Between Brothers:
Brotherhood and Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages

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have hoped for a better partner, in the adventure of this dissertation and in life. Finally, the unexpected loss of my younger brother was the spark that kindled this project. It is dedicated to his memory.

Abstract

Family relationships and responsibilities fundamentally shaped medieval life. This dissertation examines aristocratic brothers in order to understand how elite men negotiated the pressures of gender and kinship in the context of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453).

Brothers lived in the shadow of idealized brotherhood, which entailed loyalty, support, cooperation, and love. Yet a number of structural obstacles to harmony between brothers existed in the later Middle Ages, and perhaps most critically, brothers also were men—thus implicated within masculinity. The martial elites of this study were subject to what I call "chivalric masculinity," a version that privileged prowess, honor, courage, reputation, and the pursuit of dominance through competition. Noble and royal brothers therefore stood at the intersection of essentially incompatible paradigms: peaceful and cooperative ideal brotherhood, and violent and competitive chivalric masculinity.

Using both narrative and documentary sources, including the chronicles of Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet, wills, decrees, letters, legal proceedings, and accounting records, the dissertation explores case studies of brothers' rivalries and alliances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The primary geographical focus is France and England, but it also includes cases situated across Europe, with an in-depth analysis of the fifteenth-century Breton brothers François, Pierre, Gilles, and Tanguy.

The dissertation argues that chivalric masculinity was a significant factor in relations between elite brothers. Masculinity shaped, steered, and constrained men's behaviors, establishing the menu for the sorts of actions brothers—as men—could or

should undertake. Brothers' quarrels thus stemmed from the competitiveness of masculinity along with obvious catalysts such as vulnerable thrones, contestable inheritances, and the lure of prestige and influence. Secondly, it argues that some of the elements that drove brothers apart also could facilitate their cooperation. Rather than signal a failure of masculinity, fraternal cooperation indicates the presence of sufficiently compelling reasons to restrain the impetus to competition. The dissertation shows, thirdly, that despite many examples of fraternal strife, ideal brotherhood remained an important and influential paradigm in later medieval society. Even brothers who fought used its rhetoric in their quarrels, reinforcing its cultural weight even as they manipulated it to their own ends.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AN	Archives nationales de France
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BL	British Library
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II*. 6 vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895-1909.
Froissart, trans. Johnes	Froissart, Jean. *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*. Edited and translated by Thomas Johnes. 2 vols. London: William Smith, 1839-48.
Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq	Monstrelet, Enguerrand de. *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec pièces justificatives, 1400-1444*, 6 vols. Edited by Louis Douët-d'Arcq. Paris: Renouard, 1857-62.
Monstrelet, trans. Johnes	Monstrelet, Enguerrand de. *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, 2 vols. Edited and translated by Thomas Johnes London: George Routledge and Sons, 1867.
Ordonnances	*Ordonnances des rois de la troisième race, recueillies par ordre chronologique*, 21 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale; Imprimerie nationale, 1723-1849.
Preuves	Morice, Dom Hyacinthe, ed. *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire écclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*. Paris: C. Osmont, 1742-1746.

Introduction

What strange creatures brothers are!
Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*

Brothers and their relationships with one another were deeply enmeshed in the fabric of medieval life. For the nobility and royalty, which are the focus of this dissertation, brothers offered support in military endeavors and served as messengers and diplomats. They acted together in donations to the church and grants to other nobles. Younger brothers looked to their elders for lands, revenues, and titles, and sometimes they became their elders' heirs. They might choose, like the brothers Eustache VI and Fastré du Roeulx, to be buried side-by-side, continuing in death the companionship they shared during life.[1] Of course, brothers also fought each other, sometimes violently, occasionally to the death, and the conflicts of high-status brothers frequently had implications far beyond their immediate families.[2]

Brothers lived in the shadow of widely-held expectations of idealized brotherhood, which, as I show in Chapter One, comprised loyalty, support, cooperation, and love. But they faced obstacles to cooperation from nearly every quarter. The hallowed customs of the social elites presented difficulties. As Martin Aurell notes for the central Middle Ages, inheritance practices were a major obstacle to familial cooperation.[3]

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[1] "Un document sur Ecaussines-d'Enghien," *Annales du Cercle archéologique d'Enghien* 3 (1887): 278-79. See Chapter Three for these brothers.

[2] For example, Gilles of Brittany's rebelliousness against his brother François led English-backed mercenaries to sack the Norman town of Fougères in 1449, which in turn broke the truce between France and England and contributed to the renewal of the Hundred Years' War (see Chapter Four). Fulk le Réchin's decision to imprison his brother and make himself count of Anjou in 1067 had many and far-reaching consequences for Anjou and the entire region. The conflict between Charlemagne's grandsons determined the fate of the Carolingian Empire.

[3] Martin Aurell, "Rompre la concorde familiale: Typologie, imaginaire, questionnements," in *La parenté déchirée: Les luttes intrafamiliales au Moyen Age*, ed. Martin Aurell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 23.

The wide adoption of primogeniture by the later Middle Ages continued that trend, offering younger brothers ready-made grievances against their elders. Aurell also asserts that "Competition for familial power equally kindles innumerable hatreds," a point borne out in later medieval conflicts over thrones from Brittany to Castile to Milan.[4] Moreover, the crises of war, famine, plague, and social unrest combined with—and contributed to—developments in governance and administration in ways that impinged on the lives, fortunes, and identities of the martial nobility.

Perhaps most critically, brothers also were men, and therefore were implicated within masculinity—or rather masculinit*ies*, as forms of masculinity varied across profession and social status. The martial elites who make up this study were subject to what I call "chivalric masculinity," a version that privileged prowess, honor, courage, reputation, and the pursuit of dominance through competition. While chivalric masculinity on its own was not a sufficient cause of men's rivalries, it did serve to establish the menu for the sorts of actions brothers—as men—could or should undertake.

Noble and royal brothers therefore stood at the intersection of essentially incompatible paradigms: peaceful and cooperative idealized brotherhood, and violent and competitive chivalric masculinity. Their actions and reactions, as preserved in documents and memorialized in chronicles, indicate that they were cognizant of both sets of pressures, even going so far as to deploy brotherhood as a weapon in their conflicts by manipulating its rhetoric. Their peers also bought into this discourse, urging quarreling brothers to show mercy or love or generosity, as brothers ought to do. The chroniclers Jean Froissart and Enguerrand Monstrelet deliberately wove ideal brotherhood into their accounts as well, as much to inspire audiences to better behavior as to celebrate

[4] Aurell, 23. See Chapter Two.

exemplary brothers. This dissertation is about brothers' rivalries and alliances, and it is about the ways in which contemporary peers and chroniclers interpreted them. But, even more crucially, it is also about the forces at work in late medieval society, and how men coped with them.

As the cases of the following chapters indicate, many brothers struggled to establish dominance over one another, competing for resources as well as prestige, recognition, authority—and trampling each other along the way. While some managed to resolve their problems and return to more or less amicable relations, others pursued their quarrels even to the death. The obvious catalysts were vulnerable thrones, lands and wealth from inheritance or other sources, prestige, and influence. I argue that chivalric masculinity played a significant role as well, shaping, steering, and constraining men's behaviors. But brothers certainly could and did maintain harmonious relations, which were facilitated by the same factors that drove other brothers apart. These elements may have greased the wheels of cooperation, or perhaps rewarded good brotherliness already present, and in some situations, they served as disincentives to conflict. Land, wealth, titles, and other perks seem to have allowed some brothers to rein in the impetus to competition that was central to their chivalric masculinity, giving at least the appearance of idyllic brotherhood. This dynamic between the cooperativeness of ideal brotherhood and the competition of chivalric masculinity is the core of the present study.

Why Brothers?

Aristocratic men were the leaders of medieval society. They were members of the political, social, and cultural elite; their values, customs, and policies touched most areas

of contemporary life. They also were enmeshed in the familial relations: with their parents, wives, and children, and more distant kin, but also with their siblings. For the most part, historians of the family have emphasized relationships of parents with children and husbands with wives. For example, Georges Duby's concern is the function of lineage in men's perceptions of themselves, which requires him to concentrate on vertical ties across generations rather than the horizontal linkages among siblings.[5] For Duby, and Karl Schmid before him, a change from a relatively inclusive family structure to an exclusive one occurred around the year 1000, and thereafter, an eldest son's privileged status was accompanied by his sole inheritance of the patrimony, while his younger brothers were required to find other ways to support themselves.[6]

The tendency to look to ancestors or descendants for family history continues with David Herlihy and Henri Bresc, although Bresc does spare a glance at relationships among relatives of the same generation.[7] He argues that brothers and other close relatives were implicated in the "bitter rivalry and hatred between near relations" common in the elite families of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[8] Brothers appear obliquely in an article concerned with law and inheritance by David Crouch and Claire de Trafford, but the interactions between the brothers themselves is of less concern to the authors than the

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[5] Georges Duby, "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility: Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977).

[6] Karl Schmid, "The Structure of Nobility in the Earlier Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Amsterdam; New York: North-Holland Publishing, 1978). Constance Bouchard convincingly argues against this thesis in several of her works, but see especially "Family Structure and Family Consciousness Among the Aristocracy in the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries," *Francia* 14 (1986): 639-658.

[7] Like Duby, David Herlihy posits a *mutation familiale*, but argues that it did not occur until the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. See Herlihy, "The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment." In *Medieval Families*, ed. Carol Neel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 199.

[8] Henri Bresc, "Europe: Town and Country (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Century)," in *A History of the Family, I: Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*, ed. André Burguière et al (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 439.

men's position in the inheritance.[9] Similarly, the divergent political careers of the Beaumont twins Waleran and Robert are of more interest to Crouch than the brothers' relationship with each other.[10]

The dearth of scholarly attention by historians to the subject of sibling relationships prompted Didier Lett to write not long ago that siblings were the "poor relations" of the study of kinship.[11] This is not to say that they have received no treatment at all. Lett himself has been a pioneer and champion of work on siblinghood; indeed, his interest extends beyond the Middle Ages in both chronological directions.[12] In a study of eleventh- and twelfth-century aristocratic families of the Loire, and more recently in work on Brittany's twelfth-century Countess Ermengard and her brother, Amy Livingstone contends that connections between siblings stretched from childhood to old age.[13] Young boys and girls played together, and they remained in contact into adulthood.[14] The story Livingstone tells for northwestern France is one of cooperation, a theme Jonathan Lyon also emphasizes for Germany during the central Middle Ages. Brothers and sisters fostered each other's children, acted together to donate land to ecclesiastical institutions, came to each other's assistance in instances of external threats,

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[9] David Crouch and Claire de Trafford, "The Forgotten Family in Twelfth-Century England," *The Haskins Society Journal* 13 (2004): 41-63

[10] David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[11] Didier Lett, "Les frères et les soeurs, 'parents pauvres' de la parenté," *Médiévales* 54 (Spring 2008): 5-12.

[12] See esp. his "L'histoire des frères et des soeurs," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 34 (2011): 182-202.

[13] Amy Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000-1200* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2010); idem, "Countess Ermengard and Count Fulk V: The Sibling Bond," (paper presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2015). I thank her for sharing a copy of this paper with me.

[14] Livingstone quotes an excerpt from "The 'Later Life' of Queen Matilda," translated by Sean Gilsdorf in his *Queenship and Sanctity: The* Lives *of Matilda and the* Epitaph *of Adelheid* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America), 115, in which Matilda's grandchildren are pictured gamboling around the banquet table (Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 28).

and worked to uphold each other's socio-political status.[15]

These scholars' efforts have been instrumental in bringing siblings out of the margins, but more remains to be done, particularly with regard to brothers. The brothers of aristocratic men could pose threats or offer support in ways typically unavailable to sisters, such as *coups d'état* or awards of governmental offices. As Erica Bastress-Dukehart shows for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany, brothers were very much aware of their superior position to their sisters in the familial hierarchy.[16] Although brothers also experienced a hierarchy in the family—theirs was based on birth order—it was of a different sort than the privilege men held vis-à-vis women. Moreover, although aristocratic men in general had to cope with the pressures and expectations of chivalric masculinity, brothers experienced a particular matrix of this competitive masculinity and expectations about good brotherhood that made their relationships with their brothers fundamentally different than with their sisters, wives, parents, and children. In studying brothers' fraternal bonds, we can reach toward a more complete understanding of why medieval aristocratic men acted as they did.

In her work on the Loire, Livingstone highlighted a few sets of brothers, whose relationships appear to conform to the positive tone she establishes throughout the study. She shows that brothers sometimes chose to retire together to monasteries in order to grow old in each other's company, as in the example of Hameric Chanard and his brother, the abbot of St. Père. Occasionally brothers even chose to be buried together, as

[15] Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 48 and 52; Jonathan Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), *passim*.
[16] Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict within Early Modern German Noble Families," *Journal of Family History* 33.1 (Jan. 2008): 61-80.

in the case of Lisois of Amboise and his brother.[17] While brothers did embroil themselves in internal disputes, as when Gaufred contested his brother's donation to the monastery of Marmoutier for more than two years, Livingstone argues that such conflicts and any attending dislike are not fully representative of sibling relationships. In her view, brothers were generally cordial, even affectionate.[18]

Livingstone's optimistic reading, however, is not universally shared, either because brothers really did antagonize each other or because bad behavior is more interesting—to medieval and modern authors alike. For Aurell, brothers' quarrels mirrored those between fathers and sons and other obviously vertical relationships: they were about "competition for familial power," enabled by "the absence of an effective State in the promulgation and application of laws."[19] Additionally, relations between brothers were further complicated by patterns of inheritance, which he argues (in support of Duby) were changing from the turn of the eleventh century to become more restrictive and exclusionary of younger brothers.[20]

Aurell's allegiance to his teacher's "feudal mutation" thesis is not without problems, but his identification of power and inheritance as triggers for fraternal conflict rings true for the later Middle Ages as well. The conflicts he cites, including Fulk IV le Réchin's imprisonment of his brother Geoffroi le Barbu and usurpation of the county of Anjou in 1067 and Alphonse of Léon's alleged responsibility for the murder of Sancho of Castile in 1072, find echoes in the cases of Pedro the Cruel of Castile and Enrique of Trastámara in the fourteenth century, and François I and Gilles of Brittany in the

[17] Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 50.
[18] Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 50, 59.
[19] Aurell, 23, 58.
[20] Aurell, 23, 56-57.

fifteenth, among others.[21] Indeed, Aurell suggests that his list of offenders "could easily be enlarged to the centuries before and after."[22]

Regardless of when the transition to primogeniture took place, by the later Middle Ages in the areas addressed in this study, it generally had supplanted more practices that offered younger brothers greater opportunities.[23] The transfer of land and power from one generation to the next was an acute issue for brothers. As Matthew Howard notes in prefatory remarks to his analysis of the fifteenth-century Middle English romance *Generydes*, "to be a brother is not only to participate in a personal relationship, it is to encounter and reflect a social role, one which is bounded by the economic and political practices of its time."[24] While the brothers of the romance were not necessarily hostile to one another—indeed "the deployment of brotherhood in romance indicates that there is a bond between men which is not only of the strongest kind but which is also both everlasting and innate"—Howard insists that brothers were not, and could not be, particularly close emotionally.[25]

Socio-economic considerations also play an important role in the relationship

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[21] Aurell, 25; see Chapter Two for Pedro and Enrique and Part II for François and Gilles.
[22] Aurell, 24-25.
[23] Primogeniture did not take root among the nobility everywhere at the same time, and even by the later Middle Ages, regional variations remained. England shifted to primogeniture during the thirteenth century, but in Germany, partible inheritance continued even in the later Middle Ages. Meanwhile, partible inheritance was observed in the county of Champagne through the thirteenth century, and the inhabitants of the Loire region used a variety of practices at least up to the thirteenth century. Jane Whittle, "Rural Economies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 314-15; David Crouch, "The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry, 1050-1250," in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), 26-27; Barbara Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 65; Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 83-84; Amy Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 87-119.
[24] Matthew Howard, "'We are broderen': Fraternal Bonds and Familial Loyalty within the Fifteenth-Century Romance of *Generydes*," in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 129.
[25] Howard, 130.

between the fifteenth-century Greek brothers Carlo and Leonardo Tocco, as Nada Zečević shows. Carlo and Leonardo were possessed of "especially strong brotherly emotions," but the strength and character of their bond was atypical, in Zečević's view.[26] She holds that the extent of the brothers' cordiality might have been exaggerated by the anonymous author of the *Cronica dei Tocco di Cefalonia*, or perhaps the chronicler shaped his narrative using Plutarch's ideas of brotherhood.[27] Ultimately, Zečević finds that the bond between Carlo and Leonardo was more complex than is apparent at first glance, and that the mutual affection expressed in the chronicle was less critical to the brothers' relationship than the socio-economic ties between them.[28]

As Chapter One demonstrates, the idea that brotherhood was a special sort of bond was well-established by the later Middle Ages. There were grounds for it in religion: Jesus and the New Testament authors referred to the (male) Christian faithful as "brothers," a practice that monasteries and military orders perpetuated. Working men were part of fraternities, the members of which were called brothers. Military men who were particularly close were called "brothers-in-arms," and a number of men chose to solemnize this relationship with formal compacts. The men involved in these communities and partnerships were thus not just members of a social group, a fictive kinship group, or even a surrogate family. They were *brothers*, a far more specific—and gendered—relationship.

Although there was some variation across these milieux, it is possible to identify a

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[26] Nada Zečević, "Brotherly Love and Brotherly Service: On the Relationship Between Carlo and Leonardo Tocco," in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, 144.
[27] Zečević, 146-47.
[28] Zečević, 155, 156, *passim*.

common set of characteristics that made up an ideal of brotherhood.[29] Brothers were supposed to support each other. In the monastic setting, this might take the form of working a fellow monk's kitchen shift in the case of illness or other incapacity, or encouraging and advising one's brother in times of spiritual weakness.[30] For brothers-in-arms, support meant mutual aid and defense: mobilizing oneself against the enemies of one's sworn brother and backing his enterprises.[31] Closely related was loyalty, which brothers-in-arms demonstrated when they swore to cleave to their brothers' causes. Their oaths also point to another, related quality of ideal brotherhood: cooperation, which entailed a measure of obedience as well as fairness and respect.[32] In addition, brothers ought to love each other. Monks were to demonstrate boundless love for their brothers through acts of kindness, support, and goodwill. Brothers-in-arms made professions of affection in their formal compacts, and Elizabeth A.R. Brown has argued for the importance of love to the fictive brotherhood of sworn brothers.[33] Brotherhood, in its idealized version, entailed support, loyalty, love, and above all, cooperation. It was to be

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[29] See Chapter One for a detailed treatment of this topic.

