the kings of England in

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[17] Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214 – 49 ed. James Scoular (Edinburgh, 1959), p. 16.

[18] Brown, The Wars of Scotland, p. 47.

[19] Torigni, p. 303.

[20] Matthew, The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, p. 275.

[21] John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150 – 1500,' in Medieval Queenship, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1994), p. 67.

this period, where a son was married below the age of consent, and that was the match already mentioned, of the Young King and Margaret of France, in 1160. It is clear that this marriage was an extreme situation; through the betrothal in 1158, Henry II had been promised three key castles in the Norman Vexin, to be turned over only after the children were wed.[22] However, in 1160 Louis VII of France took as his third wife Adela de Champagne, the sister of one of his most powerful advisors, thereby securing the powerful counts of Blois-Champagne to the Capetian cause. The counts of Blois and Anjou had a long-standing rivalry stemming not only from the continental version of the English wars of Stephen and Matilda, fought between his brother Theobald of Blois and her husband Geoffrey of Anjou, but even further back from the early eleventh-century alliances of the king and count of Anjou, threatened by Blois-Champagne.[23] Understandably feeling threatened, Henry II acted at once to secure Normandy and the promised Vexin by marrying the two children, despite their tender age, commented on by Roger of Howden, who states that they were 'still children crying in their cradles.'[24] As promised in the betrothal agreement, the Knights Templar, who had been guardians of the castles since the betrothal, handed them over to Henry, constituting a diplomatic victory over Louis VII. Nevertheless, though the Angevin kings had no compunction about betrothing their sons before they were out of the cradle, this is the only instance where they were forced to marry.

Over half of the children—ten of the sixteen—did not marry the first partner to whom they were betrothed. Of the six who did marry their first betrothed, four were female, of whom two were sent to live with their future spouse, thereby restricting the possibility of a broken betrothal.[25] The two males were the Young King, who as can be seen above married before there was a chance to break the betrothal, and Geoffrey, who was sent to live in Brittany and confirm Angevin control over it, ensuring that neither side would break the engagement.

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[22] Howden, Chronica, I, pp. 217-18.

[23] The counts of Blois-Champagne had, in the early eleventh century, presented a threat to the kings of France, as the territory of the former surrounded that of the latter. Anjou, bordering Blois on the west, was therefore a natural ally of the king. See Powicke, Loss, p. 15.

[24] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218.

[25] There were of course exceptions to this idea, the most significant being the case of Alys of France; she was however a unique case, as can be seen in 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 126-8.

Of the ten who did not marry the first-arranged partner, half were betrothed only once before they became tied to their future spouse. However, in the cases of Richard I and Henry III, there was a pattern of what might be called serial betrothals and consequent late marriages—Richard was thirty-four, Henry twenty-nine. This may also be explained by turbulent political situations.[26] Richard's first betrothal in 1159 to a daughter of the count of Barcelona seems little more than an initial proposal, for it ended with no fuss and Richard was betrothed again only two or three years later to Alys Capet. This betrothal was to last twenty years, though by the late 1180s it seems that Richard had little intention of ever marrying her. However, he could not officially break off the arrangement until both he and Alys's potentially dangerous brother Philip were well away on their journey to the Holy Land.[27] In Henry III's case, he was king from the age of nine, and while he himself seemed increasingly eager to find a bride as he grew older, there was a certain amount of delicacy in finding a suitable partner for a reigning king. Furthermore, from the time of his father's death in 1216 until the mid-1220s, Henry III was considered a minor and could not legally marry. [28] However the lack of ability to legally marry and the delicacy of finding a wife do not explain the serial betrothals. Instead, what we see with Henry III is a number of proposals and betrothals all made with the same end in mind: recovery of lost Angevin lands on the continent. He suggested a double marriage with the German Empire in 1225, was betrothed to Yolande of Brittany in 1226, suggested a marriage with the crown of Bohemia in 1227, proposed a double marriage with the Capetian royal house in 1229, wished to marry Marjorie of Scotland in 1231, formally betrothed himself to Jeanne de Ponthieu in 1235, and finally married Eleanor of Provence in 1236.[29] We also find serial betrothals for Henry III's daughter Beatrice, though this may be explained by the fact that from her birth in 1243, she was the only surviving royal daughter who was as yet unattached, and so was the only option for a marriage between the English royal

[26] Both men were betrothed very young and had the opportunity to marry early, which is why it appears to have been that their serial betrothals were a symptom rather than a cause of the late marriages.

[27] For further discussion of the details of this arrangement, see 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 126-8.

[28] Stacey, Politics, p. 20. This judgement of minority would appear to have to do with age rather than being in control of the government, though Stacey is not completely clear on this issue.

[29] For more discussion of how each betrothal was made with the aim in mind of securing lands on the continent, see 'Case Studies', pp 37-41.

house and an ally. The suggestion of marriage into the house of Aragon in 1253 was a continuation of her brother Edward's marriage to Eleanor of Castile, strengthening the Spanish alliance.[30] The proposal that she marry the heir to the throne of Norway was part of Henry III's scheme to conquer Sicily.[31] And finally, her momentary betrothal to Hughes of Cyprus was related to the same, as part of a double-betrothal designed to make her brother Edmund regent of Cyprus.[32] All three betrothals were arranged before she was thirteen, and none passed the stage of negotiation.

Before we leave the question of marriages and consent, it must be noted that it is not always possible to ascertain the age of the brides in royal marriages. The eight Angevin princes were married a total of eleven times, and the ages of seven of their brides, can be confirmed: Margaret of France was three years old,[33] Constance of Brittany was about sixteen,[34] Eleanor of Provence was thirteen,[35] Isabel Marshal was thirty-one,[36] Sanchia of Provence fifteen, Eleanor of Castile was thirteen, and Aveline de Forz eleven.[37] Of the four we are less sure about, Berengaria of Navarre was probably in her late teens or early twenties, Isabel of Gloucester was at least fifteen, Beatrix von Falkenburg was about sixteen, and Isabelle of Angoulême was somewhere between eight and eleven years old. So, of these marriages, only three brides were under the age of consent, namely Margaret of France in 1160, as discussed above; Aveline de Forz, whom Edmund of Lancaster married in the place of her mother in 1269,[38] in order to gain her inheritance; and Isabelle of Angoulême, who was married to

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[30] F.M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1966), p. 232. See also Case Studies, p. 53.

[31] Maureen Purcell, Papal Crusading Policy 1244 – 1291 (Leiden, 1975), p. 110.

[32] Foedera, p. 341.

[33] Warren, Henry II, p. 72.

[34] The exact date of Constance's birth is unknown, but she is generally considered to have been an very young on her betrothal, even referred to as an infant, see Warren, Henry II, p. 101 and Michael Jones, 'Constance, duchess of Brittany,' in The Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004), p. 1.

[35] Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, p. 160.

[36] This was a second marriage for her.

[37] Walter E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Part II,' EHR, 10 (1895), pp. 209-10.

[38] Edmund had been given permission to marry Aveline's mother, Isabel, but married her daughter instead. For this permission, see CPR, *1266-72*, p. 303.

King John in 1200, so that he might thwart the Lusignan family.[39] Therefore it may appear that, these three marriages aside, kings were unwilling to risk marrying their sons in a situation where the match could be dissolved on the bride gaining the age of consent.

While the oldest princess married for the first time was twenty-one, several royal princes were not wed until well into their twenties,[40] and Richard I did not marry until the age of thirty-four, after his accession. In fact, this marriage at twenty-one, for Isabella sister of Henry III, seems to stem from the dismal failures of her first two betrothals, and from her falling victim to the constantly changing members of the Minority and King's council, each with different political agendas. Nevertheless, the concluding numbers are that the average age of marriage for a prince in this period was twenty-two years old, and for a princess, twelve.

Royal Son	**D.O.B.**		**Date, First Marriage**	**Age, First Marriage**	**Age of Partner**	**Age Difference**
Henry the Young King	1155		1160	5	3	-2 years
Richard I	1157		1191	34	Approx. 20	-14 years
Geoffrey	1158		1181	23	16	-7 years
John	1167		1189	22	Approx. 15	-7 years
Average sons of Henry II				21	Approx 13	Approx. -7 years
Henry III	1207		1236	29	13	-16 years
Richard of Cornwall	1209		1231	23	31	+8 years
Average sons of John				26	22	-4 years
Edward I	1239		1254	15	13	-2 years
Edmund of Lancaster	1245		1269	24	Approx. 11	-13 years
Average sons of Henry III				19 ½	12	-7 ½ years
Range of Ages				**5 to 34**		**+8 to –16**
AVERAGE 1154 – 1272				**22**	**16.2**	**Approx. -5 years**

Number of sons married before age of consent = 1

[39] The complicated manoeuvrings around this marriage will be discussed in detail later.

[40] For example Geoffrey was twenty-three, as was Richard of Cornwall, Edmund of Lancaster was twenty-four, and Henry III twenty-nine at their first marriages.

Royal Daughter	**D.O.B.**		**Date, First Marriage**	**Age, First Marriage**	**Age of Partner**	**Age Difference**
Matilda	1156		1168	12	39	+27 years
Eleanor (1)	1162		1170	8	15	+7 years
Joanna	1165		1177	11	24	+13 years
Average daughters of Henry II				10	26	+15 years
Joan	1210		1221	11	23	+12 years
Isabella	1214		1235	21	41	+20 years
Eleanor (2)	1215		1224	8	25	+17 years
Average daughters of John				Approx. 13	29 1/2	+16 years
Margaret	1241		1251	10	9	-1 year
Beatrice	1243		1260	17	21	+4 years
Average daughters of Henry III				13 ½	15	+1 year
Range of Ages				**8 to 21**		**-1 to +27**
AVERAGE 1154 – 1272				**12**	**25**	**+13**

Number of daughters married before the age of consent – 5

As is illustrated by the above tables, in almost all marriages, the husband was older, in some cases significantly older, than his wife. The average age difference between a princess and her husband during Henry II's reign was just over fifteen years and just over sixteen years during John's reign. The largest age gap was between Matilda and Henry the Lion of Saxony, who was twenty-seven years her senior; while this was her first marriage, it was his second. In only one marriage was the princess older than her husband, and then by only about a year, and that was in Henry III's daughter Margaret's marriage to Alexander III of Scotland in 1251. This was also the only marriage outside of that of the Young King 100 years earlier, in which both the bride and groom were below the age of consent. The marriage had been arranged by the groom's father, though, and Alexander had been crowned king at the time of the marriage.

Following this pattern, we find that only one of the royal princes married a woman older than he was, and that was Richard of Cornwall in 1231, when he was wed

almost secretly to the widow of the earl of Gloucester, Isabel Marshal, eight years his senior. The marriage itself was unusual, as Cornwall's marriages tended to be, in that it was arranged by the young earl himself with no thought of the political benefit to the crown.[41] The wives of the other princes were on average eight years younger,[42] with the largest age gap between Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, a sixteen-year difference. Even when one looks beyond the first marriages to all the marriages made by royal children, the groom is consistently older, with only two exceptions, both mentioned above.[43] The average age of the groom for all the marriages was twenty-seven, for the bride fifteen, making an average age difference of twelve years, in favour of the groom.

While considering age, it is interesting to note not only the youngest but the oldest age of marriage. Curiously, all but one of the sixteen royal children pre-deceased their spouse. In some cases it was a second or third marriage, but there is only one case in which any of the royal family remained without a spouse at the end of his or her life, and that is Eleanor de Montfort, sister of Henry III, who lived as a widow for ten years after the death of her husband. This may have been due to the arguably dishonourable manner of his death—losing a battle against the heir to the throne, after which the de Montfort family was exiled from England—or perhaps to her own grief at the death of a husband she defied a king and the Church to marry. Eleanor was also the most long-lived of the eight princesses, living a full eight years longer than had her aunt Eleanor, queen of Castile, the next longest-lived; the average age of death for the other six princess was thirty-one. Eleanor de Montfort and her other aunt Joanna were the only two who out-lived their first husbands to marry twice.[44] The manner of death for all of the princesses is unconfirmed—often the death is only mentioned in passing—though at least two died in childbirth, Joanna[45] and her niece the Empress Isabella,[46] as well as

[41] For details, see 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process', p. 90.

[42] For this number I averaged the marriages of the other princes, leaving out Richard of Cornwall, which is why it varies from that on the table.

[43] These two are Margaret, who was only months older than Alexander III, see above p. 52, and Richard of Cornwall and Isabel Marshal.

[44] Joanna nevertheless left her second husband a widower, dying at the age of thirty-four.

[45] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 96.

[46] CM, IV, p. 175.

Richard of Cornwall's first wife Isabel Marshal.[47] It is unknown how Henry II's other two daughters, Matilda and Eleanor, died, though the latter, as mentioned above, lived to the respectable age of fifty-two. Henry III's sister Joan, queen of Scotland, appears to have died of a lingering illness, at the age of twenty-eight,[48] but there is no information about the deaths of Henry III's daughters Margaret or Beatrice, who died at the ages of thirty-four and thirty-two respectively. For most royal princesses, therefore, their first marriage was their only marriage, and of the exceptions, Eleanor was only twenty-three at the time of her second wedding. The latest age of life at which one finds a princess marrying—in this case re-marrying—is Joanna, who had been widowed at the age of twenty-four and wed her husband, Raymond of Toulouse, seven years later.[49]

Royal males were far luckier in terms of life span. While the youngest died at twenty-seven—Henry the Young King, who died of a painful illness—the oldest lived to the age of sixty-five—King Henry III. The average age of death for the eight princes was forty-nine, with six living into their forties, three into their sixties. The only two who died before the age of forty were the Young King and his brother Geoffrey, both of whom died suddenly and unexpectedly. None died in battle,[50] though many fought in them, and none died a widower. Instead, while some were not wed until far later than their sisters, four nonetheless died whilst still married to their first wife: the Young King, Richard, Geoffrey, and Henry III. John, whose first marriage was annulled, married again almost immediately and remained married until his death, while the other three, whose first wives died, all married again. It is perhaps due to this urgent re-marrying later in life—Edward I found a second wife though he had been married to the first for thirty-six years, and his uncle Richard of Cornwall re-married twice after his first wife's death—that we find royal males marrying up to the age of sixty.[51] Both Edward and Richard were wed at sixty to women at least forty years their junior, extreme examples perhaps of men at the end of their lives wishing to beget more children. They also had the advantage their sisters would not have had, in that whereas

[47] Ibid., p. 2.

[48] CM, III, p. 479.

[49] See 'Case Studies', p. 31.

[50] The 1199 death of Richard the Lionheart at the siege of Chalûs has not been counted as a death in battle, though it was a death through warfare.

[51] See 'Case Studies', p. 44.

it was possible—if perhaps unlikely—to father a child at sixty, it was surprising for a woman to remain fertile past her early forties. The gap created by these late marriages is indeed extreme, though, with the next-oldest grooms of the royal family only in their mid-thirties.[52]

The conclusion one would draw from this whole gathering of facts, then, is that on average, royal girls were married at a younger age than their brothers. While princes might well be betrothed at an early age, the actual marriage ceremonies seldom took place until years later, if in fact they married the first partner to whom they were betrothed. Princesses were just as likely not to marry the first man to whom they were betrothed,[53] but they were still wed at a younger age than their brothers. There are many possible explanations for this, the first being biological—girls mature more quickly than boys, a fact made evident by the earlier age of consent for girls, an age that was based as much on physical as emotional maturity. A younger bride might also be more likely to bear a number of healthy children, as can be seen in the several situations where a bride was significantly younger than her husband—Matilda and Henry the Lion, a twenty-seven year gap; John and Isabelle of Angoulême, a gap of at least twenty-one years; and Richard of Cornwall and Beatrix of Falkenburg, a gap of at least forty years. It was therefore important for a girl to be married quickly, and start having children, to further encourage fertility.

Perhaps equally important, though, was the responsibility fathers would feel to adequately provide for their daughters, or as Georges Duby so aptly put it, 'giving away their daughters and negotiating as best they could their daughters' reproductive potential.'[54] Further, it was expected for a woman to assimilate into her husband's family. Therefore the earlier a girl could be sent to live in the homeland of her future husband, the earlier she could be taught the language and culture. All three daughters of Henry II were sent to their husbands' lands at a young age—Matilda and Eleanor were both eight, Joanna eleven. John's daughter Joan had been sent to live in Lusignan after

[52] John, aged thirty-three at his second marriage, and Richard aged thirty-four.

[53] Only Matilda, Joanna, Eleanor de Montfort, and Margaret married the man to whom they were first betrothed.

[54] Georges Duby, Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages, translated by Jane Dunnett (Cambridge, 1993), p. 7.

her betrothal at the age of four, and Eleanor went to live in Pembroke with her future husband at the age of six. Likewise, Louis VII's daughters Margaret and Alys were handed over to Henry II to be raised alongside their future husbands while still infants; Geoffrey's wife Constance was raised at the royal court in Brittany; and even John's future wife Isabel of Gloucester was brought to court to be raised, most probably alongside other future wives.[55] There were many reasons for a king to keep his sons in close proximity, to raise and train them in the ways of lordship and, in the case of an heir, kingship. Then it was a father's duty to find for his sons a wealthy heiress or king's daughter to bring them land and prestige. For daughters, though, the best thing a father could do was find her an advantageous husband, and send her to him to be raised to young womanhood in the language and customs of her new country.

[55] There is evidence in the Pipe Rolls that Alys and Isabel of Gloucester were kept in the same location, at least later in Henry II's reign, see PR, *34 Henry II*, p. 14.

Chapter Four – Royal Marriage Negotiations: Initiation and Process

The analysis of the initiation and process of marriage negotiations for royal children during the period 1154 – 1272 is hindered in one significant but unsurprising way: lack of information. In several instances, the marriages are only mentioned in passing, with no detail, for example, as to who approached whom, what kind of negotiations took place, or what the outcome was in terms of dower and dowry. Even when we have some evidence it is not always possible to be sure when the first arrangements were made; necessarily those mentioned here are just the recorded instances of initiations and negotiations.

Of the forty-five situations in which negotiations were initiated, for fully twelve of them there is no way to discover who approached whom with any degree of certainty.[1] The others fit into three separate categories: the first is the few instances where marriages were made for the benefit or desire of the partners involved, with no thought to the political benefits of the crown; the second is foreign approach, where a foreign embassy or individual approached the English; the third is the opposite, where it was the English king, or in several cases the Minority Council, who made the first move. Only five situations fall into the first category, while probably eight or nine fall into the second, and nineteen in the third. However, of the foreign initiations, at least three are questionable, and could actually have been made by the English crown.

We will examine first the five situations that were entered into for the political or personal benefit of those involved, and whose negotiation was either secret or not approved by the king. Four of these five were made by two of the siblings of Henry III, Richard of Cornwall and Eleanor, while the fifth was made by his son Edmund. Cornwall's first brush with matrimony came in 1225, when he attempted to negotiate a

[1] These are Henry the Young King and Margaret of France in 1158; Richard and the daughter of the count of Barcelona in 1159; Richard and Alys of France in the 1160s; Eleanor and Alfonso VIII in 1170; John and Isabel of Gloucester in 1176; Joanna and Raymond of Toulouse in 1196; Henry III and Margaret of Scotland in 1209; Joan and Hugh de Lusignan in 1214; Joan and Alexander II of Scotland in 1221; Margaret and Alexander III of Scotland in 1242; Edward and Eleanor of Castile in 1254; and finally Beatrice and John of Brittany in 1260.

marriage for himself with the daughter of the King of León. This could perhaps have been seen as a match that would benefit the English crown, continuing a tradition of Spanish marriages to strengthen English position in Gascony, yet the strict refusal of the council to permit the marriage indicates not only their lack of interest in a Spanish marriage, but also a perhaps that Cornwall's motive was more personal.[2] If curbing Richard's ambition was de Burgh's intention in refusing permission for the Spanish marriage, he failed miserably except in the short-term, for in 1231 Richard married Isabel Marshal, widow of the earl of Gloucester, thereby gaining for himself a secure alliance with the Marshal. While the details of the negotiation are unknown, it is clear from the Annals of Tewksbury that Richard did not consult the king or council as to this marriage, instead creating a match for himself away from the royal circle; 'Isabel countess of Gloucester married Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry king of England, which greatly angered the lord king against him, and he was pacified only a little by the insistence of the bishops and others of his family.'[3] Though he bent to the influence of the king and queen for his second marriage, Cornwall's third marriage, to Beatrix von Falkenburg, also appears to have been made on his own initiative for his own personal reasons, stemming from the support given by her father around the time of Richard's election as King of the Germans.[4]

Cornwall's sister Eleanor seems to have followed his example, and in 1238 married Simon de Montfort, a noble who, though a member of the king's circle, was comparatively lacking in wealth and had only arrived in England to pursue his family's claim to the earldom of Leicester in 1230. The ceremony itself took place in the king's private chapel at Westminster, and was performed by the king's own chaplain, without any council or negotiation ahead of time.[5] The marriage caused an outcry amongst several of the nobles, Richard of Cornwall included, and the king would spend at least ten years negotiating with his sister and her husband over dowry; in fact there is no

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[2] Rot. Litt., p. 83.

[3] AM, I, p. 78: '*Ysabel comitissa Gloucestriae nupsit, iii kal. Aprilis, Ricardo comiti Cornubiae, fratri Henrici regis Angliae, unde valde commotus est dominus rex adversus eundem, et pacificatur paulo post ad instantiam episcoporum, et aliorum familiariorum.*'

[4] For more on this idea, see 'Case Studies', p. 44.

[5] CM, III, pp. 470-71.

information regarding initiation or negotiation until well after the marriage. Clearly it was a match that took place because the bride and groom wished it to.

The fifth and final example of a match proposed for personal gain, and initiated by the couple and not by the English crown, was that of Edmund of Lancaster to Aveline de Forz in 1269. Though he had been granted permission to marry her mother Isabel, the dowager countess of Albemarle, Edmund chose to wed the daughter instead, hoping to secure the lordships of Holderness and Wight, and the earldom of Devon, to which she was heiress.[6] This was the first move by Edmund to find a wife for himself after the failure of the Sicilian Business in the 1250s and early 1260s, and appears to have been of his own making and arrangement.

Moving on, there are nine instances where it appears that a foreign prince sent to the court of the English king and requested that a marriage be made. The first of these was in 1164, when three chronicles all record an embassy coming to England from Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the person of his chancellor, the archbishop of Cologne:

> Similarly came to him messengers of Frederick emperor of the Germans, namely Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, his chancellor, and many other great powerful men, to ask him on the part of the emperor that he give one of his daughters to Henry duke of Saxony, and another to his son.[7] (Robert of Torigni)

> In this year came into England the bishop-elect of Cologne, who supported Pope Paschal III, that he might request in marriage Matilda daughter of the king of the English for the duke of Saxony.[8] (Gervase of Canterbury)

> In the year of the Lord 1165, Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne, who supported Octavianus in the papal schism over Alexander, came to Westminster to king

[6] CPR, 1266-72, p. 303.

[7] Torigni, p. 224: '*Venerunt similiter ad eum legati Frederici, imperatoris Alemannorum, Rainaldus scilicet, archiepiscopus Coloniensis, cancellarius ipsius, et multi alii magni potentates viri, requirentes eum ex parte imperatoris, ut daret unam filiam suarum Henrico, duci Baioariae, et aliam filio suo*.'

[8] Gervase, p. 204: '*Hoc anno venit in Angliam Coloniensis electus, qui et scismaticus, ut Matildem regis Anglorum filiam duci Saxonum peteret in uxorem*.'

> Henry, to accept in marriage Matilda, eldest daughter of the king, for Henry duke of Saxony.[9] (Roger of Wendover)

As is evident in Torigni's text, the archbishop suggested a double marriage: that of Henry II's eldest daughter Matilda to Henry duke of Saxony, and of Matilda's sister Eleanor to Frederick's infant son. Gervase of Canterbury and Wendover, writing in the next century, both mention the involvement of Rainald of Cologne in the schism, perhaps indicating a motive for the marriage, for the archbishop supported the schismatic Paschal III, and likely hoped that through the double marriage, Henry II would do so as well. Henry of Saxony's biographer Karl Jordan supports this claim, that Frederick I sent Rainald to Henry II's court.[10] While the son of Frederick Barbarossa died before his marriage to Eleanor could take place, Matilda was wed to Henry the Lion, less than two years later in early 1168, creating a long-standing alliance between the duke of Saxony and the English royal house.

The marriage of another daughter of Henry II, Joanna, was also initiated by foreign embassy. Though according to Thomas Becket, negotiations had been in progress in the late 1160s for a marriage between Joanna and King William II of Sicily, the archbishop's assassination in 1170 put them on hold.[11] It was not until 1176 that Sicilian ambassadors appeared at Henry II's court at Winchester: 'In that year there came into England messengers from William, king of Sicily...to ask that Henry, king of England give his daughter Joanna in marriage to their lord, King William.'[12] The motive behind their arrival appears to be two-fold; firstly, there was a long-standing history of social and political connection between the two Norman kingdoms of England and Sicily, held together yet further by the significant number of English scholars and churchmen who found a place for themselves in the government of Sicily, for example the friendship of Thomas Becket and the Sicilian Chancellor during William II's minority, Stephen du Perche. Thomas Brown, a prominent member of the

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[9] Wendover, I, p. 39: '*Reginaldus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, qui scisma Octaviani contra Papam foverat Alexandrum, venit apud Westmonasterium ad regem Henricum, accepturus in conjugem Matildem filiam regis primogenitam Henrico duci Saxoniae*.'

[10] Jordan, Henry the Lion, p. 144.

[11] 'Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury to Hubald, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia,' in The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Vol. II, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Oxford, 2000), No. 216, p. 945.

[12] Howden, *Chronica*, II, p. 94.

Exchequer, first served in England under Henry I, then transferred to serve the kings of Sicily for many years, and was described as 'a great man at the court of the king of Sicily,' before returning to England.[13] And finally Peter of Blois, William II's childhood tutor, had also made himself an addition to Henry II's household after leaving Sicily.[14] More important, however, was the urging of Pope Alexander III, who could not afford a potentially disastrous alliance between William II and the German Emperor, with whom Alexander had a long-standing dispute. Romuald of Salerno clearly states that William sent ambassadors to England, 'by the advice of Pope Alexander,' in the spring of 1176.[15]

The suggested alliance of the future Richard I to a daughter of the Emperor also may have come from a German approach, when the archbishop of Cologne and the count of Flanders arrived in England in late summer 1184.[16] Both Karl Jordan and John Gillingham state that Henry II entertained the notion of another Anglo-Imperial match during the time that he was considering marrying Richard's fiancée, Alys, to his other son John, 'the archbishop was to prepare the grounds for a marriage between Richard Lionheart...and the Emperor's daughter Agnes,'[17] and '[Henry] welcomed an embassy from the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and agreed to a proposal for a marriage alliance between Richard and one of the emperor's daughters.'[18] This welcoming of ambassadors is explained both as part of Henry II's efforts to reconcile his son-in-law Henry of Saxony to the emperor,[19] and more importantly as part of his scheme to control the dangerous Richard by threatening to make John his heir. It was also at this time that Henry released Queen Eleanor from prison perhaps in the hope that she might speak to Richard, and that he held Richard in England over Christmas while sending his brother Geoffrey to hold Normandy.[20] The German embassy was a veiled threat to

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[13] Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario*: the Dialogue of the Exchequer, ed. and tr. Emilie Amt (Oxford, 2007), p. 54.

[14] Matthew, The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, p. 116 and Norwich, The Kingdom in the Sun, p. 303.

[15] Romuald of Salerno, p. 268.

[16] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 288.

[17] Jordan, Henry the Lion, p. 184.

[18] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 79.

[19] Jordan, Henry the Lion, pp. 184-5.

[20] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 79.

Richard. However the political entanglement this change of brides would incur was never brought upon Henry, as the German princess died later in the year.

Nearly ten years later, the proposal for John to marry Alys of France arose again, this time at French urging, when Philip Augustus promised to give part of Flanders as his sister's dowry, if John surrendered Gisors and the Norman Vexin.[21] If John had agreed to this proposal, he would have been easily giving up the land his father and brother had been defending for years, and while he certainly entertained it, the alliance was prevented by the interference of Queen Eleanor.[22]

John's first betrothal to Alice of Maurienne also appears to fall into the foreign category, although it is not entirely clear who made the first move in these negotiations. Warren suggests that it was Henry II's idea, an attempt to 'contain the other end of the confused southern problem,' by allying with Humbert of Maurienne.[23] Roger of Howden, though, implies that it was Humbert who approached Henry, at a meeting in the Auvergne in February 1173, 'there came to [Henry] Humbert, count of Maurienne.'[24] It was at this meeting that Henry II granted John the county of Mortain, and afterwards the agreement was made that John should marry Alice and become heir to Humbert's vast lands, 'as the count did not have a son by his wife.'[25] Torigni supports this idea, stating that Humbert 'sent the abbot of Saint Michael de Chiusa to Henry king of England, to arrange a marriage between John son of the king and his daughter.'[26] Warren places this alliance as part of a concerted effort Henry II was making to secure his southern lands, begun by the marriage of his daughter Eleanor to Alfonso of Castile in 1170. He goes on to mention the arrival in Auvergne of the count of Toulouse and the king of Aragon-Barcelona, both eager to discuss the details of Henry's plans for southern France.[27] While Warren's argument is strong that Henry may have approached Humbert, the Gesta Henrici discusses the February 1173 meeting

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[21] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 204.

[22] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 229.

[23] Warren, Henry II, p. 117. An alliance with Maurienne/Savoy would have neatly surrounded the count of Toulouse with Angevin-friendly powers, thereby giving Henry II the upper hand in his southern wars.

[24] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 41: '*Et illuc venit ad eos Hubertus comes de Mauriana*.'

[25] Ibid., p. 41, '*Si praedictus comes filium ex uxore sua non habuerit*.'

[26] Torigni, p. 250. This was Abbot Benedict III of Chiusa.

[27] Warren, Henry II, p. 117.

in more detail, emphasising that Humbert had brought Alice, indicating that an agreement had already been reached or at least suggested.[28]

Also initiated by a foreign embassy was the marriage of Henry III's sister Isabella to Frederick II, in 1235. There is no question that Henry III was enthusiastic about the idea, having suggested matches himself in 1225 and 1227, but Matthew Paris states quite clearly that 'In the month of February, two German Hospitallers came to Westminster with knights and other solemn messengers, from Frederick emperor of the Romans...bearing letters with golden *bullas*, in which he asked that he might be bound in marriage to Isabella sister of the king.'[29]

The final marriage—or, in this case, double marriage—suggested by a foreign embassy was the proposal in 1256 of an English alliance with Cyprus. The proposal seems to have arisen out of Henry III's increasing interest in the Mediterranean during the Sicilian Business in which he endeavoured to gain the throne of Sicily for his son Edmund. The direct approach, however, came from a clerk who arrived in England in June 1256, from Queen Plaisance of Cyprus.[30] The arrangement was to be that Edmund would marry Queen Plaisance herself, while Edmund's sister Beatrice would wed the queen's infant son, King Hughes II.[31] However the negotiations appear never to have reached the stage of formal betrothal.