[30] Bernard of Clairvaux's eulogy to his monastic and biological brother Gerard clearly shows the element of fraternal support prescribed in the Benedictine Rule: "I was weak in body, and he supported me. I was pusillanimous, and he encouraged me. I was slothful and negligent, and he spurred me on. I was improvident and forgetful, and he acted as my monitor. … [286] O my brother, thou wert the earnest stimulator of my studies in the Lord, my faithful helper, and my prudent counselor" (Bernard of Clairvaux, *St. Bernard's Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, trans. A Priest of Mount Melleray (Dublin; Belfast: Browne and Nolan, Ltd, 1920), 1:285-86).

[31] E.g., Thomas duke of Clarence to Charles duke of Orléans (14 November 1412): "I, Thomas, son of the king, duke of Clarence, swear and promise … to serve, aid, counsel, and comfort him, and guard his well-being and honor in all ways and with all my power" ("Alliance entre Thomas, duc de Clarence, et Charles, duc d'Orléans," in *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (Paris: Renouard, 1863), 1:359, no. 158). Gaston IV of Foix and Pierre de Brézé: "we will pursue the welfare, honor, and profit of each other, to aid, guard, and defend our persons, estates, lands, lordships, and subjects, and whatever other goods, and to avoid all injuries and dishonors, and we will support each other according to our ability" ("Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé, chambellan de Charles VII, sénéchal de Poitou," in *Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix, par Guillaume Leseur; chronique française inédite du XVe siècle*, ed. Henri Courteault (Paris: Renouard, 1896), 2:308).

[32] Rules for traditional monasteries and military orders emphasized the aspects of obedience and respect based on the centrality of hierarchies of age and rank.

[33] Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Ritual Brotherhood in Western Medieval Europe," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 357-81.

a unifying force and a refuge for men in a difficult world, and brothers who were related by blood lived in the shadow of this set of expectations about fraternity.

Masculinity, Chivalry, Chivalric Masculinity

The concept of masculinity is notoriously difficult to define in any context. Is it the monopoly of male-bodied persons, perhaps reducible to bodies, hormones, or even chromosomes? Is it merely "what men do?" Or is it a social phenomenon, not just socially constructed and therefore, to a degree, separable from bodies—after Judith Butler, how could it be other than socially constructed?—but also constitutive of the society itself?[34]

The difficulty with definitions is compounded for medievalists by a frustrating absence of sustained reflection on gender by medieval writers. This is not to say that gender did not matter to the people of medieval Europe, because it certainly did. For masculinity, references to acting "like a man" occur frequently, for example, whether as description or exhortation, but it is not necessarily clear—at least to modern readers—exactly what that phrase entailed. Rather than project a vision of today's masculinity, itself a matter of energetic discussion, onto medieval men, scholars must piece together a working definition from what sources remain to us in order to understand a past society's own interpretation of masculinity.[35]

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[34] Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990) is a foundational text on gender and social construction.

[35] For most medieval men, this approach is admittedly inadequate due to the nature and production of these sources, and it remains a difficult task even for the social and intellectual elites. Since most medieval people were illiterate, they were not themselves responsible for the production of their court records, histories, literature, notarial records, or any other textual remnants of daily life. Moreover, the relative few who could write received their advanced training in the church, the doctrines and philosophies of which potentially added another level of mediation between people and the texts produced by and about them. In general, only social elites could afford to be patrons of written works, so analysis of the history and

Male embodiment, while not a necessary and sufficient condition of masculinity, is at least a starting place in its definition.[36] In the first place, then, masculinity is associated with men, that is, male-bodied persons. More specifically, masculinity involves the prescribed qualities and behaviors that a given society attaches to male bodies and the things those bodies do.[37] In other words, masculinity is, to a great degree, socially constructed. The same is true of gender more generally—we all are implicated within our social contexts, so any interpretations we might make as individuals are always already conditioned by the mores of these contexts.

However, a purely social constructionist understanding of gender does not easily leave room for individual identity or the role of interiority in the formation and expression of identity. A workable definition of masculinity must also take account of the individual, as R.W. Connell does when she posits that masculinity is "an aspect of individual character or personality," which develops within the social constraints of a particular context.[38] For Derek Neal, who draws inspiration from psychoanalysis, the self takes an even more prominent role. He asserts that that masculinity involves men's "sense of themselves in their communities," and includes "interiority and individuality, … the real texture of interior life."[39] His method, therefore, is to look at the "communication, between the prescriptions of culture, and the conscious or unconscious

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literature they commissioned is most relevant for their rarified circles rather than the less exalted masses who made up the vast majority.

[36] This is where Christopher Fletcher begins when he calls for sustained attention to historical masculinities on their own terms in order to understand "what past societies associated with being male" ("The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity?: Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood," in *What is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 61).

[37] Derek Neal, "Masculine Identity in Late Medieval English Society and Culture," in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 174-75.

[38] R.W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 29.

[39] Derek Neal, "Suits Make the Man: Masculinity in Two English Law Courts, c. 1500," *Canadian Journal of History* 37 (April 2002): 2, 3.

assertions of the individual" as "the most sensible way of defining gender."[40] Although there is much that is problematic about using psychoanalysis on medieval subjects, his approach remains useful as a balance to the more heavily social constructivist models. Individual men navigated, adapted to, upheld, and subverted their society's masculinities, which they shaped even as those masculinities shaped them. Masculinity, therefore, is "a dynamic, with both an inside and an outside."[41]

These attempts at definition are necessarily broad in order to make space for the nuances of temporally and geographically specific masculinities. In the Middle Ages, for example, scholars have analyzed the masculinities of craftsmen, university students, monks and priests, kings, and knights, all of which carried variations of greater or lesser degree from each other.[42] Even within a particular version of masculinity, there were contradictions and tensions. For example, the masculinity of martial elites involved establishing dominance over other men, but also supporting them when oaths and honor demanded it. Secular men proved their virility—their manliness—through sexual conquests, but masculinity also involved moderation and self-mastery.[43]

One element that masculinity writ large seems to hold in common, in medieval Europe and beyond, is a propensity for violence. For example, the keystone of chivalry was prowess, a complex of strength, endurance, and martial skill. It was, in other words,

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[40] Neal, "Suits," 3-4.
[41] Neal, "Suits," 4.
[42] For recent monographs on medieval masculinities, see esp. Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013); Derek Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
[43] Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 24-28; Neal, *Masculine Self*, 8, 58, 62, 243.

"expertise in the use of violence."[44] This prowess was "of necessity done unto others," earned and maintained through armed competition with other men.[45] Even churchmen appropriated the language, and sometimes the behavior, of violence as a way of demonstrating their masculinity.[46]

Through competitions for dominance, men gained honor, another central feature of late medieval masculinity. Honor involved trustworthiness and good reputation as well as prowess and good manners, and required a ready defense against any threat of shame.[47] An honorable man was a manly man, and the opposite also was true. Ruth Mazo Karras asserts that, although men did not gain honor solely through violence, "the successful use of violence was a sine qua non, and violence was the ultimate means of maintaining it,"[48] which returns us to the tie between masculinity and violence.

Significantly, the qualities of honor, prowess, and competition feature in another paradigm bearing on the lives of the warrior elite, that of chivalry. Like masculinity, chivalry remains a difficult concept to pin down, primarily because medieval authors did not fully agree about what chivalry was or should be.[49] However, there do seem to have

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[44] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 25.
[45] Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 152; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 94.
[46] See Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, "Odo Rigaldus, the Norman Elite, and the Conflict over Masculine Prerogatives in the Diocese of Rouen," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23 (2006): 41-55; Katherine Allen Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050-1250," *Speculum* 83.3 (July 2008): 572-602; Hugh M. Thomas, "Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 87.4 (Oct. 2012): 1050-1088.
[47] See Taylor, *Chivalry*, Ch. 2.
[48] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 60.
[49] Constance Bouchard makes much of the inconsistencies within chivalry, arguing ultimately that there was no "code," just a loose set of behaviors the martial elite "would like to imagine they followed, both based on and reflected in the epics and romances" (*Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 104). She holds that these works of literature "indicated tensions and conflicts within even the most idealized vision of chivalry," but does not acknowledge the didactic or reformative aspects of contemporary writings dealing with noble conduct. Craig Taylor notes that the various views of chivalry put forth by romance authors, moralists, chivalric biographers, etc. "were shaped by the genres in which they were writing, the audiences that they were

been some core qualities. Craig Taylor identifies "the central pillars of the key martial qualities" for the later Middle Ages: honor, prowess and loyalty, courage, mercy, wisdom and prudence.[50] His focus on the martial character of chivalry echoes that of Maurice Keen, for whom prowess also was a key feature.[51] In addition to loyalty, hardihood, honor, courage, and self-control in battle, David Crouch points to largesse and what he calls the Davidic ethic, which amounted to ideals of good rulership that involved protecting the weak (including the Church), respecting widows and orphans, and endeavoring against injustice.[52] Although reluctant to offer a list of chivalry's characteristics, Richard Kaeuper argues that prowess was "a key element of knighthood," "one of the chief chivalric qualities," and "The primary constituent in chivalry."[53]

Chivalry also required a good reputation, which, in circular fashion, was both an effect of honor and a constituent element. Ill repute, on the other hand, caused and was caused by shame, the opposite of honor and the enemy of chivalry. Honor could be earned or demonstrated and had to be maintained, both in the proactive sense of performing worthy actions and in the reactive, defensive sense.[54] Thus, "chivalric honour

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addressing and the deeper goals that they sought to achieve" (*Chivalry*, ix). The presence of contradictory ideals, even within the same work, does not preclude the existence of a recognized code; it merely signals differing visions as to its best form. My concern here is less with what chivalry was than with what aristocratic patrons and the authors who wrote for them thought it should be.

[50] Taylor, *Chivalry*, x. He purposely excluded courtly values from his book, citing a limitation of space, although he plans to address them in his next project (xi). For the relationship between courtliness and the martial aspect of chivalry, see Jennifer G. Wollock, *Rethinking Chivalry and Courtly Love* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011).

[51] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1984), 81.

[52] For the martial virtues, see David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 56-68, 79-80, and David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2003), 204. For largesse, see Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 68-71. For the Davidic ethic, see Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 71-79. Crouch's Davidic ethic echoes the view of Duby's student, Jean Flori, who cites the protection of widows, orphans, and the Church as essential to the ideology of chivalry (*L'essor de la chevalerie, XIe – XIIe siècles* (Genève: Droz, 1986), 339).

[53] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 101, 103, 126.

[54] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 54, 71. Taylor argues that men's sense of honor was not as prickly in the Middle Ages as it would become in the early modern era, when duels were essentially the obligatory response to

was fundamentally bound up with physical violence, as knights and men-at-arms were encouraged to win respect through demonstrations of prowess and courage, and also to defend themselves against shame and humiliation."[55]

Honor and good reputation, along with prowess, "the defining quality of the ideal knight in chivalric culture," thus were primary elements of the complex of chivalry.[56] With prowess and its attendant quality of courage, a man could win honor and gain a good reputation. He would sustain these through courtly behavior, loyalty to his fellow knights and lord, trustworthiness, the vigorous pursuit of opportunities to show his mettle, and protection of the weak and defenseless. It was the competitive aspect of chivalry, however, that was key. Taylor observes that in chivalric culture, "honour, reputation and heroism were built above all upon success in violent struggle and competition."[57] Competition might be outwardly and obviously violent, as in the joust or warfare, but knights vied with one another at court as well, as they sought to outdo each other in their vows, their clothing and other expressions of courtliness, and their success with women.[58]

In all of these contests, the men were seeking to establish their dominance not just as knights but as men. Competition was fundamental not just to chivalry, honor, and

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perceived insults. Nevertheless, knights did fight each other over matters of honor (which necessarily touched their reputations), and the violence they committed to protect their reputations was seen as legitimate and legally acceptable (Taylor, 124-26, 72). On violence and the defense of honor in the Middle Ages, see also Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, and Malcolm Vale, "Aristocratic Violence: Trial by Battle in the Later Middle Ages," in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. Richard Kaeuper (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000). On early modern dueling culture, see Scott K. Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) and Robert B. Shoemaker, "The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800," *The Historical Journal*, 45.3 (Sept. 2002): 525-45.

[55] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 54. Kaeuper also notes the link between prowess and honor, asserting that prowess "wins honour, weapons in hand" (*Chivalry and Violence*, 126).

[56] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 91.

[57] Taylor, *Chivalry* 92.

[58] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, Ch. 2.

reputation, but also to the very masculinity of medieval elite men. Taylor remarks that a knight's failure to address slights to his honor would have been viewed as "a failure of manhood."[59] The use of licit violence in martial feats was "the hallmark of manhood" and the chief means by which a man could prove himself.[60] Taylor offers the example of Jean de Bueil's fifteenth-century *Le jouvencel*, which emphasized the value of doing battle in an open field, without the protection of hedges or ditches. "In such circumstances," Taylor writes, "one truly demonstrated heart and courage," which were "the true measure of a man's worth."[61]

The connection linking honor, chivalry, and masculinity also appears in the importance of trustworthiness and loyalty. Men took oaths to lords, kings, and each other, and more generally, knights depended on each other for support in various situations, military campaigns being the most obvious. The centrality of oaths and promises to medieval society required strong sanctions against those who broke them, which is why "Treachery and disloyalty were the antithesis of true knighthood."[62] They were also evidence of defective or absent masculinity; a man who could not keep his word risked allegations of effeminacy or childishness, since both women and children were seen as inconstant.[63]

Because of the overlap between chivalry and the masculinity of the martial elites, I propose to use the term "chivalric masculinity" to describe the gendered paradigm that prevailed in the lives of the men who make up this dissertation. Although masculinity

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[59] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 71.
[60] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 91, 108.
[61] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 96.
[62] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 128.
[63] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 79; Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 44, 72.

was present within chivalry, studies of chivalry have tended not to address it in a sustained way, and given the variety within medieval masculinity, it is necessary to be specific about what sort of masculinity one is discussing.[64] Although there is some risk in combining two difficult concepts into a single, compound term, "chivalric masculinity" successfully conveys the competitive, cultural, and martial aspects of the masculinity of social elites.

Approach and methods

Part I of this project is, by design, macroscopic. It ranges across nearly two centuries, and although the geographical focus is primarily on northern France and England, it also includes case studies from Italy, northern Spain, southern France, and the Low Countries. This expansive approach comes with limitations and risks. It cannot account for change over time in a particular place, or the specific contours of masculine expression or fraternal action in one region. It does not identify how these things might have been different or similar from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. Moreover, it risks the charge that I am eliding regional variation and nuance in order to create an artificially uniform narrative, which necessarily must crumble when faced with localized analyses.

These are important critiques, and the in-depth case study that makes up Part II is, in part, meant to balance Part I's breadth. Still, the wide-angle approach of Part I has a

[64] For example, Taylor mentions masculinity at several points, and notes in his preface that a study of chivalry is important for our understanding of medieval masculinity (*Chivalry*, 2), but his discussion of gender leaves ample space for further development. Kaeuper does not engage explicitly with gender at all, despite numerous opportunities. See esp. *Chivalry and Violence*, 143, where he argues that "the personal capacity to beat another man through the accepted method of knightly battle… appears time and again as something like the ultimate *human* quality; it operates in *men* as a gift of God… and binds the best *males* together in a fellowship of the elect" (emphasis added), and 157, where he cites Malory's Sir Tristram: "*manhode* is not worthe but yf hit be medled with wysdome" (my emphasis).

significant benefit: it allows a view of phenomena and ideologies that, I argue, were present throughout the later Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, there were regional variations in the exact expression of chivalric masculinity, the shape of ideal brotherhood, and the accepted forms of brothers' interactions. Indeed, even within each region there were variations. In Foix-Béarn, for example, Count Gaston Fébus was willing to make his illegitimate sons Yvain and Gratien the heirs to the county, but the local elites refused to allow it.[65] However, local variation does not preclude the existence of a certain level of similarity across regions, and while the passage of time inevitably brought changes at the micro level, the expectations of brotherhood and the features of chivalric masculinity seem to have remained stable during the period examined here.

A basic premise of this study is the presence of an aristocratic identity that transcended "state" boundaries, which were themselves always in flux during the Hundred Years' War.[66] In addition to frequent marital alliances that intermingled noble houses and households across Europe, the social elites participated in a shared literary, material, and chivalric culture, which included attendance at the great social spectacles of

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[65] Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), 158-61, 182-83.

[66] Since Marc Bloch's *La société féodale* first appeared, a number of scholars have engaged in a debate on differences between "aristocracy" and "nobility." Some, including Bloch, Timothy Reuter, and David Crouch, have held to the notion that the aristocracy was an amorphous group defined by its social function, and nobility was basically the same group defined legally. Thus, there was not a true nobility until at least the twelfth century, when kings began granting letters of ennoblement. Others, including Theodore Evergates and Janet Nelson, have argued that, even though the word *nobilis* is not common in early medieval sources, early medieval writers knew when they were writing about society's elites. It is my view that the technical distinction between "nobility" and "aristocracy" as excessively legalistic and too dependent on the expectation that descriptions perfectly mirrored reality. Moreover, whatever distinction existed between the two terms had disappeared by the later Middle Ages. I will, therefore, follow Constance Bouchard's example and use the terms interchangeably. See Timothy Reuter, "Introduction," in *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Timothy Reuter (Amsterdam; New York; Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979); Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*; Theodore Evergates, "Nobles and Knights in Twelfth-Century France," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Janet Nelson, "Nobles and Nobility in the Ninth Century," in *Nobles and Nobility*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2000); Bouchard, *Strong of Body*.

the age, the tournaments. Relatedly, they shared "the experiences and culture of warfare," which must have been reinforced during the many campaigns of the Hundred Years' War.[67] Jonathan Sumption suggests that the war "may even have intensified" the chivalric values shared by the aristocracy of England and France.[68]

In his study of early modern Europe's nobility, Jonathan Dewald uses "the presentation of parallel examples, drawn from diverse regions of western and central Europe" in order to support his argument that there was a "fundamental similarity in the nobles' experiences across Europe."[69] The case study approach is my modus operandi here as well, as it permits an organic analysis of each set of brothers, their interactions, and the circumstances that prevailed in each, as well as the sort of juxtaposition that Dewald advocates.

The cases of Part I are drawn primarily from the chronicles of Jean Froissart and his self-appointed continuator Enguerrand de Monstrelet, who shared the avowed aim of providing a record of worthy deeds so that "all young men who love arms can learn something."[70] I read these chronicles primarily as texts, that is to say with conscious regard for the positionality of the author, purposes for writing, principles for inclusion of subject matter, and rhetorical strategies of the text, while bearing in mind that the authors professed to be writing accurate history.