In all of these cases, the arrival of a foreign embassy to the English court could well have been predicated on communications that no longer survive, suggesting that the embassy would be well-received. As in the case of Humbert of Maurienne and Henry II, it is tempting to assume that some discussion had perhaps already been had regarding proposals before the foreign approach, but overall there is no way to tell for sure who made the first approach, and so chronicles may here be taken at face value.

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[28] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 35-6.

[29] CM, Vol. III, pp. 318-19: '*Mense Februario, venerunt apud Westmonasterium duo Hospitalarii Theutonicorum cum militibus et aliis nuntiis solempnibus, ab Fretherico Romanorum imperatore ad regem Anglorum missi, ferentes literas ipsius auro bullatas, in quibus postulavit Hysabellam sororem regis sibi matrimonio copulandam*.'

[30] Björn Weiler, 'Henry III and the Sicilian Business: a reinterpretation,' in The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Vol. 74 (2001), p. 135 and Foedera, p. 341.

[31] Foedera, p. 341.

The final category to be discussed are marriages where negotiations were clearly initiated by the English king or Minority Council. Nineteen negotiations probably fall into this category, though in the case of several the evidence is not conclusive. Those we can be certain of include the marriage of Geoffrey to Constance of Brittany, proposed—indeed insisted upon—by Henry II as part of his movement to depose the sitting duke of Brittany and absorb the duchy fully into the Angevin Empire.[32] Richard I's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre was almost certainly proposed by Richard himself. He was formally betrothed to Alys of France from the mid-1160s, so even if the marriage to Berengaria was arranged when he was still count of Poitou in the 1180s, as Ambroise suggests,[33] it would have had to be Richard who suggested the match. Certainly the marriage was very much in his favour, for Berengaria's brother was active in defending Richard's southern lands during his absence on Crusade. Richard was also the first to make the suggestion that his sister Joanna, widow of William II of Sicily, marry the Muslim brother of Saladin, Al-Adil.[34] Richard, 'proposed to al-Adil that he take her in marriage, and that he place under his absolute authority the towns of the seacoast,' as Joanna's dowry, with the two reigning over Jerusalem as king and queen.[35] As many believe was Richard's intention from the beginning, however, Joanna refused to marry a Muslim, and the whole idea was forgotten, 'It was then understood that it had all been a ruse on the part of the king.'[36]

Almost all of the marriage alliances suggested for Henry III, both during the Minority and after the start of his personal rule, appear to have come from the English side. The proposal of a double-marriage for Henry III and his sister Isabella, suggested in 1225 by an embassy to the Archbishop of Cologne, was certainly of Henry's making.[37] Matthew Paris indicates that the suggestion made a year later, for Henry III to marry Yolande of Brittany, daughter of Duke Peter, was also of English origin, as he

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[32] Torigni, p. 249. For more on this marriage see 'Case Studies', pp. 23-4 and 'Negotiation', p. 112.

[33] Ambroise, The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart, translated by Merton Jerome Hubert, ed. John L. La Monte (New York, 1941), p. 72.

[34] The nature of this betrothal will be discussed in more detail elsewhere.

[35] Livres, pp. 45-6: '*Le roi d'Angleterre proposait donc à El-Adel de la lui donner en mariage, et de mettre sous son autorité absolue les villes du littoral*.'

[36] Ibid., p. 46: '*On comprit alors que tout cela n'était qu'une ruse de la part du roi*.'

[37] Foedera, p. 176 and Weiler, 'Plans,' p. 174.

mentions the messengers requesting her for the king.[38] It is not clear who suggested the idea of a Bohemian marriage for Henry in 1227. However, as it followed along the same lines as the German double marriage suggested in 1225, it may be supposed that it was Henry's proposal, as he discusses it in a letter to the archbishop of Cologne, dated April 1227.[39] It seems clear that Henry III was the one to suggest a marriage between his sister Isabella and King Louis IX of France, with Maine and Anjou north of the Loire as her dowry, while as part of these same negotiations, he would marry Louis' sister.[40] It was Henry who suggested a betrothal to Jeanne de Ponthieu in 1235, and he is recorded by Matthew Paris as sending Walter, bishop of Carlisle, to the pope to procure a dispensation for the marriage.[41] When he discovered that the French king and his mother were conspiring to prevent the granting of the required dispensation, Henry III turned elsewhere, and requested in marriage the daughter of the count of Provence.[42]

Also initiated by the English, in this case the Minority Council, was the marriage of Henry III's sister Eleanor to William Marshal in 1224, a match which secured the earl from marriage to a foreign bride.[43] It appears to have been Queen Eleanor and her uncle Peter of Savoy who suggested Sanchia of Provence as wife for Richard of Cornwall, further cementing the Anglo-Provençale connection that had profited them both, starting with Eleanor's marriage in 1236.[44] In 1247 Henry III sent messengers to the duke of Brabant to propose a marriage between his son Edward and the duke's daughter, but negotiations were never settled.[45] It was also Henry III who suggested a marriage alliance between his daughter Beatrice and the son of the king of Aragon, as part of the negotiations for Edward I's marriage to Eleanor of Castile, in 1253: 'we appoint...John Mansel to negotiate for the marriage to be contracted between the first-born son of the king of Aragon and our daughter Beatrice.'[46] Finally, as part of the plan

[38] CM, Vol. III, p. 123.

[39] Foedera, p. 185.

[40] DD, no. 215.

[41] CM, III, pp. 327-28.

[42] Howell, Eleanor, p. 12. See also 'Negotiation', pp. 107-8 and 'Case Studies', p. 41.

[43] AM, II, p. 299, and Stacey, Politics, p. 19.

[44] Howell, p. 31 and CM, IV, p. 190.

[45] CM, III, pp. 623-4.

[46] Foedera, p. 290.

to make Edmund king of Sicily, Henry III and his advisors suggested that the prince marry the daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily, thereby gaining the throne on his death or abdication.[47] This move can be seen to parallel Henry II's attempts to find land for John in the late 1160s and early 1170s.

In 1200 there was an embassy sent by King John to propose a marriage to the King of Portugal's daughter, 'whose fame had captured his thoughts.'[48] The embassy, led by the bishop of Lisieux and Hubert de Burgh, is only mentioned in passing by one source, Diceto, and appears to have been dismissed almost immediately as a form of misdirection—Norgate calls it 'a mere blind to divert suspicion'[49]—for the embassy did not even reach Portugal before news came of John's marriage. For, though he was appearing to consider an Iberian marriage, John was in fact plotting to marry Isabelle of Angoulême. Diceto's account of the embassy is openly critical of John, stating that, 'while they were on their journey, without having warned them and taking less care of their safety than was worthy of his royalty, he married Isabelle.'[50]

The several marriages which are discussed last in this category are done so on account of the inconclusive nature of their initiations. Much of King John's infamy has been based on the thought that it was his idea to marry Isabelle of Angoulême and remove her from the hands of her fiancé, Hugh de Brun de Lusignan, because he desired her. Leaving motive aside for the moment, it is entirely possible that the marriage was John's idea, though there is no absolute proof, and could just as easily been that of Isabelle's father, Count Ademar. This is one of the several cases that shows the problem mentioned above of the first step of negotiations not always being recorded or preserved; we can only make educated guesses. The fact we do know is that in July 1200, John called Ademar of Angoulême and his brother Guy of Limoges to Lusignan

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[47] Ibid., p. 360.

[48] Diceto, II, p. 170, '*Dominus Johannes rex Angliae, habens in proposito ducere in uxorem filiam regis Portugalensium, cujus fama animum ejus pellexerat, ad eam perquirendam transmisit a Rothomago illustres et magnificos viros, scilicet episcopum Lisoiensem, Willelmum de Stagno, Radulfum de Ardene, Hubertum de Burch, et alios plures, tam de Anglia quam de Normannia. Sed ipse, eorum saluti minus forte quam regiam deceret magnificentiam consulens, dum essent in itinere, ipsis nec praemunitis, desponsavit Ysabel filiam unicam et haeredam comitis Engolismensis.*'

[49] Norgate, John, pp. 77.

[50] Diceto, II, p. 170.

in Poitou, in order to perform their homage to him.[51] At some point during this visit, the scheme was devised to deprive Hugh of his bride and marry her to John; certainly Ademar remained loyal to John for years after the marriage, but there is no conclusive evidence as to who suggested the arrangement. Howden states that Ademar took Isabelle from Hugh, 'seeing that the king of England desired her,'[52] and Diceto places the blame with John, saying only that he married her.[53] Nicholas Vincent has made a solid argument for the political importance of Angoulême as motivation for the marriage over a sexual motivation on John's part,[54] pointing out that an alliance between Lusignan, La Marche and Angoulême was politically disastrous for the king, thereby making a plan to disrupt this alliance very appealing.

John's first marriage, to Isabel of Gloucester, also cannot be positively determined as having been initiated by the English crown. It seems probable that Henry II suggested marrying his son John to the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, who had no heir and who had been implicated in the 1173/74 rebellion against Henry. As penance for being accepted back into the fold, the earl of Gloucester made John his heir,[55] finally ridding Henry of the worry of providing for John. None of the primary sources make clear who initiated the marriage, but both Diceto and the Dunstable Annals emphasize that the marriage was arranged because the earl of Gloucester had no son,[56] indicating the motive was to provide John with landed wealth. The agreement did somewhat slight the other two daughters of the earl, both of whom were married and were paid off with £100 each yearly, perhaps pointing towards an idea concocted by the king rather than the earl.[57]

If one includes as unknown the marriage of John and Isabel of Gloucester, there are twelve marriages and betrothals where it is unknown or unspecified who initiated

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[51] Rot. Chart., p. 97.

[52] Howden, Chronica, IV, pp. 119-20.

[53] Diceto, II, p. 170.

[54] Vincent, 'Isabella of Angoulême,' p. 168. This idea will be discussed in far more detail later.

[55] Norgate, John, pp. 6-7.

[56] Diceto, I, p. 415: '*Willelmus comes Goecestriae, dum filium non haberet...Johannem filium regis haeredem instituit.*' and AM, II, p. 22: '*Eo tempore Willelmus, comes Gloucestriae, dum filiam non haberat, Johannem, filium Regis, haeredem instituit*.'

[57] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 100.

the negotiations. There are several further marriages, such as those of Beatrice and John of Brittany in 1260, and Eleanor and Alfonso of Castile in 1170, where the marriage itself is barely mentioned in passing; negotiation, motive, and initiation can only be supposed. In both of these cases, the chronicles state only the basic fact, 'In this year...John son and heir to the duke of Brittany...took as wife the Lady Beatrice, daughter of the king,'[58] and, 'Eleanor, daughter of Henry king of the English, was taken to Spain, and was wed to King Alfonso.'[59]

Many marriages seem to have come out of negotiations that were already occurring, usually over claims to land. These include Richard and Alys of France in the 1160s, Joanna and Raymond of Toulouse in 1196, Henry III and Margaret of Scotland in 1209, Joan and Hugh de Lusignan in 1214, the Scottish marriages of 1221 and 1251, and Edward and Eleanor of Castile in 1254.[60] In these situations, the marriages were an added security to a treaty or alliance that needed to be made. They could have been suggested anywhere along the way, and usually benefitted both sides relatively equally; this type of marriage will be discussed in further detail in the negotiation section, below.

What does seem evident in the numbers is the fact that the English crown, both king and the advisors, were eager and willing to use marriages and betrothals to further their political situations. While this is certainly not surprising for monarchs of the time, it is important to note that there were only nine occasions in which we can be sure it was England who was approached. On many of these occasions, the match suggested strongly benefitted the English party: Humbert of Maurienne's 1172/3 proposal would have provided John with an extremely wealthy and powerful lordship; William of Sicily's 1176 proposal made Joanna a queen and encouraged the ties between the country that would provide aid during the Crusade. Philip's suggestion that John marry Alys of France in 1192 was essentially a stepping-stone to the crown, and Frederick II's 1235 proposal to marry Henry III's sister Isabella was the conclusion of an alliance Henry had desired for over ten years. Marriage was an important tool for the Angevins, and it seems that they were interested in wielding it at their own behest, approaching

[58] AM, IV, p. 124.

[59] Torigni, p. 247: '*Alienor, filia Henrici regis Anglorum, ad Hispaniam ducta est, et ab Amfurso imperatore sollenniter desonsata*.'

[60] For more details, see 'Case Studies', pp. 20, 31, 36-7, 44-5, 50-2.

and offering terms suitable to themselves, thereby placing themselves in a strong position. However, they were not above accepting the offer of a foreign ruler, when the proposal was one with clear benefits to the crown.

The idea that the Angevin kings used marriage as an important political tool, being in many cases the initiators of a match, is supported when one takes the next step and examines the full negotiation process. The forty-five cases of negotiation fall into several categories. The first is that in which there is insufficient detail to determine how or why negotiations took place. The second is that in which the marriages were made for personal gain, rather than to benefit the monarchy. The last two categories are closely linked, those in which envoys of one house approached the other for marriage, and finally those in which a marriage arose out of treaty negotiations already taking place.

Only six cases of negotiation are without sufficient detail as to how or why they took place. These include the marriage of Henry II's daughter Eleanor to Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1170, a marriage that was passed over by most of the chronicles, probably due to the overwhelming interest in the murder of Thomas Becket which took place only months later.[61] The marriage of Beatrice to John of Brittany, mentioned above, was also passed over by most chroniclers—the only information we have regarding any negotiation is one letter of Henry III dated May 1259, appointing, 'Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and John Mansel, treasurer...[for] the arranging of the marriage contracted between John, eldest son and heir of the noble count of Brittany, and our daughter Beatrice.'[62] The betrothal of Joan to Hugh de Lusignan in 1214 is an event we know took place, but there is little contemporary record.[63] The suggestion of a marriage between Prince Edward and a daughter of the duke of Brabant was cut off abruptly, according to Matthew Paris—who is the only chronicle to record this

[61] Torigni, p. 247.

[62] Foedera, p. 382, '*Ricardo de Clare comiti Gloucestriae & Hertfordiae, & Johanni Maunsell thesaurio Eborum; Nostram potestam tradidisse ad tractandum, nomine nostro, & finaliter ordinandum super matrimonio, contrahendo inter Johannem, primogenitam filium & haeredem nobilis viri.....comitis Britanniae, & praedilectam filiam nostram Beatricem.*'

[63] Carpenter, Minority, p. 178. The document assigning a dowry to Joan is recorded and will be discussed below, see 'Dower and Dowry', pp. 142-3.

proposal—because, 'certain secret causes impeded their proposal,'[64] though neither Paris nor any modern historian hazards an explanation as to what the secrets might be. The betrothal and subsequent marriage of John to Isabel of Gloucester was likely an arrangement welcoming the earl of Gloucester back into the favour of the king, but there is no evidence regarding any negotiations.[65] And finally, there is the marriage late in life of Richard of Cornwall to Beatrix von Falkenburg, in 1269, for which we can hazard a guess at motivation but not negotiation.[66] In all six of these situations, we may make educated guesses or assumptions regarding negotiations, but there is no concrete evidence to support theories.

Another equally small category into which negotiations fall—only four in this case—is that in which the marriages were made for personal gain, rather than for political advantage to the crown. The first two belong to Richard of Cornwall: his thwarted attempt to marry into the royal family of León in 1225, and his successful venture to ally himself with the house of Marshal through his marriage to Isabel, widowed countess of Gloucester. The León alliance, as argued above, seems to have been Cornwall's effort to find himself a bride due to his interest in Gascony and his increasing age—he was sixteen, an age by which most royal princes were already betrothed if not wed. This was also a marriage that could potentially have been advantageous to the crown, re-establishing the Anglo-Iberian alliance first made by Eleanor and Alfonso of Castile in 1170. Nevertheless, permission to make the marriage was refused,[67] showing perhaps that the marriage was attempted by Richard more for his own personal gain. The marriage to Isabel Marshal caused the government much alarm that Richard was allying himself with a powerful English baron, and drawing him away from the close influence of the Minority leaders.[68] The third marriage in this category is Henry III's sister Eleanor's hasty and almost secretive 1238 marriage to Simon de Montfort, a rash move that the couple was forced to pay for in years of post-marriage negotiations with the king for a proper dowry.[69] The fourth and final

[64] CM, Vol. IV, pp. 623-4: '*Sed quibusdam occultis causis propositum eorum impedientibus*.'

[65] Norgate, John, p. 77.

[66] For more discussion, see 'Case Studies', p. 44.

[67] Rot. Litt., p. 83.

[68] AM, I, p. 78.

[69] CM, III, pp. 470-71. These negotiations will be discussed in further detail later.

arrangement in the personal category was the marriage of Edmund to Aveline de Forz in 1269, an arrangement made to gain more land for the prince, though it was approved by the king.[70]

These two categories therefore account for ten of the forty-five marriages and betrothals. The other thirty-five fall into two categories that are not always easy to distinguish from one another. The first is those situations wherein envoys of one house approached another for marriage, and out of the negotiations for marriage arranged an alliance or treaty of friendship and mutual benefit. Each situation had strong political motive, but was begun on the pretence of arranging a marriage; chronologically, the idea for a marriage came before the idea for the alliance. Negotiations that fall into this category include the double marriages arranged for Henry II's daughters Matilda and Eleanor to the duke of Saxony and son of Frederick Barbarossa, in 1164.[71] There were clear political advantages to both sides: while the emperor sent his envoy to England to request the marriages, the motive was to gain Henry II's support for his side of the papal schism, a motive that points at Rainald of Cologne, a strong supporter of Paschal III, as a significant originator of the idea. Certainly all three of the chronicles that mention the embassy mention Rainald's support, as was seen above.[72] The English political motivation came from assurance that Frederick would never ally with the French crown against the Angevins, and so both sides received benefit from the arrangement. There is also an interesting aspect of this marriage recorded in the Pipe Rolls, in which it is evident that Henry II was paying for the cost of sending his daughter to Germany:

> And for Simon, messenger of the duke of Saxony, 20*s* for his clothing and the same for his expenses. And 20*s* for his companions' budget and 20 for the coffer. For the use of Matilda, daughter of the king, £26, 15*s*. 4*d*. And for gold for making gold plate for the same daughter of the king, £28, 14*s*. And for seven golden saddles and coverings of scarlet cloth, and likewise seven golden bridles, £14. 13*s*. 8*d*. And for one courser and one palfrey for the use of the same daughter of the king, 36*s*...And for cloth for the same daughter of the king for her travels to Saxony, £63. 13*s*. 7*d*.[73]

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[70] CPR, 1266-72, p. 303.

[71] Torigni, p. 224.

[72] Gervase, p. 204, Torigni, p. 224, and Wendover, p. 39.

[73] PR, *13 Henry II*, p. 2.

Just this one entry totals over £138 to be spent on the sending of the king's daughter abroad, indicating the significance and expense of a marriage for the crown. This alliance was re-established in the next generation, with the marriage of Isabella and Emperor Frederick II in 1235, another example of a pact established by a marriage.

A similar alliance was the marriage of Henry II's youngest daughter Joanna to William II of Sicily. The long-standing relationship between England and Sicily was re-established and William would aid Henry when and if he desired to go on Crusade. Also, as is emphasized by Romuald of Salerno, the Sicilian embassy to England was sent 'by the advice of Pope Alexander,' to prevent William II tying himself to the pope's rival, the German Emperor.[74] Joanna's situation is unique amongst her sisters in that Roger of Howden records a more detailed account of the ambassador's arrival: 'Meanwhile arrived in England were messengers of King William of Sicily, namely the bishop of Troia, the bishop-elect of Capaccio, and count Florius, and with them Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen.'[75] The next step was a council, held in London, in which the king, 'consulted with all the clergy, earls and barons of the kingdom,'[76] though it seems unlikely that any council members would object to a marriage so obviously advantageous. There is an interesting and more personal view of the negotiation that arises at this time, and this was William II's insistence that the ambassadors see the princess in person to be assured of her good looks.[77] They travelled to Winchester, where Joanna was residing with her mother, and according to the Pipe Rolls were entertained there by the bishop: 'For the services of the bishop of Winchester, £6. 7*s*. 11*d* for attendance to the messengers of the king of Sicily.'[78] According to the Gesta Henrici, the envoys were pleased with what they beheld: 'having seen the beauty of the girl, and having been pleased beyond bounds by it, they returned to the father of the girl.'[79] The archdeacon of Oxford was also granted a sum of '8 marks for the

[74]Romuald of Salerno, p. 268.

[75] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 115-16.

[76] Howden, Chronica, II, pp. 94-5.

[77] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 115-16.

[78] PR, *22 Henry II*, p. 198.

[79] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 116-17: '*Interim supradicti nunci regis Siciliae, cum vidissent decorum praefatae puellae, et supra modum eis placuisset, redierunt ad patrem puellae*.'

maintenance of the messengers of the king of Sicily.'[80] After the visit to Winchester, the Sicilians formalised the agreement for the marriage, and a group composed of both Sicilians and Anglo-Normans was sent back to William II: 'The bishop of Troia, and with him John bishop of Norwich, Paris, archdeacon of Rochester, Baldwin Buelot, and Richard de Camville were sent on the part of the king to William, king of Sicily, to tell him that the lord king gave to him his daughter.'[81] What this somewhat more detailed record shows is the deal of coming and going necessary to arrange a marriage, including a consideration by the council.

Four of Richard I's marriage arrangements fall into the category of marriages that were at the base of an alliance. The first was his proposed betrothal to the daughter of the count of Barcelona, arranged by Henry II in 1159, 'a pact...that Richard, son of the king, should at the appropriate time take into marriage the daughter of the count.'[82] The count had recently married the queen of Aragon. However, more importantly to Henry, he was also acting as protector to his nephew, Ramon-Berenguer of Provence, thereby bringing him into conflict with the counts of Toulouse, against whom Henry II was planning to wage war in an effort to enforce his wife's rights to the county.[83] A pact of mutual friendship was therefore more than understandable between these two enemies of Toulouse. Though the exact date of Richard's betrothal to Alys of France is unsure, as was discussed above, it was certainly formalised by 1169.[84] Regardless of the date, it would appear that the betrothal was not part of a treaty between the crowns, but merely an additional marriage to secure the union of Margaret and the Young King. The half-hearted proposal to wed Richard to a daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor in

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[80] PR, *22 Henry II*, p. 47.

[81] Howden, Gesta, I, pp. 117: '*Episcopus Trojacensis, et cum eo Johannes Nortwicensis episcopus, et Parisius archidiaconus Rofensis, et Baldewinus Buelot, et Ricardus de Camvilla, mittuntur ex parte domini regis ad Willelmum regem Siciliae, ut intimarent ei quod dominus rex ei concedit filiam suam*.'

[82] Torigni, p. 200. By 'appropriate time' Torigni was likely referring to their age, for Richard was only two years old at this time, though the age of the count's daughter is unknown.

[83] T.N. Bisson, The Medieval Crown of Aragon: a Short History (Oxford, 1986), p. 34 and Gillingham, Richard I, p. 29.

[84] Gervase, p. 132.

1184 was, it would appear, a further effort on both sides to secure German support against the French, though it came to nothing.[85]

Finally, the marriage of Richard to Berengaria of Navarre was clearly a marriage that made an alliance whether it was made by Richard himself or by his mother Eleanor of Aquitaine, as William of Tyre suggests, because, 'she hated the heirs of King Louis of France, her former husband, and she had no desire for her heirs to wed his offspring.'[86] However, the theory that the marriage was Eleanor's idea is convincingly refuted by Gillingham, who argues that Sancho of Navarre would have been rash even to consider a marriage for his sister to a man who was already very publicly betrothed, without 'far-reaching assurances' from that man himself.[87] Richard was still betrothed to Alys of France when the English embassy arrived in Navarre to fetch Berengaria, so the negotiations—the details of which are unknown—between Richard and Sancho of Navarre must have been concluded with enough confidence for the king to release his sister into English hands. It was, as Gillingham points out, 'a splendid match for the daughter of a minor Spanish king,' while Richard was assured that Sancho would protect his southern territories during Richard's absence on Crusade.[88]

Like those of his brother Richard, several of John's proposed marriages were also part of this category. Humbert of Maurienne's proposal to Henry in 1172 that his daughter marry John appears to have been made for the purpose of providing Humbert with an heir, and John with land. Though the details of the negotiations are unknown, it was during the 1173 meeting in the Auvergne that Henry II granted John the county of Mortain. Along with Alice, John became heir to the vast extent of Humbert's land, and while Henry agreed to pay Humbert 5,000 marks, Humbert approached Henry at Limoges several months later to inquire as to what part of the Angevin lands Henry intended to bestow upon John.[89] In reaction, Henry granted to John the three castles of Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau, all important strategic centres in Touraine and Anjou. However, unfortunately for Henry, the latter two castles were held by his eldest son, the

[85] Howden, Gesta, I, p. 319.

[86] Tyre, p. 99.

[87] Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria,' p. 160.

[88] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 126.

[89] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 45.

Young King, whose vehement refusal to give them up was part of the spark for the rebellion later in the year.[90] Though a provision had been placed in the agreement that should Alice die, John would wed one of her sisters, on her death some time in the following year, the arrangement was dissolved. The proposal made by Philip in 1192 that John marry his sister Alys and be granted all of Richard's French land was yet a further attempt by Philip to secure John's loyalty against the captive king, and the ploy would most likely have worked had John's own mother not prevented it. [91] John's sudden marriage to Isabelle of Angoulême also falls into this category. Little is known about the negotiations that must have taken place between John and Ademar, but it seems like that marriage to Isabelle was the primary objective, thereby removing her, and Angoulême, from Lusignan control.[92]

John's son Henry III also attempted a number of marriages in an effort to form alliances. The double marriage proposed in 1225 between Henry and the daughter of the duke of Austria, and Isabella and Henry (VII) of Germany was arranged by an embassy led by Walter, bishop of Carlisle. He was sent to Cologne to suggest the match,[93] the intention—on Henry III's side in any case—to ensure German support for his efforts to regain his continental lands, and to ensure that the French king would not make a similar alliance. The betrothal to Yolande of Brittany proposed in 1226[94] was primarily intended to bring her father to the English side, and open a track for negotiation with Poitou. Along almost identical lines as the 1225 double marriage was a suggestion in 1227 that Henry III should wed the daughter of the king of Bohemia,[95] presumably to form a pact of friendship that would support Henry's continental ambitions. In 1235 Henry's sights fell on Jeanne de Ponthieu, heiress to the small but valuable county lying between Flanders and Normandy. This would have given Henry a solid foothold on the continent, but Louis IX of France was able to convince the pope

[90] Ibid., p. 45.

[91] Turner, King John, p. 38.

[92] Howden, Chronica, IV, pp. 119-20.

[93] Foedera, p. 176.

[94] Ibid., p. 180.

[95] Ibid., p. 185.

to prohibit the match on the grounds of consanguinity.[96] From Ponthieu Henry turned his sights further south, and only a year after showing interest in Jeanne de Ponthieu, married Eleanor of Provence, whose elder sister had recently wed Louis IX.[97] Though Eleanor did not bring a rich dowry, she did bring strong connections to the continent, and 'imperial vassals in Savoy and Provence.'[98] The marriage of Henry III's brother Richard of Cornwall to Eleanor's younger sister Sanchia, in 1243, was a further confirmation of this alliance between England and Provence.

A proposal was made in the early 1220s by the Minority Council to secure the loyalty of the powerful William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. When Hubert de Burgh heard the rumour that the Marshal was intending to wed the sister of Robert, count of Dreux,[99] thereby creating yet another avenue through which foreigners could enter the kingdom, he and the members of the council swiftly made a counter-offer, proposing that the Marshal wed the king's young sister, Eleanor.[100] The negotiations also included elements of the resumption of royal castles by the Minority. For the Marshal, this meant relinquishing Marlborough Castle and the manor of Ludgershall to royal hands, and promising to support de Burgh's marriage to the sister of the Scottish king.[101] The Marshal's reward, though, was permission to retain his lands in Normandy. He was also guaranteed his share of the lands of the count of Perche, which he had been granted in 1218, along with similar grants to the earl of Salisbury and de Burgh.[102]

Finally, marriages for three of Henry III's children also fall into the category of an alliance that grew out of a marriage. That Beatrice marry the son of the king of Aragon was suggested in 1253,[103] as part of the marriage negotiations for her brother

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[96] Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Vol I. (London, 1893), p. 153.

[97] AM, II, p. 316.

[98] Stacey, Politics, p. 180.

[99] DD., No. 140, p. 96. Robert of Dreux was of distant relation to the French crown, being the great-grandson of Louis VI, and was brother to Peter, duke of Brittany, whose daughter Yolande was suggested as a bride for Henry III in 1226.

[100] Carpenter, Minority, pp. 244-5.

[101] Ibid., p. 245.

[102] CR, Vol. I, Henry III (London, 1903), p. 102.

[103] Foedera, p. 290.

Edward and Eleanor of Castile, which began the previous year. Clearly her marriage was meant to be along the lines of her great-aunt Eleanor's 1170 marriage, strengthening the Angevin position in Gascony through ties amongst the Spanish kingdoms. When nothing came of this arrangement, Beatrice was entangled in yet another brother's matrimonial affairs: in 1256, Queen Plaisance of Cyprus sent to England, suggesting a double marriage for herself and her son King Hughes II, with Edmund and Beatrice.[104] The marriage would have been an advantageous one for both children of Henry III; Beatrice would have become queen consort to the infant Hughes, and her children would rule after him, while Edmund would become consort to Plaisance, who had been acting as regent of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem since 1242.[105] Another marriage was suggested for Edmund in 1256, in what was essentially an end to the Sicilian Business in which his father attempted to make him King of Sicily. Though Henry III and Edmund had papal support for their efforts, in the mid-1250s the Hohenstaufen Manfred was ruling in Sicily, and efforts were made to form a treaty through a marriage of Edmund to Manfred's daughter. As part of the agreement, at the time of the marriage Manfred would relinquish his hold on the kingdom, and allow Edmund and his daughter to rule.[106] Unfortunately for Edmund, the plan was refused by council.[107]

Clearly, then, this category is the largest, with twenty-five, or over half, of the arrangements falling into it. This ratio is understandable, for as the king stated in the document confirming the betrothal of William Marshal and Eleanor in 1224, 'we do not have anything more valuable in our treasury than the marriage of our self and our sisters.'[108] No king wished to see the marriage of his children, or siblings, treated lightly, instead marriages should be used to create an alliance, or be an advantage to the throne, and this strategy is evident for all the kings of this period. There is no chronological bias for the marriages; eleven were made during Henry II's reign or for

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[104] Ibid., p. 341.