This approach is not without problems. As Gabrielle Spiegel observes, chronicles

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[67] Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xvi. Although Dewald's study is about the early modern nobility of Europe, he asserts that there was more continuity than change for this social group from the later medieval to the early modern (xv-xvi).
[68] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 444.
[69] Dewald, xv.
[70] Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Città del Vaticano Reg. lat. 869," ed. Godfried Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013), <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 May 2015], fol. 1r.

(as texts) are both descriptive and prescriptive works: they "both mirror *and* generate social realities, are constituted by *and* constitute the social and discursive formations which they may sustain, contest, or seek to transform."[71] A discussion of a chronicle must, therefore, take into account its context as well as its form, and this intersection of social history and literary analysis is what she calls the "social logic of the text."[72] However, as Spiegel points out in later reflections, full utilization of her method ultimately causes the resulting analysis to work against itself, in that it relies on sources to speak clearly about the past even as the historian deconstructs and decodes them in the mode of the literary critic. She has called her approach "an epistemological nightmare," and has declared that "the problem of an adequate epistemology for history" that addresses the dual registers of content/context and form simply cannot be resolved.[73]

Spiegel's view is, in my estimation, too pessimistic. On the contrary, I hold that it is possible and necessary to engage with both the content of the chronicles and their textuality. Among the scholars who share this view is Peter Ainsworth, who has addressed Froissart's place in his socio-political and ideological contexts while also

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[71] Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text," *Speculum* 65.1 (Jan. 1990): 77.
[72] Spiegel, "Social Logic," 77-78.
[73] Gabrielle Spiegel, "Theory Into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles," in *The Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodolpi, 1999), 10. One scholar who has sought to address the issue of historiographical methodology for chronicles is Sophia Menache, but her approach comes across as somewhat simplistic, in that it involves the attempt to root out "historical data from what at first glance contains all the features of a fairy-tale" (Menache, "Chronicles and Historiography: The Interrelationship of Fact and Fiction," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 333). Although Menache notes that chronicles are important sources for identifying authorial mentalities, she concludes her article by lapsing into an anachronistic argument that measures medieval chronicles by modern standards of historiography, and finds them lacking. Her argument echoes Johan Huizinga's simultaneous rehabilitation of the chronicle genre as essential for accessing "the passionate intensity of life," and also criticism of its cavalier attitude toward "actual facts" and its inferiority to visual art. ("The Passionate Intensity of Life" is the title of Chapter 1 in Huizinga's *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). For the factual content of the chronicles, see p. 9, and for his unfavorable comparison of chronicles and other literature to contemporary paintings, see especially Chapter 13, "Image and Word.") Menache's offering is thus only somewhat helpful in the search for an appropriate methodology.

attending to the literary qualities of the chronicle.[74] Zrinka Stahuljak focuses on Froissart the author, using the literary aspects of the text in order to demonstrate the tactics the chronicler employed in order to support his position as a neutral recorder of events.[75] While Froissart and Monstrelet made errors and recounted rumor as if it were fact, both authors professed to record accurate history.[76] Moreover, as self-appointed—and widely recognized—mouthpieces of chivalric deeds, their chronicles provide a rich hunting ground for examples of aristocratic and royal brothers in action, as well as a glimpse of the reigning paradigms of brotherhood and chivalric masculinity.

In a way, it does not matter whether Froissart listed someone's name incorrectly or reported a rumor as truth, as he did for the alleged enmity between John of Gaunt and Thomas of Gloucester regarding the marriage of Mary de Bohun.[77] What matters is that Froissart chose to include these and other "facts" that we now know to be inaccurate, as in the Gaunt-Gloucester case, and lingered at length on vignettes that appear at first glance to be at odds with his mission to highlight chivalric exemplars. Rather than abandon his chronicle as unreliable, we can and should consider what these moments mean for the chronicle and its message. Heeding Robert M. Stein's call to "look *at* th[e] chronicle entry rather than *through* it," I consider the chronicles as texts more than mere conveyors of facts about past events, ideas, and persons.[78] This approach allows analysis of the rhetorical strategies that appear, for example, in Froissart's description of the war

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[74] Peter Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth and Fiction in the* Chroniques (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[75] Zrinka Stahuljak, "Neutrality Affects: Froissart and the Practice of Historiographic Authorship," in *The Medieval Author in French Literature*, ed. Virginia Greene (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), esp. 138-39.
[76] See below, pp. 25, 29.
[77] See Chapter Two.
[78] Robert M. Stein, "Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History," in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 72, emphasis in original.

between Pedro the Cruel of Castile and Enrique of Trastámara, which reveal the author's commitment to the notion of ideal brotherhood and its value in the uncertain context of the later fourteenth century.

The chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet form the backbone of this dissertation; they are the sources from which most of the case studies initially spring. While I employ additional chronicles as well, those play a supporting role, offering points of comparison, clarification, or supplementation. I have also used documents of practice, primarily to develop the cases from the chronicles, but also as sources of cases that do not appear in the chronicles. Of course, charters and acts, decrees, wills, and records of court proceedings are not objective presentations of the past as it actually happened either. Scribes acted as intermediaries, translating words and actions into language that conformed to accepted conventions. Documents were created for specific purposes, such as to promote a certain vision of a situation (i.e., propaganda) or to prevent future challenges over a property transfer. Even court records might not reflect the reality of the circumstances leading to a legal case: plaintiffs might structure their accusations in ways they knew would be successful in the courts.[79]

Nevertheless, documents of practice provide an important balance to chronicles. As the cases of Louis XI and Charles (Chapter Two) and François and Gilles of Brittany (Part II) demonstrate, the documents—as official records—offer perspectives not available through the chronicles. They also contain invaluable information as to how events played out. Taken together, documents of practice and chronicles permit a far

[79] P.J.P. Goldberg, "Fiction in the Archives: The York Cause Papers as a Source for Later Medieval Social History," *Continuity and Change* 12 (1997): 425-45; Martha A. Brozyna, "Not Just a Family Affair: Domestic Violence and the Ecclesiastical Courts in Late Medieval Poland," in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*.

more complete analysis than either could do on their own. Moreover, the documents, as an aggregate, reinforce my contention that ideal brotherhood mattered, and that men across western Europe subscribed to it. For example, numerous documents show brothers such as François and Gilles of Brittany, or Louis XI and Charles of France, deploying the rhetoric of brotherhood in deliberate ways, which strongly suggests that they understood the cultural relevance of that ideal.

Chroniclers and Their Chronicles

Given the centrality to this project of the chronicles written by Froissart and Monstrelet, some introductory remarks about them are in order. Froissart, a native of Valenciennes in Hainaut, was born around 1337, the beginning of the Hundred Years' War. His first work is believed to be a now-lost verse chronicle, given to Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England, around 1362.[80] Froissart claims to have worked for Philippa as a secretary and chronicler, but we have only his word on the matter.[81] His turn to prose for historical writing likely was the result of his contact with the chronicle of Jean le Bel, which was finished in 1361, and on which Froissart depended heavily for the first redaction of Book I of his own chronicle.[82] This first version (redaction A), completed c. 1373, was dedicated to his then-patron, Robert of Namur, and was widely circulated,

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[80] Godfried Croenen, "Jean Froissart: Chronicler, Poet and Writer," in *The Online Froissart*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013) http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart [accessed 3 May 2015].

[81] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart [accessed 3 May 2015].

[82] Peter Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. Graeme Dunphy (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:642. Croenen writes that Le Bel "manifestly had no time for versifiers." See "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart [accessed 3 May 2015].

surviving in roughly 40 manuscripts.[83]

According to Ainsworth, the B redaction of Book I, which became the basis for the edition of the Société de l'Histoire de France (using Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France mss. fr. 6477-79) and survives in only six manuscripts, was written "perhaps 'alongside' and at times almost coterminously with parts of the 'A' redaction."[84] His patron for the B version, as well as Books II, III, and IV, may have been Guy II of Châtillon, count of Blois (d. 1397).[85] Froissart continued to revise Book I while also writing Book II; his later efforts on Book I came together between 1376 and 1379, possibly at the behest of Enguerrand de Coucy, and survive in just two manuscripts, Amiens Bibliothèque municipale ms. 486 and Valenciennes Bibliothèque municipale ms. 638, known as the "Amiens" and "Valenciennes" versions.[86] There are episodes in this later revision that do not appear in the earlier redactions.[87] At the end of his life, while also writing Book IV, he once again revisited Book I in what is called the "Rome" version because of its survival solely in Vatican Library Reg. Lat. ms. 869.

Froissart did extensive research for his chronicles, and in accordance with the highest standards of his day, he placed premium value on the oral accounts of eye witnesses.[88] Among his interviewees were heralds and kings-at-arms, whose job it was to document chivalric deeds, and who were considered to be the most reliable witnesses

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[83] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart [accessed 3 May 2015].
[84] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 642. See also Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart [accessed 3 May 2015].
[85] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 642.
[86] Godfried Croenen makes the argument for Coucy's patronage in "Froissart et ses mécènes: quelques problèmes biographiques," in *Froissart dans sa forge: Actes du Colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2006), 21-27.
[87] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 642.
[88] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart.

available.[89] Book I includes interviews conducted in England with French prisoners of war, as well as Froissart's observations from life at the court of Edward III and information gathered during research trips to Scotland (to meet David Bruce in 1365), Brussels (1366), the Welsh march (1366), Aquitaine (to Prince Edward of Wales in 1367, when Richard II was born), the Low Countries again (1367), and Milan (for the marriage of Lionel duke of Clarence with Violante Visconti in 1368-69).[90] His work for Book III required travel to the court of Gaston Fébus, count of Foix-Béarn, undertaken from 1388 with the support of Guy of Châtillon. While there, he interviewed witnesses extensively, including Gaston's knight Espan de Lion, the Bascot de Mauléon, and the Portuguese knight Fernand Pachéco, and he frequently inserted himself into the narrative he produced.[91] Ainsworth marks this journey, often termed the "Voyage in Béarn," as a turning point in Froissart's career as a writer.[92] It also indicates a shift in Froissart's outlook: he was beginning to notice "the growing tension between hereditary kingship and presumed, 'caste-imparted' chivalry on the one hand, and the legitimacy and prowess actually acquired on the battlefield, on the other."[93] Croenen remarks that in Book III,

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[89] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 6477," ed. Godfried Croenen and Natasha Romanova, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 2r. In the Amiens redaction, Froissart clarifies that he sought heralds and kings-at-arms "both in France and in England where I worked myself in order to have the truth of the matter." Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Amiens, BM ms. 486," ed. Godfried Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 1r. Thomas Johnes' translation omits Froissart's entire source discussion (Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:3-4).

[90] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart> [accessed 3 May 2015]

[91] Croenen, Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart> [accessed 3 May 2015]; Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 643.

[92] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 643.

[93] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 643.

Froissart's "critique of the society of his times seems to deepen and sharpen."[94] This book, written between 1388 and 1391, exists in 24 manuscripts, all with slight variations.[95]

After stops in Avignon and Paris, where he witnessed the ceremonial entry of Isabeau of Bavaria into that city on 20 August 1389, Froissart returned to the Low Countries and new patrons, Count Albert of Hainaut and Albert's son William of Ostrevant.[96] He was sustained by a canonry at Chimay in the 1390s, but he still continued to travel, visiting the French court in 1392—he was present when the news of the attempt on Olivier de Clisson's life arrived—and Richard II's court in England in 1395. These journeys and an account of Charles VI's reign and madness appear in Book IV, which survives in about 20 witnesses.[97] Froissart died sometime before 13 December 1404.[98]

Thanks to the availability of Froissart's chronicle in high quality manuscript facsimiles and transcriptions on the internet site *The Online Froissart*, I am eschewing printed editions in every instance except one, for which the case does not appear in the witnesses available online.[99] Because of the variation across extant manuscripts,

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[94] Croenen, "Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart> [accessed 3 May 2015].

[95] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 643. Ainsworth asserts that Besançon, BM ms. 865 is "one of the earliest complete witnesses." See also Croenen, who notes that the Sociéte d'histoire de France (SHF) version, based on Paris, BnF fr. ms. 2650, "becomes increasingly divergent from much of the material common to the other complete witnesses we have for Book III" ("Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart> [accessed 3 May 2015]).

[96] Ainsworth, "Froissart, Jean," 643.

[97] Alberto Varvaro, 339. Most of the witnesses of Book IV are abridged. Alberto Varvaro published an edition from Brussels, BR IV 467 in the volume he did with Ainsworth of Books III and IV (Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre III et Livre IV*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Alberto Varvaro (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2004)), which skips the years between 1391 and 1395. Varvaro made use of Paris, BnF fr. mss. 2648 and 2661 for comparison with the Brussels manuscript (339-40). The Online Froissart includes a partial transcription of London, BL mss. 4379-80 by Katarina Närä, who, according to the website, is in the process of completing a transcription of the entire book.

[98] Varvaro, "Introduction au quatrième Livre," in Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre III et Livre IV*, 328.

[99] See Chapter Two, pg. 93.

Froissart's ongoing revisions to Book I, and the use of three now-lost manuscripts whose contents cannot be known for certain, Thomas Johnes' translation should be regarded as a guide rather than an authority.[100] For this study, I rely primarily on Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663 for Book I (A redaction), Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 865 for Books II and III, and Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646 for Book IV. BnF ms. fr. 2663 and Besançon ms. 865 were produced in the workshop of the Parisian master Pierre de Liffol in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[101] BnF ms. fr. 2646 is the last installment of the manuscripts produced for the great book collector Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse (1422-92) between 1470 and 1475.[102] It is available in digital facsimile via the Bibliothèque nationale's online repository, *Gallica*, while BnF ms. fr. 2663 and Besançon ms. 865 are transcribed at *The Online Froissart*.[103]

Enguerrand de Monstrelet and his chronicle have received far less attention than

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[100] I have used his translation thusly, as an aid for identifying appropriate places for further work in the manuscript sources. Johnes' three now-missing manuscripts were lost when his house burned. References to Johnes' translation in the footnotes, except for the case of John of Gaunt and Thomas of Gloucester in Chapter Two, are meant to facilitate ease of use of the material presented.

[101] Godfried Croenen, "Pierre de Liffol and the Manuscripts of Froissart's *Chronicles*," in *The Online Froissart*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, v. 1.5 (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013), <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.GC-Pierre>, first published in v. 1.0 (2010). Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663 was part of a two-volume set with Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2664, which contains Book II. Similarly, Besançon 865 (Books II and III) had a companion volume in Besançon 864 (Book I). The miniatures in BnF 2663 and Besançon 865 were created by the same artist, known as the Giac Master.

[102] Laurence Harf-Lancner, "The Illustration of Book 1 of Froissart's *Chroniques*," in *Froissart Across the Genres*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1998), 225; Scot McKendrick, "Painting in Manuscripts of Vernacular Texts, circa 1467-1485," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 268.

[103] As these three manuscripts do not contain the entirety of Froissart's chronicle, I do resort to other witnesses on occasion. New York, Morgan Library ms. M.804 and London, British Library Arundel ms. 67 (vol. 1) are A redaction witnesses of Book I; Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 486 is the Amiens redaction; Paris, BnF ms. fr. 6477 is B redaction; Chicago, Newberry Library ms. f.37 (vol. 1) is C redaction; Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 869 is the Rome redaction. London, BL Royal ms. 18 E II is another Book IV witness, produced c. 1480 in the Netherlands for King Edward IV of England (1442-83). See "Detailed record for Royal 18 E II," in the British Library's online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, rev. 10 May 2011 <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7615&CollID=16&NStart=180502> [accessed 12 June 2015].

Froissart. He was born around 1390 in Ponthieu, roughly the same vicinity as Froissart's home base, and worked in the service of the Burgundian partisan Jean of Luxembourg as bailiff of Compiègne, provost of Cambrai, and bailiff of Walincourt (near Cambrai).[104] Inspired to write by Froissart's chronicle, he understood his project to be a continuation of Froissart's, picking up where his predecessor left off at Easter 1400. The chronicle is divided into two books, the first extending to the death of Charles VI on 22 October 1422, the second reaching May 1444, the date of the Treaty of Tours between France and England. Monstrelet died in 1453 before he could write more, but a Book III covering 1444-67 (sometimes 1471) appears in several manuscripts as well as the English translation by Johnes. The material of this third book was compiled from the chronicle of Mathieu d'Escouchy, Jean Chartier's contribution to the *Grandes chroniques de France*, and Jean du Clerq's chronicle.[105]

Like Froissart, Monstrelet asserted that he sought "to inquire the truth of these things through great diligence" by employing sources that, not coincidentally, were the same types that Froissart used: interviews with "noble people, who out of noble honor would or should not deign to speak anything but truth, … and also kings-at-arms, heralds, and pursuivants of several lords and lands, who by their law and office ought to be just and diligent investigators, well-trained and true narrators."[106]

Monstrelet's chronicle exists in a nineteenth-century, six-volume edition completed by Louis Douët-d'Arcq. For Book I, Douët-d'Arcq completed a "literal

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[104] Hanno Wijsman, "Enguerrand de Monstrelet," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1:578.
[105] M. Dacier, "The Life of Monstrelet; with an Essay on his Chronicles," in *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, trans. Thomas Johnes (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1867), 1:xxxi.
[106] Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols. (Paris: Renouard, 1857-62), 1:3-4.

reproduction" of Paris BnF ms. fr. 2684, produced in the 1470s or 1480s,[107] but he selected his base manuscript at least in part because it was written in what he considered "French" rather than "Picard."[108] An earlier witness, Paris BnF ms. fr. 6486, copied in 1459, was known to him as "Supplément français 93," but he chose not to use it because it contains Picard inflections, even though he acknowledges that "the text is just as reliable."[109] For Book II, Douët-d'Arcq opted to use a Vérard edition[110] rather than Paris BnF ms. fr. 2682, which, although "very good," was written in a Picard dialect that he thought would clash with the first book and its purer "French" language.[111] Wijsman observes that Vérard "was not particularly bothered with the exact contents of the chronicle," which renders the contents of Douët-d'Arcq's edition of Book II problematic. I will, therefore, use Paris, BnF mss. fr. 2682, which dates from the 1470s, to compare Douët-d'Arcq's text for Book II, and for any material drawn from the continuation of Monstrelet (Book III) included in Johnes' translation.[112]

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[107] Douët-d'Arcq identifies this as ms. 8347-5.5, formerly Colbert 3186 ("Preface," to Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, xi, xxiii). The modern shelfmark appears in the BnF's *Catalogue des manuscrits français de al Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils, etc., 1868), 1:441-42. The period in which this manuscript was copied was a time of "significant interest" in Monstrelet's chronicle (Hanno Wijsman, "History in Transition: Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique* in Manuscript and Print (c. 1450-c.1600)," in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 205 and 205 n.19).
[108] Douët-d'Arcq, "Preface," xi-xii.
[109] Douët-d'Arcq, "Preface," xii-xiii. This manuscript carries the inscription "I, Olivet Du Quesne, native of Lille in Flanders, finished copying this book the 12th day of May, 1459" (BnF, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, 41-42).
[110] This would have been one of the two editions Vérard did in the early sixteenth century. According to Wijsman, the second contained only cosmetic changes; they were essentially the same text ("History in Transition," 214). He dates the first edition between 1499 and 1503 and the second between 1503 and 1508 ("History in Transition, 214, 219).
[111] Douët-d'Arcq, "Preface," xxiii. He identifies this as ms. 8346. The modern shelfmark appears in the BnF's *Catalogue des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 441. Wijsman asserts that this manuscript dates to the 1470s ("History in Transition," 205 and 205 n.19).
[112] Although Monstrelet's chronicle was written and copied in two books, Douët-d'Arcq's edition comprises six volumes. The Book II material begins in volume 4 at pg. 125. For a listing of the fifteenth-century manuscripts of Monstrelet's chronicle, see Wijsman, "History in Transition," 205 nn. 18 and 19. Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2682 is available through *Gallica* at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591670, as is another manuscript from that period, Paris, BnF ms. fr. 88, at

Both Froissart and Monstrelet professed to write their chronicles in order to preserve deeds worthy of remembrance, a task Monstrelet explicitly claims to be of the highest value.[113] Froissart begins,

> That the great marvels and excellent deeds of arms that have come through the great wars of France and England and neighboring realms… might be registered notably and, in present times and those to come, seen and understood, I took pains to order and put in prose, according to the truth, information that I have gotten from valiant men, knights and squires… and also from kings-at-arms and their marshals who, by law, are and should be just investigators and reporters of such things.[114]

The educational value of the work was implicitly understood in the earlier redactions of Book I, but crystalized in the Rome redaction of his later years.[115] Monstrelet's instructional agenda seems to have been clearer from the beginning: by recording "the

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http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90096250 [accessed 12 June 2015]. Both manuscripts are facsimiles of microfilmed copies of the library's holdings; I use BnF ms. fr. 2682 here because the page images are clearer than those of BnF ms. fr. 88. I have used Thomas Johnes' 1810 translation of Monstrelet's chronicle as an aid, but all translations are my own. References to Johnes' text are intended to facilitate easy use of the material here.