[105] Simon Lloyd, 'King Henry III, the Crusade and the Mediterranean,' in England and Her Neighbours, 1066 – 1453, eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), pp. 115-16.

[106] Foedera, p. 360.

[107] Lloyd, 'Henry III, the Crusade and the Mediterranean,' p. 115.

[108] DD., no. 140, p. 96: '*Quod nos majorem thesaurum non habeamus quam maritagium nostri ipsius et sororum nostrarum.*'

his children, while fourteen were made during the Minority and reign of Henry III. Though this category accounts for over half of the negotiations, it accounts for less than half of the actual marriages that arose out of negotiations; twenty-one marriages were made by royal children in this period, and eight arose out of the desire to make an alliance. Nevertheless, there were still more marriages made for this reason than for any other, as will be seen below. A marriage was the simplest way to create an alliance between two ruling families, linking their interests from that point on, though as will shortly be seen, it was also an effective method for confirming a truce.

The final category is that in which marriages arose out of treaty negotiations. These are separated from the previous category in that instead of the two parties coming together to arrange a marriage and pact of friendship, in these ten situations the two parties had come together to arrange a truce or treaty, and often negotiations had gone on for some time, only then came a marriage out of that arrangement. In other words, the motive for the first type of alliance was marriage, and for the second type a treaty, which was also confirmed by marriage. For example, in this final category are the three Scottish alliances arranged for the English royal house—first Henry III in 1209, then Joan in 1221 and Margaret in 1251. The Treaty of Norham, arranged between King John and William the Lion of Scotland in 1209, had forced William to pay John 15,000 marks and to abandon his claims on the English counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, while John promised to find husbands for William's two daughters.[109] The eldest, Margaret, was to wed John's heir, Henry.[110] During the wars of 1216/17, though, the Scots took the French side, understandably postponing any marriage,[111] and it was not until 1219 that Alexander II met at York the papal legate Pandulf, part of the Minority Council governing England. [112] One year later, Henry III himself met with Alexander II, along with his councillors, and agreed to a marriage between Alexander himself and Henry's sister, Joan.[113] The following year, the wedding took place at York, and shortly afterwards Henry's justiciar, Hubert de Burgh,

[109] Stacey, Politics, p. 20.

[110] Anglo-Scottish Relations, p. 25.

[111] Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' p. 44.

[112] CM, III, p. 58.

[113] Ibid., p. 66.

wed Alexander's sister Margaret. The Scottish king was forgiven the 5,000 marks outstanding from his father's agreement in 1209.[114] This hesitant peace did not out-last Joan's life, and indeed even before her death in 1238, relations between the two kingdoms began to sour, stemming at least partly from the fall of Hubert de Burgh. Alexander II re-married, to the daughter of a French noble, less than a year after Joan's death. However, in the early 1240s, Henry III's need to defend Gascony and direct his focus there forced him to re-evaluate the situation on his northern border. Matthew Paris records the two kings agreeing that in Henry's absence, Alexander would watch over his northern border, 'with the lord of Durham as intermediary, [and] a betrothal was arranged between Alexander, eldest son of the king of Scotland, and Margaret daughter of the king of England.'[115] Also part of the agreement was a series of manors, transferred to Alexander II, in Cumberland and Tynedale, to encourage the security of the border.[116] The marriage itself was finally brought to completion years later, in 1251.

The betrothal of Henry the Young King and Margaret in 1158 was Henry II and Louis VII's way of cementing the peace agreement regarding lordship over the Norman Vexin. Though Torigni states only that 'peace and marriage' were contracted in the month of August 1158,[117] Howden goes into further detail, discussing the fact that Henry II and Louis 'disagreed on account of a certain division of their land, and on account of the castles of Gisors and Neufles, which were at that time in the hands of King Louis of France, but which King Henry claimed.'[118] Howden goes on to say 'that they were soon pacified in this way: that the king of France should trade his two daughters...for the use of the two sons of King Henry...and he should give the

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[114] Carpenter, Minority, p. 196.

[115] CM, IV, pp. 192-3: '*Domino Dunelmensi internuntio, initiatae sunt sponsalia inter Alexandrum primogenitum regis Scotiae et Margaretam filiam regis Anglorum*.'

[116] Richard Oram, The Reign of Alexander II, 1214-1249 (Boston, 2005), pp. 16-17.

[117] Torigni, p. 196.

[118] Howden, Chronica, Vol. I, pp. 217-18: '*Henricus rex et Lodoveus rex Francorum dissenserunt, propter quasdam terrarum suarum divisas, et propter castella de Gisortio et de Neafle, quae tunc temporis erant in manu Lodovei regis Francorum, quae idem Henricus calumniatus est*.'

aforementioned castles of Gisors and Neufles into the custody of the Templars, until the before-mentioned daughters wed the before-mentioned sons.'[119]

Though Geoffrey's betrothal and subsequent marriage to Constance of Brittany were not developed as part of a treaty, they did come out of Henry II's settling of issues in Brittany. As Judith Everard points out, Henry II had allowed the 'native' ruler of Brittany to remain in charge until such a time as the duke could no longer maintain control, an event that occurred in Brittany in the mid-1160s.[120] In 1166 Henry II led a force into the duchy, quelled the rebellion there, and forced Duke Conan to agree to an abdication. Conan was permitted to retain control of Richmond, while his infant daughter Constance was betrothed to Henry's young son Geoffrey.[121] The arrangement was not so much a negotiation as an order set in place by Henry II; it fits less clearly into this category, but the motive for the arrangement between Henry and Conan was peace, not marriage, and so this match will be left here.

Richard I used his sister Joanna twice as part of peace treaties he was negotiating. The first time was the failed proposal that she marry the Muslim Al-Adil in 1191, as part of the negotiations to end the Third Crusade, discussed above.[122] The second time was more successful, and came as part of the treaty to end his long war with Raymond of Toulouse, in 1196. The Histoire Générale de Languedoc gives the following account of the agreement:

> Raymond, tired of war, resorted to negotiation and sent…to make propositions to Richard, who approved them: thus the peace was concluded between the king of England and the count Raymond, with the following conditions: first, Richard would give up all his claims over the county of Toulouse in the capacity of an heir to the house of Poitiers. Second, he would restore to Raymond the

[119] Ibid., p. 218: '*Sed mox pacificati sunt in hunc modem: quod rex Franciae traderet duas filias suas, quas habebat de uxore sua filia regis Hispaniae, quarum una vocabat Margareta, et altera Alesea, ad opus duorum filiorum regis Henrici, scilicet Henrico et Ricardo, adhuc puerulis minimis: et traderet praedicta castella de Gisortio et de Neafle in manu Templariorum custodienda, donec praedictae filiae desponsarentur praefatis filiis regis Henrici*.'

[120] Everard, Brittany and the Angevins, p. 34.

[121] Torigni, p. 228.

[122] See 'Case Studies', p. 30.

> Querci…Third he would give to Raymond in marriage Jeanne, his sister, widow of William II, king of Sicily, with the Agenois.[123]

It is evident here that the marriage, the third line of the agreement, was less important than the peace agreed in the first two clauses. Perhaps surprisingly, William of Newburgh is the only chronicler who mentions the significance of this treaty:

> The war of Toulouse, which had been an undertaking of the greatest importance to the illustrious Henry, King of the English and his son Richard, and had tired out the strength of many for forty years, ended by the mercy of God at this same time. For the count of Saint-Gilles, having concluded his agreement with the king of the English, married with great honour his sister...and in this way lulled the inveterate hatred that existed between them.[124]

Henry II, as Newburgh points out, had spent a good deal of time and energy attempting to enforce his wife's claim over Toulouse, and Richard's first marriage to Berengaria of Navarre had been made primarily to protect Gascony from the threat of Toulouse during the Crusade. There is no question that this treaty, sealed with a marriage, was a strong diplomatic victory for Richard.

Later generations also saw marriages arise out of treaties. In 1229, a five-year peace treaty arranged by Richard of Cornwall and Louis VIII came to an end, and Henry III sent an embassy to Paris to arrange, if possible, 'the terms of a more lasting peace.' [125] His proposals survive in a document which suggests four possible outcomes:

> Firstly it is proposed that all lands across the sea be returned to the king of England except Normandy, and one or two bishoprics, namely the bishoprics of Avranches and Coutances, should be retained for the use of the king [of England], for passing through to the said lands.
> Second proposition thus: that the same form shall be preserved for the said lands and Normandy, excluding the said transit.

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[123] Devic and Vaissete, Histoire Général de Languedoc, pp. 173-4. See also M. Guillaume Catel, Histoire des Comtes de Tolose (Toulouse, 1623), p. 223.

[124] Newburgh, p. 491: '*Bellum quoque Tolosanum, quod illustri Anglorum regi Henrico et filio ejus Richardo res summi negotii fuerat, et per annos quadraginta vires multorum attriverat populorum, eodem tempore, Deo propitio, expiravit. Comes enim Sancti Egidii, pactis cum rege Anglorum celebratis, sororem ejus, quae olim regi Siciliae nupserat, et eo praemature defunct ad fratrem redierat, cum ingenti Gloria conjugem duxit, atque hoc modo inveteratum illud odium conquievit*.'

[125] Stacey, Politics, p. 167.

> Third proposition thus: If the forms of the before-said can be emended by the marriage between the kings and their sisters, they shall be amended, as may be considered better to be expedient, either by one marriage portion or by two.
> Fourth proposition: If none of these forms are accepted, Normandy shall remain *in perpetuum* [with the king of France] and the below lands shall be given as *maritagium* with the sister of the king of England, namely Anjou on this side of the Loire and all of Maine, that is, if he shall have heirs, it shall remain with the heirs. And if he does not have an heir, it shall return to the king of England.[126]

This document shows that, ideally, Henry wished to settle the affair without the necessity of a marriage—he was even willing to give up his claim to Normandy and settle for Poitou and Gascony, an outcome that would mostly likely have seemed incomprehensible to his father. Henry may have seen himself in the stronger position here, for before sending envoys to Paris he had re-opened negotiations with the duke of Brittany for marriage to his daughter, and Louis IX's supporters were squabbling amongst themselves.[127] The third clause, detailing the double marriage between Henry III and the sister of Louis IX, and Louis and Henry's sister Isabella, was perhaps the most reasonable proposal, though if Henry suggested Normandy as his sister's dowry, one could understand the French king's reticence to agree, for the English had not held anything but a claim to Normandy for fifteen years. Finally, the fourth clause, naming Anjou and Maine as Isabella's dowry, also appears to be a bit of a long shot, with Henry again appointing lands he did not have direct control over, instead apparently conceding their loss to the king. None of the four proposals appealed to the French, however, and Louis IX and his mother, the regent Queen Blanche, refused the English attempts at a treaty.

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[126] DD, No. 215: '*Prima proposito: In primus proponatur quod omnes terre transmarine reddantur regi Angliae preter Normanniam, et de Normannia retineatur ad opus regis unus episcopatus vel duo ad transitum habendum ad terras predictas scilicet episcopates Abbricensis et Constantiensis. Secunda proposito sic: Quod eadem forma servetur de terris predictis et de Normannia, excluso predicto transit Tercia proposito sic: Si forme predicte possint emendari per maritagium inter reges et sorores suas, emendantur sicut melius viderint expedire vel per unum maritagium tantum vel per duo maritagia. Quarto proposito: Si nulla istarum formarum acceptetur, remaneat Normannia imperpetuum et terre subscripte dentur maritagium cum sorore regis Anglie scilicet Andegavia citra Ligerum et tota Cenomannia, ita quod, si habeat heredem, remaneat heredi*.'

[127] Stacey, Politics, pp. 167-8.

Finally, the marriage of Prince Edward to Eleanor of Castile in 1254 also appears to have arisen out of a peace treaty. In 1252, Alfonso X was crowned King of Castile, and unlike his predecessors asserted the rights over Gascony, gained by Henry II's daughter Eleanor's marriage to Alfonso VIII in 1170. Shortly after his accession, Alfonso X was successful in stirring up a rebellion in Gascony, leaving Henry III with no option but to set out immediately in an attempt to quiet the rebels.[128] At the same time, an embassy was sent to Alfonso headed by one of Henry III's most prominent advisors, John Mansel, endeavouring to settle the dispute through a marriage between Edward and Alfonso's sister Eleanor. There is no direct evidence as to the details of the first English offer, but whatever it was, the king of Castile had several demands of his own, including the wish to knight Edward personally, and his insistence that Eleanor be dowered sufficiently for a woman of her standing. Mansel was sent away to detail another treaty.[129] In February 1254 he returned to Castile, accompanied by Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, another of the king's closest councillors, and at this time a peace agreement was signed, though no mention of marriage was made in that document.[130] The Annals record Queen Eleanor travelling with Prince Edward to Gascony some time in 1254.[131] Finally, the rumours of a rebellion instigated by Alfonso X's brother seem to have urged the Castilian king to settle on an agreement with Mansel, soon after the resumption of negotiations. Edward was settled with lands worth 15,000 marks a year,[132] then in March Alfonso finally gave up his claims to Gascony.[133] Several months later, Edward travelled to Castile where he was knighted by Alfonso along with several of his companions, and on 1st November married the king's sister.[134]

It is interesting to note that of the ten negotiations in this category, five were with members of the French crown or nobility, distinct evidence of the strong Angevin connection to their continental lands. In each situation, though, the king of England

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[128] AM, IV, p. 104.

[129] John Carmi Parsons, Eleanor of Castile (London, 1995), p. 13.

[130] Foedera, p. 295.

[131] AM, IV, p. 442.

[132] Foedera, p. 296.

[133] Ibid., p. 298.

[134] CM, V, pp. 449-50.

met, or sent envoys, to an opponent in war—or a possible one—and, as part of a peace treaty, arranged a marriage. Several more conclusions may be drawn from this analysis. There are no marriages for personal gain made by any of the children of Henry II—each one has a clear political motive, made for the good of the kingdom. Even those marriages made by the children as adults—such as John to Isabelle of Angoulême, Richard to Berengaria of Navarre, and Joanna to Raymond of Toulouse—were done for political reasons, a fact perhaps due to strong kingship at the time. Also, three of the four marriages made for personal gain were made by siblings of Henry III, perhaps indicating weakness either of him or of the Minority Council ruling in his stead, at least as regards using the royal family for marriage. One should not be too swift to assume weakness, though, for all four of Henry III's children were used to create alliances.

For those in which we can determine a duration, negotiations themselves generally lasted for less than or roughly one year, consisting of envoys and letters passing back and forth. The negotiations for the double marriage between Matilda and Eleanor, and Henry the Lion and Prince Frederick, appear to have been conducted over the winter months between 1164-5,[135] while Humbert of Maurienne and Henry II took several months to sort out the details of the betrothal between Alice and John, between Humbert's proposal in 1172 and his visit to Limoges later in 1173.[136] Negotiations for Joan's marriage to Alexander II of Scotland took place in earnest from 1220 almost until the actual marriage in 1221, due to the problem of whether Joan would be freed from the custody of Hugh de Lusignan.[137] Also notable are the exceptions, where negotiations were carried out over longer periods of time. One of these is the two-year negotiation between Henry III and Alfonso X of Castile, a situation drawn out by the complicated nature of both kings' claims to Gascony. Also, it could be said that negotiations were drawn-out regarding the marriage of Richard and Alys of France, for their ultimately failed union was an object of debate between the kings from the time of their betrothal in the 1160s. The argument was actually more about the fact that the

[135] Torigni, p. 224 and Jordan, Henry the Lion, p. 144.

[136] Howden, II, pp. 41-2 and 45.

[137] Carpenter, Minority, p. 196.

marriage did not take place, and stemmed from Louis VII and then Philip's increasingly desperate attempts to force the marriage.[138]

It is also worth observing that while clearly the kings were involved in negotiations, as were the kings and nobles on the non-English side, there were also a number of envoys and emissaries sent both to and from the English kings. In some cases, where the names of the men are known, these emissaries were high churchmen, and noted advisors to the king or baron from which they came. Frederick Barbarossa's chosen emissary, at least during Henry II's reign, was his chancellor the archbishop of Cologne, while later emissaries from Frederick II in 1235 included 'two German Hospitallers' that are otherwise unnamed.[139] William II also used several churchmen for his embassy to England, namely the bishops of Capaccio and Troia, as was seen above, and also Count Florius of Camerota, his justiciar.

During Henry II's reign, though, it would appear that he was often present and part of the negotiations himself. He is named by chroniclers in negotiations for the marriage of the Young King, reception of the German embassy in 1164, the Sicilian embassy in 1176, and Humbert of Maurienne in 1172/3.[140] Indeed there is only one instance during his lifetime in which we cannot be sure that Henry was present during negotiations, and that is the arrangement of Eleanor and Alfonso VIII, about which no details are known. Richard, too, is likely to have arranged his marriage to Berengaria of Navarre himself, due to the almost secretive nature of the marriage, and was personally involved in the arrangements for Joanna's betrothal to Al-Adil and the marriage to Raymond of Toulouse.[141] John appears to have been present at negotiations, as was necessary due to the clandestine nature of his second marriage to Isabelle of Angoulême, an arrangement that broke her engagement to another man.[142] Indeed the one time he did send emissaries, to the king of Portugal, it seems quite evident that he had no intention of following through with the arrangement. Diceto names the officials as including the bishop of Lisieux—who according to the chronicler had not long

[138] The details regarding the drawn-out series of problems regarding Richard and Alys will be discussed later.

[139] CM, III, p. 318.

[140] See 'Case Studies', pp. 18, 28 and 31-2.

[141] See 'Case Studies', pp. 30-1.

[142] Norgate, John, p. 76.

confirmed John's separation from his first wife—and Hubert de Burgh.[143] The bishop of Lisieux was an adherent of the Angevin kings at least since Richard's reign, and had sided with the king against the archbishop of Rouen in the late 1190s when Richard had seized the archbishop's lands.[144] However, as John married Isabelle before this group even reached Portugal, it is easily supposed that John had no intention of arranging a marriage.

Henry III was far more likely than his predecessors to send emissaries to arrange marriages. Understandably, during the Minority, the various regents took charge of arranging marriages: the papal legate Pandulf began arrangements for the marriage of Joan to Alexander II of Scotland, while his fellow regent Hubert de Burgh attempted to release Joan from captivity in order to allow her marriage.[145] Pandulf had been entrusted with the care of the king by the regent Earl Marshal,[146] and on his death in May 1219 had, along with the justiciar de Burgh and bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, taken control of the government.[147] It was therefore most appropriate that he and de Burgh would be central in the arranging of any marriages around this time, and indeed most unlikely that they would have entrusted such a task to anyone else. It was also at this time that de Burgh arranged the marriage of Eleanor to William Marshal.[148] De Burgh was still advisor to Henry at the time of the proposed double match with the royal house of France, in the late 1220s, though it is unknown what part he played in the negotiations. Remembering that de Burgh was sent as part of the sham embassy to Portugal in 1200, he was involved in marital negotiations for the English crown for over twenty years.

After de Burgh's fall from favour, Henry III used John Mansel to carry out several matrimonial dealings. Mansel was one of the king's English clerks who had risen in influence after the 'administrative revolution' of 1232, which brought a number of clerks from the lower clergy into prominence in the royal court. He started out as a clerk of the Exchequer and quickly rose in stature, becoming one of the wealthiest

[143] Diceto, II, p. 170.

[144] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 344.

[145] Carpenter, Minority, p. 152.

[146] Ibid., p. 106.

[147] Ibid., p. 128.

[148] Stacey, Politics, p. 19.

clerks of the era. [149] By the 1240s he was one of Henry III's trusted councillors,[150] and in 1242 had been named 'keeper of Gascony.'[151] Then in February of 1243 he was appointed the seneschal of Gascony,[152] posts which may have increased his interest in the Castilian negotiations of which he was to be a part. In May of that year he was named the Chancellor of St Paul's in London.[153] He was leader of the embassy sent to Brabant in 1247, swift to end though it was, when he and his company were sent home after learning about 'certain secret causes'.[154] In May 1259, Mansel was also one of two men—the other being Richard de Clare—given the power to arrange the marriage of Henry's daughter Beatrice to John of Brittany.[155] Mansel was also central to the long negotiations between England and Castile during the early 1250s, and in his article on Mansel, Joseph Baylen even goes so far as to claim that the marriage was Mansel's idea,[156] though he also calls Henry III, 'chronically dependent on others for ideas.'[157] Certainly Baylen points out the extreme danger posed by Castile to English claims in Gascony, and Mansel's involvement in Gascony in the 1240s may point to him as a possible instigator for the plan, but there simply is no way to tell whether or not it was his idea to create a marriage alliance. Either way, Mansel does appear to have earned the title of the king's 'most trusted and honoured messenger.'[158]

Also part of the later negotiations were the bishops of Bath and Hereford. The bishop of Bath and Wells in 1253, when he was involved in the marriage negotiations for Beatrice in Aragon, was William de Bitton, former archdeacon of Wells, who was confirmed to the see by the king in May 1248.[159] In December 1249 he was sent 'beyond the seas' in the service of the king, and in November of following year was

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[149] Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254,' p. 483.

[150] Stacey, Politics, p. 253.

[151] Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254,' p. 484 and CCR, *1237-42*, p. 345.

[152] CCR, *1237-42*, p. 361.

[153] Ibid., p. 377.

[154] CM, IV, p. 623.

[155] Foedera, p. 382.

[156] Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254,' p. 486. Baylen's argument is essentially that Mansel turned around Henry III's policy in Gascony to focus on making a treaty with Castile.

[157] Ibid., p. 482.

[158] AM, III, p. 188.

[159] CPR, *1247-58*, p. 14.

appointed, along with the bishop of Hereford, 'as the king's proctor in the court of Rome, touching on the Crusade and other matters.'[160] So, clearly, de Bitton was an experienced negotiator on the king's behalf, a natural to be part of marriage negotiations for his daughter. The bishop of Hereford mentioned in the above negotiations was even closer to the throne, in the person of Peter d'Aigueblanche, a Savoyard who had come to England with Queen Eleanor in 1236. He swiftly became a chief diplomat and counsellor to Henry III, was keeper of the king's wardrobe,[161] and was sent to Provence in 1242 to feel out the prospect of a match between Sanchia of Provence and Richard of Cornwall, for which he was granted 200 marks.[162] Furthermore, he was part of the final negotiations for the betrothal of Edward to Eleanor of Castile, working along with John Mansel.[163]

What is expressly evident in this list of bishops and clerks is that Henry III often extended to subordinates the negotiation for the marriages of himself, his siblings and children, but that he did so only to men whom he trusted fully. All of these men were close counsellors to Henry, who had taken on diplomatic missions for him on many occasions. Another presence slowly coming to the forefront in marriage negotiations by the 1240s was Queen Eleanor, clearly another figure greatly trusted by the king.[164] She took several marriage arrangements into her own hands, including, arguably, that of Richard of Cornwall to her sister, Sanchia of Provence. The queen's influence on Richard on this occasion is in question, for while it makes sense that she should want to secure Richard's loyalty by tying him to the royal house, there are also historians who believe that he met and fell in love with Sanchia on his way back from the Holy Land in the early 1240s.[165] Nonetheless it seems likely that Richard would have been strongly encouraged in his endeavour by the queen and the bishop of Hereford. [166]

The conclusion one can make from this gathering of facts is that clearly, marriages and betrothals were central tools for use by the Angevin kings. In thirty-five

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[160] Ibid., pp. 54 and 80.

[161] CPR, *1232-47*, p. 240.

[162] Ibid., p. 275.

[163] Foedera, p. 295.

[164] AM, III, p. 188.

[165] Howell, Eleanor, pp. 33-34, discusses the idea, and Cox, The Eagles of Savoy, p. 114.

[166] Foedera, p. 295.

out of forty-five cases, marriages were either the reason for or at least central to treaties and alliances between princes. In at least ten of those cases, the marriages were central to preventing or ending wars. Because of their importance, kings were seldom willing to relinquish control over the negotiations, and in most circumstances were personally involved in arranging the terms. Even when the king was too busy or too far away from the proceedings, he sent only his closest and most trusted advisors to negotiate for him. While the details of negotiations are almost never preserved, from the few instances where we can see the process, it is evident that the marriages were central to foreign and domestic policies, to war and peace and sovereignty, and to prestige.

Chapter Five – The Ending of Betrothals

Of the forty-five betrothals and proposals made for royal children between the years 1154 and 1272, only twenty-one, or less than half, made it to marriage. In this chapter I will address what happened to the other twenty-four, that is, how or why the betrothals ended. There are three groups into which these unfulfilled betrothals fall: those in which the betrothal was never confirmed but only proposed; those in which one party or the other broke off the betrothal, and those in which one of the couple died, ending the betrothal. The second group will be looked at most closely, but the other two deserve consideration as well.

The first category is the largest: those in which a betrothal was suggested but, for one reason or another, never confirmed or the negotiations abandoned. There are, it should be noted, a number where we do not know for sure why the betrothal negotiations were abandoned. The first is the betrothal of Richard and a daughter of the count of Barcelona, in 1159. The chronicles mention Henry II allying with the count, and the proposal for a marriage between their children, but it cannot be confirmed whether or not an official betrothal was arranged. Torigni's account states that the two men 'entered into a pact...that Richard, son of the king, should at the appropriate time take into marriage the daughter of the count,'[1] indicating perhaps that a formal agreement was reached. However, neither Torigni nor any other chronicler mentions this treaty again, and the idea seems, to quote Gillingham, to have, 'vanished from the pages of history.'[2]

The next proposal that was made, and even from the beginning may have been made in jest, concerned a betrothal between Richard's sister Joanna, the dowager queen of Sicily, and the Muslim brother of Saladin, Al-Adil. The context of the betrothal was the truce negotiation between Richard I and Saladin during the Third Crusade, in 1191, and most historians seem to agree that Richard never intended his offer to be taken

[1] Torigni, p. 200: '*Amicitiae foedus datis sacramentis hoc pacto inierunt, quod Ricardus, filius regis, filiam comitis tempore opportuno esset ducturus*.'

[2] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 30.

seriously.[3] The contemporary Muslim chronicler, Baha al-Din also stated that Saladin never believed the terms of the negotiation, stating, 'the king of England would not agree to them at all, and that it was intended to mock and deceive him.'[4] Despite this lack of trust, Saladin accepted the proposal, according to Baha al-Din. The only European chronicler to mention the arrangement, the Continuation of William of Tyre, claimed that Saladin in fact refused the proposals, for he, 'feared that if the marriage were to take place he would lose everything that he had won.'[5] This would seem to indicate that he did not trust his brother, al-Adil, to remain loyal to him after the marriage, and yet this seems unlikely as Saladin was trusting the entirety of the negotiations to him. However, on hearing that she was to marry a Muslim, Joanna threw what to the modern reader might be considered a Plantagenet temper tantrum, inspired mainly, according to the eastern chronicle, the romantic Livres de Deux Jardins, by the prodigious numbers of priests and monks escorting her at the time, and 'thus [she] went back on her word about the plan, and refused her consent.'[6] It seems likely that this is exactly what Richard had intended, for it gave him the ability to return with the suggestion that Al-Adil convert to Christianity. This suggestion, on top of the fact that the pope's permission would be required for the re-marriage of a widow, meant that the idea for Joanna's betrothal disappeared: 'it was understood that it had all be a ruse on the part of the king.'[7]

The following year, in the winter of 1192/3, another proposed marriage came about but was never confirmed, and this was the betrothal of Prince John to Alys of France, former betrothed of Richard and sister to King Philip Augustus. Howden states that Philip suggested the match, offering John the king's lands in Flanders as his sister's dowry, and all of Richard's lands on the continent. John, for his part, did homage to Philip for 'Normandy and other lands of his brother across the sea,' and in a move that would have been unthinkable to Henry II and Richard, both of whom had spent much time and energy defending Normandy, John, 'promised to the king of France Gisors, in

[3] Ann Trindade, Berengaria: in Search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen (Dublin, 1999), p. 104; Rosebault, Saladin, Prince of Chivalry, p. 279.

[4] Baha al-Din, p. 188.

[5] Tyre, p. 120.

[6] Livres, p. 46: '*La princesse revint donc sur ces projets et refusa son consentement*.'

[7] Ibid., p. 46.

perpetuity, and all of the Norman Vexin.'[8] Fortunately for Richard, his mother Queen Eleanor and the Justiciars were looking out for him, and prevented John from gaining any significant support in England.[9] Richard was released in 1193, and John was forced to flee back to Philip. The fact that John was actually married at this time could also have caused a delay, though this marriage was not an insurmountable hurdle. Indeed, the 1189 marriage to Isabel of Gloucester had been strongly objected to, particularly by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[10] due to the couple's relations within the prohibited degrees. It may not, therefore, have been seen by John as more than a minor inconvenience.

By 1200, only months after his coronation, John was granted his divorce, and there is a suggestion in Ralph of Diceto that he wished to marry the daughter of the king of Portugal. At least the chronicler seems to believe this, stating that the king sent an impressive embassy of men, 'namely the bishop of Lisieux, William of l'Etang, Ralph of Arden, Hubert de Burgh, and many others, both from England and from Normandy,' to Portugal to ask for the daughter of the king, 'whose fame had captured his thoughts.'[11] Whether this was a genuine proposal or a smoke-screen to conceal John's real plans, the embassy was cut short when, shortly after their departure, John married Isabelle of Angoulême, ending her own betrothal to Hugh de Lusignan.

Continuing on to the next generation, both Henry III and his brother Richard of Cornwall experienced foiled betrothal plans. In 1225, the Minority Council of England endeavoured to arrange a double alliance with the Empire, namely a marriage between Frederick II's son, Henry (VII), and Princess Isabella, while Henry III would marry a daughter of the duke of Austria. The motive for this marriage, as discussed elsewhere, was German support for English campaigns on the Continent, but unfortunately the end of the negotiations came swiftly, after the primary German adherent of the idea, the archbishop of Cologne, was murdered in November 1225. Shortly afterwards, the prince Henry himself married the daughter of the duke of Austria, effectively ending the English council's plans. While there certainly was prestige involved for a duke of

[8]Howden, Chronica, III, p. 204.

[9] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 236.

[10] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 6.

[11] Diceto, II, p. 170.

Austria in marrying his daughter to Henry III, it was even more advantageous to have her married to the son of the emperor, while the emperor himself was understandably reluctant to ally with England, when doing so might upset his wish to bring about peace between that country and France.[12]

Richard of Cornwall also had his first attempt to find a wife for himself ended in 1225. He was sixteen years of age at the time, and had proposed the marriage on his own initiative probably due to the fact that the Minority Council had not yet done so. His proposed wife was the daughter of the King of León, the one example of a Spanish alliance attempted in Henry III's generation, but Richard had evidently requested permission of the council, permission which was firmly denied: 'It is our counsel and that of our magnates that there are many rational reasons, shown to you, why this marriage should not be made in any way.'[13] There is no evidence what these reasons were, though it seems entirely possible that the council wished both to plan a marriage for Richard closer to home, and to curb his independence.[14] However, as is seen elsewhere, it was unsuccessful on both counts.[15]

Henry III was disappointed again in 1229, when he attempted to arrange another double marriage, with the royal house of France. While in the midst of peace negotiations, he suggested that his sister, Isabella, should marry Louis IX, and he would wed the French king's sister. While two separate diplomatic documents record proposals made by the king,[16] Louis IX and his mother, the regent Queen Blanche, never agreed to the proposals, and no mention of the idea can be found in chronicles.