[113] Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:1; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:2

[114] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 6477," ed. Croenen and Romanova, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 May 2015], fol. 2r.

[115] Johnes' translation includes the phrase, "that all who shall read may derive pleasure and instruction from my work," which may be a mistranslation of "ilz puissant prendre esbatement et plaisance…" (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Godfried Croenen, Caroline Lambert, Sofie Loomans, et al., in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 May 2015], fol. 6v), where *esbatement* means "amusement" and *plaisance* means "pleasure" or "enjoyment." Alternatively, this phrase may have appeared in one of the witnesses that Johnes used when making his translations that were destroyed by fire (see editor's note, Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:xlii). Froissart states in the Rome redaction that he intends his chronicle to provide examples so that "all young men who love arms can learn something" (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 869," ed. Croenen, in *The Online Froissart* [accessed 12 May 2015], fol. 1r).

glory and praise of those who, through force of courage and strength of body, have valiantly borne themselves," he imagines that he will provide "instruction and introduction" to those who "would like to exert themselves honorably in arms … in all ways that a valiant man might do."[116] He thus seeks not only to uphold and celebrate chivalry, but also to instruct men about what it meant to be manly.

This dissertation makes use of many more chronicles than just Froissart and Monstrelet, including the Castilian *Cronica del rey don Pedro Primero* of Pedro López de Ayala, the anonymously authored *Chronique des quatres premiers Valois*, the chronicle of Matteo Villani, and the *Journal de Jean de Roye*, to name a few. Rather than discuss the details of each at this juncture, I will provide such information as will be necessary as they appear in the study. The Introduction to Part II includes an examination of the chronicles pertinent to the quarrel between François I and Gilles of Brittany. Neither these narrative sources nor the documents of practice drawn from various printed editions and the Archives nationales in Paris, France have been translated into English. Therefore, all translations for these sources as well as the chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet are my own unless otherwise noted.[117]

Men again?

This is a dissertation about brothers, brotherhood, and masculinity, in which I do not treat the relationships of brothers with their sisters or the dynamics of masculinity and femininity together. As with my decision to take a wide-angle approach to the topic, my choice with regard to the topic itself comes with risks, not the least of which is that it

[116] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:2; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:1.
[117] I am grateful to Ruth Karras, Mary Franklin-Brown, Basit Hammad Qureshi, and Tiffany D. Vann Sprecher in particular for their assistance with various passages, but all errors remain my own.

contributes to a climate of misogyny. After all, has not most history been about men? Why write yet another men-only study? Moreover, concentrating exclusively on brothers means potentially neglecting sororal relations that might have had an impact on brothers and their fraternal relationships.

It is true that men were, for a very long time, the de facto subject of historical inquiry, but not because of their gendered existence. Masculinity was not a category of analysis, to use Joan W. Scott's turn of phrase.[118] The results were studies that substituted "men" for "humans," and were thus lopsided and incomplete. Women's history has done—and continues to do—much to correct that imbalance, and studies of men and women together, such as wives and husbands or sisters and brothers, illuminate the functions of gender in medieval society.[119] There continues to be a need, though, to examine men *qua* men—as gendered beings—which necessitates work on masculinities.

For the martial elites that are the subject of this dissertation, masculinity was oriented primarily, overwhelmingly toward other men. Women experienced the consequences of men's battles, military or otherwise, and they could be the foci for men's competitions with each other, but when it came to proving masculinity, the opinions of other men mattered most. Although scholars have recently begun to explore the ways in which men interacted with each other *as gendered beings*, more work remains to be done. This task is especially necessary considering the fact that the people who held the most power in medieval Europe, or at least exercised it in the most obvious and impactful

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[118] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (Dec. 1996): 1053-76.

[119] See, for example, Amy Livingstone, "Extraordinairement ordinaire: Ermengarde de Bretagne, femmes de l'aristocratie et pouvoir en France au Moyen-Age, v.1090-1135," trans. Mathieu Pichard, *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 121.1 (2014): 7-25; Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters*; Erica Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict;" the essays in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*.

ways, were men. For these reasons, I have chosen to focus my project on brothers alone, without their sisters, at the upper levels of society.

Within the small but growing field of medieval masculinity studies, the emphasis thus far has been on what masculinity was: what characteristics made it up, what the ideals or paradigms of masculinity were. For the reasons cited above, scholars needed to show first that men had gender, and second what that gender looked like. With this dissertation, I seek to shift the conversation to what masculinity *did*. Masculinity matters because of its impact on war, politics and policy, domestic matters, statecraft and diplomacy, sport, identity. Operating under the understanding that gender affects life and choices, studies of modern behaviors and phenomena have moved beyond identifying masculinity's properties—although that work is necessary and important as well. Recent projects have sought to link masculinity to, among other things, sexual violence, domestic abuse, war, and even heavy drinking.[120] In each of these studies, masculinity is a contributing factor to the behavior or action. In other words, it is a cause, and understanding how it functions and what influences it has yielded a better understanding not only of masculinity itself but also the phenomena it effects. This work needs to be done for the Middle Ages.

Since there was a lot less "egocentric self-expression" in the Middle Ages than we have now, at least in written form, the question of finding and evaluating masculinity's

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[120] Nancy C.M. Hartsock, "Gender and Sexuality: Masculinity, Violence, and Domination," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. Thomas E. Wartenberg (Albany: State University of New York, 1992); Douglas P. Schrock, "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity in a Batterer Intervention Program," *Gender & Society* 21.5 (Oct. 2007): 625-49; Roger S. Gottlieb, "Masculine Identity and the Desire for War: A Study in the Sickness of Power," in *Rethinking Power*; Sabine T. Koeszegi, Eva Zedlacher, and René Hudribusch, "The War against the Female Soldier?: The Effects of Masculine Culture on Workplace Aggression," *Armed Forces & Society* 40.2 (Apr. 2014): 226-51; Samantha Wells et al., "Linking Masculinity to Negative Drinking Consequences: The Mediating Roles of Heavy Episodic Drinking and Alcohol Expectancies," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs* 75.3 (May 2014): 510-19.

effects is a difficult one for medieval historians.[121] We cannot distribute surveys, of course, and the sources that remain have various interpretive challenges that complicate our view of medieval people's interiority. David Gary Shaw, writing on the self, agency, and the importance of establishing context, argues that, for the Middle Ages in particular, one must establish the social, political, cultural, economic context in order to find the self, which is constituted in and through society: "the self is fundamentally a self in society, in a culture. … Much of the self is already on display in its dialogue with the world."[122] This is not to say that, by knowing something about medieval society, writ large or on a more localized level, we can know precisely what an individual would do, let alone think. Rather, the context, or the habitus in Pierre Bourdieu's formulation, "sets the parameters for agency."[123]

In my study, the parameters for brothers' agency include not only customs of inheritance but also idealized brotherhood and the paradigm of chivalric masculinity. Although masculinity was not sufficient in itself to direct men's behaviors, its influence cannot be ignored. Masculinity was a constituent element of a man's identity, which, consciously or otherwise, factored into his actions and attitudes. The same is true of idealized brotherhood, which impinged on brothers particularly but also on the entire fellowship of Christian brethren (and sisters).

Establishing the standards, ideals, expectations that made up idealized brotherhood and chivalric masculinity is, therefore, a necessary task in order to learn something about elite brothers' relationships. It does not, however, get us to the point of

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[121] David Gary Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 13.
[122] Shaw, 15.
[123] Shaw, 14.

knowing what masculinity (or brotherhood) *did*, i.e., what effects it had or might have had for individual men. To address this issue, must one delve into the psyche to divine the causality behind motivations? This tactic is, for the vast majority of historical subjects, impossible, which might suggest that the project should be abandoned. But the notion that we must confine ourselves to describing a paradigm such as masculinity or brotherhood or indeed identity, that we ought not venture further afield to learn something about the function of that paradigm, is unsatisfactory.

I propose to use masculinity in two complementary ways in this study: as a lens, and as a factor framing a range of possibilities behind men's motivations. Using masculinity as a lens allows me to interpret a man's actions as being at least partially constituted by his gender, or rather by the set of expectations and ideas that made up contemporary masculinity. The conflict between François I of Brittany and Gilles was not merely a result of political calculation or character flaws.[124] Masculinity, particularly the aggressively competitive, dominating aspect, was involved. The entire conflict between the brothers can be read as a competition to prove superior masculinity, thereby providing a further interpretive layer for the events and a deeper understanding of what made men

[124] The scholarship on François and Gilles generally fall within these two categories of explanation, although there is disagreement as to who was manipulating, who was manipulated, and whose character was a problem. For François' supposedly deficient character, see Charles Taillandier, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris: Delaguette, 1756), 2:34; J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des français* (Brussels: Société typogrpahique belge, 1837), 9:267; Eugène Cosneau, *Le connétable de Richemont (Arthur de Bretagne) (1393-1458)* (Paris: Hachette, 1886), 377-78; Julien Trévédy, *Le connétable de Richemont (Le duc de Bretagne Arthur III)* (Vannes: Lafolye & Fils; Rennes: Plihon & Hervé, 1900), 201, 229. For Gilles' poor character, see Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes: Plihon & Hommay, 1906), 4:340; Arthur Bourdeaut, "Gilles de Bretagne: Entre la France et l'Angleterre," in *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 1 (1920): 55-56, 75. La Borderie argues forcefully that England was to blame for what happened in Brittany, as English agents took advantage of the naïve Gilles (La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 4:341). Bourdeaut also sees England at fault, but Gilles was complicit because of his unpatriotic betrayal of France ("Gilles de Bretagne," 63, 73, 129). England's intervention is a primary factor in the analysis of Maurice Keen and M.J. Daniel as well, but they argue that the English were the victims, having been duped by Gilles ("English Diplomacy and the Sack of Fougères in 1449," *History* 59.197 (Oct. 1974): 386, 390-91.

tick, as well as a better sense of the work that gender did at the individual level.

My use of masculinity as a factor framing a range of possibilities (or set of parameters) behind men's motivations follows from the work done by using it as an analytical lens. If we accept that masculinity *can* be a useful lens—that is to say, that it inhered in medieval men's actions and thus they can be subject to gendered analysis—then we must also accept that masculinity played a role in men's motivations. Not necessarily a determining role, as a myriad of factors play into every choice a person makes, some of which are unconscious, many of which are irrecoverable for historical figures who are not available for questioning. We cannot rule, therefore, on the particular constellation of factors at work for a medieval man's choices in a given situation, but as Shaw asserts, "we should at least know the possibilities."[125] Masculinity provided a menu of options that limited those possibilities.

The Path Ahead

This dissertation begins with an examination of ideal brotherhood, which was ubiquitous in medieval western European society. Evidence for this ideal appears in monastic rules (including those of the quasi-monastic military orders), guild regulations, sermon exempla, and formal compacts of brotherhood-in-arms. Together with the discussion of chivalric masculinity offered in this introduction, Chapter One sets up the pressures that high-status brothers faced with regard to their fraternal relationships.

Conflicts between brothers make up Chapter Two. Through several case studies, I identify specific catalysts for brothers' quarrels in the context of the tension between chivalric masculinity and ideal brotherhood. I argue that brothers' quarrels generally were

[125] Shaw, 11.

the result, not of personal idiosyncrasies or special, one-off situations, but of the larger, essentially incompatible forces at work in their lives. They were set up for conflict. Under these circumstances, brothers sacrificed each other—and the ideals of brotherhood—when presented with opportunities to increase their land, wealth, or prestige. For the brothers of Chapter Two, notions of cooperative fraternity could not trump the pressures driving them into discord.

Yet brothers often did manage to cooperate, and probably more often than the historical record indicates. I investigate moments of fraternal harmony in Chapter Three, in which I argue that pragmatism drove brothers' good relations. Financial incentives or prestigious appointments ensured loyalty in some cases, while other brothers possessed resources that were extensive enough to make competition unnecessary and, indeed, too dangerous. Self-preservation, not brotherly love, was the operative factor in these men's calculus.

The multiple case studies of Part I offer a sweeping view of brothers in action across Europe as well as the chroniclers' views on those brothers. In Part II, I put one set of brothers under the microscope, the fifteenth-century Montfort set of François I, Pierre, Gilles, and Tanguy of Brittany. François and Gilles locked themselves in a bitter dispute, which was sparked by a disagreement over land and quickly spiraled into an all-out battle of wills and manliness. Pierre, the middle brother caught in the middle, and bastard brother Tanguy, had to figure out how best to remain in François' good graces while not alienating Gilles, at least initially. Their saga is a microcosm of the issues analyzed in Part I.

Part II begins with an introduction that provides the historical context affecting

fifteenth-century Brittany and discusses the Breton chroniclers and their works. I then turn to the story of the brothers in Chapter Four, which lays the groundwork for the analysis of Chapter Five. I argue that François and Gilles, having drawn one another into a competition that implicated their masculinity, actively worked to manipulate the terms of brotherhood. Rather than an inspiration or model for good relations, brotherhood was, in their hands, a club with which they could beat each other in the attempt to prove who was the superior man.

On Transcriptions

As I stated above, the translations in this dissertation are my own, except where otherwise indicated. Since I have chosen to be selective about my inclusion of original language in the footnotes, a note on my choices is in order. For material that is readily accessible—in print or via the internet, in published editions or fifteenth-century manuscripts—I include the original language only when, as in Chapter One, my argument relies upon the precise wording found in the sources, or when the original language significantly reinforces my point. In the case of the document obtained from the Archives nationales de France, I have provided transcriptions of the French for every quotation, as this source is not available except through that archive. When transcribing from a manuscript source, I have followed the conventions for textual editing detailed in *Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux* produced by the Ecole nationales des chartes.[126] For the original language quotations drawn from published editions, including *The Online Froissart*, I have reproduced the text exactly as I found it.

[126] Ecole nationale des chartes, *Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux*, vol. 1: *Conseils generaux* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Ecole nationale des chartes, 2001).

PART I

Chapter 1:

Bands of Brothers:
Ideal Brotherhood in the Middle Ages

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he today that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother.
William Shakespeare, *Henry V*

In early June 1406, two lords of the French realm met in the presence of their lay peers and clergymen. They swore on relics, their own honor, and their very salvation to protect each other's person and interests, and they wore each other's colors and heraldic devices in demonstration of their friendship and affection.[1] These two men had entered into a bond described as "the strongest and most certain that can be made or realized as a promise or alliance."[2] They had become brothers-in-arms, swearing to "maintain good brotherhood and love their entire lives."[3] Their oath should have cemented a long, congenial, mutually beneficial relationship, but less than eighteen months later, one of them was dead at the order of the other. On 23 November 1407, Louis I of Orléans was murdered in Paris by men in the employ of Jean the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, in clear contravention of the principles of brotherhood to which both men had "signed with their

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[1] Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq (Paris: Renouard, 1857), 1:304; Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur: Le prince meurtrier* (Paris: Payot, 2005), 182; Eric Jager, *Blood Royal: A True Tale of Crime and Detection in Medieval Paris* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2014), 161.

[2] This description came during a lengthy speech by the abbot of Cérisy on 11 September 1408 before the queen, members of the French nobility, and representatives from Parlement and the University of Paris. Monstrelet reported "the tenor" of the abbot's entire address, which was a refutation of Jean the Fearless' earlier justification for the murder of Louis of Orléans (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:304). See also R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 70; Jager, 213.

[3] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:130.

hands and sealed with their own seals" their adherence.[4]

Louis' assassination by Jean's henchmen appalled France's elites, but given the history of enmity between the two men, the violence that ended their relationship should not have been a surprise.[5] Louis and Jean had been locked in a bitter struggle for influence in a realm headed by the unstable and frequently incapacitated Charles VI. Yet, the remarkable part of this story seems not to have been that these two men had professed a bond of "perfection of love" [*perfection d'amour*] and "true fraternity" [*vraye fraternité*], but rather that they ultimately violated it.[6] The breach of this solemn compact was one of the reasons cited by Louis' family in their pleas to King Charles VI for justice, given as evidence for the extent of John's depravity.[7] To understand why Jean's betrayal was portrayed as so monstrous a crime, we must look at the place of brotherhood in medieval culture, for the fraternal bond that Jean and Louis were supposed to share was the reflection of a set of deeply ingrained ideals.

The idealization of brothers and brotherhood occurred throughout medieval Europe, appearing in such widely diverse venues as monastic rules and chivalric chronicles, and ranging from the early to the late Middle Ages. There was fertilization across these modes, as some of the same groups of people heard *exempla* in sermons, joined military orders, heard or read the chronicles of the Hundred Years' War. A strong

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[4] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:305.

[5] Near-contemporary chronicler Jean Juvénal des Ursins remarks that "there were always some mutterings between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy" (Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *L'Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. Denys Godefroy (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1653), 189).

[6] Juvénal des Ursins, 210.

[7] It is possible that Louis' family played up the breach of the vow of brotherhood in order to magnify their loss and the enormity of the crime. Whether their own feelings on the sanctity of sworn brotherhood were genuine or not is of comparatively little importance, however. What matters is that they judged their claim would be effective, which indicates a general belief in the institution of sworn brotherhood and the qualities attendant thereon.

sense of how brothers should and should not behave—in other words, ideals about behavior—underpinned these cultural artifacts and influenced the people who developed and consumed them.

This chapter focuses on brotherhood as an abstract ideal rather than specific brothers and their actions. Both real-life and fictive brothers co-existed with (or within) ideal brotherhood, and brothers' contemporaries would have "read" them in these terms. It is, therefore, necessary to sketch the main features of ideal brotherhood as it appears in its various contexts, in order to make sense of the milieu in which actual brothers lived. To this end, I employ sources that portray fictive brotherhood (monastic rules, guild regulations, pacts between brothers-in-arms) as well as sermon *exempla* that use brothers to make their points. Taken together, these sources show that perfect brotherhood was characterized chiefly by cooperation and loyalty, which entailed mutual aid, affection, respect, and honesty.

Of Monks and Sermons: Brotherhood in Religious Context and Interpretation

Religion touched the lives of all western Europeans in the Middle Ages, from rural peasant to magnate, and within medieval Christianity, the theme of brotherhood functioned as a binding agent, uniting faithful men in loving, devoted Christian fellowship. Christian men in general and monks specifically called each other brothers whether or not there was a blood relation present. In this they were following biblical precedent, though a necessarily idealized one.[8] They had only to look at the numerous examples of treacherous brothers in the Bible, from Cain and Abel to the eleven brothers

[8] For examples of Jesus and the disciples using the term "brother" for fellow believers, see Matt. 12:50, Matt. 25:40, Acts 9:17, Acts 21:20, Rom. 16:23, 1 Cor. 7:12, 2 Cor. 2:13, Heb. 2:11, Heb. 2:12, 1 Pet. 5:12, 2 Pet. 3:15, Rev. 1:9.

of Joseph, to see that biblical brothers did not always provide a model worthy of emulation. These backstabbers surely were not what Jesus and the New Testament authors had in mind when they referred, with clearly positive connotations, to the Christian faithful as "brothers." Medieval Christians likewise understood the concept of brotherhood in a positive way, as something of value to be practiced and shared.

The particulars of this ideal brotherhood, as it was understood in a religious context, are evident in St. Benedict's Rule, so influential throughout medieval European monastic culture. The Benedictine Rule, in use in Europe as early as the sixth century, contains ninety-seven occurrences of the word "brother" [*frater*] and its grammatical forms.[9] The Prologue of the Rule invites readers and listeners to consider themselves as brothers; they are called "dearest brothers" and "brothers" three times. This mode of address continues throughout the Rule, emphasizing the fraternal bond the monks should feel as members of a *congregatio* that only admitted those truly committed to the monastic life.[10] When a monk was to be punished, he was removed from the fellowship of the brethren: he could not dine with the brothers, participate in prayers, or associate with the other monks. Isolation from his brothers was intended to bring about repentance.[11]

Monastic brotherhood was defined by service, mutual assistance, respect, obedience, and love, all characterized by selflessness. The Rule, which was read aloud in

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[9] This sum includes one use of *fraterna*, "brotherly." I have used the *Sancti patris Benedicti regula* (hereafter, *Benedicti regula*) available in the *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 66, col. 215ff. for this study. *Fraternitas* only occurs in the genitive form (*fraternitatis*), and only once (Ch. LXXII: "Let them employ the charity of brotherhood [*fraternitatis*] with pure love"). Except where an English-language edition is cited, all translations in this chapter are my own.

[10] See *Benedicti regula*, Ch. LVIII for the lengthy process by which a candidate was to proceed from desire for join, through the novitiate, to full brotherhood.

[11] See *Benedicti regula*, Ch. XXIII-XXV.

daily chapter meetings throughout the year, instructed monks to "Let the brothers [*fratres*] serve one another in turn, so that none is excused from the duty of the kitchen."[12] Yet those brothers too ill or weak to take their shift in the kitchens were to be assisted by the others.[13] Just as in blood kinship relationships, monastic brotherhood operated according to a hierarchy based on age that afforded greater respect and authority to elders: "But let the elders call the younger men by the name of *fratrum* [brother]. However, let the younger men call their elders *nonnos*, insofar as it is understood with paternal reverence."[14] This deferential mode of interaction was to be carried beyond the term of address; younger monks were to ask for the benediction from older ones, and they were to give up their seats for their elders.[15] Obedience to the Rule and to the abbot was required of all monks, but Rule 71, entitled "That the brothers be obedient to one another," made clear that monastic brotherhood called for mutual obedience, which was framed as a way to God.[16] The selflessness of monastic brotherhood, often implicit, was made explicit near the end of the Rule, when brothers were commanded, "Let no one follow what he judges advantageous to himself, but rather to another."[17]

The language and ideals of brotherhood continued in other monastic orders, including that of the Cistercians, founded by St. Bernard in the twelfth century. Like the Benedictines, the Cistercians adopted a monastic rule that contains numerous uses of the word "brothers" to denote the fellowship of monks.[18] St. Bernard invoked ideals of

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[12] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. XXXV.
[13] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. XXXV.
[14] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. LXIII. Although "nonnus" usually means simply "monk," it also can be read as "foster-father," which is the sense intended here. See *Dictionnaire Gaffiot* (1934), s.v. "nonnus."
[15] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. LXIII.
[16] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. LXXI.
[17] *Benedicti regula*, Ch. LXXII.
[18] For a facing-page edition of the Latin text of the Cistercian Rule, the *Instituta generalis capituli*, and an

brotherhood in other ways as well. Addressing himself to his "brethren" time and again throughout his sermons on the Song of Songs, he encouraged the monks to think of themselves as sharing a bond with each other and with him. In his sermon on "the ointment of piety," he lauded both the communal aspect and the qualities of mutual love and assistance that characterized Christian fraternity, concluding that, "As balsam in the mouth, so is a religious in a monastery. His brothers point him out and say of him, 'This is a lover of his brethren.'"[19] In Bernard's formulation for the Cistercian order, monastic brothers were to demonstrate boundless love for each other through acts of kindness, support, and goodwill.

The nature of Cistercian brotherhood is perhaps most evident in St. Bernard's lament for Gerard, Cîteaux's cellarer and Bernard's own biological brother. Bernard described Gerard as his "brother by blood, but more my brother by religious profession,"[20] and his death affected Bernard so strongly that he broke off his sermon on the Song of Songs to express his grief.[21] Bernard's despair is plain throughout his lengthy lamentation, in which he eulogizes his "confidant and partner in all of my designs."[22] He cries,

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English translation, see *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. Fr. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses, 1999), 454-97.

[19] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *St. Bernard's Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, trans. A Priest of Mount Melleray (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1920), 105-06.

[20] *St. Bernard's Sermons*, 285. He repeats this sentiment: "The cause of my tears is Gerard, my brother according to the flesh, but more closely related according to the spirit… We two were made one, less by the ties of flesh and blood than by sameness of sentiment. Connected by the bond of consanguinity, we were still more closely united by our spiritual relationship, by the conformity of our minds, and the harmony of our wills" (294).

[21] For a nuanced analysis of the lament in relation to the sermon, see Wim Verbaal, "Preaching the Dead from Their Graves: Bernard of Clairvaux's Lament on His Brother Gerard," in *Speculum sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman, and Richard Utz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 113-39.

[22] *St. Bernard's Sermons*, 294.

> I was weak in body, and he supported me. I was pusillanimous, and he encouraged me. I was slothful and negligent, and he spurred me on. I was improvident and forgetful, and he acted as my monitor. … [286] O my brother, thou wert the earnest stimulator of my studies in the Lord, my faithful helper, and my prudent counselor.[23]

He goes on to mention his oneness with Gerard in "brotherly love," and he speaks of Gerard's "loyalty to his friends," who were, of course, his monastic brothers of Cîteaux.[24] Of Gerard's selfless dedication to his fellow monks in his office of cellarer, Bernard says, "Surely *he* did not seek what was his own, who, in order to deliver me from care, was willing that himself should be overwhelmed with cares."[25]

Bernard's eulogy reveals the strength of the bond between himself and his late biological brother, a tie surely bolstered by their doubled fraternal connection as Cistercian brothers. Although he may have amplified Gerard's virtues as he remembered his beloved brother, his lament also indicates some features of the ideal brotherhood of the monastic life: it was to be supportive, providing aid or advice as necessary, and it was to be selfless and loyal.

As with its predecessors, the Franciscan Rule also employed the language of brotherhood to establish the correct behaviors for followers of St. Francis of Assisi, called the Minor Brothers.[26] The 1221 version (as known as the *Regula non bullata* or

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[23] *St. Bernard's Sermons*, 285-86.
[24] *St. Bernard's Sermons*, 286, 289.
[25] *St. Bernard's Sermons*, 289, emphasis in original.
[26] Although the Franciscans are commonly called "friars" in English, this is a usage that developed after the order's foundation, and only in the English language. In the other major European languages, the Franciscans are called "Minor Brothers:" *Frères Mineurs* (French), *Frati Minori* (Italian), *Minderbrüder*

Earlier Rule), a more elaborate and longer Rule than that contained in the papal bull issued by Honorius III two years later, offers rich detail about expectations for the friars' behavior.[27] Among the first items covered was the way brothers should behave toward each other, and the Golden Rule was the standard.[28] In other words, the brothers were to act fairly and respectfully toward each other, and "wherever the brothers are and in whatever place they meet other brothers, they must greet one another wholeheartedly and lovingly, and honor 'one another without complaining' (1 Pet. 4:9)."[29]

Moreover, as the title for Chapter XI states, "The brothers are not to blaspheme or detract but should love one another."[30] Elaborating the topic of fraternal affection and cooperation, the Rule commands that

> Nor should they quarrel among themselves or with others…
> And they should not become angry, since "everyone who
> grows angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment"
> (Matt. 5:22).[31]

The brothers "should love one another, as the Lord says: 'This is my commandment: that you love one another as I have loved you' (John 15:12)."[32]

As with the Benedictines, the Franciscans also emphasized support and obedience. The brothers were prohibited from exercising power over each other, being

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(German), *Hermanos Menores* (Spanish).

[27] For a succinct study of the development of the 1221 and 1223 versions of the Rule see William J. Short, "The *Rule* and Life of the Friars Minor," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J.P. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) , esp. 59-60.

[28] "The Earlier Rule," in *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works*, ed. and trans. Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius Brady (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 112, Ch. 4. The Golden Rule is cited through Scriptural references (Matt. 7:12 and Tob. 4:16) embedded in the text of the chapter.

[29] "The Earlier Rule," 115, Ch. 7.

[30] "The Earlier Rule," 119, Ch. 11.

[31] "The Earlier Rule," 119, Ch. 11.

[32] "The Earlier Rule," 119, Ch. 11.

commanded instead to remember Christ's emphasis on service, as found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.[33] The ideal brotherhood of the Franciscan order thus contained elements familiar from the Cistercians and Benedictines: fairness and respect, love, obedience, mutual aid.

Monastic rules, however, were not preached directly to lay believers, and they were not the only means of instructing monastic audiences. Both monks and laypeople learned church doctrine and expectations for individual behavior from sermons and the edifying stories (called *exempla*) they contained. As Christoph Maier points out, sermons "had a bearing on people's mentalities; they shaped their perception of the world at large and influenced their social conduct."[34] Their effectiveness was directly related to their ability to resonate with audiences, so that, in *exempla*, one might find "the fears, hopes, dreams and obsessions of an entire culture."[35] Numerous *exempla* feature brothers in various situations. Although the *exempla* themselves and the sermons of which they were a part were not just— or even—about blood-relation brothers, in order to communicate their message effectively about mercy or greed or whatever else, preachers drew upon relationships and ideas that had currency with their audiences.[36] The *exempla* featuring brothers and brotherhood thus illuminate both religious conceptions of ideal brotherhood, conveyed to audiences through the "mass medium" of preaching, and the "submerged

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[33] "The Earlier Rule," 113-14, Ch. 5.

[34] Christoph Maier, "Sermons as Evidence for the Communication between Clergy and Laity," in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993-1998)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 226.

[35] Brian Patrick McGuire, "The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum* in Early Thirteenth Century France: A Reevaluation of *Paris BN MS lat. 15912*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 34 (1983): 211.

[36] For an informative, succinct overview of the development, form, and usage of *exempla*, see Joan Young Gregg's introduction to her *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997). See also Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), esp. 79-84, and Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds., *Les exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).

mind of the layman" (or monk) in the audience, ready to listen to what he or she was hearing.[37]

The qualities of brotherhood that appear in the *exempla* fall under the broad theme of cooperation between brothers, clearly illustrated by a story in the thirteenth-century *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium* [*Book of* Exempla *for Preaching*], in which two monks, who also are brothers related by blood, are set up by the devil to quarrel. The younger brother attempts to light a lamp but when the devil knocks it over, the elder brother—oblivious to the devil's workings—becomes angry. The younger brother humbly accepts his elder's reprimand, asks for patience, and relights the lamp. The *exemplum* then moralizes, "Through his patience the demon is conquered," and "Humility undoes all strength of the enemy."[38] Both the "demon" and the "enemy" could signify the devil as well as the spirit of potential conflict between the two brothers, thus reinforcing the importance of fraternal cooperation.

Odo of Cheriton's thirteenth-century collection of *exempla*, the *Parables*, includes a story that instructed on the virtue of brotherly cooperation by describing its opposite. Two brothers are afflicted by discord, and a stranger encouraged by their ongoing strife takes the opportunity to assault one of them. But, when the other brother arrives on the scene and discovers the invasion, he beats back the intruder "because nature does not fail."[39] Although Odo's *exemplum* would have been intended to illustrate how fellow Christians—brothers in Christ—were to behave, his use of actual brothers as a vehicle to

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[37] For the preaching as a medieval mass medium, see Maier, 227. For the "submerged mind," see McGuire, "Rise of the *Exemplum*," 211.

[38] *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore anglico de provincia Hiberniae*, ed. A.G. Little (Aberdeen: Typis academicis, 1908), 97 no. 162.

[39] "Odonis de ceritona parabolae," in *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. L. Hervieux (Paris: Libraire de Fermin-Didot, 1896), 4:284-85, no. L.

make his point is notable. Odo's conception of brotherly behavior is apparent from both the negative and positive behaviors in the *exemplum*: brothers ought not fight among themselves, and any threats to one of the brothers should elicit aid from the other(s), thereby demonstrating the principle of fraternal loyalty. Indeed, their blood relation meant they could do nothing less.

Odo's *exemplum* was not the only one to deal with the topic of fraternal discord. The *Alphabet of Tales*, a fifteenth-century English translation of Arnold of Liège's late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century work, provides the example of "two brothers that dwelled together for many years, and they never disagreed nor were wroth." One of the brothers decides he wants to experiment with quarreling, "as other men of this world do."[40] The two brothers agree to argue over the ownership of a hood: one would say it was his, then the other would repeat the claim, and so on. Thus begins the "argument," which lasts only a moment before the first brother insists, "it is yours, and therefore take it up and put it on your head and go on your way."[41] The folly of such a staged quarrel was the point of the sermon: true brothers simply could not argue.

Brothers in concord also protected each other, as another *exemplum* from the *Alphabet of Tales* shows. A "holy religious man" asks his abbot if it he should divulge the sins of his brother. The abbot replies, "Whenever we hide the sin of our brother, almighty God hides our sin, and whenever we utter the sins of our brother, then almighty God utters our sin." The text then notes that "This tale is good to tell those who love to

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[40] *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th c. Translation of the* Alphabetum narrationum *of Etienne de Besancon*, ed. M.M. Banks (London: Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1904), 118. Despite Banks' attribution of the *Alphabetum narrationum* to Etienne de Besançon, it is now accepted that Arnold of Liège was the work's author. See J.A. Herbert, "The Authorship of the '*Alphabetum narrationum*," *The Library* (1905): 94-101.
[41] *An Alphabet of Tales*, 119.

slander their fellow Christian."[42] The "brother" of this passage refers to a monastic brother or a fellow Christian more generally, rather than a blood relation, but that distinction does not change the emphasis of the *exemplum*: protective discretion, not slander, was an attribute of ideal fraternity.

The overriding quality of ideal brotherhood, as it was understood and portrayed in religious settings, was cooperation, which itself was characterized by several attributes: fairness and respect, obedience, mutual aid, selflessness, humility, service, love. Whether in monastic rules or sermon *exempla*, read aloud in chapter meetings or preached in markets and aristocratic homes, this was the picture of brotherhood conveyed by churchmen to each other and to laypeople.

Monastic Brotherhood in the Field: The Knights Templar

There was, of course, another forum in which religious ideals about brotherhood connected with laypeople, particularly the aristocracy, that of the military orders. The Hospitallers, founded in Jerusalem prior to the First Crusade, and the Knights Templar, established in France in 1119/20, are the iconic examples. Due to the Templars' origins in France and the support they enjoyed from Bernard of Clairvaux and the French nobility until their suppresion in 1307, I will confine my analysis to their rule.

As Bernard of Clairvaux famously wrote, the Templars were a "new knighthood," a hybrid of monk and secular warrior. This previously unimaginable combination brought knights' military ethos into the monastic environment but also exposed elite men to the

[42] *An Alphabet of Tales*, 22.

ideals of the monastery.[43] Those who joined the Templars as full monks were governed by the Order's rule, but the lay associates also subjected themselves to the strictures of the Rule to some extent. Some of these lay associates joined for a pre-defined period of time, and during that time, these so-called *milites ad terminum* fully lived the Templar life, in all its difficulty.[44] Others sought to associate themselves with the Templars in a less immediate way—some promised to profess fully at a future time, while others remained only loosely connected.[45] All of these types of lay association, however, exposed men to the values of monastic life, and in particular, to those laid down in the Rule of the order.