Another betrothal about which very little was said is the match proposed in 1247 between Prince Edward, son and heir of Henry III, and Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Brabant. Matthew Paris records the sending of an embassy, led by John Mansel, to Brabant, to propose the marriage. However, even his account of its ending is unclear: 'certain secret causes impeded their proposal, so sadly they returned to their empty

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[12] Plans, p. 185.

[13] Rot. Litt., p. 83.

[14] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, pp. 6-7. Curbing of independence seems to be the explanation of most historians; certainly none venture any other thoughts as to what the reasons might be.

[15] Richard married in 1231 a woman of his own choosing, see 'Case Studies' p. 42.

[16] DD, nos. 174 and 215.

saddles.'[17] No other chronicle sheds more light on the subject than he, and no historian suggests what this secret might have been.

Edward's brother, Edmund, endured several attempts at betrothal that were never confirmed. Around June 1256, the proposal was made for Edmund to wed the daughter of Manfred, ruling king of Sicily. Though Henry III had been endeavouring to secure the throne for Edmund for several years, a move that would have overthrown Manfred,[18] the 1256 proposal would have ended any potential war between the English and Manfred. Edmund was to marry Manfred's daughter, at which time Manfred would hand the kingdom over to Edmund.[19] The idea garnered little support in the *curia*, and was dropped.[20]

Also in 1256, perhaps even at the same time as the Sicilian negotiations were taking place though certainly before September, an embassy arrived in England from Queen Plaisance of Cyprus. The embassy proposed a double marriage between Edmund and the queen, and Edmund's sister Beatrice and the queen's young son, Hughes II.[21] The advantages of this marriage for the English were clear—Edmund would rule Cyprus with Plaisance until Hughes came of age in 1267, while Beatrice would be queen consort. Either way, the marriages would have been the base for long-lasting English influence in Cyprus.[22] This proposal never seems to have reached a formal stage, though, and there are no more records of negotiations.

The second category is perhaps the most intriguing, for it holds those betrothals that were official, or close to official, but were ended by one party, on occasion quite dramatically. The arguably most dramatic ending to a betrothal is the earliest in this category, that of Richard and Alys of France. It is also by far the longest and most drawn-out betrothal of any of the time, lasting from the mid-1160s—the exact date of

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[17] CM, IV, pp. 623-4.

[18] Manfred was the illegitimate son of Frederick II who had been ruling in Sicily since the Emperor's death. The pope, in an effort to end imperial control over Sicily, had appealed to various princes of Europe to conquer Sicily, though only Henry III had shown any real interest, to gain the throne for Edmund. However by 1256, no military move had yet been made.

[19] Foedera, p. 360.

[20] Walter E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Part I,' EHR, 10 (January 1895), p. 21.

[21] Foedera, p. 341 and Weiler, 'Henry III and the Sicilian Business: a reinterpretation,' p. 135.

[22] Lloyd, 'King Henry III, the Crusade and the Mediterranean,' p. 115.

their betrothal is unknown—until 1191. While Howden states that Alys and Richard were first betrothed in 1161, he mentions it in concurrence with the betrothal of Richard's older brother to Alys' older sister, a betrothal we know took place in 1158, when Alys was not yet born. Howden may have confused a betrothal in 1161 with the earlier betrothal, and supposed that both took place at the same time, an idea that is perhaps supported by the fact that no other betrothals were arranged for Richard for the whole of that decade.[23] Gervase of Canterbury mentions the betrothal being made in 1169, at the time Richard was promised the duchy of Aquitaine,[24] and by the 1170s a betrothal between them is taken for granted, with only the terms in debate, so it is possible to place an official betrothal any time between 1161 and 1169. By the 1180s, the kings of France were becoming increasingly anxious as to why Henry II had not yet allowed a marriage between Alys and Richard. It is perhaps understandable, during the 1170s, that he would not have forced a union—Alys was born in 1159, so would not have been ready for marriage until the middle of that decade. However, Howden's record of the 1180s is peppered with references to Henry II meeting Philip Augustus—King of France since 1180—and negotiating the marriage, each time with Philip becoming more and more incensed that his sister was not yet married.[25] Much of this came from the fact that, after the death without heir of the Young King in 1183, the king of France argued that the Norman Vexin should be returned to him, along with his sister Margaret, the Young King's widow. Henry II tried to transfer the dowry to Alys, but Philip was unwilling to assent to this until the marriage was finalised. Eventually in early 1189, after Richard and Philip had joined together against Henry II, the old king was forced to agree to the marriage, and made Richard his heir.[26] At the time of Henry's death in July 1189, Richard had still not married Alys, and there is some question, at this point, if he had the intention of doing so. Certainly, by early 1190 at the latest, he must have had plans in the works for his alliance with Navarre. Whether he had truly fallen in love back in the 1180s, as is claimed by Bertran de Born and

[23] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218. As was discussed elsewhere, it was unusual for a prince to go un-betrothed, especially at a young age, and particularly in a decade where Henry set up a number of other marriage alliances. Instead it seems more likely that a betrothal was arranged in 1161.

[24] Gervase, p. 132.

[25] Howden, Chronica, II, pp. 143, 308, and 334.

[26] Ibid., p. 366.

Ambroise,[27] or whether the idea had come upon him as a good way to counter the danger presented by the count of Toulouse while Richard was on Crusade, Richard was planning, even before he departed, to marry Berengaria of Navarre, daughter of King Sancho VI.[28] By the end of 1190, Richard and Philip were wintering in Sicily, on their way to the Holy Land, and as things stood, Richard was still betrothed to Alys. It was most probably around this time, if not earlier, that Philip began hearing rumours of Richard's intention to marry Berengaria, and of her imminent arrival in Italy, accompanied by Eleanor of Aquitaine, who had escorted her from Navarre.[29] According to Howden, Philip told King Tancred of Sicily, who had usurped the throne on the death of William II, that Richard intended to use his army to capture Sicily in the name of the true heiress. [30] When Richard discovered Philip's accusation, he confronted the king. Philip's response was as follows, at least according to the speech that Howden attributes to him:

> "Now I know that the king of England seeks causes to malign me, but these words are false and deceitful. I believe that he thought these bad things of me, so that he might renounce my sister Alys, whom he promised to marry. But certainly he knows that if he forsakes her, and takes another as wife, I will become enemy to him and his for as long as I live." Hearing this, the king of England responded that he could never take his sister as wife, who the king of England his father had known, and got a son from her, and to this he produced witnesses.[31]

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[27] Ambroise, pp. 71-2, lines 1145-1152.

[28] Gillingham, Richard I, pp. 123-4.

[29] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 95.

[30]The true heiress was in fact William II's aunt, Constance, who had been married to Henry VI of Germany in 1185. William II's dowager queen, Joanna, was Richard's sister, and had been imprisoned by Tancred since his usurpation to prevent her support of rival claims. Richard had been forced to free her on his arrival in Sicily, so it is understandable that Tancred might believe in Richard's support of the German claim.

[31] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 99: ' *'Nunc scio vero quod rex Angliae quaerit causas malignandi adversus me, quia haec verba ficta sunt et mendacia: sed credo quod ipse cogitavit haec mala adversum me, ut Alesiam sororem meam 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*

Philip had challenged Richard before a gathering of followers of both kings, and publicly, Richard stated his reason for not marrying Alys. The truth of the accusation, that she had been seduced by his father and bore him a son, was not the matter. There is very little evidence for this affair, with this mention by Howden being the primary source, as well as accusations made by Gerald of Wales in his De Principis Instructione, a work extremely biased against Henry II.[32] Nevertheless, Philip had no choice but to release Richard from his promise:

> And for this agreement the king of England promised to pay the king of France yearly, over the next five years 2,000 marks sterling...And when they returned to their lands, the king of England would release to the king of France his sister Alys, and Gisors, and all other things which the king of France had granted with his sister. And by this agreement the king of France gave to the king of England licence to marry whomever he should choose.[33]

Philip granted Richard his freedom to marry whom he liked, but he was deeply humiliated. Never again would the two be anything approaching allies, and Philip was a significant part of the plot to keep Richard imprisoned, while constantly supporting John against his brother. It is important to note at this time that the version of the treaty preserved in Howden's Chronica is not the only version; indeed, the copy preserved Rymer's Foedera and in the French chronicle of Rigord both state that Philip would in fact quitclaim Gisors and the Vexin, an evident explanation for the 10,000 marks that Richard was to pay.[34] The copy preserved in Howden would therefore appear to be a forgery, probably presented to the castellan of Gisors by Philip in an attempt to gain the

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Angliae respondit, quod sororem illius sibi in uxorem ducere nulla ratione posset, quia rex Angliae pater suus eam cognoverat, et filium ex ea genuerat, et ad hoc probandum multos produxit testes.'

[32] Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, Vol. VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer (Rolls Series, 1891), p. 232.

[33] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 99: '*Et pro hac conventione rex Angliae spopondit se daturum regi Franciae per quinquennium, singulis annis, duo millia marcarum sterlingorum...Et cum ipsi in terras suas redierent, rex Angliae traderet regi Franciae Alesiam sororem suam liberam, et Gysortium, et caetera omnia quae rex Franciae cum sorore sua ei in matrimonio concessit. Et sub hac conventione rex Franciae dedit regi Angliae licentiam ducendi in uxorem quamcunque vellet*.'

[34] Foedera, p. 54 and Lionel Landon, The Itinerary of King Richard I (Rolls Series, 1935), pp. 231-2.

castle without violence, in April 1193. Somehow it was this copy, and not the original, that made its way to Howden, while fortunately the true copy was saved elsewhere.[35]

After the confrontation, Philip left Messina within a matter of days, eager to escape the embarrassment, and also, doubtless, the imminent arrival of Eleanor and Berengaria.[36] For Richard, the breaking of the betrothal was most convenient, and left him free to make the match that would keep his southern lands safe during his absence. The fact that he waited for Philip's confrontation before breaking the betrothal proves that he knew its dangers; if the betrothal ended while both kings were still on the continent, war would break out, and the Crusade would be forgotten. Waiting until both were well on their way, and in Sicily, Richard could be sure that he could continue on his Crusade, and delay dealing with the backlash until both kings had returned home. For the time being, Philip was rendered essentially powerless to exact the revenge he desired.

Another dramatically ended match was that of Henry III's sister Joan and Hugh de Lusignan, betrothed in 1214. On betrothal to Hugh, Joan had been sent to live with him in Poitou, and as part of the agreement of 1214 Hugh was granted Saintes, the Saintonge, and the Isle of Oléron, until such time as the English government could grant him £2,000 worth of land in Poitou, Anjou and Touraine.[37] In 1219, Hugh's father died on Crusade, making Hugh lord of Lusignan and count of La Marche. With his new position of influence, he wished to settle the issue of his future wife's dowry, and appears to have been after a permanent grant of the lands named above. Furthermore, instead of satisfying himself with the daughter, he married her mother, the dowager Queen Isabelle, who had been betrothed to Hugh's father twenty years before. Isabelle claimed that she did it in order to guard her son, Henry III's interests in Poitou. However, through the marriage, by which he gained Isabelle's inherited land of Angoulême, Hugh was now master of most of Poitou, the very arrangement John had tried to thwart in 1200.[38] Negotiations went on for several months, and included a

[35] Landon, The Itinerary of King Richard I, p. 232.
[36] Ibid., p. 100.

[37] Foedera, p. 125.

[38] Carpenter, Minority, p. 193.

threat from the pope that he would excommunicate Hugh, if he did not release Joan.[39] She was finally released into the custody of the Minority Council in 1221.[40]

One of Henry's earlier continental proposals ended with the family of the girl pulling away. This was the 1226 betrothal, the extent of negotiations for which are unclear, of Henry to Yolande, daughter of Peter of Dreux, duke of Brittany. While messengers had been sent to Brittany to propose the match,[41] in November of that year the king of France, Louis VIII, died, and soon after the duke of Brittany, still unsure as to whether a marriage with the royal house of England would be to his benefit, chose to side with the new regency government of Louis IX. This decision was most likely inspired by the renewal of allegiance to the French made by the duke's ally, Hugh de Lusignan, and effectively ended the negotiations.[42]

In 1231, Henry III attempted to fulfil an old promise, originally arranged by his father, King John, through the Treaty of Norham in 1209. Though the original text of the treaty does not survive, it certainly included the arrangement that Henry, aged two, should marry Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots. Margaret had, in 1221, been married instead to one of Henry III's closest advisors, the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, therefore ten years later he proposed to marry Margaret's younger sister. Unfortunately, Henry III was the only one who believed this to be a sound plan, and indeed, 'All his earls and barons, especially the Marshal, scorned [the idea], namely that it was not fitting that the king should take a younger-born daughter, when the Justiciar Hubert had married the elder daughter.'[43] This episode was the beginning of serious backlash against de Burgh, but was also a strong feeling that the barons, aside from their dislike of de Burgh, did not wish Henry III to marry a younger daughter, and so he was forced to give up the idea.

There is a great deal of evidence, according to D.L. D'Avray, regarding the efforts of Henry III made in the mid-1250s to ensure the proper dissolution of his betrothal to Jeanne de Ponthieu, originally arranged in 1235. The betrothal was the idea

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[39] Foedera, p. 160.

[40] Carpenter, Minority, p. 193.

[41] CM, III, p. 123.

[42] Stacey, p. 166.

[43] CM, III, p. 206.

of Henry III, and came about during his period of serial betrothals, for in the years 1225 to 1235, he proposed no fewer than five times. It was also part of his effort to find a continental ally against the king of France, and unlike several of his earlier attempts appears to have reached the stage of exchanging promises to wed.[44] By May 1236, though, the Papal Register records a mandate to the provost of Beverley, annulling 'the marriage made by proxy between the king of England and Joan, daughter of the count of Ponthieu...on its being discovered that they were in the 4th degree of kinship.'[45] A more likely reason for the ending of the betrothal appears to be that in 1234 Louis IX of France had married Margaret, eldest daughter of the count of Provence. Henry, it would seem, decided that marriage to another of the count's daughters, Eleanor, would be more advantageous to him, and in late 1235 began making moves in that direction. The French king was also petitioning the pope at this time to refuse permission for the dispensation needed for a marriage between Henry and Jeanne de Ponthieu, yet another if not the primary motive for Henry's shift in focus. The end of the letter in the Papal Register makes his intentions quite clear: 'the king married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, [after he was freed] from the oath he had taken to marry Joan.'[46]

Only three instances fall into the final category, in which one partner in the betrothal died. The earliest was the betrothal of Henry II's daughter Eleanor to the son of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. This match was the second half of a double marriage, the other half of which was Eleanor's older sister Matilda's marriage to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.[47] While Matilda's wedding did take place, the young prince died in 1165, and Eleanor went on to marry Alfonso of Castile in 1170. Often marriage arrangements included provisions for the death of one party, commonly the substitution of a sibling, such as in the case of John and Alice of Maurienne discussed below, but on this occasion no such provision appears to have been made, and the alliance that was to be cemented by the double marriage remained intact with just one match. It is notable, in fact, that most chronicles do not even mention Eleanor's involvement or the double

[44] D'Avray, 'Authentication of Marital Status,' pp. 991-2.

[45] Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland Vol. I (London, 1893), p. 153.

[46] Ibid., p. 153.

[47] See 'Case Studies', p. 18.

arrangement: Robert of Torigni mentions the betrothal but not Eleanor's name, Gervase of Canterbury mentions only Matilda's betrothal,[48] while Howden and Diceto mention only the marriage, in 1168.[49] It would appear, therefore, that the marriage between Matilda and Henry of Saxony was significant enough to ensure the desired political connections.

A second German match was ended in the same manner, twenty years later. Though Richard had been officially betrothed to Alys of France at least since 1169, in 1184 Henry II welcomed another embassy from Frederick Barbarossa. This embassy proposed a marriage between the emperor's daughter, Agnes, and Richard: 'the archbishop of Cologne, by the petition of the king of England, granted to Richard, count of Poitou, son of the king, the daughter of Frederick, Emperor of the Romans, that he might take her as wife.'[50] Howden is the only chronicler who records this betrothal. Not even he mentions Agnes' death later in the year, ending the possible betrothal.[51]

The final betrothal ended by an untimely death was that of John and Alice of Maurienne, confirmed in 1173. This betrothal was part of Henry II's scheme to provide John with land by making him heir to the count of Maurienne's vast trans-Alpine lordship. However, by the time Henry had quieted the rebellion of his sons in 1173/4, Alice of Maurienne was dead, and the agreement was allowed to fall apart. What makes this particular circumstance interesting is that it was allowed to dissolve despite the provision made in the agreement for the premature death of Alice, promising her sister in her place; 'But if the said first-born daughter should depart in death, whatever was granted with the first-born daughter...will all be granted with the second daughter.'[52] Warren, in his biography of Henry II, makes a solid argument as to why Henry may have chosen to allow the end of the arrangement regardless of his having already paid out money to the count. One of the primary incentives for the marriage, outside of providing for John, was to put pressure upon the count of Toulouse to agree to Henry's

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[48] Torigni, p. 224 and Gervase, p. 204. This is particularly surprising due to Torigni's position as Eleanor's godfather, according to his chronicle, p. 211.

[49] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 220 and Diceto, I, p. 330.

[50] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 288: '*Archiepiscopus Coloniensis, ad petitionem regis Angliae, concessit Ricardo comiti Pictaviae, regis filio, filiam Friderici Romanorum imperatoris dari in uxorem*.'

[51] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 79.

[52] *Agreement Between Henry II and Humbert of Maurienne,* in Howden, Chronica, II, p. 42.

demand for homage, by surrounding him on both sides with lands loyal to Henry. Even the threat of the marriage was enough, though, and the count of Toulouse gave his homage to Henry shortly after the betrothal.[53] John could be saved, and used for more important matches; he was betrothed in 1176 to the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, and made heir to the earldom. As for Humbert, there is some evidence that he re-married around 1175,[54] and several years later was granted an heir, so would no longer have required an English alliance.[55]

As can be seen above, at least half of the betrothals proposed for the children of kings of England never reached a further stage. Embassies were sent, land trades proposed, but nothing was confirmed. It is difficult to find any discernible pattern in those situations which were only proposed. Three were part of Henry III's series of betrothals, made between 1225 and 1235, when he—and the Minority Council—was seeking a wife. Four unconfirmed proposals were made during the period of the Minority, but perhaps more importantly at least seven of the eleven discussed here were proposals that had been suggested by the English: Joanna and al-Adil in 1191, John and the Portuguese princess in 1200, the double marriages suggested in 1225 and 1229, Richard of Cornwall and the daughter of the King of León in 1225, Edward and the daughter of the duke of Brabant in 1247—all were proposed by the English side, but never reached formal betrothal.[56] That a larger number should come from English initiation is not really surprising, though, for as was seen in the previous chapter, a larger percentage of marriage arrangements were of English initiation overall.

When betrothals were confirmed, it was a much more difficult matter to try to break them off. In three cases, death of the partner ended the arrangements. Even in the one agreement where a substitute existed, it was never used, and all three betrothals

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[53] Warren, Henry II, p. 221.

[54] C.W. Previté Orton, The Early History of the House of Savoy (Cambridge, 1912), p. 345.

[55] It is interesting to note that Humbert's heir, Thomas of Savoy, was the father of Beatrice of Savoy, who married Ramon-Berenguer of Provence and became the mother of Eleanor, future wife of Henry III, and Sanchia, future wife of Richard of Cornwall. Though the Savoyard-English connection was not preserved in 1173, it was eventually re-created in 1236.

[56] Also counted as an agreement which never reached formal stage is the 1227 suggestion that Henry III marry a daughter of the King of Bohemia. I have not discussed this arrangement as virtually nothing is known about it other than it was suggested.

ended, without any fuss and seemingly without any political complications—the German match of 1165 was carried on by Matilda, the Maurienne betrothal of 1172/3 was allowed to dissolve by both parties, and the 1184 German proposal for Richard would have been very difficult to confirm considering he was betrothed to Alys of France. Though it may seem in the matches of Henry III and Margaret of Scotland, and Henry and Jeanne de Ponthieu, that Henry ended the betrothals with little trouble, his efforts in the 1250s to emphasise the close relation between himself and Jeanne de Ponthieu, and ensure the annulment to any agreement they might have made, indicates the importance placed upon a valid marriage. He could not risk a previous betrothal endangering the legitimacy of his marriage, or that of his son. Nevertheless, what is interesting in most of the cases of broken betrothal, is that despite the underlying religious nature of marriage and even betrothal, most of the breaks were made politically, both in motive and method. By the twelfth century the church had made a concerted and successful effort to make itself a part of marriages; as was seen in the introduction, it dictated the terms on which a marriage was valid, and could years after declare a marriage invalid. The church could even state that two people who had promised to marry each other in the future were bound, and that any subsequent marriages were bigamous. Nonetheless, there is no mention in 1190 of the church in Richard's agreement with Philip; the only problem dissolving that betrothal was the political fallout. Nor is anyone particularly worried in 1221 that Joan had been living in Lusignan, with Hugh, before he married her mother, though under church law the promise to marry one member of a family would have prevented lawful marriage with any other directly related member of that family. But, the damage in these cases was political, not religious. While it may well be that the religious effects were strongly considered, and no evidence remains, the political dramas are what were remembered, and in that sense alliances could not be confirmed with just a betrothal—a marriage, and a valid one, was needed.

Chapter Six – Dowry, Inheritance and Dower

There are a number of betrothals and proposals for marriage made to and by the royal house of England in the period 1154-1272 for which we have no information regarding dower or dowry. In some cases, this is because negotiations did not reach a state in which dower or dowry would be discussed. In other cases, it is because the negotiations or marriage agreements do not survive for us to analyse, or there was no recorded information about them.[1] We have do have detailed marriage documents for some of the later arrangements, and several of the earlier ones. In some cases, it is only possible to discern dower and dowry from later documents that refer back to them. What shall be attempted in this chapter, therefore, is a chronological discussion of the dowries and dowers assigned in the marriage negotiations, skipping over those negotiations or marriages in which we do not have enough detail. Also discussed, separately, will be the occasions on which the bride was an heiress, bringing her inheritance with her.

First it is necessary to define dowry and dower. Dowry, or *maritagium*, was the land given to the husband—or his family—by the wife's family. This land was only guaranteed to remain with the husband should the marriage produce children.[2] There was another way the husband gained lands from his wife's family, and this of course was to marry an heiress. Dower, on the other hand, was the land assigned to the bride by her husband at marriage, intended to support the bride should her husband pre-decease her. The land did not pass on to her children, but returned to her husband's family upon her own death. Dower was the gift made by the husband to the wife at the

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[1] These include Richard's betrothal to the daughter of the count of Barcelona in 1159, Eleanor's betrothal to the son of Frederick I in 1164, Matilda's marriage to the duke of Saxony in 1168, John's proposal to wed the daughter of the King of Portugal in 1200, Richard of Cornwall's proposed marriage to the daughter of the King of León in 1225, Henry III's betrothal to Yolande of Brittany in 1226, Richard of Cornwall's marriage to Isabel Marshal in 1231, Henry III's betrothal to Jeanne de Ponthieu in 1235, Edmund's proposed marriages to the Queen of Cyprus and the daughter of Manfred of Sicily in 1256, Beatrice's proposed marriage to Hughes II of Cyprus in 1256, her marriage to John of Brittany in 1260, and finally, Richard of Cornwall's marriage to Beatrix von Falkenburg in 1269.

[2] Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, The History of English Law: before the Time of Edward I (Cambridge, 1968), Vol. II, p. 16.

church door, and was meant to be valued at no more than one-third of the husband's lands, but could be any amount up to that, and was 'a matter of bargain.'[3] In royal marriage, it was not unusual for there to be a traditional dower assigned to the queen, for example in England and Sicily, as will be seen below.

In the case of Henry the Young King and his bride Margaret of France, the original marriage agreement of 1158 does not remain. However, the details of the agreement are discussed by chroniclers, as are the extraordinary circumstances around them, while the second peace agreement of 1160 does also survive. The two children were betrothed at the very young ages—even by royal standards—of three years for the groom and roughly one year for the bride. On their betrothal, the dowry of three primary castles of the Norman Vexin, 'namely Gisors, Neufles and Châteauneuf, situated on the river Epte on the border of Normandy and France,'[4] were handed over by the bride's father, Louis VII of France, to the Knights Templar, for safe-keeping, 'until the day the nuptials were brought about.'[5] This is the only example of such an agreement, wherein a third party is used to hold lands, though in the later agreement between John and Hugh de Lusignan in 1214, Hugh was given certain lands to be held until the ones they both desired were available.[6] Doubtless in 1158, Louis expected the wedding day to be well in the future, when the children were of age. But, two years after the betrothal, in 1160, Louis married Adela de Blois-Champagne, the sister of his chief advisor, and in what Torigni indicates was a reaction to this marriage, Henry II swiftly married the two children and was granted control of the castles.[7] Howden comments in a rather shocked manner on the extreme youth of the children, remarking that they were, 'both still children crying in their cradles,'[8] and one can only imagine what might have been Louis VII's reaction. However, the agreement had been made, the castles handed over, and there was nothing he could do to object. Remnants of his

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[3] Ibid., p. 425.

[4] Torigni, p. 208. See also, Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Vol. II, ed. Leopold DeLisle (Paris, 1920), pp. 251-53. This latter copy of the document does not outline anything different from what Torigni and Diceto say about the agreement, so has not been quoted.

[5] Diceto, I, p. 304.

[6] See below discussion of Joan and Hugh de Lusignan.

[7] Torigni, p. 208.

[8] Howden, Chronica, I, p. 218.

frustration are evident in 1170, when the Young King was crowned without his wife, and Louis VII angrily asserted that they must be crowned again, together, a demand that was met.[9] The importance of the Vexin to Henry is perhaps shown most clearly in the fact that the only dowry he received for his son and heir, the future king of England, was this relatively small sliver of land and three castles.[10]

The transfer of castles and the Norman Vexin into English hands would prove a point of contention between the Plantagenet and Capetian kings for the next thirty years, especially after the death without heir of the Young King in 1183. Naturally, the king of France, now Philip Augustus, demanded the return of the Vexin and his castles, and perhaps equally as naturally, Henry II had no intention of agreeing. By this time, though, the situation had been further complicated by the 1160s betrothal of Margaret's younger sister Alys, to Richard of Poitou.[11] Though chroniclers do not discuss the dowry agreement for this second betrothal at this point in their accounts, it is eventually mentioned by Howden during the 1176 disagreement between Henry II and Louis. Howden records a papal envoy arriving in France at this time to force an accord between the two kings, who had been arguing for years regarding Henry's refusal to allow the marriage between Alys and Richard to take place, though they were both of age—Alys was roughly seventeen at the time, Richard two years older. Howden's account is as follows:

> At Ivry...in the presence of the said cardinal and magnates of both kingdoms, the king of England the father gave to them his word, and made a vow on his life that his son Richard, count of Poitou, would take as wife Alys, if the king of France, father of the girl, gave to Richard count of Poitou the city of Bourges with its appurtenances, as dowry with his daughter, just as was agreed between them. And to King Henry his son all the French Vexin...which he had promised

[9] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 5.

[10] Compare this to, for example, the inheritances gained for Geoffrey and Richard in their marriages. For more discussion on the importance of the Vexin, see 'Success in Marriage', pp. 174-5.

[11] For further discussion of the date of this betrothal, see 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 126-8.

> as the dowry in his marriage to his daughter. But the King of France would not do this.[12]

The city of Bourges and its lands in the county of Berry were, much like the Vexin in relation to Normandy, an area of dispute between the king of France and the duke of Aquitaine, for while royal power in the region grew stronger during Louis VII's reign, Henry II as duke of Aquitaine held no demesne lands there, only having influence through his vassals. Warren points out that therefore Henry's claims on Berry had little justification, and indeed perhaps Henry was just using the situation as an excuse to embarrass Louis, who would never have considered giving up Berry.[13] The county was Louis's strongest area of influence in the region, and he may have hoped to use it as a way to get into Aquitaine.[14] What this incident points to is the fact that, in 1169 when the betrothal was certainly confirmed, Alys appears not to have had any dowry named for her. This theory is encouraged by the fact that years later, after the death of the Young King, when the king of France demanded the return of Margaret's dowry, the idea arose to transfer Margaret's dowry to Alys. Howden records that, at the talks during Christmas 1185 'the king of France granted Gisors to Richard with the before-said sister, and all that Louis his father had given with Margaret his daughter to Henry son of the king of England.'[15] Nowhere in these negotiations, or in the many that followed in the subsequent years, is there any mention of a dowry for Alys beyond the Norman Vexin.

The Crusade brought an interesting proposed marriage, that of Joanna and Saladin's brother Al-Adil, the Muslim leader who met many times with Richard during

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[12] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 143: '*Apud Yveri...coram praedicto cardinali et magnatibus utriusque regni, rex Angliae pater per suos fidem dedit, et in animam suam jurare fecit, quod Ricardus filius ejus, comes Pictaviae, praedictam Alais in uxorem duceret, si rex Franciae, pater puellae, dederit praefato Ricardo comiti Pictaviae civitatem Bituricensem, cum pertinentiis suis, in maritagium cum filia sua, sicut conventio inter illos inde facta exigit; et Henrico regi filio suo totum Vougesin Francigenum...quam ipse promiserat se daturum illi in maritagium cum filia sua. Sed quia rex Franciae haec dare noluit*.'

[13] Warren, Henry II, pp. 145.

[14] Powicke, Loss, p. 12.

[15] Howden, Chronica, II, 308: '*Et rex Franciae concessit praefato Ricardo cum praedicta sorore sua Gisortium, et omnia quae Lodowicus pater suus concesserat cum Margareta filia sua Henrico regi Angliae filio*.'

his years in the Holy Land. During one of these negotiations, Richard suggested the match, and as a dowry for his sister, he appointed the coastal cities held by the Christian armies. In exchange, Joanna and Al-Adil would rule over Jerusalem as king and queen, forming a joint Christian-Muslim kingdom.[16] There is evidence in Muslim chronicles that this offer was never taken seriously by Saladin or his brother, whereas Richard had no intention of going through with the match, and indeed arguably required papal permission to marry his sister, a dowager queen, to anyone.[17] It is therefore difficult to discuss this dowry in consideration with the rest, and indeed this entire proposal is quite unlike any other royal marriage negotiation.