The Templar order was popular, too. Reputed to have only nine members before Bernard wrote its Rule, its numbers ballooned to about 300 just in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1170s, and there were Templars in Antioch, Tripoli, and in the commanderies throughout Europe.[46] The Templar order thus was an important pathway for the transmission of ideals of brotherhood from the monastic setting to secular life.

Although affiliated initially with the Augustinians, the Templars soon received a new Rule of their own, written for them by Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard modeled the Templar Rule on that of his own Cistercians, which was itself modeled on the

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[43] Jochen G. Schenk notes that because of lay associates' position as intermediaries between the monastic and secular spheres, "their role in communicating the idea and values of the Order to society must not be underestimated" ("Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 103). See also Malcolm Barber, *A New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Helen J. Nicholson, *A Brief History of the Knights Templar* (London: Constable and Robinson, 2010).
[44] Schenk, 100-102.
[45] Schenk, 101.
[46] William of Tyre is the source of the early figure, which J.M. Upton-Ward holds is low ("Introduction," in *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. J.M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), 2). For the number of Templars in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see Upton-Ward, "Introduction," 6.

Benedictine Rule.[47] The Templar rule thus contains some similarities to its predecessors. The monks, for example, were called "brothers" [*fratres*], just as in the other forms of monasticism, and their community was a "brotherhood" [*fraternitas*].[48] However, because the brothers were not just cloistered monks living and working in peace but rather warriors who took an active role in field missions, the Templar rule and accompanying body of statutes (called the *retrais*) were concerned to create and maintain good military order.[49] In fact, the Templar rule and statutes say very little explicitly about how brothers ought to behave toward each other, noting only that "It is the truth that you especially are charged with the duty of giving your souls for your brothers, as did Jesus Christ."[50]

On the other hand, the Rule and statutes indirectly suggest a picture of ideal brotherhood that reflects the Templar Order's blended identity of warrior monk, with elements common to both the knightly and monastic milieux. The brothers were to look

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[47] Upton-Ward, "Introduction," 4, 12.

[48] This occurs in both the Latin Rule and the French version. In the Prologue, the Templars who attended the Council of Troyes are called Brother Godfrey, Brother Roland [*fratrem Godofridum, fratrem Rolallum; frere Godefroi, frere Rotlant*], and so on (Henri de Curzon, ed., *La règle du Temple* (Paris: Renouard, 1886), 19 §7). Chapter titles and the contents of the rule indicate what the brothers ought or ought not to do, as for example, rule 11, "On what manner of men should be received as brothers," which mentions the "company of the brothers," and rule 9, which addresses the "venerable brothers" (*Rule of the Templars*, 22, 21-22).

Hereafter, references to the Templar rule will be to the English translation by Upton-Ward—cited as *Rule of the Templars*—with section or rule number included for ease of reference to Curzon's edition, which includes both the Latin and French texts. Curzon's Latin is a transcription of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. lat. 15035, a late twelfth-century witness that is available in digital facsimile at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076818j [accessed 8 May 2015]. I have verified that whenever the word "brother" appears in Upton-Ward's English translation, it is a direct translation of "frater" or "frere" from the Latin and French, so I do not include these words in the original languages here.

[49] See, for example, Rule 103 of the *retrais*, which stipulates that, if an alarm is sounded, the men must muster with their horses, "and then should not leave without permission. … And all the knight brothers, all the sergeant brothers, and the men at arms are under the command of the Marshal while they are under arms" (*Rule of the Templars*, 45).

[50] *Rule of the Templars*, 33 §56. The context for this remark is a rule permitting the brothers to hunt lions; hunting was prohibited in general, as it was a secular entertainment.

out for each other, both to help each other maintain monastic discipline and to ensure obedience to the Rule.[51] The Rule and *retrais* encouraged camaraderie by requiring the brothers to go places and do things together: they were to eat together in silence,[52] and "when the brothers hear together the mass or the hours, they should kneel down, sit and be on their feet together."[53] Moreover, the brothers of each chapter were responsible for the censure and punishment of their fellow monks, which they did through open discussion and majority rule.[54] Offending brothers could be expelled from the community or, only slightly less severe, suffer the loss of their habit. Both punishments ostracized them from the fellowship of the brotherhood.[55]

The loss of the habit was not a permanent removal from the order, but its effects were lasting nonetheless. In the short term, a brother whose habit was taken could not participate in the daily life of the brotherhood, and every Sunday, he was to present himself for corporal punishment, done in view of any brothers in the chapel at the time, and for which he had to be naked above the waist.[56] The statutes make clear that this punishment was meant to emphasize "the great misery and shame that he suffers when he loses his habit, and all the honour that he will never have in the house."[57] Furthermore, a Templar brother thus punished was prohibited from giving evidence or bringing accusations against his brothers in chapter, and even if he tried, no one was to believe

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[51] *Rule of the Templars*, 56 §149.
[52] *Rule of the Templars*, 25 §23.
[53] *Rule of the Templars*, 55 §147.
[54] *Rule of the Templars*, 106-07 §390-391.
[55] *Rule of the Templars*, 119 §451: "The second penance that may be given to a brother is the hardest and harshest after being expelled from the house; that is to lose his habit, from which God keep each brother."
[56] *Rule of the Templars*, 123 §468.
[57] *Rule of the Templars*, 125 §476.

him.[58] The brother stripped of his habit was a dishonorable figure whose word was no longer trustworthy; he was a diminished man, certainly, but also a negative image of true brotherhood. We can say, then, that the ideal brotherhood of the Templar order was characterized by honor and trustworthiness—which were components of masculinity—as well as obedience, mutual support, camaraderie, and selflessness.

Brotherhood at Work: Guilds and Confraternities

As with monasteries and military orders, guilds and confraternities enshrined notions of brotherhood in their regulations and records.[59] These organizations frequently

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[58] *Rule of the Templars*, 125 §477: "No brother who has lost his habit by the judgement of the brothers or in any other way through his folly … should ever give his advice in chapter against a brother," and "No brother who has lost his habit through his wickedness should ever nor may ever bring a charge against a brother of anything which touches on the habit or the house, nor should anyone believe him."

[59] Steven Epstein notes that there was extensive overlap between guilds and confraternities in terms of their membership, the terminology they employed, and their some of their functions (*Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 157). While guilds typically were concerned with the business of the craft and confraternities with the health of the soul, many charitable functions could fall under the purview of either. The statutes of the guild (*métier* in the French context) of glovers stipulated that "The good man who keeps the *métier* abovesaid will have two *sols parisis* from the fine of five *sols* [stipulated previously] in order to support the poor of their confraternity [*conflarie*]" (Etienne Boileau, *Le livre des métiers*, in *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris: XIIIe siècle, Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 195 art. 13). Moreover, by the later Middle Ages, most craft guilds were formally associated with confraternities, as indicated by phrases like "the confraternity of the Holy Trinity, of which the mat weavers are brothers [*confrères*]" (René de Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1892), 2:733 art. 1), or "the confraternity of the said *métier*" (Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1897), 3:98 art. 1). Some guilds specified in their statutes that membership in the confraternity was mandatory for guild members, as, for example, the gameboard makers of Boileau's survey (Boileau, *Le livre des métiers*, 144 art. 17) and the fifteenth-century embroiderers of Paris (*Les métiers de Paris*, 2:171 art. 4). The 1362 statutes of Paris' drapers use both "confraternity" and "*métier*" to describe their organization, effectively conflating the two into one entity (Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:145-50). Elspeth Veale argues that historians have overstated a delineation between confraternities and "misteries" ("'The Great Twelve': Mistery and Fraternity in Thirteenth-Century London," *Historical Research* 64 (1991): 263), and Andrew Prescott asserts that "there was no rigid legal categorization of them—they were loose and flexible organizations" ("Men and Women in the Guild Returns," in *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe*, ed. Máire Fedelma Cross (Basingstoke, Hamsphire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 35). For this study, I use "confraternity" when the source in question does and "guild" the rest of the time, but with the

were called fraternities (*fraternitates*, *confréries*, *Brüderschaften*, among many other terms),[60] and their members were brothers (*fratres*, *confrères*, *Brüder*).[61] For example, the Cologne textile guild registered its members' names as "brother of the brotherhood" [*bruder der bruderschaft*].[62] A member of the Parisian drapers' guild, which was called both a "confraternity" [*confrarie*] and a "craft" [*mestier*] in the statutes recorded in 1362, was a "confrère."[63] The masters and journeymen of the mat weaver's guild were "confrères" of the confraternity [*confrarie*] of the Holy Trinity that was linked to their *métier*, which was the typical arrangement in the Parisian context.[64] A letter book of the city of London records that in 1417, the Fraternity of Yeomen Tailors of London sought permission from the mayor and aldermen to gather to commemorate "the brethren and sisters of their fraternity deceased."[65] The accounts of the pinners of London show numerous references to brothers and the brotherhood; the earliest accounting entry, for

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understanding that there was not a great deal of difference between them.

[60] Monika Escher-Apsner lists nearly thirty terms for guilds, which she argues reflects their "multifold community-creating, legitimizing and ordering, sacred-religious, and charitable benefits" (Monika Escher-Apsner, "Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten. Funktionen, Formen, Akteure: Eine Einleitung," in *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten/Medieval Confraternities in European Towns*, ed. Monika Escher-Apsner (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 11). For the equivalency of the Latin *fraternitas* and the German *Bruderschaft*, see Epstein, 86, and two versions of statutes for a Cologne textile-working guild, one in Latin using *fraternitas* from 1242 ("Pannatores, linwatmengre, incisores vestium etc.," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, eds. Leonard Ennen and Gottfried Eckertz (Köln: M. DuMont-Schauberg, 1860), 1:335-38) and an update in German from the mid-fourteenth century that uses *Bruderschaft* ("Buch der Bruderschaft unter den Gaddemen," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 1:338-67).

[61] Although women were involved in guilds and confraternities, the vast majority of these organizations prioritized male membership. For this reason, and because the subject of this analysis is men, I will employ masculine pronouns except in cases where women were specifically included by the guild in question.

[62] "Buch der Bruderschaft unter den Gaddemen," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 1:339 and *passim*.

[63] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:145.

[64] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 2:733.

[65] "Application made to the Mayor and Aldermen by the Fraternity of the Yeomen Tailors (1417)," in *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1868), 653.

1462-1464, notes the receipt of 5 shillings "for the coming of Thomas Tarte and his wife to be made brother and sister of the fraternity of the Pinners' craft," and they were among several people to be inducted into the guild.[66]

This nomenclature[67] reinforced the sense that each member was to think of his fellows not just as members of a social group, fictive kinship group, or even surrogate

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[66] Barbara Megson, ed., *The Pinners' and Wiresellers' Book 1462-1511* (London: London Record Society, 2009), 6.

[67] The phrase "sisters of the brotherhood," and the inclusion of women within guilds, does not necessarily negate the argument I am making about the ideals of brotherhood. With regard to Christian society in general, there was precedent for considering women of exemplary piety to be something like honorary men, sometimes described as "female men of God." For example, St. Jerome (d. 420) wrote that "when [a woman] wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman, and will be called a man" (Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios* 3.5, quoted in Dyan Elliott, "Gender in the Christian Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 24). However, there is reason to doubt that women's membership in guilds or religious confraternities put them on anything like equal footing with men in those organizations. The 1389 English guild returns that are the source for most references to "brothers and sisters of the fraternity" were, to a large extent, boilerplate, as Andrew Prescott convincingly argues; they were not reproductions of earlier ordinances for each guild, but rather "the official record of an inquiry into certain (but not all) aspects of the guild in 1389" ("Men and Women," 44). He views the "substantial number of cases [in which] women are specifically excluded from the running of the guild" as being "probably more reliable indications of practice than more general statements" (Prescott, "Men and Women," 45). While women were part of fraternities and played active roles in their rituals and feasts, their inclusion was, at least in part, driven by financial necessity: in order to administer spiritual and charitable benefits to the families of male members, fraternities needed financial support from the women, too (Prescott, "Men and Women," 45-46). However, they were not, in most cases, equal members. The "brothers" of the guilds, then, were the most important members, suggesting that the concept of brotherhood developed by their regulations was in fact a masculine ideal.
For an overview of the debate about women's place in English guild life, see Prescott, "Men and Women," 32-35, as well as Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World: 1300-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Maryanne Kowaleski, "Women's Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century," in *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Bennett and Kowaleski, "Crafts, Gilds and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale," *Signs* 14 (1988-89): 474-88. Cf. Kay Lacey, "Women and Work in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century London," in *Women and Work*, ed. Hanawalt; Caroline Barron, "The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London," *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989): 35-58; P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). For women as spiritual men, see also Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995); Laila Abdalla, "Man, Woman or Monster: Some Themes of Female Masculinity and Transvestism in the Middle Ages and Renaissance" (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1996), esp. Ch. 2, "The Church Fathers and Female Masculinity."

family, but as his *brothers*, a far more specific relationship.[68] The language of fraternity employed by these guilds also served to define an ideal to which the members should aspire, built on the qualities of fairness, respectability, charity, and care after death. Idealized brotherhood was thus a model and a metaphor for guildsmen, and both uses testify to its influence on the medieval imaginary.

It is evident from surviving guild regulations that the members were to treat each other with fairness and respect in matters relating to the guild itself, to the exercise of their craft, and to each other. Brothers of the garment-cutters' fraternity of Stendal were not permitted to cut cloth in their houses, on pain of ejection from the fraternity, as doing so would have offered an unfair competitive advantage over the other members of the guild.[69] The curriers of London emphasized loyalty in the opening statement of their late fourteenth-century regulations, declaring, "This is the charge of the oath of the brotherhood: whatever man that is received in it shall be good and true thereto."[70] In the

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[68] Gervase Rosser argues that "guilds invoked the language of artificial kinship in order to address some of the problems of dislocation experienced in a mobile society" (Rosser, "Big Brotherhood: Guilds in Urban Politics in Late Medieval England," in *Guilds and Association Europe, 900-1900*, ed. I.A. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2006), 32), and that "these voluntary organisations were formed in part to compensate for a real and perceived diminution of kinship ties in a context of unusually high mortality and increased personal mobility" (39). Caroline Barron, too, holds that guilds could serve as substitute families, particularly in the case of the "newly-prosperous craftsmen" who certified their guilds before the English chancery in 1388-1389. These were men (and some women) who were "anxious to find a surrogate kin group to share the religious and social concerns and to ensure that they were decently buried" (Barron, "The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388-9, i. Historical Introduction," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 116.

[69] "The Garment Cutters of Stendal: Guild Law Revision [1231]," in *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History*, ed. Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson (New York; Milwaukee; Chicago: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1936), 247, article 6. For the Latin text of the regulations, see F. Keutgen, ed., *Urkunden zur Städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1901), 356-57. The shearers of Arras made a similar rule, although the penalty for disobedience was a fine rather than ejection. See "Craft Guild Regulations: The Shearers of Arras, 1236," in *Medieval Towns: A Reader*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski (Petersborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2006), 141, rule 31).

[70] "Certificate of the Yeomanry of Curriers, White Friars, Fleet St.," in Laura Wright, ed., "The London Middle English Guild Certificates, ii. The Texts," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 125. (Hereafter,

event of a conflict between guild members, guild regulations delineated the procedure for attaining a fair and equitable resolution, as in the ordinances of the pouchmakers of London: "Also if any discord falls between any of our brethren, which God forbids, the parties shall come to the wardens and show their grievance, and the wardens shall do their diligence to bring them to a fair accord."[71]

The ideal brotherhood of the guilds included support of fellow guild brothers, who might easily fall on hard times in the "great wars, famines, and mortalities and other pestilences" of the age.[72] The guild of St. Katharine in Norwich provided for the needs of impoverished members by requiring that "if any brother or sister falls into poverty, through accident of this world, his condition shall be helped by every brother and sister of the guild with a farthing a week."[73] The fraternity of carpenters in London included a similar measure, as well as one that provided financial aid for "any brother or sister who might fall into … sickness or any other disease … making it so that he may not help himself."[74] The belt makers of Paris stipulated that "if any orphan is poor and the child of a belt maker, and he wishes to learn the craft, the masters will be required to supervise him in the said craft," for which they would receive funds from the confraternity.[75]

Wright's compilation of guild regulations will be cited as Wright, "Texts.")

[71] "Certificate of the Fraternity of the Anunciation and Assumption, Craft of Pouchmakers, St. Mary Bedlam without Bishopsgate & St. Paul's," in Wright, "Texts," 141. The "Certificate of the Yeomanry of Curriers, White Friars, Fleet St.," contains a similar clause: "if any debate occurs between any of the brothers or sisters, he shall come and plead to the four masters of the brotherhood," who would make a judgment and direct the guilty part to make reparations (Wright, "Texts," 125).

[72] Louis XI's letter patent of 1467 confirming the bookmakers' confraternity includes this phrase when it cites the great reduction in numbers the craft had experienced since its foundation (Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:704).

[73] "Fraternitas sancte Katerine, Norwic'," in *English Gilds: The Original Ordinances of More Than One Hundred Early English Gilds*, ed. Toulmin Smith with Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: Trübner & Co., 1870), 20.

[74] "Certificate of the Fraternity of Carpenters," in Wright, "Texts," 132.

[75] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:383 art. 5. This statute continues the precedent included in the guild's

The spiritual life of the guild members and the health of their souls were key concerns for the confraternities associated with Paris' *métiers* as well as those of fourteenth-century England. The confraternity of the embroiderers was to perform "at the hôtel of the confraternity, in the church of Saint Opportuna in Paris, a low mass, for those [of the craft] and their successors."[76] The Parisian fullers' confraternity received dues and fines from the craftsmen for "masses, candles, and its other business," and the grain haulers' confraternity of the Virgin Mary and St. Louis was charged with performing three masses each week. Its members were to meet annually to decide on "what they could [do] for the health of their souls."[77] Three masses were stipulated for the booksellers' confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist as well, one of which was to benefit King Louis XI, "the second for the living brothers [*frères*] of this confraternity [*confrairie*], and the third, for the health and remedy of the souls of the deceased brothers [*confrères*] of the said confraternity."[78] Norwich's guild of St. Katharine required that "all the brothers and sisters shall come to the aforesaid church [of St. Simon and St. Jude], and there sing a requiem mass for the souls of the brothers and sisters of this guild, and for all Christian souls, and each offer there a farthing."[79]

Just as guild brothers aided each other throughout life and in the afterlife, they were expected to support each other at the moment of death. A twelfth-century German carpenters' guild stipulated that

> whatever man or woman of the fraternity [*fraternitatis*]

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thirteenth-century ordinances (Boileau, *Le livre des métiers*, 189 art. 7).