During Richard's captivity in Germany, in 1192, Howden records John making a possible alliance with Philip Augustus, part of which included marriage to Richard's former betrothed, Alys. There may be something to be said for the idea that Philip made the suggestion at least partially in a desperate attempt to get Alys back; though she had been repudiated in March 1191, she was still in Norman custody, and an attempt made by Philip in January 1192 to take her back had been rebuffed by the seneschal of Normandy.[18] John's potential treaty is recorded as follows:

> John, brother of the king, set out to the King of France, and did homage to him for Normandy and other lands of his brother's across the sea, and for England. And he swore that he would take [Philip's] sister Alys as wife. And John promised to the King of France Gisors, in perpetuity, and all of the Norman Vexin. And the king of France granted to him, with his sister, that part of Flanders which was granted to him.[19]

Through this agreement, John was promising to surrender the lands his brother and father had been fighting to keep since 1158, as well as confirming Philip as his overlord.

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[16] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 184 and Livres, p. 46.

[17] For more discussion, see 'Ending of Betrothals', pp. 122-3. For Muslim evidence of scepticism, see Baha al-Din, p. 188.

[18] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 236.

[19] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 204: '*Deinde Johannes frater regis profectus est ad regem Franciae, et homo suus devenit de Normannia et caeteris terries fratris sui transmarinis, et de Anglia, ut dicebatur; et juravit quod ipse Alesiam sororem illius in uxorem duceret; et ipse quietam clamavit regi Franciae in perpetuum Gysorcium, et totum Velgesin le Normand: et rex Franciae concessit ei, cum praedicta sorora sua, illam partem Flandriae quae eum contingebat*.'

In return, all he would receive as dowry was a portion of Flanders, but also, Philip's support in his play for the throne of England. But before any such plot could be enacted, his mother Queen Eleanor, prevented John from leaving England to join Philip, and the alliance dissolved.

There was only one marriage arranged during Richard's reign other than his own, that of his sister, Joanna, who was the only unmarried or un-betrothed member of his family when the marriage was arranged in 1196. At the time, the war between the Angevin dukes of Aquitaine and the counts of Toulouse had been going on intermittently for forty years, over the former's claim to the latter county.[20] Most chronicles mention the marriage only in passing, but the 19th-century Histoire Générale de Languedoc discusses the terms of agreement in detail, and most modern historians seem to agree with the author.[21] Firstly, Richard was to give up any claims he might make on Toulouse in his capacity as count of Poitou. Secondly, the land of Querci, which had been invaded by Richard in 1188 and held by him since then, would be returned to Raymond. And finally, Raymond would marry Joanna, with the Agenais as her dowry.[22] The agreement certainly favoured Raymond generously, and Gillingham points out that it was almost certainly designed to ensure the count's loyalty.[23] That said, it was not without benefit for Richard or the English crown, for all the land granted to Raymond on this occasion was to be held of the king, as duke of Aquitaine.[24] The treaty confirmed Raymond and all of the children born of the marriage to Joanna as vassals of Aquitaine, and most importantly ended the long and costly war, leaving Richard free to focus on the battles raging against Philip Augustus in the north. Years later, after Joanna's death, Raymond's loyalty and the land he was granted were re-confirmed,

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[20] For more discussion on the war, see 'Case Studies', p. 31.

[21] For example Gillingham, Richard I, pp. 306-7.

[22] Cl. Devic and J. Vaissete, Histoire Général de Languedoc, p. 174. Vaisette is using as his source the seventeenth-century Histoire des Comtes de Tolose, which is an amalgamation of chronicles, including William of Puylaurens. See M. Guillaume Catel, Histoire des Comtes de Tolose (Toulouse, 1623), p. 223.

[23] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 307.

[24] Ibid., p. 174, and Howden, Chronica, IV, pp. 124-5.

> Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, did homage to John, king of England, for the lands and castles which Richard, king of England, had given him as marriage portion with his sister, Joanna, upon the understanding that when Raymond, his son, who he had by his wife Joanna, should come of age, he should have all the lands before-mentioned.[25]

This advantageous marriage was the last made by Richard or any of the royal house for four years.

In 1209, King John arranged a marriage for his eldest son and heir, Henry, to the daughter of King William the Lion of Scotland. Although frustratingly the Treaty of Norham in which the terms of this agreement were detailed does not survive, it is known through later documents what the terms included. With the marriage agreement, William abandoned his claims to Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, while promising to pay 15,000 marks to John, it would appear in lieu of a dowry. Along with this marriage, John promised to find husbands for William's other daughters.[26] Though Henry III never married a Scottish princess, nor did John fulfil his promise to find suitable husbands, Margaret was eventually wed to Hubert de Burgh, in 1221. Aside from the portion of the 15,000 marks already paid by this time, Margaret's main dowry appears to have been prestige, bringing de Burgh into the royal family circle, and giving him the status to be granted an earldom.

The next royal betrothal to be arranged came in 1214, when King John betrothed his daughter, Joan, to Hugh de Lusignan, the son of the man to whom her mother had been betrothed in 1200. The record of their agreement, dated only 1214, lists the terms and dowry John assigned to his daughter:

> [Joan] is given into the custody of the count of la Marche and Hugh de Lusignan, his son. And the same lord king gives likewise to Hugh Poitevin land worth £2,000 per year, assigned to him in Poitou, Anjou and Touraine, as dowry with his said daughter. Also until such time as the said £2,000 of land may be granted to him, the same Hugh shall have the fortress of Saintes, with its appurtenances, and Oléron, with its appurtenances; excepting the barons and

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[25] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 124: '*Raimundus comes de Sancto Egidio devenit homo Johannis regis Angliae, de terris et castellis quae Ricardus rex Angliae dederat ei in maritagium cum Johanna sorore sua; ita quod cum Raimundus filius ejus, quem genuit de Johanna uxore sua, pervenerit ad annos discretionis, omnia supradicta habeat.*'

[26] Stacey, Politics, p. 20.

> their homage, and all that pertains to the barons. And, when the lord King has searched for land in the said places, and has assigned them as the said dowry, so will be returned to the king the land of Saintes and Oléron.[27]

The lands assigned in lieu of a dowry, Saintonge and the Isle of Oléron, both held some significance to the Angevin dynasty. Firstly, there was a long-standing claim to the Saintonge due to a late tenth-century gift of the city and area around Saintes to the count of Anjou from William, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou.[28] However, in 1062 the city and lands had been re-captured by the duke's son and heir, Guy-Geoffrey, and despite numerous attempts by the counts of Anjou to re-claim the city in the next seventy-five years,[29] the counts would not regain control over the region until the 1152 marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine—also countess of Poitou—to Henry of Anjou. Whether the history of this area coloured King John's assignation of it as Joan's dowry is unsure. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, Saintes was one of the administrative capitals of the duchy of Aquitaine, and as such could be seen as the duke's—or since 1154 king-duke's—outpost of power amongst land held by families with which he was often at odds.[30] One of the most powerful and significant of these was the Lusignan family, and so granting the Lusignans the city and area of Saintes was highly significant, and could perhaps be seen as a further gesture of peace. Certainly, John could be relatively sure that Hugh de Lusignan would be happy with the temporary assignment. Furthermore, the wealthy lordship of the Saintonge had been part of Isabelle of Angoulême's dower, assigned in 1200, so the granting of it to Hugh could be

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[27] Foedera, p. 125, '*Eam tradidit custodiendam in custodia comitis Marchiae & Hugonis de Lysignan filii sui. Dedit autem idem dominus Rex eidem Hugoni duo millia libratarum terrae Pictaviensium, assignanda ei in Pictavis, Angegavia & Toronia, in maratigium cum praedicta filia sua. Quousque autem assignata fuerint ei praedicta duo millia libratarum terrae, habebit idem Hugo interim de balliva domini Regis Xancton cum pertinentis, & Olerim cum pertinentiis; exceptis baronibus & homagiis eorundem, & omnibus quae ad barones pertinent. Et, cum dominus Rex perquisierit terram in praedictis locis, & eis assignaverit in maritagium praedictum, tantum revertetur ad dominum Regem de terra Xancton & Olerim*.'

[28] Bernard S. Bachrach, 'King Henry II and Angevin Claims to the Saintonge,' in Medieval Prosopography, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1985), p. 24.

[29] Ibid., p. 25.

[30] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 36.

seen as a kind of concession, almost an apology. Indeed, as will be seen shortly, Lusignan was more than content to keep Saintes.

Despite the promise evident in the agreement, to grant Hugh land elsewhere in Poitou and Anjou, by the time the Minority Council was mentioning Joan's name in a betrothal of Alexander II of Scotland in 1219, nothing more had been granted to Hugh. There is record, in late 1219 or early 1220, of a messenger arriving in England from Hugh, demanding to know exactly what lands he could expect to receive.[31] Carpenter believes that at this time Hugh was not actually after more land, but instead desired a permanent grant of Saintes and the Saintonge, along with the Isle of Oléron.[32] This idea is supported by the fact that, in 1220, Hugh married Isabelle of Angoulême, and refused to release Joan until he had been granted control of both Isabelle's dower, and Joan's dowry, as promised to him by John in 1214. Finally, in a desperate attempt to retrieve Joan and confirm agreements with Scotland, Hubert de Burgh and the Minority Council were forced to accede to Hugh's demands, at least in part—Isabelle's dower lands in England were granted to him, in exchange for the release of Joan.[33] Joan's dowry of the Saintonge and Oléron remained under Lusignan control.[34] Instead of marrying the king's eldest daughter, therefore, Hugh wed the dowager queen, who was still not much older than thirty, and who brought with her not only the county of Angoulême, her inheritance, but also the dower lands of a queen.[35]

Joan was finally released into English custody in 1221, and travelled immediately north to York for her own wedding. According to Matthew Paris, her dowry as promised by King John was the county of Northumbria,[36] a land long contested by the two kings and, even through this marriage, not settled. The king of

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[31] Foedera, p. 155.

[32] Carpenter, Minority, pp. 178-79.

[33] DD, no. 93.

[34] Carpenter, Minority, p. 221.

[35] For more discussion of what these lands were, see below. Regarding Isabelle of Angoulême's age, it cannot be ascertained for sure, but she could have been no older than eleven at her marriage in 1200, as according to Howden she had not yet reached the 'age of nubility,' or marriageable age, which at the time was twelve, see Howden, Chronica, IV, pp. 119-20: '*sed quia ipsa nondum annos nubiles attigerat*.' This means that in 1220 she could have been no older than thirty-one or two.

[36] CM, III, p. 372.

Scotland was also promised at this time that while his eldest sister would not marry the king of England, she would marry one of his greatest subjects, Hubert de Burgh. Additionally, the outstanding balance of 5,000 marks still owed to the king of England out of the 15,000 promised in 1209, was forgiven.[37]

Despite what might be seen as a simple transfer, later in the marriage Alexander would complain that the lands he was meant to be granted were never fully handed over, and a complete settling of the situation did not come until 1237. This treaty details Alexander's remittance of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and the agreement that the English find husbands for his sisters.

> In return for this remission, Henry, king of England, gave and granted to Alexander, king of Scots, land worth two hundred pounds per year in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, if two hundred pounds' worth can be found in those counties outside towns where there are castles...these lands are to be held and kept by Alexander, king of Scots, and his heirs, the kings of Scots, from Henry, king of England, and his heirs.[38]

Though this document is not strictly part of a marriage agreement, it does detail the final arrangements that the two sides had been attempting to make in 1221. For the time being, the situation was as resolved as it could be.

At the same time that the Minority Council was negotiating the Scottish marriage, they were negotiating a marriage within the kingdom, that of the king's younger sister Eleanor to one of the leading magnates of the realm, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. While the 1224 document detailing the terms and political motivations of the marriage agreement does not actually name the dowry set at the betrothal, in October of 1229, some five years after the marriage of Eleanor and William Marshal, a grant was made by the king to William of:

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[37] Carpenter, Minority, p. 196 and AM, III, p. 58.

[38] Anglo-Scottish Relations, pp. 41-43: '*Pro hac autem remissione et quieta clamancia predictus H[enricus] rex Anglie dedit et concessit dicto A[lexandro] regi Scottorum ducentas librates terre infra dictos comitatus Norhumberlandie et Cumberlandie, si predicte ducente librate terre in ipsis comitatibus, extra villas ubi castra sita sunt, possint inveniri, et si quid inde defuerit ei perficietur in locis competentibus et propinquioribus dictis comitatibus Norhumberlandie et Cumberlandie, habendas et tenendas et in dominico retinendas eidem A[lexandro] regi Scottorum et heredibus suis regibus Scottorum de dicto H[enrico] rege Angliae et heredibus suis.*'

> The manors of Brayburn, Sutton, Kemesey, Linton, Norton, Folesham, Waneting, Severnestok, Tudingden (excepting the land held there by William Longespee), Newbury (excepting the land held there by the same William) and half the manor of Shriveham, late of the count of Perche, to hold by the service of five knights, with this condition that if Eleanor the king's sister, wife of the said earl survive him, she shall have all the said lands for her life, and on her death they shall fall to the heirs of the said earl.[39]

The implication, then, was that these lands were Eleanor's dowry. If the marriage document is to be understood correctly, the marriage was brought about as a safeguard, to tie Pembroke's loyalty to the crown. It was done to prevent him marrying the sister of Robert of Dreux, and to secure the return of the royal castles of Marlborough and Ludgershall to the hands of the Minority Council.[40] Whether the Marshal received land or money beyond that stated in the above passage from the Charter Rolls is unclear.

After the marriage of Joan in 1221 and Eleanor in 1224, the late 1220s and early 1230s were graced with a series of attempted betrothals for King Henry III himself, with potential brides including Yolande of Brittany in 1226, Agnes of Bohemia in 1227, a double marriage with the Capetians in 1229, a renewal of a suit to the royal house of Scotland in 1231, and Jeanne de Ponthieu in 1235. While in most of these cases negotiations never made it so far as to name what a dowry might be, one particular circumstance provides an exception to this rule, and that is the double marriage proposed in 1229 by Henry III as part of an effort to end the war between himself and Louis IX of France. The proposal was that he should marry the sister of King Louis, while his sister, Isabella, should marry Louis. One copy of the proposal has been highly damaged, but the following is legible:

> Of dower and dowry, it is questioned: if it is possible that the king of France should be influenced...that all of Gascony remain with the king of England and all of Normandy be released to the king of France, just as he holds it, may be discussed. If it may be possible that the king of England may be induced...dowry and dower, that is, if by chance the marriages may end without

[39] ChR, Vol. I, p. 102.

[40] DD, no. 140.

> heir...or if it may be possible to induce the king of France, part may be returned to the king of England.[41]

Though many words are missing, it is still clear to see that it was a document intending to settle the territorial disputes between the kingdoms, through trading of sisters, and therefore dowries. A slightly later, fully surviving document lays out the details that may or may not have been in the earlier copy:

> Firstly it is proposed that all lands across the sea be returned to the king of England except Normandy, and one or two bishoprics, namely the bishoprics of Avranches and Coutances, should be retained for the use of the king [of England], for passing through to the said lands.
> Second proposition thus: that the same form shall be preserved for the said lands and Normandy, excluding the said transit.
> Third proposition thus: If the forms of the before-said can be amended by the marriage between the kings and their sisters, they shall be amended, as may be considered better to be expedient, either by one marriage portion or by two.
> Fourth proposition: If none of these forms are accepted, Normandy shall remain *in perpetuum* and the below lands shall be given as dowry with the sister of the king of England, namely Anjou on this side of the Loire and all of Maine, that is, if he shall have heirs, it shall remain with the heirs, and if he does not have an heir, it shall return to the king of England.[42]

This document is, as can be seen, a series of suggestions made by Henry III as to the settlement of the argument. The first and second propositions, in which Henry would be allowed a safe-passage through Normandy to his southern lands, do not include marriages. The third and fourth, however, do propose marriages, and, as can be seen especially in the fourth proposition, suggest that a dowry be used to settle the dispute, granting to Louis all of Henry III's lands north of the Loire. As Robert Stacey points out, advisors had evidently decided by this point that Normandy was a lost cause, and were focusing on the recovery of Anjou. With each of the first three propositions, Henry's claims weaken slightly—the first demands rights in Avranches and Coutances, the second only safe-passage, the third and fourth do neither but concede Normandy fully along with the marriage of Isabella and Louis IX, and the dowry.[43] Despite what

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[41] DD, no. 174.

[42] DD, no. 215.

[43] Stacey, Politics, p. 168.

might appear as Henry's concessions, he in fact had no control of Normandy at all at this stage, and so granting it as a dowry for his sister was a bold suggestion. It is perhaps unsurprising therefore, that neither marriage nor treaty was concluded in 1229.

Though she did not become queen of France, Isabella was nonetheless destined to become the wife of a great man, and in 1235 was betrothed and married to Emperor Frederick II. Unlike the situation regarding her sister's marriage, the dowry and dower[44] for Isabella are laid out clearly, along with various gifts and promises made by both sides. The arrangements stating Isabella's dowry are recorded in detail, as promised to the chief councillor of Frederick II, Peter de Vinea, who was acting as the emperor's agent in England:

> Promised to Master Peter de Vinea, messenger and special legate of the lord Emperor Frederick, on the part of the same Emperor, as dowry for the said Isabella, our sister, 30,000 marks of the best sterling silver (13 shillings and 4 pence per mark). Of this we shall be found to give the said Master Peter, when the 10th day after the Resurrection of our lord shall come, along with our said sister, 3,000 sterling silver marks. And another two thousand we shall be bound to give to the said Emperor, or his loyal messenger, in the month of July...[45]

The document continues to list in detail the break-down of the 30,000 marks. Also promised by Henry, though not strictly part of the dowry, were the expenses for the journey, including, 'gold and silver, vessels, horses, cloth, wool and silk; and all that the said lady our sister will need to hold and take with her, that is fitting for so great a lady to carry with her, and for so great a lord to receive.'[46] All in all, this was a very generous dowry, certainly one of the most generous paid for an English princess at this time, which yet further shows the value of this match to Henry III; he very much wanted an alliance with the Empire, as is evident by his numerous attempts to make one in the 1220s, and this marriage was a key strategy for him. It is also worth noting that there is no quantity of land or castles involved in the dowry, emphasising this match as a diplomatic match, where no territory was traded. In return for the 30,000 marks, Isabella was handsomely dowered by her husband, as will be seen below.

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[44] For discussion of Isabella's dower, see below.

[45] Foedera, p. 223.

[46] Ibid., p. 223.

In the early 1240s, Henry III turned his eyes again towards France, with the intention of making an expedition there. Before he could do so, he needed to settle once and for all the issue of the northern border, where the kings of Scotland were still unhappy with the settlement regarding their territories in England. It was to quiet this discontent that Henry agreed to marry his daughter, Margaret, aged roughly two years old, to the son and heir of Alexander II, king of Scotland. The dower lands assigned to Margaret are unknown, and indeed little information about dowry exists, except to note that, as of 1260, nine years after the wedding, Alexander III, was still pressing Henry III for payment of his wife's dowry.[47] Both in Scotland, and in his own kingdom—as will be seen below, with Eleanor de Montfort's marriage in 1238—Henry was often behind in payment of dowries.

In the same year, 1242, we find the marriage of the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, to the younger sister of Queen Eleanor, the third daughter of the count of Provence, named Sanchia. The marriage agreement itself does not survive, but the dowry is mentioned in the Patent Rolls:

> The king grants...to [Richard] and Sanchia his wife and the heirs of their bodies land to the value of £500 a year...and in the meantime they shall have 1000 marks a year at the Exchequer of London, the proportion of the said escheats to be deducted therefrom as they receive them, to wit, for every £100 of land assigned, 200 marks shall be deducted at the Exchequer, and so as soon as the full amount of £500 of escheats is assigned, the 1000 marks at the Exchequer is to cease.[48]

Essentially, the king was paying Richard Sanchia's dowry in cash until he could find lands to replace the cash. Richard's biographer Denholm-Young and Eleanor of Provence's, Howell, both confirm that Henry III paid a total of £3000—of which £2000 was paid in cash, and the other £1000 was owed, or the equivalent in lands.[49] However, by 1252 the king had still not succeeded in granting all the lands, as is evident by an entry in the Close Rolls: 'The king grants to Richard earl of Cornwall, the manor of Ocham...with all its appurtenances, as part payment of £500 [per annum] of land, which

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[47] Michael Brown, The Wars of Scotland, 1214 – 1371 (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 65.

[48] CPR, *1232-47*, p. 437.

[49] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, p. 51 and Howell, Eleanor, p. 34.

he had held of the king as dowry for his wife Sanchia.'[50] The difficulty Henry III was having in the 1250s in finding land to replace the money fees owed to both his brother and the Savoyard, Provençal and Lusignan members of his family is outlined by Huw Ridgeway, who points that though Richard of Cornwall was top of the list of priorities, the king's income was severely limited by his decreased inheritance after 1204 and the appanage he was required to put together for Prince Edward in 1254.[51] The explanation for Henry's generosity in the dowry assignment seems to lie in the heavy influence of the queen and her family, many of them now Henry's top advisors. It is likely that they hoped that through Richard's marriage into the house of Provence, he might be persuaded to soften his attitude towards the Savoyard presence in England, and the multitude of favours granted to the queen's family during Richard's absence on Crusade.[52] It was also a method by which the king could hope to tie his brother's loyalty to him, an issue which had become doubtful during Richard's first marriage into the Marshal family. For the Savoyard family of Queen Eleanor and the desires of Henry III to keep his brother close, therefore, the marriage portion of £3000 was well worth the price.

Clearly, from the very first marriage mentioned, dowries were used to settle land disputes. The dowry of Margaret of France in 1158 was the disputed Vexin territory, and the granting of it should have ended arguments over it, and indeed would have were it not for the untimely death without heir of her husband, dictating that the land should be returned to her brother. In the 1170s Henry II perpetuated this pattern, asking Louis VII to assign Berry, another disputed area, as dowry for Margaret's younger sister Alys. The settlement with Scotland in 1221 was the same; Northumbria was granted essentially as Joan's dowry, handed over to the king of Scotland to end disputes over which English lands were his. Henry III had intended to grant Maine and Anjou north of the Loire as his sister's dowry in 1229, in order to settle the dispute over Plantagenet claims in France. And, as will be seen below, in 1254, Eleanor of Castile's dowry was essentially Gascony; her brother gave up the Castilian claim to it in exchange for the

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[50] CCR, *1251-53*, p. 92.

[51] H.G. Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258,' EHR, 104 (1989), pp. 600-602. Essentially Henry was out of land to grant, causing him numerous troubles.

[52] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, p. 46.

marriage. In at least two of these situations, it was the marriage of the heir to the throne, future king, which was being offered—a very important marriage, and it was being used to settle disputes over land, in some cases, lands which were not particularly large, such as the Vexin. Clearly, in these situations, the dowry was less about what the land was worth in monetary terms, and more about what the lands were, or where they were.

This is not to say, however, that there were not occasions on which the monetary value of the dowry was important; it added to or temporarily replaced land, until territory could be assigned. There are even occasions on which no land was traded at all, such as the marriages of Joanna in 1177, and Isabella in 1235. In at least the latter case, we know that the money paid as dowry was more important to Frederick II than land would have been, for he needed to finance his wars in Italy. Fewer occasions exist where the dowry was money instead of land, but it is evident that if the diplomatic alliance was significant, the king was willing to pay out large dowries in exchange for marriage, as is evident in Isabella's dowry and that of Sanchia of Provence, which was paid by the king instead of her father, to ensure the marriage.

Outside the categorisation of dowry are the circumstances wherein a prince married an heiress, in order to gain her lands. The first occasion in this period of an inheritance was Geoffrey's betrothal to Constance of Brittany in 1166. Torigni details both the events leading up to the betrothal, and the settlement of the betrothal itself. In 1158, after his meeting with Louis VII regarding the betrothal of the Young King and Margaret, Henry II continued on to Avranches, where, 'he secretly ordered the whole army of Normandy...to march against Conan of Brittany, unless he returned to the king the city of Nantes, which he had invaded.'[53] Warren suggests that from this time Henry II seems to have held Conan responsible for failing to keep order, and in 1166 Henry forced him to give up his duchy.[54] The agreement made at the time states, according to Torigni, 'At the time of the betrothal of Geoffrey and Constance, daughter of Count Conan of Brittany and of Richmond, Count Conan gave to the king, for the use of his son, the whole duchy of Brittany, except the county of Guingamp, which he received

[53] Torigni, p. 196.

[54] Warren, Henry II, p. 101.

from his grandfather, count Stephen.'[55] While he lived, Conan was permitted to keep Richmond, but on his death in 1171 that too 'transferred into the authority of King Henry, by the daughter of Count Conan, who was betrothed to Geoffrey son of the king.'[56] Henry had thus transferred control of Brittany to himself and his son, through Conan's heiress, Constance. On the death of Geoffrey in 1186, Brittany passed to his posthumous son by Constance, Arthur.

Through this arrangement with Brittany in 1166, Henry II had completed his task of finding lands for each of his surviving sons. Henry the Young King would succeed to his father's lands of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Normandy and England. Richard would succeed to his mother's lands of Poitou and Aquitaine, and Geoffrey would be duke of Brittany. But in 1167 this neat arrangement was shattered by the birth of a fourth son, John, and a good portion of the early 1170s was spent by Henry in seeking ways to provide for the boy. It was therefore an answer to his desires when, in 1172, Count Humbert of Maurienne approached Henry II at his court at Montferrand in Auvergne with a scheme in mind that, if it succeeded, would make John one of the richest lords in southern France.[57] Because Humbert had no son, he was willing to give John his daughter and heiress, Alice, as his wife, and in turn make John his heir. Howden records the entire agreement, starting with what Henry II agreed to grant to John, 'five thousand silver marks...with all of the county of Mortain.'[58] Of Humbert's lands, Howden goes on to give a detailed list:

> He accepted [John] as his true legitimate son, and granted to him in perpetuity, as his heir: Rossillon with all of its dependencies; and Pierrechâtel with all its appurtenances; and the whole county of Belley, as he held it; and the whole valley of Novalaise; and Chambéry with all its appurtenances; and Aix,

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[55] Torigni, p. 228: '*Inde facto connubio de Gaufrido, filio suo, et Constancia, filia comitis Conani Brittanniae et de Richemont, comes Conanus concessit regi, quasi ad opus filii sui, totum ducatum Brittanniae, excepto comitatu de Gingamp, qui ei accederat per avum suum comitem Stephanum*.'

[56] Ibid., p. 249: '*Tota Brittannia et comitatus de Gippewis et honor Richemundiae, per filiam comitis Conani, quae desponsata erat Gaufrido filio regis, in domino regis Henrici transierunt*.'

[57] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 41.

[58] Ibid., p. 41.

> Apremont, La Rochette, Montmayeur, and La Chambre with the city and all it commands.[59]

At this point Howden actually inserted the text of the agreement itself:

> On the far side of the mountains likewise to him and his heirs are presented and conceded in perpetuity, all of Turin with its appurtenances, Cavoretto and Collegno, with their appurtenances, and all fiefs which are held of him by the counts of the Canavese, and their service and fidelities. Also in this county, Castellamonte, with the same fiefs, services and fidelities. In the Val d'Aosta he grants Châtillon in perpetuity, and against all men. All this the count concedes to the son of the king of England in perpetuity, with his daughter, thus freely, honestly and peacefully, in men, and cities, castles and other fortifications, in meadows, pastures, mills, in forest and plains, in water and valleys, and mountains and tolls, and in all other things...in addition the count grants to him, and to his heirs in perpetuity, whatever rights he has in the whole county of Grévisaudan, and whatever he acquires there or can acquire.[60]

Though historians have been unable to pin-point the exact locations of several of these places, Humbert was clearly granting John a significant portion of lands, straddling the Alps, just north and east of Grenoble. The significance of the count himself and his land is most accurately described by Torigni: '[Humbert] was the brother of the count of Amato, and very wealthy in the possession of cities and castles; no one could approach

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[59] Howden, Chronica, II, pp. 41-2: '*Si vero legitimum susceperit filium, praedictus comes concessit eis in perpetuum, et haeredibus eorum, Russillum cum toto mandato sui sive pertinentiis suis omnibus; et Perecastel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et totum comitatum Belicensem, sicut eum habet, illis concedit; et totam vallem Novalesiae; et Camberiacum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et Aiz, et Asperum Montem, et Rochetam, et Montem Majorem, et Cameram cum burgo et toto mandato.*'

[60] Ibid., p. 42: '*Ultra montes quoque illis et haeredibus eorum donat et concedit in perpetuum, Taurinum totum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; Cavoreth, Colegium cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et omnia feoda quae tenent de ipso comites de Canaveis, et eorum servitia et fidelitates. In comitatu quoque de Castro Amunt similiter feuda, fidelitates et servitia. In valle Augustensi concedit eis Castellionium, in perpetuum contra omnes homines, quod de illo tenet vicecomes Augustae. Haec omnia praefatus comes concedit praedicto filio regis Angliae in perpetuum, cum filia sua praenominata, ita libere, integre et quiete, in hominibus, et civitatibus, castris et aliis munitionibus, in pratis, pascuis et molendinis, in bosco et plano, in aquis, et vallibus, et montanis, et paagiis, et in omnibus aliis rebus...Praeterea concedit eis, et haeredibus eorum in perpetuum, quicquid juris habet in toto comitatu Gratianopolitano, et quicquid in eo adquirit vel adquirere poterit*.'

or attack Italy except through his lands.'[61] Perhaps understandably, therefore, Humbert was slightly less impressed by Henry's contribution, and in 1173 after the betrothal had been confirmed, he approached Henry again,

> And there also came to Limoges the count of Maurienne, and he wished to know what and how much of his land the king of England would give to his son John. And while the king wished to give him the castles of Chinon, Loudun, and Mirebeau, the king the son would in no way agree, nor would he permit it.[62]

As is suggested by the last line of Howden's text, this request made by Humbert and Henry's subsequent desire to fulfil it were two of the primary causes for the infamous rebellion of Henry's eldest sons. By the time Henry II had subdued the rebellion, though, Alice of Maurienne had died, and the proposed marriage dissolved.

John's future as a wealthy baron was not lost, however, for in 1176 another proposal for marriage arose. Though who initiated it is unknown, the agreement was made between Henry II and William, earl of Gloucester, that John would become William's heir, through marriage to his daughter Isabel, 'as he had no son.'[63] It was essentially the same type of agreement as had been made with Brittany or Maurienne—the heiress would wed John, making him heir. In this case, however, a certain awkwardness existed in that while Isabel was William's eldest unmarried daughter, she was not the only daughter; instead, she and her sisters were co-heiresses to the earldom and lands of Gloucester. Henry was forced to compensate the two older, already married sisters: 'the king would give one hundred pounds as payment to the wife of Amaury count of Evreux and another hundred pounds payment to the wife of the earl of Clare, for both are sister of the daughter of the earl of Gloucester.'[64]

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[61] Torigni, p. 250.