[76] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 2:171 art. 1

[77] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:98 art. 1, 1:252.

[78] Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*, 3:704.

[79] "Fraternitas sancte Katerine, Norwic," in *English Gilds*, 20. Absentees were required to pay a fine of a pound of wax.

> should depart this life, there will be given for his obsequies at death four pounds of wax; and for his vigil, six men, who will watch diligently, are appointed; and to his burial the men and women who are of the fraternity [*fraternitatis*] shall all be compelled to come.[80]

The gameboard makers of thirteenth-century Paris ruled that "if a man or woman of the craft dies, … one person from each hôtel will accompany the body, and any who fail will pay a half *livre de cire* to the confraternity [*confrarie*]."[81] A significant portion of the 1389 ordinances of the confraternity of St. Katharine at Norwich were devoted to the matter of death, stipulating attendance at the funerary Mass, the amount of alms to be offered, what offices should be recited, and the donation the guild would make ("two wax candles of sixteen-pound weight").[82] In addition, members were required to gather at church and sing a requiem mass for "the souls of the brothers and sisters of this guild," as well as for the souls of all deceased Christians.[83] In the event that a deceased member could not afford burial, some confraternities were prepared to pay the costs from the organization's treasury, thereby underlining the importance placed on caring for the members.[84]

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[80] "A German Carpenters' Gild," in *A Sourcebook for Medieval Economic History*, ed. Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson (Milwaukee; New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936), 239. For the Latin text, see *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Detuschen Verfassnngsgeschichte*, vol. 1: *Urkunden zur Städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. F. Keutgen (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1901), 353. The confraternity of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian also required attendance at fellow guildmembers' funerals ("Gild of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, Aldersgate, London," in *English Gilds*, 10).

[81] Boileau, *Le livre des métiers*, 144 art. 18.

[82] "Fraternitas sancte Katerine, Norwic," in *English Gilds*, 20.

[83] "Fraternitas sancte Katerine, Norwic," in *English Gilds*, 20.

[84] For example, the confraternity of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian: "Also, if any brother dies that has nothing of his own to be buried with, if it must be so accomplished, then that he be buried with funds of the common box" ("Gild of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, Aldersgate, London," in *English Gilds*, 10).

The recurrent references to brothers and brotherhood found in guild ordinances show the extent to which the language of brotherhood was embedded within craftworker society throughout northwestern Europe. It is possible, of course, that the terms "confrère" and "confrérie," for example, lost their familial specificity at some point during the Middle Ages, just as our "borough" no longer signifies a fortified town and "decimate" no longer means to kill one-tenth of a group. I suggest, however, that the guild members who used the terms of fraternity would have recognized the connection of "confrère" and "confrèrie" to the brothers and brotherhood of the family, just as we understand that "borough" refers to a town (if not fortified) and "decimate" involves death or destruction (if not at a precisely mathematical rate).

While the milieu of the craftworker was, in most respects, quite different from that of the martial elites who are the focus of this dissertation, guildsmen and noblemen alike (in theory) lived within the fellowship of Christian brotherhood. The guilds' extensive use of the language of fraternity in guild statutes simply shows the ubiquity of that language, and the ideal of brotherhood, in medieval life. For craftworkers, ideal brotherhood was to be fair, honorable, charitable, and faithful even after death, making it much like the ideals in the religious and elite martial contexts.

"Like true brotherhood": Brotherhood-in-Arms[85]

> I, Thomas, son of the king, duke of Clarence, swear and promise by the faith of my body, on all the oaths that any honorable man can make, to be a true and good kinsman,

[85] "Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé, chambellan de Charles VII, sénéchal de Poitou," in *Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix, par Guillaume Leseur; chronique française inédite du XVe siècle*, ed. Henri Courteault (Paris: Renouard, 1896), 2:308: "comme vraye fraternité."

> brother, companion-in-arms, and friend in all cases to my very dear and beloved cousin Charles, duke of Orléans, and to serve, aid, counsel, and comfort him, and guard his well-being and honor in all ways and with all my power.[86]

Thus begins the compact drawn up on 14 November 1412 that formalized the relationship established between these two elite men. Henceforth, Thomas and Charles would be known as "brothers-in-arms" or "companions-in-arms," and their bond would be an "artificial kinship" that approached, or even matched, the tie that ought to exist between brothers related by blood.[87] In the eyes of late medieval aristocratic men (and the chroniclers who wrote about them), brotherhood-in-arms was a quintessentially noble institution, and the records of compacts and narrative accounts that reference it attest to its enduring attraction.

Elizabeth A.R. Brown argues that "*Amor* [love] was perhaps the most important of the emotions that ritual brothers were expected to feel for each other."[88] Medieval men would have known this well, since brotherly love was a focal point of their religious ideology. The compact of Thomas of Clarence and Charles of Orléans suggests affection as a component of their relationship when Thomas refers to Charles as "very dear and beloved."[89] The compact of brotherhood between Bertrand du Guesclin and Olivier de

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[86] "Alliance entre Thomas, duc de Clarence, et Charles, duc d'Orléans," in *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, ed. L. Douet d'Arcq, ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1863), 1:359, no. 158.
[87] Maurice Keen, "Brotherhood in Arms," *History* 47.159 (Jan. 1962): 13, also 5. The medieval sources use both "brothers-in-arms" [*freres d'armes*] and "companions-in-arms" [*compagnons d'armes*] to designate this relationship. While modern translations tend to elide the two under the English phrase "brothers-in-arms," for the sake of precision I will render each term literally. The intermittent appearance of "companion" in place of "brother" does not, however, diminish the argument, as both formulations clearly participate in the larger ideal of brotherhood that is the subject of this chapter.
[88] Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Ritual Brotherhood in Western Medieval Europe," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 375.
[89] "Alliance entre Thomas, duc de Clarence, et Charles, duc d'Orléans," in *Choix de pièces inédites*, 1:359.

Clisson, dated 24 October 1370, begins with the phrase "to nourish good peace and love perpetually between us and our heirs, we have promised, vowed, and agreed between ourselves the following things."[90] The agreement contracted sometime after 1471 between King Louis XI of France and Charles the Bold of Burgundy identifies, again in the introductory statements, the "good peace and friendship [*bonne paix et amitié*] having been made and treated between us" as the motivating factor for them "to begin and establish the most perfect and cordial love [*plus parfaite et cordiale amour*]."[91] According to Count Gaston IV of Foix and Pierre de Brézé (lord of Varane, count of Evreux, chamberlain of Charles VII, and seneschal of Poitou), "love and friendship [*amour et amistance*] are, above all things, pleasing to God our lord."[92] Some of this language was formulaic, but even boilerplate indicates something about the expectations of a society writ large, if not necessarily the personal views of the specific people using it.

The affection between Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, like that between David and Jonathan, was clear. These knights met in January 1373, if not earlier, in the service of England's King Edward III, and by their deaths in 1391, their bond had become extremely close. Clanvowe died first, on 6 October, "causing his companion on the march [*ejus comes in itinere*], Sir William Neville, for whom his love was no less than for himself, such inconsolable sorrow that he never took food again and two days

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[90] Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, "Dissertation XXI: Des adoptions d'honneur en frère, et, par occasion, des frères d'armes," in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. G.A.L. Henschel (Niort: L. Favre, 1887), 10:69, col. 2.
[91] Du Cange, 69, col. 2. See Brown, 364 n. 20 for the logic of dating the contract after Nov. 1471.
[92] "Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé," in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 2:308. Their compact was recorded on 28 May 1445.

afterward breathed his last."[93] Neville and Clanvowe were buried together and shared a memorial tomb slab, which features the coat of arms of each man impaled with the other's, and their helmets meeting in a kiss.[94] As Maurice Keen notes, no contemporary sources explicitly described the two knights as brothers-in-arms or sworn brothers, but "it seems very likely that they were so."[95]

While Neville and Clanvowe's long-term partnership should not be taken as representative of the entire institution of brotherhood-in-arms, the love, friendship, and peaceful relations that both the compacts and the chronicles cite were key elements of the fictive brotherhood these men and others like them were establishing. The agreement between the English men-at-arms Nicholas Molyneux and Jehan Wynter of July 1421 begins with the statement, "First, to increase and augment the love and brotherhood [*lamour et fraternite*] that has already begun between the said Molyneux and Wynter … the said parties are presently sworn, each one to the other, brothers-in-arms [*freres*

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[93] *Westminster Chronicle* qtd. in Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 19, with Latin transcription pg. 18. The date of death for Clanvowe reads 6 October on the funerary slab, but the chronicle places the date at 17 October. Bray ascribes this discrepancy to an error introduced during the passage of time between the men's deaths and the arrival of the news at Westminster Abbey.

[94] For an image of the tomb slab, see Siegrid Düll, Anthony Luttrell, and Maurice Keen, "Faithful unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391," *The Antiquaries Journal* 71:1 (Sept. 1991), 176; Bray, 14; and Helmut Puff, "Same-Sex Possibilities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women & Gender*, 383. For a discussion of the heraldic dimension of the slab, see Bray, 18 and 106-8, and Düll, Luttrell, and Keen, 183-85.

[95] Düll, Luttrell, and Keen, 184. The *Westminster Chronicle*'s description of Neville as Clanvowe's *comes in itinere* is the closest attestation to their status as brothers-in-arms. Bray, Luttrell, Puff, and ultimately Keen are agreed that, in Luttrell's words, "The two knights were evidently companions in arms" (Düll, Luttrell, and Keen, 182). Bray argues that Neville and Clanvowe formalized their association soon after they met in 1373, but does so without evidence. Both the *Westminster Chronicle* entry noting their deaths in Constantinople and the commemorative tomb slab indicate the strength of the men's bond by the end of their lives, but we can only speculate as to when their partnership formed and how it developed. Similarly, the sources are not as forthcoming as scholars would like on the precise nature of their relationship. Helmut Puff reads them as an example of "same-sex intimacy" and discusses them in the context of other "same-sex couples," a plausible interpretation but one that stands upon thin evidence (Puff, 382).

darmes]."[96] Froissart writes that Enguerrand VII de Coucy rushed to the bedside of Olivier de Clisson immediately upon hearing of an attempt on his friend's life, "for they greatly loved each other, styling themselves brothers and companions in arms" [*freres et compaignons d'armes*].[97]

The purpose of these pacts of brotherhood-in-arms was not merely to declare that the men involved would be friends. There were duties and expectations involved for both parties, a set of responsibilities for each brother to assist and support the other. Bertrand du Guesclin and Olivier de Clisson promised in 1370 to aid and comfort each other and to guard each other's person "like our brother" [*comme nostre frere*].[98] According to the widow and heirs of Louis I of Orléans, the late duke and his brother-in-arms, Jean the Fearless of Burgundy, had vowed "that they would fight against those who would want to do anything against the honor and profit of each of them."[99] In the same spirit, as we have seen, Thomas duke of Clarence vowed "to serve, aid, counsel, and comfort" Duke Charles of Orléans, "and to guard his well-being and honor in all ways and with all my power."[100] So, too, did Gaston IV and Pierre de Brézé swear to

> pursue the welfare, honor, and profit of each other, to aid, guard, and defend our persons, estates, lands, lordships, and subjects, and whatever other goods, and to avoid all injuries

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[96] "Magdalen College, Oxford, Southwark 213," transcribed by K.B. McFarlane in idem, "A Business-Partnership in War and Administration, 1421-1445," *The English Historical Review* 78.307 (Apr. 1963): 309. For a transcription of the full compact, see McFarlane, 309-10.

[97] Froissart, *Chroniques*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. fr. 2646, fol. 151v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 8 May 2015]: "car moult s'entre amoient & s'appeloient freres et compaignons d'armes"; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*, ed. and trans. Thomas Johnes (London: William Smith, 1848), 2:525-26 (hereafter, Froissart, trans. Johnes).

[98] Du Cange, 70, col. 1, 69, col. 2.

[99] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:305.

[100] "Alliance entre Thomas, duc de Clarence, et Charles, duc d'Orléans," in *Choix de pièces inédites*, 1:359.

> and dishonors, and we will support each other according to our ability.[101]

In the Molyneux-Wynter contract, the responsibility of assistance extended beyond death: provision was made for the support of future widows, the education of future children, the financial support of bereft families, and in the event that both men died without heirs, their property was to be liquidated to pay for masses for their own souls and those of their parents.[102]

With such weighty and far-reaching obligations, the institution of brotherhood-in-arms could prove very costly should one or both men be attacked, particularly if they should be captured and held for ransom. The Molyneux-Wynter contract was explicit as to what each sworn brother's obligations would be in such situations, indicating that capture and ransom were very real dangers for medieval warriors, and that compacts of brotherhood could be used to spread financial risk among both men, as K.B. McFarlane argued.[103]

On the other hand, the potential for great reward was embedded in such contracts as well. Molyneux and Wynter planned to pool their war profits, invest them wisely, and then divide them equally at some future time, once both men were done campaigning.[104] The idea was that brothers-in-arms would look out for each other's bodies, property, and general well-being, using all means at their disposal.

The affection sworn brothers ought to feel for each other, along with the duty to

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[101] "Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé," in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 2:308. The duties of assistance and support to the extent of their power were present in the compact of Louis XI and Charles the Bold as well (Du Cange, 69, col. 2).
[102] "Magdalen College, Oxford, Southwark 213," ed. McFarlane, in idem, "A Business-Partnership," 310.
[103] McFarlane, "A Business-Partnership," 290-91.
[104] "Magdalen College, Oxford, Southwark 213," ed. McFarlane, in idem, "A Business-Partnership," 309-10, and McFarlane's elucidation of its terms, 290.

aid and defend each other, worked in conjunction with the expectation that the men deal with each other honestly and honorably. The words "swear" and "promise" appear frequently in the brotherhood compacts, as does "honor." Thomas duke of Clarence "promis[ed] to observe loyally" the tenets of his agreement with Charles of Orléans, and this language occurs as well in Gaston IV's pact with Pierre Brézé: they both pledged "to observe and accomplish entirely in good faith" the terms of their new bond.[105] Their oaths were sworn on their own bodies, on their honor, on their salvation, on relics such as the True Cross, on the Gospels, in public before their peers (both lay and ecclesiastical), or any combination thereof, and the written agreements were signed with their own hands and sealed. Furthermore, the brothers avowed that they were partaking in the compact "without fraud, deceit, or evil tricks," a formula used in the Molyneux-Wynter and Gaston IV-Pierre de Brézé contracts.[106] In a society that depended for its structure and stability upon honor, oaths, and fidelity, these assurances and the keywords that pepper the compacts would have reinforced the presumed solidity of the relationship. Brotherhood, as envisioned in these pacts, was loyal, honest, and honorable, and, because of the use of ecclesiastically charged objects (including the church buildings in which some agreements were made), it was blessed by God and the church.

Armored and girded with such elements—affection, mutual aid and defense, loyalty, honor, and oaths—the relationship of sworn brotherhood should have been

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[105] For Thomas' vow, "je promes tenyr loyaulment," see "Alliance entre Thomas, duc de Clarence, et Charles, duc d'Orléans," in *Choix de pièces inédites*, 1:359 no. 158; for Gaston and Pierre's oath, "la ung à l'aultre tenir et complir entierement à bonne foi," see "Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé," in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 2:308. The pact between Louis XI and Charles the Bold includes this phrase as well: "To all the above said items, and each of these, we have promised and sworn [*promises et jurées*]" (Du Cange, 69, col. 2).

[106] "Magdalen College, Oxford, Southwark 213," ed. McFarlane, in idem, "A Business-Partnership," 310; "Alliance entre Gaston IV et Pierre de Brézé" in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, 2:309.

formidable, something contracted with great solemnity and purity of intention. How, then, can we account for the frequency of "bloody divorces," as Elizabeth Brown puts it, in which brothers-in-arms cheated, captured, sued, and even murdered each other?[107] For example, Froissart heard a story from the Bascot de Mauléon (a mercenary and Froissart's fellow traveler for a time) about two brothers-in-arms, Louis Raimbaut and Limousin, whose quarrel over the wayward ministrations of Raimbaut's mistress caused the dissolution of their brotherhood.[108] For cuckolding him, Raimbaut shamed Limousin publicly and extensively, marching him through town naked, flogging him repeatedly with rods, and announcing his deed at every street corner to the accompaniment of blaring trumpets. He then banished his former friend and brother-in-arms. Limousin retaliated by capturing Raimbaut in an ambush, remarking, "To companions-in-arms [*compaignons d'armes*] such as we were then, one woman could well suffice."[109] The fifteenth-century sworn brotherhood linking the mercenary Guillaume de Flavy and Pierre de Rieux, marshal of France, disintegrated amid mutual accusations of treachery, which were litigated before the Parlement of Paris in 1444.[110] Going to the extreme of unbrotherly behavior was the event that opened this chapter, which saw Jean the Fearless of Burgundy orchestrate the murder of his brother-in-arms, Louis I of Orléans.

Surely, potential brothers-in-arms knew about such deceits. In fact, the many references to brotherhood and the qualities attendant thereon throughout these contracts

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[107] Brown, 370.

[108] For the figure of the Bascot, see Guilhem Pépin, "Towards a Rehabilitation of Froissart's Credibility: The Non Fictitious Bascot de Mauléon," in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Adrian R. Bell and Anne Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 175-90.

[109] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon, BM ms. 865," ed. Peter Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 229r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2: 108.

[110] Brown, 370-71.

may have been prescriptive, a reminder of what was due. Or, these references may have been simply *pro forma*, a set of accepted phrases that men used out of habit rather than deeply held convictions. Yet formulaic language does not indicate the absence of meaning. The repeated use of the motifs of brotherhood bears witness to a realm of expectations about what it was supposed to entail, whether or not the oath-makers bought into it on an individual basis. Likewise, prescriptions for behavior bear testament to the hopes of the contracting parties, their vision of what brotherhood ought to be.

Despite the flaws in the performance of sworn brotherhood, men continued to become brothers-in-arms, perhaps sometimes even truly believing that it could "nourish good peace and love perpetually" among friends as well as historic enemies.[111] In other words, the relationship of brotherhood-in-arms was an ideal, and it was made up of other ideals, namely love, mutual support and protection of both person and interests, loyalty, honor, and honesty.