[62] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 45: '*Venit etiam ad Limoges comes Maurianae, et scire voluit quid et quantum rex Angliae pater dari Johanni filio suo de terra sua. Et cum rex vellet ei dare castellum de Chinum et castellum de Loudun, et castellum de Mirabel, rex filius nullo modo concedere voluit, nec fieri permisit*.'

[63] Diceto, I, p. 415.

[64] Howden, Gesta, I, p. 125: '*Et pro hac concessione daret ipse rex centum librates reddituum in Angliae, uxori Amauri comitis Ebroicarum, et alias centum librates reddituum uxori comitis de Clara, utraque enim erat filia comitis Gloucestriae*.'

John's marriage to Isabel of Gloucester was ended quite suddenly after the death of his brother Richard, which left him as king. John was only months divorced when he wed the daughter and heiress of Count Ademar of Angoulême, in late 1200. In another example of an heiress bringing her inheritance, Isabelle's marriage to John ensured that the planned unification of Lusignan, La Marche, and Angoulême could not occur. Instead of John's potential enemy, Hugh le Brun de Lusignan, gaining Angoulême, John was able to keep control of it himself, at least initially preserving the connection through Poitou to Aquitaine.

In 1236, Henry III himself married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence. Interestingly, Henry accepted his bride, who was a full sixteen years his junior, with no dowry. What he could hope for, though, was a portion of her father's territory which on his death would be split amongst three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to his rival, the king of France.[65] According to Howell, the amount promised to Eleanor and Margaret on the death of their father—the amount for the third daughter, Sanchia, is unspecified—was 10,000 marks each.[66] This was, as Stacey says, a 'paltry sum' compared to the 30,000 marks paid by Henry to Frederick II, and it was never paid. What may have been more important to Henry, though, was a scheme suggested by Stacey, in which he might be able to trade any land received in Provence, land which had important strategic significance to Louis of France, for land in Poitou or Gascony.[67] Though Eleanor was co-heiress, this seems unlikely to be the reason for her marriage to Henry III; more valuable would be the support and advice he would gain from a number of Savoyard ministers, who would arrive in England with the new queen and nonetheless create endless problems for Henry in the coming years.

The final marriage which is an example of a prince marrying an heiress to gain control of her land was that of Edmund of Lancaster and Aveline de Forz, in 1269. Though he had been given permission to marry her mother, Isabel, the daughter of the earl of Devon and widow of the earl of Albemarle,[68] instead he wed the young Aveline, who was only ten at the time. Doing so would eventually, he hoped, gain him not only

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[65] Stacey, Politics, p. 180.

[66] Howell, Eleanor, p. 14.

[67] Stacey, Politics, pp. 180-81.

[68] CPR, *1266-72*, p. 303.

Devon, but also the lordships of Holderness and the Isle of Wight.[69] This resembles the way in which Henry II sought land for John, for Edmund was the second son and the attempt to create him King of Sicily had long-since failed. In order to ensure the inheritance of Devon, Edmund went so far as to pay off the countess of Devon, £1,000, making Aveline unquestionably the sole heiress,[70] and indicating the wealth the inheritance may have brought him. Unfortunately, Aveline died without living heirs, and the lands Edmund had hoped for reverted to the crown. Though this effort by Edmund failed, it is clear that the three heiresses procured for the sons of Henry II would have been very advantageous to their husbands, and one can understand why marriage to an heiress was such a desirable aim for second, third, and fourth sons.

Moving on to dower, then, we do have reference to the dower that had been assigned to Margaret, wife of Henry the Young King. Though what lands had been assigned to her are unknown, in a charter after his death, Margaret confirmed that she had given up her rights to land in exchange for '2750 *livres* Angevin annually.'[71]

In 1176, Henry II had only one child for whom a marriage had not been arranged: Joanna, his youngest daughter, aged eleven years. In spring of 1176, a group of ambassadors from Sicily arrived in London to request the hand of Joanna for their king, William II. A specific dowry for Joanna is unknown, but the dower agreement by William II is recorded by Howden:

> And as dower we grant to the afore-mentioned queen, our most beloved wife, the county of Monte Sant'Angelo, the city of Siponte and the city of Viesti, with all their rightful appurtenances. In service also we grant to her from the tenements of count Godfrey, Lesina, Peschicci, Vico, Caprile, Varano, and Ceffalicchia, and all other places that the count is known to hold as of the honour of the said county of Monte Sant'Angelo. We grant similarly for her service Candelaro, Sanchirico, Castello Pagano, Bersentium, and Cagnano. We also grant that there will be in the honour of the dower, the monastery of Saint John de Lama, and the monastery of Saint Mary de Pulsano, with all the

[69] Rhodes, II, pp. 209-210.

[70] CPR, *1266-72*, p. 358.

[71] Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Vol. II, ed. Leopold DeLisle (Paris, 1920), p. 276.

> tenements which those monasteries hold of the afore-said county of Sant'Angelo.[72]

Howden does not discuss when this dower was negotiated or assigned, though the document is dated February 1177 so would appear to have been granted at the same time as the wedding, as one would expect. Unlike some dowers, these lands granted to Joanna are all in close proximity, gathered in and around the county of Monte Sant'Angelo in southern Italy, yet still one of the most northerly counties under the control of the kings of Sicily. The county was also, by this time, the traditional dower-land of the queen of Sicily, and would again be referred to as such in the marriage agreement between Isabella and Frederick II in 1235, 'the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo... just as other Queens of Sicily are accustomed to having wholly as their dower.'[73] The county was not just a traditional dower; because of its position in the northern-most area of Sicily's territories, it was also strategically important. In fact, Joanna had serious difficulty in holding onto her rights after the death of William II in 1189, when the crown was taken over by the king's illegitimate cousin Tancred. The rightful heiress to the crown of Sicily was in fact William II's aunt, Constance, married some years before to Emperor Henry VI, who was very interested in pressing his wife's claim. Joanna's dower lay directly in the path of any army invading from the north, and so in spite of her rights, Tancred took control of the land, placing the dowager queen in custody, as Ambroise explains it: 'Tancred did not dare demur/ though he had taken in his power/ both the queen's person and her dower.'[74] Though it might seem odd that

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[72] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 96: '*Et in dodarium concedimus praefatae reginae carissimae uxori nostrae comitatum Monte Sancti Angeli, sicut est inferius annotatum; videlicet in demanio, civitatem Montis Sancti Angeli, civitatem Siponte, et civitatem Vestae, cum omnibus justis tenementis et pertinentiis earum. In servitio autem concedimus ei de tenementis comitis Goffridi, Alesine, Peschizam, Bicum, Caprile, Baranum, et Sfilizum, et omnia alia quae idem comes de honore ejusdem comitatus Montis Sancti Angeli tenere dinoscitur. Concedimus etiam ei similiter in servitio Candelarium, Sanctum Clericum, castellum Paganum, Bersentium, et Cagnanum. Insuper concedimus ut sint de honore ipsius dodarii, monasterium Sancti Johannis de Lama, et monasterium Sanctae Mariae de Pulsano, cum omnibus tenementis quae ipsa monasteria tenent de honore praedicti comitatus Sancti Angeli*.'

[73] Foedera, p. 220.

[74] Ambroise, The Crusade of Richard the Lion-Heart, trans. Merton Jerome Humbert, ed. John La Monte (New York, 1941), p. 49, lines 532-34.

strategically important lands were assigned to the dower, they in fact only became so on Tancred's usurpation of the crown, which created an enemy in the emperor.

We get a hint of how much her dower might have been worth months later, when Joanna's brother Richard arrived in Sicily and demanded remuneration for his sister's lands. According to the Itinerarium Peregrinorum, Tancred offered '20,000 ounces of gold for the dower of the queen of Sicily, Richard's sister.'[75] Evidently Richard felt this to be more than fair, and the agreement was confirmed with Tancred, Joanna was returned to Richard, and a treaty of peace was arranged between the two kings.[76] Though freed from custody, Joanna was never able to enjoy her dower, for either by her own desire or through coercion, the money was donated completely to Richard's Crusade fund.[77]

Richard's journey to the Holy Land was marked by another important matrimonial event, namely his own marriage to Berengaria of Navarre. No formal marriage agreement exists between Richard and Berengaria's father Sancho, nor is it even clear exactly what the terms of the marriage were, save that Sancho would look after and protect Richard's southern lands during his absence on Crusade.[78] The document naming her dower, dated 20th May 1191, does survive:

> All we have in Gascony on the other side of the Garonne, cities, castles, towns and all of our lordship, that she should have and possess during the lifetime of our mother, Eleanor...in Normandy our castle of Falaise and the town with all its appurtenances, the castle of Domfront and the town with all its appurtenances, the castle and town of Bonneville-sur-Touque, with all its appurtenances; in Maine, Château-du-Loir with its appurtenances; in Touraine, the castle of Loches and its town and appurtenances, the castle of Montbazon and the town with its appurtenances; in Poitou, the town of Jaulnay with its appurtenances, the castle of Mervent and the town with its appurtenances, and Oléron with its appurtenances.[79]

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[75] *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, in Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, Vol. I, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1864), p. 169: '*Et pro dote reginae Siciliae sororis regis Ricardi daturum viginti millia uncias auri*.'

[76] Ibid., p. 169 and Howden, Gesta, II, p. 133.

[77] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 137.

[78] Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria,' p. 167.

[79] Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, Vol. I, ed. John W. Baldwin (Paris, 1992), pp. *469-70: 'Ea omnia que habemus in Vasconia ultra Guaronem, civitates, castra, villas et omnia domina nostra, ut ea habeat*

Though these lands are clearly assigned, she apparently had difficulty in maintaining hold of them, as we see through her later appeals to King John and Henry III, after her husband's death. In 1201, an agreement reads 'Let a settlement be known between us and Berengaria, formerly queen of England, wife of our brother king Richard, her dower which she entreated. Namely that we assign to her, as her dower, 1000 silver marks per year, 13 shillings and 4 pence per mark.'[80] Whether this is instead of the land is unknown, though in 1220, this agreement was re-confirmed by Henry III with a significant increase in funds, '1000 pounds sterling, to be received each year.'[81] There is no more mention anywhere of the lands assigned at Limassol in 1191, and the situation becomes more complicated when one considers that in the years between 1200 and 1204 there were in fact three queens of England—Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria, and Isabelle of Angoulême—each requiring a dower. This issue will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Isabelle of Angoulême was first confirmed her dower of lands of the continent only days after her marriage, in 1200. The lands consisted of Saintes and Niort in Poitou, and Saumur, La Flèche, Beaufort-en-Vallée, Baugé and Château-du-Loire in Anjou. As Nicholas Vincent points out, the appointment of especially the Poitevin lands arguably made the already awkward situation with the Lusignan family worse: the two lordships of Saintes and Niort together made Isabelle—after John's death—one of the foremost landholders in Poitou, rivalling the family of the man she was supposed to marry.[82] This dower was also unusual in that unlike other Queens of England other than

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et possideat in vita matris nostre Alienor...in Normannia castrum nostrum de Falesia et villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis, castrum de Danfront et villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis, castrum et villam de Bona Villa super Toque cum omnibus appenditiis suis ; in Cenomannia : castrum Liri et villam cum omnibus appenditiis ; in Turonia, castrum de Loches et villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis, castrum de Monte Basonis et villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis ; in Pictavia : villam de Jeolnai cum omnibus appenditiis suis, castrum de Maeruent et villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis, et Oleron cum omnibus appenditiis suis.'

[80] Foedera, p. 84: '*Sciatis ita convenisse inter nos & Berengariam quondam Reginam Angliae, uxorem Regis Ricardi fratris nostri, de dote sua quam petebat ; scilicet quod nos assignavimus ei, pro dote sua, mille marcas argenti annuatim, xiij solidis & iv. denariis computatis pro marca*.'

[81] Ibid., p. 161.

[82] Vincent, 'Isabelle of Angoulême,' p. 185 and Rot. Chart., pp. 74-5.

Berengaria, whose dower was also assigned during her mother-in-law's lifetime, Isabelle was not assigned any lands in England, mainly due to the fact that Eleanor of Aquitaine had in 1189 been confirmed the dowers of the last few queens, combined, '[Richard] gave to his mother Queen Eleanor, all the dower which King Henry his great-grandfather had given his wife Queen Matilda, and all the dower which the king had given to his wife Queen Adeliza, and all the dower which King Henry his father had given her.'[83] In 1204, though, after Eleanor's death, we see the old queen's lands in England being transferred to Isabelle, and her dower being re-confirmed:

> In Devon, the city of Exeter with the fair of that city...and also Kenton, Ailrichestona and Wick.
> In Somerset, Ilchester.
> In Wiltshire, Wilton, Malmesbury, Biddeston, which Henry de Bernavall had, who answers to the same queen for the service of his land, and Winterslowe.
> In Sussex, the city of Chichester, except the holding of Simon, bishop-elect of the whole city...
> In London, Queenhithe.
> In Essex, the town of Waltham which the abbot and canons of Waltham hold at rent. In Hertfordshire, the honour of Berkhamsted, with all its appurtenances, and the county of Rutland and the city of Rockingham.
> And in Normandy, Falaise and Domfront with their appurtenances, and Bonneville-sur-Touques and also all others which were assigned to our beloved mother, Eleanor queen of England in dower, on this side of the sea as well as on the far side.[84]

The Norman lands of Falaise, Domfront and Bonneville-sur-Torques were as seen above at one point part of Berengaria's dower, but she appears to have been granted Le

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[83] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 99.

[84] Foedera, p. 88: '*In Devonia, civitatem Exoniensem cum feria ejusdem civitatis...&praeterea Kentonam & Ailricheston, & Wyke. In Somerset, Ivelcestre. In Wiltsire, Wilton, Maumesbir, Betesden, quam Henricus de Bernavall tenet, qui respondebit eidem Reginae de servitio ejusdem terrae, & Wiltereslawe. In Sussex, civitatem Cicestriae: salva tenure Simonis Cicestr' electi de total illa civitate cum pertinentiis...In London, Hetham Reginae. In Essex, villam de Waltham, quam abbas & canonici de Waltham tenet ad firmam. In Hertfortsire, honorem de Berkhamsted, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, tam in dominicis quam feodis; & praeterea comitatum de Roteland, & villam de Rokingham. Et in Normannia, Faleis & Danfront cum pertinentiis, bonam villam super Tokam; & praeterea omnia alia, quae dilectae matri nostrae A. Reginae Angliae in dotem fuerint assignata, tam citra mare quam ultra*.' This document is dated 1203 by Rymer, but clearly refers to events after the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and so must be re-dated to 1204.

Mans in exchange.[85] Some of these lands, such as Exeter and Waltham, were traditional queenly dower lands, stretching back even before the conquest.[86] It is curious to note that though Berengaria still lived, and could be seen as the more senior queen, Eleanor's lands transferred not to her but to John's wife Isabelle, the queen consort. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Berengaria was forced to make so many appeals to both John and his son to secure her dower.

Isabelle's dower lands would continue to be an issue of contention after the death of King John in 1216, and not just for Berengaria. Though Isabelle's daughter, Joan, had been betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan in 1214 and sent to Poitou, in 1220 the dowager queen shocked the English Minority Council and Henry III by marrying Hugh herself. As was seen above when discussing Joan's dowry, it was clear that Isabelle and Hugh intended to keep hold both of Joan's dowry, and Isabelle's dower, which had been seized by the crown on the occasion of her marriage.[87] After bargaining with Hugh to release Joan, the Minority Council were forced to give in to the couple's demands and grant Isabelle the revenue from her dower lands in England,[88] but they retained control of her Poitevin lands, which she was still demanding years later. In 1226 her English lands were confirmed, though of course the Norman lands were long lost to the crown:

> We wish, and by the swearing of an oath of our body we do confirm the restoration to our most beloved mother, Queen Isabelle, and countess of Angoulême, all of her dower, which she had, and ought to have, in England, just as was assigned to Eleanor our grandmother, and just as was sworn in the letter of Lord John our father.[89]

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[85] Powicke, Loss, p. 274.

[86] Vincent, 'Isabelle of Angoulême,' p. 185 and Bartlett, England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, p. 42.

[87] Foedera, p. 169.

[88] DD, no. 93.

[89] Foedera, p. 183: '*Sciatis quod volumus & per juramentum nostrum corporaliter praestitum firmavimus, reddere karissimae matri nostrae, Isabellae Regiae & comitissae Engolismi, totam dotem suam, quam habuit, & habere debet in Anglia, sicut assignata fuit Alienorae quondam aviae nostrae, & sicut carta domini Johannis patris nostri testatur*.'

Joan, who as seen above was transferred almost immediately from Poitou to Scotland, was assigned a dower at the time of her marriage at York, in a document dated the 18th of June, 1221:

> Alexander, by Grace of God, king of Scotland, to all who read this document, greetings. Know that to Joanna, eldest sister of the lord king of England, our beloved wife, we have granted as dower these lands written below, worth 1,000 pounds of land, namely: Jedburgh, Hassendean, Lessuden with their appurtenances, and Kinghorn, in Scotland, with its appurtenances. And Crail, with its appurtenances. And, if by chance this said land is not able to reach the said sum of one thousand pounds, because there may be something lacking in these lands, we will give more to her elsewhere in the proper locations. If it should happen that the lady queen our mother, after our death, should be living, she does not wish that the lands of Kinghorn and Crail, which she herself holds, should be conferred on our said wife as dower, or should the said 1,000 pounds of land be lacking, our heirs will make it up in the castle and fortress of Ayr, in the castle and fortress of Rutherglen, and in the castle and fortress of Lanark.[90]

No more is heard of the dower settlement, and in any case she pre-deceased her husband, dying without heirs, so the lands would have reverted back to the crown in 1238. As will be seen below, Eleanor of Castile was assigned a dower worth £1,000 on her marriage to Prince Edward in 1254, so it would appear that Joan's dower lands were certainly worth a respectable amount for a queen.

As has been seen above, the dowry and dower arranged for Isabella's marriage to Frederick II in 1235 are stated comparatively clearly. Though not part of the dower, Frederick did send a number of gifts to Henry III, and 'promised aid and suitable forces

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[90] Ibid, p. 165: '*Alexander, Dei gratia, Rex Scotiae, omnibus praesentem cartam inspecturis, salutem. Noveritis quod Johannae primogenitae sorori domini Regis Angliae, sponsae nostrae dilectae, concessimus in dotarium, has terras subscriptas pro millibus libratis terrae, scilicet, Jeddewurth, cum pertinentiis suis & Halstanesdon, cum pertinentiis suis, & Lessedwin, cum pertinentiis suis, Et Kymgor, in Scotia, cum pertinentiis suis. Et Carel' cum pertinentiis suis. Et, si forte hae terrae praescriptae ad summam praedictarum millium libratarum attingere non possint, quod inde ei deerit in terris illis, ei supleri faciemus alibi in loco competenti. Si vero contingat quod domina Regina mater nostra, post decessum nostrum, ipsa superstite, non velit ut terrae de Kyngor' & de Carel', quas ipsa tenet, praedictae sponsae nostrae in dotarium conferantur, eidem sponsae nostrae, quod ei deerit de praedictis mille libratis terrae, perficient haeredes nostri in castello & castellaria de Ar' & in castello & castellaria de Ruthergleya, & In castello & castellaria de Lanarc'.*'

against the king of France, who went back on his word violently and unjustly,'[91] echoing one of the emperor's reasons for the marriage—a falling out with the king of France, when several years earlier he was not as eager to side with an enemy of the Capetians.[92] The emperor also granted his wife a generous dower:

> [She] shall be appointed as dower the valley of Mazaro, with its cities, castles and villas, tenements, cultivated and uncultivated land, and watercourses, and all other rights and appurtenances. And also the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo, similarly with all its cities, castles and villas, tenements, cultivated and uncultivated land, and watercourses, and all other rights and appurtenances, just as other Queens of Sicily are accustomed to having wholly as their dower.[93]

As is stated in the last sentence, Isabella was dowered both for her position as Empress and as Queen of Sicily, for the latter receiving the same grant as her great-aunt Joanna had done in 1177, the county of Monte Sant'Angelo. The Valley of Mazaro, in the west of Sicily, was in fact only recently secured from the Muslims who, from 1189 had been taking advantage of the turmoil caused after William II's death by instigating warfare so brutal that no Christians had been able to visit the area, which included many churches and a cathedral begun there by Roger I in the late eleventh century. The violence had finally been stopped by Frederick himself in the mid-1220s.[94] For Henry III, this exchange for his dowry payment was close to ideal. He had long wished for an alliance with the Staufen emperor, and even just the emperor's promise to support his cause was reason enough to wish for the marriage. As for Frederick II's motivations, they are less clear, though Björn Weiler suggests convincingly that the emperor may have had at least a partial wish to act as intermediary to end the conflict between the

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[91] CM, III, p. 325.

[92] Weiler, Staufen, p. 60.

[93] Foedera, p. 220. The Kingdom of Sicily belonged to the empire since the marriage of Constance of Sicily to Henry VI in 1184, and the subsequent death of William II in 1189, though the throne was in dispute for the early years of the 1190s. There is no evidence in the biographies of Frederick II or any other source found at this point that Isabella was dowered separately for her role as Empress.

[94] Matthew, The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, p. 322.

Plantagenets and the Capetians.[95] More importantly, though, Frederick could use the 30,000 marks to finance his ongoing wars in Italy.[96]

Henry III's next move in the field of matrimony was again to focus on himself, and in late 1235 he managed to negotiate a marriage for himself with Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, younger sister of the new French queen. Despite the lack of material advantage for Henry III, discussed above, his bride was richly dowered:

> To our beloved Queen Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, in the name of dower, she shall have for all her life the castle and burgh of Gloucester, with the demesne of Gloucester, and the cities of Worcester and Mathon, the manors of Clun and Chilham, held of our heirs as other manors, which with the before-said manors and cities were assigned to her as dower by a prior letter of ours.[97]

This previous letter is the document dated 15th October 1235, which details the matrimonial proposal, though it does not state what exactly the dower lands are:

> We concede therefore by special mandate that, to this lady, by the advice of the said bishops and master of the Knights Templar...as dower, shall be assigned the cities, lands and rights that are assigned to other queens of England by other kings of England, our predecessors.[98]

It is here, though, that an interesting clause is added, doubtless at least partly to avoid any further problems with the still very active dowager Queen Isabelle, but also in an echo to earlier documents that mentioned lands given to Isabelle on her marriage to John, until the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine. The clause is as follows:

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[95] Weiler, Staufen, pp. 63-4.

[96] Stacey, Politics, p. 126.

[97] Foedera, p. 253: '*Dilectae Reginae nostrae Alienorae, filiae comitis Provenciae, quod ipsa, nomine dotis, si de nobis humanitus contingat, habeat toto tempore vitae suae castrum & burgum de Gloucestria, cum bertona Gloucestriae, & civitatibus Wigorniae & Mathon, & maneriis de Clyne & de Chiltham; retentis in manu haeredum nostrorum aliis maneriis, quae prius ei, cum praedictis maneriis & civitatibus, in dotem assignavimus per priorem cartam nostram*.'

[98] Ibid., p. 219: '*Concedimus igitur antedictis procuratoribus plenam auctoritatem & special mandatum ut, eidem domicellae, de consilio praedictorum episcoporum, & magistri Militiae Templi, & fratris G. nomine nostro, in dotem constituent civitates, terras & tenementos, quae consueverunt aliis Reginis Angliae assignari in dotem ab aliis Regibus, praedecessoribus nostris*.'

> If it should happen that Isabelle, the queen of England our mother, should outlive us, and her assigned dower is restored to her, our said proctors, by the advice of the said bishops and master of the Knights Templar, and brother G. shall assign to the said Eleanor, our future wife, the burghs and towns written below: namely the burghs of Gloucester, Cambridge and Huntingdon; the towns of Wickham, Basingstoke, Andover, Chilham, Godmanchester, Clun, Kingston-upon-Thames, Ospringe, and Lothingland, held, in the name of dower, together at this time by the said Queen Isabelle our mother. And, after the death of our mother, the said Eleanor, our future wife, shall have as her dower that which our mother held; and the land assigned to her in the meantime as her dower, will revert freely and peacefully to our heirs.[99]

As will be discussed in more detail below, this was clearly another example of provisions being made when there was more than one queen in England.

Shortly after his own marriage, Henry III presided over a marriage between his sister, Eleanor, widow of William Marshal since 1231, and one of his barons, Simon de Montfort. Because of the sudden nature of the marriage—none of the barons knew of the plan for Eleanor to re-marry until her wedding or even after—no dower or dowry was arranged prior to the ceremony.[100] While Eleanor and Simon were doubtless clever to be married secretly—the outcry after the marriage attests to a general objection to it—it did leave them in the position of having slightly less to bargain with; they were married, and all they could do was continue to badger the king to assign the lands and moneys owed to them. Indeed, this is what they were forced to do for most of their marriage. Eleanor had never been properly dowered out of the lands of her first husband, William Marshal, nor was she ever granted a proper dowry for her second. In order to resolve these two claims, Henry promised his sister and her husband, '500

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[99] Ibid., p. 219: '*Et, si contingat quod Isabella, Regina Angliae mater nostra, nos supervixerit, & dotem suam ei assignatam recuperaverit, praedicti procuratores nostri, de consilio praedictorum episcoporum, & magistri Militiae Templi, & fratris G. assignent praedictae Alienorae, uxori nostrae futurae, burgos & villas subscriptas. Videlicet burgos de Gloucestria, Cantebrigia, & Huntindonia: & villas de Wych', Basingestock, Andeur', Chiltham, Gumecestr', Clyne, Kingeston, Osspring', & Ludingland, tenendas, nomine dotis, toto tempore praedictae Isabellae Reginae matris nostrae. Et, post mortem ejusdem matris nostrae, habeat praedicta Alienora, uxor nostra futura, dotem illam, quam praedicta mater nostra tenuit: & praedictae terrae, ei assignatae interim, nominae dotis, ad haeredes nostros libere & quiete revertantur*.'

[100] CM, III, pp. 470-71 for account of the marriage and its sudden nature.

marks, receivable yearly at the Exchequer during the life of both, until the king should provide them with 500 marks of land in escheats or wards.'[101] This resolution did not come until May 1244, six years after their marriage, and by no means solved the extent of the money troubles between the king and his sister, which would continue on well into the 1250s.[102]

The final marriage for which we have a known dower is that of Prince Edward, the future Edward I, and Eleanor, sister to the king of Castile. We are extremely fortunate in this case, for two marriage settlements actually survive for this marriage, one from July 1254, and an amended version, one month later. There was a long series of negotiations between the English and Castilians regarding this marriage, and on several occasions it appeared likely that it would never come to pass. On 18th July 1254, though, we find a document from Henry III declaring the marriage of Edward and Eleanor. The document itself assigning Eleanor's dower, written in the name of Edward with, 'the approval and good-will of our father the king,' is dated two days later:

> We, with the approval and goodwill of our father the king, have assigned as dower to the glorious lady Eleanor, sister of the lord Alfonso, illustrious king of Castile and León, the castle and estate of Tickhill with its appurtenances; Stamford and Grantham with their appurtenances; the castle and estate of Peak with its appurtenances, as regards to £1,000 of land, if they are sufficient. But if on the contrary they are not, we will supplement with other lands of ours in England. And, when she is elevated to queen, we will increase her said dower by 500 marks of land per year, watched over for her in the kingdom of England, in a suitable place.[103]

[101] ChR, I, p. 278, and Stacey, Politics, pp. 237-8.

[102] Carpenter, Reign, p. 234.

[103] Foedera, p. 304: '*Noveritis nos, de assensu & voluntate praefati domini Regis patris nostri, assignasse in dotem inclitae puellae Alianorae, domini Alfonsi illustris Regis Castellae & Legionis sorori, castrum & villam de Tikhull cum pertinentiis: Stamford & Grantham cum pertinentiis: & castrum & villam de Peck cum pertinentiis, pro mille libratis terrae, si sufficiant; sin autem, defectum illius summae eidem Alianorae supplebimus in aliis terris nostris Angliae. Et, cum sublimata fuerit in Reginam, nos praedictam dotem suam augebimus de quingentis mercatis terrae per annum, assidendis ei in regno Angliae in locis competentibus*.'

These lands, altogether, were therefore worth £1,000 yearly, plus the 500 marks on English lands to be added at her coronation.[104] This grant is repeated almost verbatim in the document, dated 26th August, which confirms the dower in Henry's name,[105] and comes after the additional estates granted to Edward earlier in 1254, as insisted upon by Alfonso, worth another 15,000 marks per year, or about £10,000.[106] This should be compared to the average annual income of Henry III during the 1240s of around £33,000.[107] Among the lands granted to Edward to make up the 15,000 were a large portion of Eleanor's dower, including Stamford, Grantham and Peak.[108] While it might seem that Alfonso was demanding a lot of Henry III before the marriage could be completed, he had agreed to relinquish his claim to Gascony, a claim which, if pressed, would have cost Henry a great deal of time and money in fighting. Henry was also making, at the time, a rather tenuous promise to accompany Alfonso X on his campaign against the Muslims in Africa, including an attempt to get his crusading vow transferred from Sicily to Africa.[109] It is therefore understandable that he should wish that his sister was well-provided for, whether he received the political advantage he wished for or not.

These lists of lands and moneys granted clearly varies significantly from generation to generation. There are several patterns to point out, though. Firstly, it is evident that there is no prerequisite for dower lands to be close together. Isabelle of Angoulême was dowered with lands sprinkled across the Angevin Empire, while Eleanor of Provence's dower, while confined to England, is not limited to any particular county or region. Though Eleanor of Castile's dower is narrower geographically, there are also only four places mentioned in her assignment, and the intention to grant her further, wider-reaching lands on her coronation is evident in the dower agreement.[110]

There is another trend which is emerging at this time, or in the case of England had at least partially existed for generations, and this is the idea of a traditional dower-land for the queen. This is certainly happening in Sicily as early as Joanna's marriage

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[104] John Carmi Parsons, Eleanor of Castile (London, 1995), p. 15.

[105] Foedera, p. 306.

[106] Michael Prestwich, Edward I (London, 1988), p. 10.

[107] Stacey, Politics, p. 207.

[108] Foedera, p. 297.

[109] Ibid., p. 308.

[110] Ibid., p. 304.

in 1177, though the phrase is not used until a generation later, in 1235, when Isabella is assigned the dower, 'just as other queens of Sicily are accustomed to having.'[111] There is also, however, evidence of this occurring in England, even before the conquest,[112] and Eleanor of Aquitaine, as seen above, was dowered with all the dowers of three of the queens before her. Several of the documents quoted above outline the idea that the queen's dower will change on the death of the king's mother, further supporting the idea that there were traditional lands which the queen should be assigned. But what may be unusual about this era is that all the kings from Henry II to Henry III left widows on their deaths, some of whom did not die for a number of years afterwards. This meant that, on more than one occasion, there were a number of widowed English queens. On some occasions, such as the years between 1200 and 1204, there were as many as three, all requiring dowers. So, the problem of what to assign as dower for a new queen while the dowager still lived arose for Richard, John, Henry III and Prince Edward, all of whom married while their mothers still lived, meaning that they were forced to assign other, non-traditional dower lands to their brides, with the caveat that on the death of the dowager, her lands would be transferred to the young queen, and the temporary dower returned to the crown.[113] The extent of the trouble this caused is not entirely discernible—certainly each king was able to find land for his bride, though there were at least two occasions on which dowager queens were forced to fight for their lands. Isabelle of Angoulême's case is perhaps less traditional, due to the tumultuous nature of her second marriage, as is detailed above, but Berengaria of Navarre, who arguably held very little influence even while queen consort, was still appealing to the king to grant her a proper dower as late as 1220.[114]

The dowry, then, was in many ways the heart of any marriage agreement, spelling out in detail how much the bride, or perhaps more realistically the match, was worth, either in land, money, or both. Certainly there is more than one occasion on which the ending of a dispute, or the prestige, was as important as the value involved.

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[111] Ibid., p. 220.

[112] Pauline Stafford, Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England (Oxford, 2001), pp. 130-32.

[113] See Foedera, p. 219, quoted above, for Eleanor of Provence's dower confirmation, which discusses this idea.

[114] Carpenter, Minority, p. 200 and Foedera, p. 161.

A dower, on the other land, could be equally reflective, a statement to the bride's family of how much the husband valued his wife, and how well he would see her taken care of after his death. What neither a husband nor a bride's family could ensure, though, was the guarantee of fair access to the dower, or which party lived longer.

Chapter Seven – Success in Marriage

Unlike many children of the nobility and other royal families, some of whom took holy orders, the legitimate children of the English royal house between 1154 and 1272 all married.[1] Some, most often the males, married more than once, for a total of twenty-one marriages for the sixteen children of this period. In this section of analysis, I will assess which of the marriages were successful, as regards to politics but also the personal relationship between husband and wife, as best as it can be determined from chronicles. In order to determine the level of success, I will examine the most likely pre-nuptial political motives for the marriage, and compare it to the outcome. I will also consider whether the union produced children, or more importantly a male heir, an outcome that was certainly one of the most important aspects of royal marriage. The marriages fall into four categories: the first, those marriages which can be determined as a relative political success; the second, those marriages in which there was success for the English crown but it was outweighed by the advantages to the foreign side of the arrangement; the third, a mixed category including those matches in which both sides benefitted equally, neither side benefitted appreciably, or the benefit was personal to the members of the union but not to the English crown; and finally the fourth category, those by which the English crown can be said to have been worse off than before the marriage, that is the political failures. The first of these two categories will be broken down yet further, to examine more careful patterns.

Amongst the marriages which were political successes, there are four which I have categorised as successes both politically and personally. The first is the marriage of Eleanor, second daughter of Henry II, and Alfonso VIII, king of Castile. The English crown's continental interest had spread south to the Spanish border with Henry II's

[1] This pattern is similar to that we see in other kingdoms at this time—none of William the Lion of Scotland's children entered holy orders, nor did any of Louis VII of France's children. However, two of Louis VII's brothers became churchmen: Henry was bishop of Beauvais then archbishop of Reims, while Philip was bishop of Paris. See Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, The Feudal Monarchy in France and England (London, 1936), p. 228. There were illegitimate children of Henry II who joined the church, in particular Geoffrey, who became archbishop of York. Gillingham, Richard I, p. 103. Also, his illegitimate daughter, Matilda, was abbess of Barking. David Knowles et. al. The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales: 940 – 1216 (Cambridge, 2002), p. 208.

marriage to Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine, and in 1170 Henry II arranged the marriage to safeguard his interest in Gascony, by preventing any possibility of his enemy, Louis VII of France, renewing his alliance with Castile.[2] Had Louis VII been able to ally with the Castilian king, it would clearly have endangered Henry's holdings in southern France, with a potentially hostile Toulouse on the east, and a French ally on the south-west. The importance and success of this marriage is indicated by the renewal of the Spanish alliance[3] through Richard the Lionheart's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre, and his great-nephew Edward I's marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1254. Though one might interpret the repeat alliance as evidence that the first had failed, in this case it is in fact the opposite—Richard's decision to seek a queen from one of the Spanish kingdoms is evidence of how important the safety of Gascony was to him, but also supports the idea that such an alliance was useful to the dukes of Aquitaine. Furthermore, the rulers of the Spanish kingdoms had clear respect for Henry II when, in 1176, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Sancho VI of Navarre came to him requesting arbitration in a territorial dispute.[4] If it was Henry II's desire to keep the Castilian monarch as his friend and ally through the marriage to his daughter, as well as gaining the prestige of making his daughter a queen, then Eleanor and Alfonso were a successful match.

Also completely advantageous to the English government, in this case the Minority Council of Henry III's reign, was the marriage of another Eleanor, this one King John's daughter, to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in 1224. There were two clear reasons as to why the Council, led at the time by Hubert de Burgh, wished a marriage between the six-year-old sister of the king, and the twenty-three-year-old Marshal. The first was their strong desire to keep the earl from accepting the proposal to wed the sister of the count of Dreux, thereby increasing foreign influence on him, and on the kingdom in general.[5] The second reason was to gain the earl's acquiescence in de Burgh's plans both for the count of Perche's lands in England, and de Burgh's

[2]Torigni, p. 247 and Warren, Henry II, p. 117.

[3] For the purpose of this section, I am using 'Spain' to designate the Iberian kingdoms with which the rulers of Gascony were most likely to ally: Castile, Navarre, León and Aragon-Barcelona.

[4] Howden, Gesta, I, p. 139, and Anthony Goodman, 'England and Iberia in the Middle Ages,' in England and her Neighbours, 1066 – 1453, eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), p. 74.

[5] Carpenter, Minority, pp. 244-45, and DD, no. 140.

marriage to Margaret, sister of King Alexander of Scotland. Both de Burgh and the Marshal had been granted part of the count's estates, and if de Burgh was permitted to keep his, then the Marshal would be permitted to do the same, creating a link between them on which further alliance could be made. In agreeing to marry Eleanor, thereby cementing a friendship with de Burgh, the Marshal would also effectively be agreeing to de Burgh's matrimonial plans.[6] Through this marriage the Marshal was also convinced to go along with de Burgh's policy of resumption of royal castles, giving up both Marlborough and Ludgershall, and hopefully influencing other nobles to peacefully do the same, 'he was releasing as much to [the king] that other magnates might be easily induced similarly to resign of their own accord the castles they held.'[7] De Burgh's desire for friendship and acquiescence was fulfilled, for he was indeed able to wed Margaret of Scotland—a bride once meant for King Henry III—thereby firmly increasing his prestige and eventually earning him an earldom, as well as the friendship of the earl of Pembroke, until the earl's death in 1231.

Eleanor's brother, Richard of Cornwall, also made an advantageous marriage, to the sister of his brother's wife, the youngest daughter of the count of Provence. When and where exactly the idea for the marriage arose is open to conjecture; it is known that both Queen Eleanor and her Savoyard family—and, consequently, Henry III—strongly supported the idea.[8] The marriage further strengthened the English royal tie to the houses of Savoy and Provence, alliances the king had come to value and rely upon as countering French alliances in the same area, and as providing counsellors for the royal court.[9] Perhaps more importantly, Richard's marriage to Sanchia was the queen's only method of coming close to controlling her brother-in-law, who had once before made a rash marriage beneficial only to himself. Tied so closely to the royal family, Richard would be more likely to support royal interests and, more importantly the queen's son

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[6] Carpenter, Minority, p. 244.

[7] DD, no. 140: '*Restituerentur nobis dicta castra de Merlebergh' et de Lutegaresh', quod multum nobis expediebat ut sic alii magnates facilius inducerentur ad castra nostra que et ipsi tenebant similiter resignanda*.'

[8] For more discussion, see 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process', pp. 98 and 120.

[9] Henry had shown great favour to the queen's Savoyard uncles, see more below and documents such as Foedera, pp. 243, 251, 253-4. See also Cox, The Eagles of Savoy, p. 115. See also Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites,' p. 591.

Prince Edward.[10] Fortunately for the queen, it seemed to suit Richard to settle into harmony with the royal court, despite many earlier quarrels with the king. From the time of his marriage until the death of his wife in 1261, at which time his interests were more focussed on the German throne, Richard supported the king in most things, including during his displacement by the baronial rebellion in 1258. The queen and her family, it would appear, got exactly what they wanted.

The fourth and final marriage which appears to have been a success both politically and personally, was that of Prince Edward and Eleanor, sister of King Alfonso X of Castile, in 1254. The need for the marriage arose after Alfonso X's accession and his decision to press Castilian rights to Gascony. This threat was even stronger due to Castile's close ties to the French throne[11]—the daughter of Alfonso VIII and Henry II's daughter had married Louis VIII of France—so a marriage was proposed between Henry III's eldest son and heir, and Alfonso X's sister. Gascony could be assigned as her dowry, thus returned to English rights, and Alfonso's sister would be the next Queen of England. Though negotiations were detailed and Alfonso insisted on 15,000 marks worth of land being given to Edward by Henry on the marriage, as well as the honour of knighting the prince,[12] Henry was pleased to agree, and from the marriage in 1254 his worries about Spanish interference in Gascony were over.

Though I have made scant if any reference to the personal side of the marriages mentioned above, it is possible to say that for all four, there is no evidence of there being any particularly disagreeable relationship between husband and wife. Indeed, on several occasions, such as Edward and Eleanor of Castile, there is some evidence of significant affection in the marriages; the story of Edward's grief after Eleanor's death and the erection of the Eleanor crosses is well-known. Furthermore, three of the four marriages produced heirs, an outcome that was beneficial politically and personally; the only exception was Eleanor and William Marshal, due almost certainly to her age, which was only nineteen at the time of his death. There are two marriages, though, that while falling into the category of a political success, are also marked with evidence of personal failure, wherein the partners did not get along.

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[10] Howell, Eleanor, p. 34.

[11] Lloyd, 'Henry III, the Crusade and the Mediterranean,' p. 110.

[12] AM, IV, p. 442.

The first political success but personal failure belonged to Richard the Lionheart. His marriage to Berengaria of Navarre was intended to ensure her father, Sancho VI's, support during Richard's absence on Crusade. If alliance against Toulouse was, as it would appear, the primary reason for the marriage, then Richard certainly got what he wished. When, in 1192, a revolt broke out in Aquitaine encouraged and strengthened by both the count of Toulouse and Philip Augustus, Sancho of Navarre led a force of knights into Aquitaine and fought Count Raymond back into Toulouse.[13] Personally, though, the marriage of Richard and Berengaria was not a success. This is perhaps most emphasised by the fact that they did not have a child, an heir for Richard, a duty that many would have considered to be one of the most important for their marriage. There has been some supposition that Berengaria may have been barren, but there is also evidence that the king and queen spent very little time together after Richard's return from Crusade. Indeed, Richard was scolded by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln for spending too little time with his wife, and too much time being unfaithful.[14] The couple appears to have seldom been together, and though Richard incurred the wrath of Philip Augustus to break his betrothal to Alys in order to wed Berengaria, it would appear that after the immediate political advantage to the marriage was played out, Richard had little interest in his Spanish wife.

The marriage arranged by Richard for his sister Joanna, the dowager queen of Sicily, would also appear to have been nearly as personally painful as her brother's, though its political purpose was achieved. In the 1190s, though, Richard wished to focus all his energies on Normandy, therefore needed to settle the troubles in his southern lands to the best of his ability; the key to this plan was an alliance with Toulouse. The war, which had been going on for upwards of forty years, was settled by Joanna's marriage to Raymond VI of Toulouse, in 1196. Raymond was given Joanna plus the Agenais as her dowry, while Richard gave up his claims to Toulouse as duke of Aquitaine, as long as Raymond remained loyal and held Joanna's dowry as a fief from the kings of England.[15] This alliance was indeed a success, allowing Richard to focus

[13] Howden, Chronica, III, p. 194.

[14] Gillingham, Richard I, p. 263 and Howden, Chronica, III, pp. 288-9.

[15] Devic and Vaissete, Histoire Général de Languedoc, p. 174 and William of Puylaurens, Chronicon, in M. Guillaume Catel, Histoire des Comtes de Tolose (Toulouse, 1623), p. 223.

on Normandy and his battles with Philip Augustus. However, if the last few months of Joanna's life are any example, the personal side of the marriage was less successful. There were three children born to the count and countess of Toulouse, including the future Raymond VII, but in 1199, while Joanna was pregnant with their third child, the castle in which she was living was placed under siege by several of her husband's own knights, who had rebelled against her.[16] Instead of coming to rescue his wife, Count Raymond remained in Provence, away from the rebellion, and when Joanna finally managed to escape with a few loyal knights, she fled not to him but to her brother, Richard.[17] Unfortunately, she found that he had died a month or so earlier, yet instead of returning to her husband, she made her way to Fontevrault Abbey, where she begged to be consecrated as a nun. Eventually the Archbishop of Canterbury granted her request, just before her death in childbirth.[18] Though there is little evidence of the marriage itself, and a successful heir came of it, Joanna's turn to her family rather than her husband seems to indicate more of a personal failure to shadow the political success.

There is a final sub-category to the marriages that were successful, and that is the marriages that were successful only in the short-term: marriages where the political benefit lasted only for a short number of years, then the plans disintegrated. The first of these marriages is that of Henry the Young King and Margaret of France, daughter of Louis VII. Almost from the moment of his marriage to Louis' annulled wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, in 1152, Henry II and Louis were at war. In 1158 the kings came together to arrange a marriage of their children, Henry's heir to Louis's eldest daughter by his second wife, Margaret.[19] Margaret's dowry was set as three of the primary castles of the Vexin—Gisors, Châteauneauf, and Neufles—the possession of which would secure Henry's hold there, and return the land to its rightful holder.[20] From Louis's point of view, Margaret would one day be Queen of England. A major disagreement between the two kings arose again two years later when, on hearing of Louis's hasty re-marriage

[16] Amy Kelly, Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 354 and Vaissete, p. 189.

[17] Vaissete, p. 189.

[18] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 96.

[19] Torigni, p. 196.

[20] Ibid., p. 208.

to Adela de Blois-Champagne,[21] Henry had the two children married, in order to get a hold of the Vexin castles.[22] Despite much posturing and disagreement by the French, there was very little Louis could do, and Henry was able to keep his secure hold on the Vexin. Despite the wars and rebellions of his son, Henry's possession of the Vexin was not questioned until the death without heirs of the Young King in 1183, at which time Louis demanded the return of his daughter, and the Vexin.[23] Henry acted quickly to have the Vexin re-assigned as the dowry for Alys, Margaret's sister, who had been betrothed to Richard, count of Poitou, since the 1160s. Despite all French efforts otherwise, Henry did manage to keep hold of the Vexin castles until his death, and finally on Alys's repudiation by Richard in 1191, Philip Augustus promised the castles to him in perpetuity.[24] This promise was eventually forgotten, and over time both Richard and then John would lose control of the Vexin, and indeed all of Normandy. If the marriage of the Young King and Margaret was intended to secure the Vexin for the Angevin kings, then it did do so for the length of the Young King's life; if it was to ensure peace between the two thrones, then it failed in less than two years.

Another marriage that was successful only initially was that of Geoffrey, third son of Henry II, to Constance of Brittany, in 1181. Henry's interest in Brittany was two-fold; as duke of Normandy he had a long-standing claim to overlordship, while as count of Anjou he had claim over the county of Nantes.[25] When the current duke, Conan IV, proved himself incapable of maintaining peace in the duchy, Henry II took over, confirming his rights there by betrothing Geoffrey to Conan's heiress, Constance. The motives behind this marriage seem to have been both the securing of Brittany as part of the Angevin domain, and also the securing of land for Geoffrey, not dissimilar to the betrothal of John to Alice of Maurienne or Isabel of Gloucester. While Geoffrey's marriage did not take place until 1181, Henry acquired possession of 'most of the duchy

[21] His second wife, Constance of Castile, died in October 1160.

[22] Torigni, p. 208.

[23] It should be noted that the couple did have a son, William, born at Paris in 1177, but he died almost immediately; in fact Howden says that he was stillborn. See Howden, Chronica, II, p. 136. From strictly a reproductive point of view, then, the marriage was a failure.

[24] DD, no. 5.

[25] Everard, Brittany and the Angevins, p. 37.

and its revenues immediately,'[26] and despite occasional objections to Angevin rule by some of the Breton nobles, the duchy was indeed Henry's. Angevin or Norman control over Brittany lasted after the death of Geoffrey in 1186, and at the Treaty of Messina in 1191, Philip of France re-confirmed Richard's rights to Brittany as duke of Normandy.[27] These rights were again confirmed at Le Goulet in 1200, when John was recognised by Philip as Richard's rightful heir, and Arthur, Geoffrey's posthumous son, was declared to hold Brittany from John.[28] However, it was only shortly after this meeting that Arthur rebelled against the new king, supported by the many continental nobles who believed Arthur to be the true heir, not John. John did manage to capture Arthur at the siege of Mirebeau, but his shameful treatment of his nephew, and the rumoured murder of Arthur by his very hand, lost him control of Brittany. On hearing of Arthur's death, the Breton nobles turned to Philip for support, and despite several attempts at invasion into the county, John never managed to re-gain control of Brittany; it, like Normandy, was soon lost.[29] While Geoffrey's marriage to Constance was initially a success in tying Brittany back to the Norman dukes, it also created a familial connection that would prove dangerous for John, providing a male heir with an arguably better claim to the English throne.

John's first marriage, to Isabel of Gloucester, was also successful initially, but grew obsolete. The 1176 betrothal, which was almost certainly arranged by Henry II, was intended to provide land for John. That land, and not the girl herself, was the object is evident by the fact that Henry bought off the other co-heiresses to the earldom, both of whom were already married.[30] This land was added to by generous grants made to the prince by his father and later his brother, and might well have contented John had he remained a fourth son. However, with the deaths of his two elder brothers, John moved closer to the throne, and finally on his father's death, became the closest heir to his brother, Richard.[31] It is around this time that the earldom of Gloucester appears to

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[26] Ibid., p. 44.

[27] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 161.

[28] Howden, Chronica, IV, p. 150.

[29] Powicke, Loss, p. 160.

[30] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 100.

[31] As is mentioned in the above paragraph, John's position as heir was not without question, for his elder brother Geoffrey's son Arthur had an equal claim.

have lost its significance to John, and he began to make his first efforts towards a divorce. He made a promise to Philip Augustus in 1192 to wed his repudiated sister, Alys, despite already having a wife,[32] and the childless marriage to Isabel of Gloucester was finally dissolved soon after his coronation, on the grounds of consanguinity.[33]

All of the marriages discussed thus far have been those in which the English throne benefited from the political alliance, if not in the long-term then at least initially; the king or council got most or all of what they desired out of the match. I will now be examining a series of matches in which the benefits to the other party outweighed that to the English crown. That is not to say, mind, that the English crown did not reap certain benefits; in many of these cases, they did. Nor should it be seen that a benefit to the other party meant a loss for the English party. Rather, these are cases wherein the other party benefitted more significantly than the crown.

The first of these marriages was that of Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II, to Henry 'the Lion', duke of Saxony, in 1168. The very impetus for the marriage had come from the foreign side, with Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, approaching Henry II to suggest the match; the main intention of the archbishop appears to have been to secure Henry II's support for his side of the papal schism.[34] An alliance with a leading German baron would have appealed to Henry II in that it was another ally against the French king, a motive that would drive his grandson Henry III, some sixty or seventy years later. Nevertheless, Henry II does not appear to have agreed to the marriage with any particular political agenda in mind, and by the time of the marriage in 1168, the matter of his allegiance to the anti-pope had faded into the background, and was not mentioned.[35] Rainald of Cologne's main reason for desiring the marriage therefore no longer existed. This is not to say, though, that the duke of Saxony was not still highly advantaged by the marriage; indeed, after his falling-out with the emperor exiled him from Germany, he turned to his father-in-law for support and shelter.[36] Not only was the duke provided with a safe-haven, but the many months spent by his family at the

[32] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 363 and III, p. 203.

[33] Diceto, II, pp. 166-67.

[34] Torigni, p. 224.

[35] Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the 12th Century,' p. 22.

[36] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 201.

Angevin court created strong ties between the families; the Lion's son, Otto, was in fact raised almost fully at the court of Henry II. More important than providing a place to live and support for the duke of Saxony's attempts to re-gain his honour, the English king, later in the persons of Richard and John, would support Otto in his bid for the imperial throne, as Otto IV.[37] Clearly John was hoping to use the familial tie, supporting Otto against the French-supported Emperor Frederick II, in the hope that Otto would in turn provide aid in recovering John's lost continental lands, a theme which would carry on into the next generation.[38] While this hope would prove fruitless, there can be no doubt that both Henry the Lion and his son Otto IV profited greatly from their Angevin ties. Henry II, meanwhile, provided shelter for the Lion in exile, and his sons supported Otto in an ultimately doomed effort to remain emperor. While there was some prestige in his position as sanctuary, and his later position as intermediary between duke and emperor, it still appears clear that the duke received the most benefit.

Matilda's sister Joanna was also wed in a match that, while not in any way detrimental to the English throne, would in fact prove far more advantageous to a foreign power. Her case is unique, though, in that the biggest advantage to the marriage came to neither family, but instead to the papacy. A marital tie between the two Norman kingdoms of England and Sicily made perfect sense, further uniting two realms that were already tied by numerous instances of clerics moving back and forth between them; many of Becket's supporters, for example, had found a place in Sicily.[39] Sicily would also prove a most helpful stop-over point for the English on their way to the Holy Land; Henry II and William II intended, before their deaths in 1189, to go on Crusade together,[40] and Richard would stop over in Sicily for several months while travelling to Palestine. One further motivation for English agreement to the marriage was a fact that

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[37] Arnold, 'England and Germany, 1050 – 1350,' p. 45.

[38] Ibid., p. 46.

[39] For more discussion of this idea, see 'Negotiation: Initiation and Process', pp. 92-3.

[40] Some historians, led by Gerald of Wales, have questioned Henry II's intentions to go on crusade. Warren, however, seems to believe that he did intend to go, but was prevented from doing so by his warring sons. There was no way he could leave the Angevin lands in the mid-1180s when the succession was in question, though he may well have wished to go, and certainly a marriage into the Sicilian kingdom could be taken as evidence of his good faith. Warren, Henry II, pp. 606-8.

no historian seems to mention; at the age of eleven, Joanna was Henry II's only child for whom a marriage had not been planned. The stigma of Becket's assassination may have been wearing off by 1173, when Henry was able to arrange a marriage for John, and yet Joanna remained unasked for, and un-planned for. William II of Sicily, on the other hand, had been recently snubbed in his attempt to make an alliance with the Eastern Empire; the bride who had been promised never appeared, causing him significant humiliation.[41] Nevertheless, despite their regular contact, neither monarch thought of the other; it required the encouragement of Pope Alexander to renew the interest in a matrimonial connection.

Alexander III wished for two very clear things for the political environment of western Europe: one, the end to the papal schism, and two, the pacification of Italy. For many years the pope had been fighting for power in Italy against the German Emperor.[42] After William of Sicily's humiliating spectacle with the Eastern Empire,[43] it was perhaps natural to think that the king might then start looking towards the Western Empire, the other significant power in Italy, for a wife. This situation would have meant a Germano-Sicilian alliance in Italy, with the papal states caught helplessly in the middle, a situation the pope could not permit to occur. It was he, therefore, who suggested Joanna; the Anglo-Norman chronicles are clear that it was the Sicilian ambassadors who approached Henry II,[44] while the main Sicilian chronicler of the time points out that William's men were sent 'on the advice of Pope Alexander.'[45] In the short term, the papal policy was a success. Through Sicilian intervention, the Emperor was forced to conclude the Peace of Venice with Pope Alexander in 1177, bringing peace to Italy.[46] However, three years after Alexander's death, in 1184, William II

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[41] Matthew, The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, p. 271. A betrothal promise had been made between William and Maria, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor. However, on the day she was to arrive in Sicily, William was embarrassed by her failure to do so; she did not appear that day or any other, and the Byzantine-Sicilian alliance was ended.

[42] Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the 12th Century,' p. 29.

[43] See above, footnote 45.

[44] Howden, Chronica, II, p. 94, Howden; Gesta, I, pp. 115-16; Torigni, p. 271; and Diceto, I, p. 408.

[45] Romuald of Salerno, p. 268.

[46] Jamison, 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the 12th Century,' p. 30 and Howden, Gesta, I, p. 188.

agreed to the marriage of his young aunt—and at that time probably heiress to his throne—to Henry VI, son of the emperor.[47] Though the German claim would not be fulfilled for almost a decade later, it was through that marriage that the Emperor gained what Alexander III had been trying to prevent: a right to the throne of Sicily. By the time of Frederick II, the throne was firmly in German hands. Clearly, despite passing advantages to both the English and Sicilian crowns, the marriage of William II and Joanna was designed by Pope Alexander III, and designed to advantage Pope Alexander III, which it did until his death in 1181.

Another marriage more advantageous to the foreign side was that of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, in 1236. The marriage was made by Henry, it would appear, as a reaction to the king of France's marriage to Margaret of Provence, Eleanor's elder sister, in 1234.[48] Henry desired to establish his own interests in Provence and Savoy through the marriage, thereby keeping a check on French interests there. There was little no territorial or financial gain, for his wife could only hope to inherit some part of her father's lands, though Björn Weiler suggests the interpretation that Henry may have hoped to exchange any lands he received for territory in Normandy or Poitou.[49] This last, at least, was a hope never fulfilled. One gain he did receive, though, was council—the queen's family, including three of her Savoyard uncles, became close counsellors of the king, a fact he doubtless saw as advantageous, but in fact proved to be a mixed blessing because of their unpopularity. Henry's primary advantage came from, as Weiler stated, 'gaining the advice of a family with greater knowledge of the structures and under-currents of European politics than most members of his court.'[50]

Certainly there can be no doubt of the uncles' fortune in the arrangement. William, bishop-elect of Valence, who escorted Eleanor from Provence to England, remained there for only two years, but in those years was seldom far from the king, and became a close friend; he was also granted, during his time in England, custody of the

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[47] Howden, Gesta, II, p. 102.

[48] Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 72-3.

[49] Weiler, Staufen, p. 57. It should be noted that this is the author's interpretation, and there is no evidence to back up this claim.

[50] Ibid., p. 81. Ridgeway's article supports the idea both of council and of mixed blessing, see also above section on Richard of Cornwall and Sanchia. Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites,' p. 591

earldom of Richmond.[51] Another Savoyard uncle, Boniface, was made archbishop of Canterbury.[52] The uncle who benefitted most from the marriage, though, was doubtless Peter of Savoy, who on his arrival in England was immediately welcomed into Henry's council. In May 1241 Peter was granted the honour of Richmond, and in September of that year, 'the lands of John de Warenne in Sussex and Surrey, and the honour of Aquila with its appurtenances.'[53] In November, the king put Peter in charge of Rochester Castle, and made him warden of the Cinque Ports.[54] But what was advantageous for the Savoyard uncles of the queen would prove troublesome for Henry III. When seen alongside the long string of marriages made by Henry for Savoyard, Provençal, and Lusignan family members, there is clear evidence of strong advantages for foreigners over native English barons, advantages these barons were less than happy with.[55] While the foreigners and the grants made to them were not the sole cause of the revolt of 1258, they were included in the barons' list of grievances. So while the queen's family benefitted, Henry III himself struggled. Certainly the personal side of the marriage was successful—he and Eleanor had many children, including an heir to the throne, and Henry spent a good deal of time and money for the pleasure of his queen[56]—but his wish to do well by his new family meant that they gained more than he did. By his marriage Henry hoped, and succeeded, in opening new channels of influence, but unfortunately, 'it also meant that the king was drawn into a whole new range of conflicts and rivalries.'[57]

The final marriage which was more successful for the foreign than domestic side was that of Henry III's daughter Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland, in 1251. The marriage stemmed almost directly from the marriage of Henry's sister, Joan, to Alexander II thirty years earlier. That marriage, which will be discussed below, was intended to settle the territorial disputes ongoing between the kings, but the disputes continued into the 1240s. In 1244, though, Henry III wished to depart for Gascony in a

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[51] CPR, 1232-47, p. 156.

[52] CM, IV, p. 104.

[53] CPR, 1232-47, p. 251 and Foedera, p. 243.

[54] CPR, 1232-47, pp. 265-6.

[55] Carpenter, Reign, p. 95.

[56] Howell, Eleanor, pp. 23-4.

[57] Weiler, Staufen, p. 83.

campaign to regain his lost continental territories, and required peace and a guarded border with Scotland to do so. The kings agreed to a compromise, in which Alexander promised to maintain peace and look after Henry's realm while he was away, in exchange for a marriage between the kings' children,[58] and a series of manors in Cumberland and Tynedale.[59] At least initially, Henry III got what he wished for—peace with Scotland. He also received the honour, after Alexander II's death, of being approached by the Scottish nobles to settle the issue of who should act as Alexander III's minority council. The actual marriage took place just after Christmas 1251, at which time the young king Alexander—aged only nine years—was knighted and did homage to Henry III for his lands in England, but not, significantly, for Scotland.[60] The marriage ceremony was 'a display of Henry's personal lordship over his son-in-law.'[61] While Henry was able, for a number of years, to continue his influence over the young king through counsel, as Alexander grew older his requests for counsel and his willingness to listen to Henry III seem to have faded. By the end of the 1250s, at which time Henry was hoping for support in his wars on the continent, the Scots sent only a small number of knights to his aid.[62] As Henry's position in England grew weaker and finally, with the baronial revolt of 1258, became almost powerless, the Scots increased their rumblings against English interference, until by the 1260s Alexander was campaigning against the King of Norway, without Henry's counsel.[63] Though perhaps it might appear that this marriage would fall more clearly into the politically neutral category, there were advantages for Alexander III which outweighed the prestige given to Henry through his counsel. One advantage was that, through his father-in-law's intervention, or supervision, Alexander was able to accede smoothly to his throne when he came of age, unlike many kings who came to the throne while minors. He also benefitted from Henry's counsel, and from the prestige of a wedding to an English

[58] CM, III, p. 193 and Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' p. 46.

[59] Oram, The Reign of Alexander II, p. 16.

[60] AM, II, p. 93.

[61] Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' p. 49.

[62] Ibid., p. 50, see also Foedera, p. 277.

[63] Ibid., p. 59.

princess. While Henry's influence over England and Scotland faded, Alexander's grew. And while he and Margaret had no children who survived to succeed him,[64] Alexander's marriage was nonetheless an advantageous one for him.

There is really only one marriage in which neither side came out with more benefit than the other, and in fact had very little long-term impact at all: the marriage of Henry III's sister Joan to Alexander II of Scotland. The king of Scotland and the Minority Council of England had been at odds for some time, but in a series of negotiations stretching over the years 1219 to 1221, the papal legate Pandulf arranged a truce with Alexander II, whereby the king himself would marry Joan, and both of Alexander's younger sisters, who were in English custody, would be found husbands.[65] In a move that was perhaps foolish, Alexander did not secure a dowry for Joan, and later complained that according to the original agreement, he should have received Northumbria with her, though he was promised Fotheringhay Castle and pardoned the 5,000 marks still due to the English crown.[66] If the marriage, which took place in 1221, was designed to settle the disputes between the crowns, it was unsuccessful, as is evidenced by the necessity for the above marriage of Margaret and Alexander III to settle the same issues. Joan died childless in 1238, while the 1236 marriage of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence had ended Alexander's hopes of a royal marriage for any of his sisters. Instead, his eldest sister had married Hubert de Burgh in 1221, and on his fall from power in 1231, Alexander's friendship with the English Minority Council ended.[67] By the late 1230s, Alexander was threatening Henry III with war, renewing his petition for full coronation at the papal curia.[68] The fact that another Anglo-Scottish marriage was arranged only thirty years after the first is the most compelling evidence that it had little overall effect on either kingdom, for it failed to settle the disputes between them.

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[64] It is worth noting that they did have a granddaughter, Margaret the Maid of Norway, but she died on the journey from Norway to Scotland.

[65] CM, III, p. 58.

[66] AM, III, p. 58 and Carpenter, Minority, p. 196.

[67] Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249 – 1272,' pp. 44-5.

[68] Ibid., p. 45.

There are only two marriages which can be classed as political failures, if to differing degrees. The first is that of Henry III's sister Isabella and Emperor Frederick II, in 1235. The circumstances surrounding its planning are vague; all that is known is that, in winter 1234/5, Frederick sent envoys to Henry II requesting his sister's hand in marriage.[69] It was an alliance that Henry III had been striving to make for some time, but with Frederick's son and heir, Henry (VII). By 1235, however, Frederick's son had lost almost all of his political influence, and it was the emperor himself who wished to marry Isabella, a turn of events Henry III must have been delighted with, despite the fact that no historian is willing to wager on why exactly Frederick made this decision when he did. Nonetheless, what Henry III wanted out of the arrangement was clear: support against his enemy, Louis IX of France, and military aid in his planned recovery of Anjou, Poitou and Normandy.[70] This was not to be the case. Even as Henry planned an Anglo-Germanic alliance against the French, Frederick II was writing to Louis IX to assure him that their friendship would remain intact, indicating, as Weiler believes, that Frederick made the marriage in order to broker peace between the warring crowns.[71] Neither outcome was to occur. Frederick did receive some benefit from the marriage, in that the payment of Isabella's dowry added much-needed funds to his war chest, financing his campaign in Italy and Palestine.[72] So, Henry III was funding Frederick's wars, in which he played little to no part, while he could only hope that his continued assistance to the emperor would eventually mean reciprocation. Instead, Empress Isabella died in childbirth in 1241, and the connection between the English throne and the Empire may have become increasingly embarrassing with each subsequent excommunication of Frederick II. Henry III hoped the marriage of his sister would mean German assistance in France, and paid out her dowry with the assumption that Frederick would help him, but his political agenda was completely ignored by the emperor.

The final and one might argue most spectacularly failed marriage was that of King John to Isabelle of Angoulême in 1200. While personally it might be said to have

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[69] CM, III, p. 318.

[70] Weiler, Staufen, p. 61.

[71] Ibid., p. 63.

[72] Ibid., p. 66.

been a success—the couple had at least five children who reached adulthood, including a male heir, and John's attachment to Isabelle is legend—the political intention of John's marriage failed miserably. It is arguable as to whether, when he divorced his first wife Isabel of Gloucester, John already intended to marry Isabelle of Angoulême, but it seems more likely that the idea came to him on his post-coronation tour of Poitou. When or where he decided on the marriage is discussed elsewhere in detail, however it is known that his reasons for removing Isabelle from her husband Hugh de Lusignan would appear to be to prevent a dangerous alliance. Unfortunately, the Lusignans' reaction to the marriage was to turn to Philip Augustus. Turner points out that John might have made an effort to placate the Lusignans, but instead he treated them with contempt, refusing even to address the issues between them and attacking the lands of Ralf de Lusignan.[73] By autumn 1201, Hugh had appealed to Philip of France, and the Lusignans joined together to renounce their homage to John, and invade Poitou. John continued to refuse to appear before Philip to address the issue, which gave Philip the excuse to invade his lands. From this point on, John fought a losing battle against the Lusignans in Poitou, and the royal forces in Normandy. By the end of 1204, John had lost control of almost all of the continental lands that the Angevin Empire had been based upon. Though total blame for the loss of Normandy should not stem directly from the marriage of John and Isabelle, it is clear that the marriage was a significant factor in the wars, and that John's hope of preventing a Poitevin alliance turned into a disastrous war.

There are four marriages, which will be discussed now in brief, which were made by members of the royal family without the consent of or thought for the crown's political needs. It is therefore difficult to consider the success of these marriages as relates to the English throne, but I will attempt to examine them, where I can, in order to determine if the personal outcome was as expected. Two of these marriages were made by Henry III's brother, Richard of Cornwall. His first marriage came in 1231, when Richard himself was twenty-two, nine years younger than his wife, Isabel Marshal, widow of the earl of Gloucester.[74] In an impulsive move, the two married only five months after the death of Isabel's husband, and Richard's intention was doubtless to

[73] Turner, King John, pp. 88-9.

[74] CM, III, p. 201.

demonstrate his independence from the crown, to establish himself in a leading position amongst the barons of the realm, and to secure his friendship with the Marshal family.[75] Henry's disgruntled reaction to the marriage probably stemmed more from anger over not being consulted than any real fear of political danger.[76] Either way, the marriage was a successful one for Richard, providing him with an heir and the prestige and respect he was hoping for. His second marriage, as seen above, was made much closer to the family and interests of the crown, to Sanchia of Provence, but his third marriage moved away from the royal court again. In fact, the 1269 marriage to a girl at least forty years his junior, Beatrix von Falkenburg, seems to have been made almost purely out of his own desire. His modern biographer seems to believe so, emphasising her youth and beauty, stating that, 'he could not bear to be separated from her for even a day.'[77] In an article written about their marriage in 1937, though, Frank Lewis pointed out that Beatrix's father, Dietrich I, had been a supporter of Richard's candidacy for the German throne from the beginning, and so it does seem likely that there was as strong a political motive for the marriage as there was a personal one.[78] Richard remained apparently happily married to Beatrix until his death three years later.

The third marriage in the 'personal' category is that of Eleanor, sister of Henry III, and Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in 1238. The story is infamous, wherein the couple fell in love, and despite her vow to remain chaste until death, were wed in the king's chapel, to the fury of many nobles, including her brother Richard of Cornwall.[79] While it seems to be relatively accepted by historians that Eleanor and Simon wed for personal reasons, they were both very active in the following years to ensure the rights to Eleanor's dower lands, and to fees owed to them by the throne. According to the couple, Eleanor never received her full dower lands from her first husband, and was losing the sum of £933 per year, while at the same time Henry had not done as promised and converted the marriage-portion of £400 for his sister into land.[80] In 1239, Henry III had in a very humiliating public arena accused Simon of seducing his sister before their

[75] Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 41.

[76] Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, pp. 18-19.

[77] Ibid., p. 141.

[78] Lewis, 'Beatrice of Falkenburg,' p. 281.

[79] CM, III, pp. 470-1.

[80] Carpenter, Reign of Henry III, p. 233.

marriage, forcing Simon and his wife to flee the court,[81] and this is just one of many stories of the tumultuous relationship between de Montfort and his royal kin. The whole situation would end in disaster, with de Montfort acting as one of the leaders of the baronial rebellion from 1258, for which he was eventually killed at the Battle of Evesham in 1265. While the marriage certainly had a lasting effect upon the politics of the time, it was in and of itself made for purely personal reasons, and was a success, producing at least six offspring.

Finally, the marriage of Edmund of Lancaster to Aveline de Forz in 1269 was made primarily for the advantage to Edmund. Unlike the marriages of Richard or Eleanor, Edmund had in fact been granted permission to marry into the de Forz family, more specifically to marry Aveline's mother, Isabel, 'late wife of William de Fortibus [Forz], sometime earl of Albemarle.'[82] Nevertheless, months later Edmund married Aveline, hoping to obtain the rights to her inheritance of the earldom of Devon, as well as the lordships of Holderness and the Isle of Wight.[83] Unfortunately, Aveline died childless several years later, forcing Edmund to relinquish her lands.

What conclusions, then, can be drawn from this long list of marriages? Though the examples of failed marriages do seem more dramatic than those which succeeded, it must be noted that there are only two that were outright disappointments. In general, the political desires of the English crown seem to have been met roughly half of the time an alliance reached the marriage stage. Nevertheless, that means of course that on half of the occasions, things did not go according to plan. For example, in theory John's marriage to Isabelle of Angoulême could have been a brilliant diplomatic triumph. Certainly in his family there was a precedent for controversial but highly advantageous marriages—his father's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 is famous both for its success, bringing Henry II his unrivalled continental domains, and for its audacity, infuriating Louis VII for years to come. One might argue that had Louis been a stronger king, the outcome for Henry and Eleanor could have been as disastrous as it was for John. Henry defied Louis again in 1160 when he married the Young King and

[81] CM, III, pp. 566-67.

[82] CPR, 1266-72, p. 303.

[83] Lloyd, 'Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245-1296),' p. 4.

Margaret, both at extremely young ages, in order to get his hands on Margaret's dowry. Richard, too, had married advantageously, to Berengaria of Navarre, as is seen above, but he risked infuriating Philip of France by repudiating his sister at the same time. There was even some repercussion, in that Philip was a significant part of the scheme to keep Richard imprisoned in Austria, but it can still be said that Richard's boldness paid off in Sancho of Navarre's defence of Aquitaine. It is understandable then, that John should gamble against the risks of angering the Lusignans, but unfortunately the strong advantages wielded by Henry and Richard were not there for John—by 1200 Eleanor of Aquitaine, who had so aided Richard, had all but retired to a nunnery, and many of John's barons did not trust him; above all, Philip Augustus was a far stronger king than Louis VII had been.

As John's situation exemplifies, then, marriage was a policy of risk, primarily due to the fact that it could not be controlled beyond a certain extent. As was seen with the marriages of the Young King or Geoffrey, matches that started off well could sour. At times, such as in the Scottish alliances, marriages failed to settle the issues between the two parties, necessitating further negotiation and diplomacy. If a marriage went well, it was the ultimate in treaties or pacts of friendship and alliance; if it went poorly, it could bring ruin upon one party or the other, and cause a war that was now between family. Overall, royal marriage was a volatile issue, mainly due to the necessarily unsure nature of the long-term effects of any match; husband and wife could not get along, they could fail to produce an heir, there could be disputes over dower, dowry, or failure to follow through with promises. Still, advantage to the English crown can be found in almost all of the marriages made, at least in the short term, and several were the basis for generations' worth of diplomacy.

Conclusion

In his biography of Henry II, W.L. Warren claims that the king did not have any 'grand design' for the marriages of his daughters.[1] Certainly at first glance, this statement appears correct; Matilda was married to the duke Saxony, Eleanor to the king of Castile, and Joanna to the king Sicily, all in far-reaching areas of western Christendom, with no easily detectable connections. However, when they are compared to the marriages and betrothals made by Henry II for his other children, and for the two generations after him, patterns do begin to emerge: Matilda's marriage was the first in a number of attempted and successful alliances with the German Empire,[2] designed to keep the emperor on the Plantagenet rather than Capetian side of any territorial arguments. Eleanor's marriage to Alfonso of Castile was the second planned Spanish marriage—the first, the 1159 betrothal of Richard to the house of Aragon-Barcelona did not lead to marriage—in a long line of matches with the Spanish kingdoms, stemming from the need for a friendly western neighbour to Aquitaine, an ally against the counts of Toulouse. Only Joanna's marriage to William of Sicily does not appear to follow any long-term policy, though it foreshadows Henry III's efforts to make Edmund King of Sicily in the 1250s. Joanna's later marriage to Raymond of Toulouse was also demonstrative of the Angevin focus moving further south. So, while it cannot necessarily be said that Henry was aware of the patterns, he certainly was the progenitor of a number of long-term Angevin marriage practices.

There were other significant patterns to the marriages and betrothals made during this period. For the princesses, the practice was generally to marry them off at a young age, to a foreign power, as part of the confirmation for an alliance or peace treaty. Henry II's two daughters mentioned above were both married to confirm a pact of friendship, while John's three daughters were given away similarly: Joan to Alexander II of Scotland, a marriage that endeavoured to settle territorial disputes going back to 1209; Isabella to Emperor Frederick II in an effort to guarantee German support for English endeavours on the continent; and Eleanor to William Marshal, to ensure his

[1] Warren, Henry II, p. 221.

[2] The first for the Angevin kings, that is, though her grandmother the Empress Matilda had been married to Emperor Henry V.

acquiescence in the actions of the Minority Council and prevent his marriage with a foreign, potentially hostile power. Henry III married his daughters in the same fashion, with Margaret given to Alexander III of Scotland in a second attempt to settle disputes and provide Henry with a reason to interfere in the kingdom, and Beatrice eventually married to John of Brittany. Though the motives listed above are of course simplified, what can certainly be seen is a trend towards the establishing of friendships by marriage, often with lands distant from England.

For princes, marriages were more varied in their ultimate goal. The motive for marriage of younger sons was most commonly to provide land for those who would not receive an inheritance from their father or sometimes their mother. The most common manner of gaining such landed wealth was marriage to an heiress: Geoffrey, John, Richard of Cornwall and Edmund of Lancaster all married heiresses. It would appear to have been preferable for the heiresses to be outside the kingdom of England—Brittany was not strictly part of Henry II's domains until he took it over in 1166, John's first intended match was with Maurienne in southern France, and the first attempts for Edmund's marriage were made with Sicily and Cyprus. Only on occasions where these plans fell through were lands in England considered; Isabel of Gloucester was an advantageous match for John, providing him with a wealthy gathering of lands, but it was not as significant as being made count of Savoy, as he would have become through marriage to Alice of Maurienne. Attempts to find Edmund of Lancaster a wife seem to have almost been forgotten after the failure of the Sicilian project, and it is only in 1269, over ten years after the 1256 negotiations with Sicily, that Aveline de Forz was found for him. Richard of Cornwall's first attempt to marry the daughter of the King of León had probably the intention of creating him ruler of Gascony, but his second marriage to Isabel Marshal was done at least partially for access to her extensive lands. It can only be guessed what John might have planned for Richard, had he lived past 1216, but certainly both his father, Henry II, and his son Henry III, made significant efforts to find landed wealth for their younger sons.

This strategy of finding an heiress to provide lands is unsurprising, and was used through all levels of society, throughout Europe. The more interesting marriages were those made for the three heirs to the throne by their fathers: Henry the Young King in 1158, Henry III in 1209, and Edward in 1254. The prestige associated with the chosen

mates in each of these cases is unquestionable; all were daughters of kings—Margaret daughter of Louis VII of France, Margaret daughter of William the Lion of Scotland, and Eleanor daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile. What is interesting about these marriages, then, is the light they shed on the mindset and priorities of the king at the time. The marriage of an heir was, arguably, the most important royal marriage to be made, second only to that of a reigning king. Henry II betrothed his heir, the Young King, to the daughter of his rival and overlord, Louis VII, an understandable pairing. For dowry, he sought only the Norman Vexin, a comparatively small sliver of land. Its significance of course lay in its position as the essential frontier between the areas controlled by the French and English crowns; the main issues of contention between the kings took place here, centred around the three vitally important strategic castles of Gisors, Neufles and Châteauneuf. Furthermore, the Vexin had been part of Normandy until the 1140s, and was doubtless considered to be rightfully so by Henry II.[3] The Norman Vexin was important enough to induce Henry to give away his eldest son and heir, demonstrating both the importance of Normandy and his desire to make peace with Louis VII.

John, too, made what could be considered a surprising betrothal for his heir, Henry III. In 1209 he agreed to wed his son to the daughter of William the Lion, the first royal Anglo-Scottish wedding since Henry I and Edith/Matilda, over 100 years before. At least part of this reason was prestige—after the Treaty of Falaise in 1174, Henry II had forced William the Lion to wed the daughter of one of his lesser nobles, Ermengarde de Beaumont, as an example of his feudal superiority.[4] However, John gained a great deal from the 1209 betrothal: William granted to John not just one daughter but two, along with the right to find husbands for them, along with 15,000 marks, money which was sorely needed to finance John's campaigns on the continent. Whether John ever intended to go through with the promise and actually marry his heir to Margaret of Scotland can never be known, but after his death the two princesses were abandoned to the will of the Minority Government. The betrothal demonstrates then not so much the importance of Scotland to John, as his willingness to use William's weakness to benefit himself.

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[3] For more discussion of this idea, see the Case Studies, p. 17.

[4] G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000 – 1306 (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 54.

Finally, the marriage of Edward to Eleanor of Castile in 1254 might be seen as the most apt match of all. As dowry, Eleanor brought the rights to all of Gascony, disputed since the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1204. Though Edward was forced to travel to Castile to be married, and to be knighted by Eleanor's brother Alfonso, Henry still got exactly what he needed out of the marriage: Gascony, and a promising queen for his son. The marriage does show the continuing southern interests of the Plantagenet kings; though the northern French lands had been lost, the southern lands were still foremost in the interests of the king.

Overall, then, there are several general trends to notice which together can be seen as the basis of an Angevin marriage policy. Firstly, the Angevins were at least twice as likely to initiate negotiations for a marriage as they were to be approached. Though this could be seen to be at least partially caused by the predominantly Anglo-Norman sources available, the overwhelming difference in numbers still indicates that they did the asking more often than they were asked. Clearly, marriage was a tool the Angevins liked to use, and to offer to use. This may be to do with the large number of royal family members, or to the frequency with which first-time betrothals did not end in marriage, meaning there were often at least one or two unmarried Angevin royals around for negotiation.

Furthermore, the frequent use of marriage may have to do with the relative success rate of such alliances; though not all were as successful marriages as, say, Edward and Eleanor of Castile in 1254, only two were really all-out failures. Most can generally be classed as successes, including those cases wherein the greatest profit may have been enjoyed by the foreign side. Thus, in the case of Matilda and Henry of Saxony, there was also significant advantage to Henry II, who was to have the prestige of mediating between the duke and the emperor, and the honour of raising the duke's children at his court. Henry III's marriage to Eleanor of Provence was also not only advantageous to the bride's family; rather, Henry was able to obtain council from men more aware of continental politics than he might be, the personal relationship was strong, and he was able to successfully beget both an heir and a spare. Also, he was able to temper or at least equal the influence of the Capetians on his father- and uncle-in-law, the counts of Provence and Savoy. Even the marriage of Margaret to Alexander III in 1251, was not unhelpful for Henry III—he was invited to mediate between

quarrelling factions in the Scottish minority government, and exerted some influence on Alexander at least until his majority. Henry's influence over Scotland only really faded when he lost control of his own kingdom, in 1258.

Above all, every proposal, betrothal, and marriage which was initiated by the English crown—this is excepting the four marriages made for personal gain by Richard of Cornwall, Eleanor de Montfort and Edmund of Lancaster—had clear political motivation. But what is evident from the marriages, both those that were successful and those that were not, was the lack of long-term control that could be exercised through marriage diplomacy. The most important goal for a marriage negotiation, then, was to get the most out of the alliance in the short-term. There is only one example where we can be sure that the English king did not get what he wanted, even initially, from the match, and that was in the marriage of Isabella to Frederick II in 1235. Most historians seem to agree, and Matthew Paris' account of the agreement supports the idea, that what Henry III most desired was, 'aid and suitable forces [to fight] against the king of France.'[5] This, he never received. In every other case, however, the English side got what they wished for out of the arrangements, at least initially. Even John's marriage to Isabelle of Angoulême could be said to have been a success, at least at first—he succeeded in depriving Hugh de Lusignan of his wish to unite La Marche and Angoulême—even if he eventually lost Normandy and Anjou. Plan effectively, get what was desired, and try to control the long-term effects as best as was possible, seems necessarily to have been the Angevin strategy. Certainly, when the strategy worked, it was a highly rewarding one; Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, Eleanor's to Alfonso VIII in 1170, Joanna's to William II in 1177, Richard's to Berengaria of Navarre in 1191, Joanna's to Raymond of Toulouse in 1196 and Edward's marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1254 were all politically successful marriages that benefited the English crown.

There is much sense in what was written by Henry III in the 1224 marriage agreement between William Marshal and Eleanor that there was, 'not anything more valuable in our treasury than the marriage of our self and our sisters.'[6] For the most part, the Angevin kings kept close control of this valuable asset. As was seen above,

[5] CM, III, pp. 324-5.

[6] DD., no. 140.

Henry II, Richard and John were almost certainly personally present at all marriage negotiations for themselves and their children. Only after the Minority Council understandably took control of marriage negotiations in the 1210s and 1220s did it become common for the king to send ambassadors for negotiations, and even then those ambassadors were counsellors very close to the king.[7]

There were some peculiarities in the patterns of Angevin marriage. For one thing, no legitimate children of any English king in this period entered holy orders. As was discussed at the start of chapter seven, several illegitimate children did do so—Henry II's son Geoffrey became archbishop of York under Richard, and his daughter, Matilda, became abbess of Barking. There were also a number of legitimate children of other kings who took the veil, including King Stephen's daughter Mary, who became abbess of Romsey—though she was later forced to leave the church when she became sole heiress to her mother's lands[8]—and one of William the Conqueror's daughters, who was abbess of Caen. Edward I's daughter Mary also became a nun, taking the veil at Amesbury.[9] The fact that daughters of previous and later kings entered convents may point yet further to the importance of marriage diplomacy to the Angevins—no child, even a third daughter such as Joanna, appears to have been considered for holy orders. One might speculate that Henry II may have thought of having her take the veil at Fontevrault or one of its daughter houses, due to the long period of time during which he did not seek a husband for her, but the idea is pure conjecture.

How, then, did Angevin marriage practice compare to that of the nearby kingdoms? Though an extensive study would be required to compare such aspects of marriage as dower, dowry, initiation and negotiation, it is possible to make some observations regarding geography and strategy. What a swift glance at Capetian marriages tells us, is that the French crown was just as adept at making astute, politically motivated marriages as was the English crown. Louis VII's first marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine brought the Capetian kings influence in the south in a manner they

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[7] For more discussion, see above, pp. 118-20.

[8] S.P. Thompson, 'Mary of Blois, princess and abbess of Romsey,' in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004), p. 1

[9] Michael Prestwich, 'Mary of Woodstock, princess and Benedictine nun,' in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004), p. 1.

had never had before, both through direct influence in Aquitaine and through the pressing of Eleanor's rights to Toulouse.[10] Unfortunately the marriage ended in divorce after fifteen years with only two daughters born.[11] Louis's second marriage was to Constance of Castile, an alliance that strengthened his position against Henry of Anjou in the south, while Louis's third marriage, to Adela of Blois-Champagne, was clearly strongly influenced by her brothers, two of Louis's primary counsellors, but was also politically expedient for the king. In making an alliance with the previously hostile counts of Blois, Louis was turning another potential ally away from the Plantagenets. This alliance was also secured by the marriages of his and Eleanor's two daughters, Marie and Alix, to the counts of Blois and Champagne, respectively. Two more allies against Henry of Anjou were gathered by two more marriages, that of Louis's sister Constance to Raymond of Toulouse in 1154, and of his son and heir, Philip Augustus, to Isabelle of Hainault, niece of the count of Flanders.[12] Louis's daughters by Constance of Castile, Margaret and Alys, were matched with the sons of Henry of Anjou in an attempt to broker peace between the kings, but as has been noted this attempt for the most part failed. Nevertheless, the Capetian crown continued to make valuable marriage alliances. Philip's son and heir, Louis VIII, was wed to Blanche, daughter of the King of Castile, in a match that both re-confirmed French ties to the Spanish kingdoms, but also was a move towards peace with the now King John, who was Blanche's uncle.[13]

Only Philip himself stands out from the group as having failed to use his own marriage to his advantage; rather his repudiation of Ingeborg of Denmark on the morning after their marriage caused France to be placed under interdict for a number of years.[14] Finally, Louis VIII's eldest son and heir, Louis IX, was wed to Margaret, eldest daughter of the count of Provence, leading to the king's further interest in the south and

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[10] Jim Bradbury, The Capetians (London, 2007), p. 157.

[11] Jim Bradbury, amongst others, have made convincing arguments that Louis VII had no choice but to end the marriage, as he needed a male heir, though there are as many historians who condemn Louis as foolish for allowing Eleanor, and Aquitaine, to slip from his grasp. See Bradbury, The Capetians, p. 158, and Georges Duby, France in the Middle Ages, 987 – 1460, tr, Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1993), p. 183.

[12] Bradbury, p. 162.

[13] Duby, France in the Middle Ages, p. 218.

[14] Bradbury, The Capetians, p. 183.

involvement in the Albigensian Crusade.[15] The French crown thus made marriages with Aquitaine, Castile, Blois, Champagne, Denmark, Flanders/Hainault, and Provence. While for the most part these are not areas that overlap directly with the Angevin marriages, they are made generally with the same motive in mind: to maintain power and influence in France. One interesting trend is that the Capetian family did on occasion marry into the families of their own vassals—for example Louis VII and Adela of Blois-Champagne—something that is not seen by any English monarch of the time, though it is sometimes seen in their siblings or children. Another contrast is that there does not appear to have been any direct Capetian contact with the Empire; evidence exists that the Capetians were proposing a rival marriage to the 1225 double match proposed by Henry III, but it, like the English effort, was unsuccessful.[16] Overall, then, the French royal marriage policy seems quite similar to the English, though there were fewer children to negotiate with, and an increased willingness to marry within the kingdom.

Comparison might also be made with Scotland, a kingdom which held a very different position in Europe. Though English kings had been marrying foreign or continental wives for generations, the Scottish kings tended to marry within their own nobility, or certainly within the British Isles. William the Lion, Henry II's contemporary, was made to marry the daughter of one of Henry's lesser vassals in an act of humiliation, enforcing English supremacy.[17] Both of the subsequent two kings, Alexander II and III, married English women as well, but the key difference in their cases was that the women were not nobility, but royalty—the daughters of John and Henry III, respectively. In fact, it is in the reign of Alexander II that it is possible to see Scottish royal marriage patterns changing: though the betrothal of Margaret of Scotland to Henry III in 1209 did not come to pass, and Alexander's two sisters married English nobles, Alexander's second wife was the daughter of a French noble, Enguerrand de Coucy. From that point onwards, we see an increasingly European, rather than British, range of marriages. Though Alexander III first married Margaret of England, his

[15] Ibid., p. 204.

[16] Weiler, 'Plans,' p. 175.

[17] G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000 – 1306 (Edinburgh, 1981, reprinted 1998), p. 54.

second wife was Yolande de Dreux, a distant relative of the French king.[18] Of Alexander III's three children, none of whom outlived him, Margaret married King Eric II of Norway, and Alexander married the daughter of the count of Flanders, an ally of the French crown. What is seen in the Scottish marriage policy of this time, then, is not a policy similar to that of the English crown, but one striving to be so; with the marriages of Alexander II and III, the kings of Scots were striving to establish themselves in a wider European context, and began the growth of the kingdom into a power that would become integral to the conflicts of the Hundred Years War.

Scotland and France, then, as the two closest kingdoms to Angevin domain, provide interesting comparisons to English marriage policy. Though Scotland's was not similar, it would eventually become so, and could perhaps even be said to use the English as an example. France's policies, while necessarily different due to the differing position of the king relative to his barons, were nonetheless of a similar kind as the English, using the marriages of royal children to secure the loyalty of those about them.

A comparison can also be briefly made with the period before Henry II's accession, that of the Norman kings. There is of course a fundamental difference in the lands held by the kings before and after 1154—William I could claim sovereignty only over Normandy and England, while Henry II held territory far more vast, and the marriage policies reflect this. Only one of William's children married before his conquest of England in 1066, and this was his eldest son, Robert Curthose, whose marriage to the daughter of the count of Maine makes evident William's focus on Normandy.[19] The marriages of his other children, to the houses of Blois and Brittany, also show an understandably Norman focus, alliances with two close neighbours. Consolidating power and influence was clearly at the basis of these arrangements, as it was at the basis of Henry I's marriage to Edith/Matilda of Scotland, a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon kings of England, and his two legitimate children's marriages into the families of Anjou and the Empire. With these alliances we see the beginning of a wider-thinking policy, but the strength of the king was still clearly an issue in a period

[18] Ibid., p. 154.

[19] This marriage also permanently tied Maine to Normandy. David Bates, 'William I, king of England and duke of Normandy,' in Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004), p. 1.

of at times unstable succession. Stephen was also concerned with establishing himself legitimately as king, marrying his son to a daughter of Louis VI in an effort to gain Capetian support against his rival the Empress Matilda. Two more of his children married into the nobility of England, again to garner support. What this small gathering of facts shows is that there was indeed a shift in marriage policy after 1154. For one thing, Henry II had far less worry about the legitimacy of his rule—his succession to Stephen was decided before the old king's death, and any rivals were not strong enough to counter his already significant landed wealth. Henry's ambitions, and his marriage policy, was much wider-spread than that of his predecessors.

Lastly let us consider periodisation, and the effect of the dramatic events of 1204 on marriage policy. Certainly, after this time there was an understandable shift in interests towards the British Isles, but also even further south, to Gascony and beyond, which came with the loss of Normandy and Anjou. Only after 1204 do we see the first marriages with Scotland—though this also has to do with the close familial relation which existed through the reign of Henry II, preventing marriages—and more marriages with English barons. Nevertheless, there is still a very strong interest in continental alliances; the number in no way decreases. Rather, Henry III became almost obsessed with making a strong continental alliance and indeed we find a series of attempts by him not necessarily to find a wife, but to conclude a peace with the French, and it is this which was the key to almost all Angevin marriage policy. Nearly every serious alliance made, whether with Germany, the Spanish kingdoms, Toulouse, Provence, or Scotland, was made with the French king in mind; nearly all were based on the Angevin relationship with the Capetians. The French king was the English king's overlord for his lands on the continent, and so the English king ideally required enough influence and power on the continent to counter him, a balance perhaps first put in place by Henry II on his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine. Though as time passed and Plantagenet continental lands waned, the kings of England still strove to re-gain the influence they had once held under Henry II, and one of the primary tools they used to do this was marriage.

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