Brotherhood in the Chronicles

The chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet are filled with numerous vignettes about brothers who were related by blood, but they explore ideal brotherhood through the figures of fictive brothers as well, using direct speech or, in Froissart's case, his own commentary. Froissart writes that Geoffroi Tête-Noire, the English mercenary soldier who had terrorized southern France as the leader of a Free Company, exhorted his men to "come to be brothers [*frères*] and of one alliance, without having dispute, nor riot, nor strife among you."[112] In thus relating Geoffroi's speech, Froissart provides a

[111] From the Clisson-Du Guesclin compact of 1370 (Du Cange, 69, col. 2).
[112] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon ms. 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart*,

description—albeit negatively constructed—of ideal brotherhood. Brothers were to behave in precisely the contrary fashion, with goodwill instead of envy, peace instead of riot, and harmony rather than strife. Philip van Artevelde allegedly made a similar appeal to his band of Ghent men who had gathered outside Bruges to oppose the count of Flanders, saying (in Froissart's words), "Lords, you see before you all your provisions; assign them well to one another, just like brothers [*ainsi que frères*], without any misconduct."[113] Again, the ideal to which Froissart's Philip was appealing entailed harmonious relations among brothers.

Notably, both of these speeches concerned transfers of moveable wealth. Geoffroi Tête-Noire was dying, and he wanted to distribute his wealth among his men, and Philip van Artevelde sought to direct the equitable distribution of the rebels' supplies. As Chapter Two will show, transfers of wealth, especially in the form of land via inheritance, could be a particular sticking point for brothers, which Froissart certainly knew. His choice of language for these speeches, then, might be read as his own exhortation to his readers for how brothers ought to behave.[114]

Closely related to equitable sharing was mutual support, which, as this chapter has shown, brothers were supposed to perform. According to Froissart, the doomed crusaders encamped outside Mahdia (which he called "Africa") in July 1390 soon found themselves

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<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 445v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2: 388.

[113] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "New York, Pierpont Morgan M.804," ed. Peter Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 314v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1: 702.

[114] Godfried Croenen has argued that Froissart used direct speech in order to express his own commentary regarding the practice of rulership ("Jean Froissart," in *The Online Froissart*, eds. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield: HRI Online, 2013), <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.PFA-Froissart> [accessed 3 May 2015]. It is plausible that Froissart also used direct speech to convey views on other matters to his audience.

in dire straits. He writes, "The healthy aided and comforted the sick, and those who had plenty shared with those who did not, because surely they would not have lasted so long otherwise. And also in that noble company they were all brothers and friends [*freres et amis*]."[115]

The ideal brotherhood of the chronicles involved love as well. Monstrelet records that the family of Louis of Orléans entreated King Charles VI to move against his brother's killer on the grounds that "fraternal love [*amour fraternelle*] ought to ensure and incline you very much to do justice."[116] Even enemies could demonstrate the virtue of fraternal affection, as when Charles I duke of Bourbon (part of the Orléanist faction) and Philippe the Good duke of Burgundy met at Nevers in January 1440 to sign a peace treaty that formally ended their hostilities.[117] Monstrelet reports that, when they arrived, "the two dukes met and did one another great honor and reverence, in showing the appearance of having fraternal love [*fraternelle amour*] toward one another."[118]

This vision of brotherhood as fair, supportive, and amicable would have been what Sir Agos de Bans, governor of La Réole, was referring to when, in Froissart's portrayal, he asked the besieging English soldiers that they "treat us [as] companions-in-

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[115] Froissart, *Chroniques*, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 87v, reproduction at Gallica <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 8 May 2015]: "Les haities aidoyent & confortoyent les maladies & les plainteureux de vivres adreschoyent ceulx qui diseteux en estoyent aultrement ilz n'euissent point dure. Et aussy en celle compaignie ilz estoyent tous freres & amis"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2: 472.

[116] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:277.

[117] Richard Vaughan asserts that Charles and Philippe had, in fact, ended their quarrel by 1437 (*Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London; New York: Longman, 1970; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002, rpt. 2004), 123).

[118] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 5:108. Charles and Philip were brothers-in-law, meaning that their relationship was not a fictive brotherhood in the same way the other examples of this section and chapter were. Nonetheless, Monstrelet's use of the term "fraternal love" is suggestive of the way he understood ideal brotherhood. Charles and Philip maintained a close relationship after the 1440 treaty: Charles' son Louis was raised at Philip's court, and Philip funded young Louis' studies at the University of Louvain for a decade starting in July 1445 (Vaughan, 123).

arms."[119] It was implied when King Edward III of England and King Jean II of France signed their peace treaty at Calais on 24 October 1360; Froissart writes that, "by the terms of the peace, [the two kings] called themselves brothers [*freres*]," which was one of the proofs "of the love of the two kings."[120] And it is what Henry V referred to when he declared in a letter to Charles VI of France that "The glory of fraternal love [*amour fraternelle*] is dead."[121]

The characteristcs of brotherhood evident in these passages from the chronicles reflect those of the milieux this chapter has highlighted. Ideal brotherhood involved love, respect, mutual support, and cooperation, an interpretation that Froissart and Monstrelet actively strove to memorialize as well as mold. Just as in the monastery, the military order, the guild, the brotherhood-in-arms, or indeed the fellowship of Christian brotherhood in general, there was no room for divisiveness, treachery, or ill-will in the brotherhood portrayed in the chronicles. Brotherhood, as it existed in the realm of ideals, was a clearly positive institution, meant to provide stability, support, and camaraderie in a dangerous world.

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[119] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "New York, Pierpont Morgan M.804," ed. Rob Sanderson, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 86r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1: 140. La Réole was besieged and captured in 1345. As noted in the previous section, "companion-in-arms" was another term for "brothers-in-arms" in formal compacts. I read it as such here as well.

[120] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Godfried Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 3 May 2015], fol. 244r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1: 290.

[121] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:79; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1: 331.

Chapter 2:

"Brother in Name Only": Conflicts Between Brothers

The fourteenth-century Middle English *Tale of Gamelyn* is, among other things, a story of three brothers and the problem of inheritance.[1] It begins with a dying father apportioning property to each of his sons, against the advice of his counselors. Upon his death, however, the unnamed eldest son makes his youngest brother Gamelyn his ward, and then proceeds to (mis)manage the hero's estates. Once Gamelyn attains adulthood, he seeks justice against his brother and all collaborators, which he dispenses with great violence at several points while also engaging in various seemingly extraneous adventures.[2] Eventually, Gamelyn presides over the extralegal execution of his eldest brother (by this time the sheriff) and the twelve jurors who were participating in a sham trial against him.

All of Gamelyn's adventures begin with his sudden realization that he is no longer a child: "On a day, he was standing in his brother's yard, and began all at once to handle his beard."[3] His physical development enables him to stand up for himself in every sense.

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[1] The *Tale* appears in 25 manuscripts of the *c* and *d* families of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The number of extant manuscripts does not necessarily indicate that the story was popular on its own— its association with Chaucer's work certainly facilitated its survival—but by virtue of that very association, it is reasonable to assume that the *Tale* found a wide, if unintended, audience (Stephen Knight and Thomas H. Ohlgren, "The Tale of Gamelyn: Introduction," in idem, ed., *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 184, 191, and <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/tale-of-gamelyn-introduction> [accessed 12 May 2015].

[2] Gamelyn's accomplishments include defeating a wrestling champion and becoming leader of a company of merry thieves in a forest as an early Robin Hood figure. The *Tale of Gamelyn* preceded the Robin Hood stories, at least in their written form (Knight and Ohlgren, "Introduction," 190).

[3] *The Tale of Gamelyn*, in *Early English Romances in Verse*, trans. Edith Rickert (London: Chatto and Windus; New York: Duffield & Co., 1908), 88 (hereafter, *Gamelyn*, trans. Rickert). *The Tale of Gamelyn*, in *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales*, ed. Knight and Ohlgren, 196: "And byganne with his hond to handel his berde" (hereafter, *Gamelyn*, ed. Knight and Ohlgren). According to Rickert, this phrase means that he "realise[d] that he was a man" (178).

He immediately begins to challenge his brother, first with an insolent response to an inconsequential question posed by the elder brother ("Is our meat ready?"), then by rebuking him for failing to be a good brother. His indictment is illuminating: "All that my father bequeathed me is gone to rack—may God's curse rest upon thee, *brother in name only*!"[4] Gamelyn understands his brother's actions to be in breach of the conduct that is appropriate to true brotherhood. When the elder brother orders Gamelyn to be beaten for his disrespectful behavior, Gamelyn reinforces the indictment of unfraternity: "Christ's curse on thee, brother of mine! If I must needs be beaten, curses on thee but thou feel it also!"[5] The elder brother's excessive violence against Gamelyn is further evidence that he is, to use Gamelyn's earlier accusation, a "brother in name only." By naming him here as "brother of mine," Gamelyn highlights the disconnect between the elder brother's duty and his actions.

Having dealt rhetorical blows against his brother, Gamelyn physically assaults the men sent to punish him. He follows this physical assault with a verbal one, taunting his brother, who has barricaded himself in his rooms. He then goes to a nearby wrestling match and thoroughly defeats the champion, who declares, "He is the master of us all, … never in my life have I been handled so sore!"[6] Thus, Gamelyn demonstrates his attainment of manhood—made manifest by growing a beard—with further marks of masculinity: his acts of verbal and physical violence. By the end of the story, he is pardoned by the king for the murders of his brother and the jurors, becomes a royal officer, and lives happily ever after. He is not only a mature adult but a proven man.

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[4] *Gamelyn*, trans. Rickert, 88; *Gamelyn*, ed. Knight and Ohlgren, 196: "And therfor have thou Goddes curs brother be thi name!" Emphasis mine.
[5] *Gamelyn*, trans. Rickert, 89; *Gamelyn*, ed. Knight and Ohlgren, 197: "Cristes curs mote thou have brother art thou myne!"
[6] *Gamelyn*, trans. Rickert, 94; *Gamelyn*, ed. Knight and Ohlgren, 201.

The scenario enacted by Gamelyn and his eldest brother echoes the situations of countless brothers across medieval Europe. Their quarrels appear in chronicles, letters, court records, charters, and decrees. Although many of these conflicts resemble those between lords and vassals or kings and barons, the fact that the men involved were brothers, a tie they and their peers acknowledged, is distinctive and important. The idea that brotherhood was a special sort of bond, one whose natural state was peace, was well-established by the late Middle Ages, as the previous chapter illustrates.

The brothers in this chapter, however, were not at peace. Instead, like Gamelyn and his elder brother, they chose to subordinate their fraternal bond, and the expectations thereof, in forceful and sometimes violent conflicts with each other. I argue that brothers' quarrels generally were the result, not of personal idiosyncrasies or special, one-off situations, but of larger, essentially incompatible forces at work in the lives of medieval aristocratic men. Late medieval noblemen stood at the intersection of multiple pressures: a chivalric society that celebrated courage, martial prowess, and dominance; the reigning paradigm of chivalric masculinity that linked these values to one's essence as a man; the peaceful and cooperative ideals of brotherhood; late medieval customs governing the distribution of inheritance and titles; a changing world in which the nobility's martial ethos and place in society was beset by challenges from all sides. Brothers were thus set up for conflict. For the brothers of this chapter, notions of cooperative fraternity could not trump the pressures driving them into discord.

Games of Thrones

Clashes between brothers over the right to rule occurred from the early to late

Middle Ages and at all levels of the nobility. The attraction of gaining power, and the wealth and prestige that usually went with possessing a throne or title, was too much for some brothers to resist. According to Froissart, this was the case with the Visconti family in the duchy of Milan.[7] In 1354, the General Council of Milan decreed that the three brothers Matteo II, Galeazzo II, and Bernabò should succeed as co-rulers following the death of their uncle, the duke.[8] Milan itself would be ruled jointly, while the rest of the territory pertaining to the Visconti family was divided among them.[9] The three brothers seem to have worked together reasonably well at the beginning of this arrangement, as they united to press the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV for an imperial office that would bolster their status and influence.[10] Yet by the end of 1355, Matteo was dead, allegedly poisoned by his own brothers. Froissart claims that avarice and the desire for political power were the motives for their crime:

> [Matteo's] two brothers, who were not very rich then, Galeazzo and Bernabò, took counsel between themselves that they might rule and hold the lands of Lombardy, and join themselves in marriage to such great lords that none could or would dare to bother them.[11]

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[7] Froissart probably heard this story while he was in Milan in 1368-69 for Lionel duke of Clarence's marriage to Violante Visconti, a daughter of Galeazzo II.

[8] Jane Black, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power under the Visconti and the Sforza 1329-1535* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 52, citing archival material from Milan.

[9] Black, *Absolutism*, 52.

[10] Their offer of 150,000 florins must have been persuasive, as they received the grant for an imperial vicariate on 8 May 1355 (Caterina Santoro, ed., *La politica finanziaria dei Visconti* (Milan: Giuffré, 1976), 1:97-101; Black, *Absolutism*, 52).

[11] Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre III (du Voyage en Béarn à la campagne de Gascogne) et Livre IV (années 1349-1400)*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Alberto Varvaro (Paris: Livre de Poche, 2004), 561-62; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:605. Varvaro transcribed Book IV from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, IV 467, which he selected because he determined that it most likely was closest to Froissart's own manuscript. It was copied in 1470 (Varvaro, "Introduction au quatrième Livre," in *Chroniques: Livre III et Livre IV*, 340). I am using

Matteo Villani (1283-1363), a Florentine and continuator of his brother Giovanni's chronicle, presents a somewhat different version of Matteo Visconti's death, but the message is much the same.[12] In his rendering, Matteo was a profligate reprobate whose actions endangered Visconti rule. Upon hearing of Matteo's latest sexual escapades, which involved an orgy with local women and a murder threat against one of Milan's husbands, "Bernabò rode to my lord Matteo's hôtel, and found the wicked dance [*scellerata danza*] of his brother; and without saying anything, turned around and returned to lord Galeazzo."[13] Bernabò told his brother, "We run great peril in our state, and the lewd and dissolute things of lord Matteo will chase us from the lordship."[14] The two brothers eventually "agreed to his death, in order that another chastisement need not occur."[15] It was better to solve the problem of their brother permanently than risk expulsion from Milan or worse. They contrived to feed him poisoned quail on a hunt in September 1355, and he died the following day. Villani is unequivocal in his assessment: "The truth was that he died like a dog, without confession, of a violent death, [one] perhaps worthy of his dissolute life."[16]

For both chroniclers, there was no doubting the culpability of Bernabò and Galeazzo, but the question of their motive remained open. Froissart's charge that it was

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this edition because there are no digital manuscript facsimiles available for Book IV that include this episode.

[12] The chronicles of Giovanni, Matteo, and Matteo's son Filippo focus on their hometown of Florence, but also address Italy and beyond. They were merchants but with aristocratic sympathies and little sympathy for lower status persons. See Paula Clarke, "The Villani Chronicles," in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin, Duane J. Osheim (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 113-27 for a discussion of the chroniclers' backgrounds and views on historical causation.

[13] "Cronica di Matteo Villani," in Giovanni Villani, Matteo Villani, and Filippo Villani, *Croniche di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani* (Trieste: Lloyd Austriaco, 1857), 2:183, Ch. 81. I thank Amanda Taylor for her assistance with this passage.

[14] Villani, 2:183.

[15] Villani, 2:184.

[16] Villani, 2:184.

greed—for money and for power—finds support in the surviving brothers' actions after the fact. They lost no time in reallocating Visconti lands roughly equally between them—Froissart writes that Bernabò got one more city than Galeazzo because he now was the eldest—and supposedly they took turns ruling Milan.[17] Moreover, Bernabò seems to have been particularly focused on titles and power. Once he became an imperial vicar (an imperial appointee who administered a part of the Holy Roman Empire), he scolded the archbishop of Milan for defying him, saying, "Don't you know that I am pope and emperor as well as *signore* in all my lands. Not the emperor, not even God, can do anything in my territories unless I wish it."[18] In Villani's account, the brothers' choice to kill Matteo was a reaction to the problem of Matteo's degeneracy and consequent misrule—Bernabò and Galeazzo were acting to protect the power of their family—but it was also evidence of a decline of Christian morality. Fratricide was not a justified response to Matteo Visconti's sins, but rather sin compounding sin.[19] Whether motivated by greed for wealth as in Froissart's version, or a desire to maintain political power as in Villani's, Bernabò and Galeazzo murdered their brother to gain a throne. Both chroniclers, therefore, intended the events in Milan to serve as a counter-model for their readers.

In the Castilian civil war of 1366-69, half-brothers Enrique of Trastámara (1334-

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[17] Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Ainsworth and Varvaro, 562; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:605. According to Black (*Absolutism*, 52), Bernabò retained de facto control of Milan.
[18] Black, 52. Black includes the Latin text at 52 n.114.
[19] Matteo Villani, like his brother Giovanni, firmly believed that his task as a chronicler was to instruct his readers in Christian morality. He also possessed a profoundly negative view of humanity, due primarily to his experiences during and after the Black Death. In his view, the plague was sent by God to punish human wickedness, and when the survivors failed to reform their ways, he lost hope for humanity. As Paula Clarke writes, Matteo Villani's "consequent sense of human degeneration led his chronicle to become a pitiless exposé of human weakness" ("The Villani Chronicles," 125). This is how his treatment of the Visconti episode must be read: in the Visconti brothers' debauchery and fratricide, Villani sees the failings of his generation. His inclusion of these Milanese events in his Florentine chronicle was a moral lesson for his readers.

79) and Pedro I "the Cruel" (1334-69) squared off in competition for a bigger throne, that of the kingdom of Castile. Enrique was the eldest of ten illegitimate children born to the late King Alfonso XI (d. 1350) and his mistress Eleanor of Guzmán. Although he and his siblings were highly regarded by their father, Alfonso's legitimate heir Pedro "thoroughly hated them, and did not want to see them next to him. And gladly, on several occasions, he would have captured and decapitated them if he could have held them."[20] Soon after Pedro became king, he had Eleanor killed, then proceeded to harass and alienate his Castilian subjects, neighbors, and Pope Innocent VI.[21] Pedro was excommunicated on 26 June 1357, a move that Froissart implies was a papal strategy to unseat him.[22] In the chronicler's presentation, the pope was the instigator of the brothers' conflict; he invited Enrique and the king of Aragon to Avignon for the purpose of planning a *coup d'état*, and he legitimated Enrique's birth "in order to obtain the realm" of Castile from King Pedro.[23]

While the pope's blessing lent an air of legitimacy to Enrique's enterprise, it is unlikely to have been the sole factor in his decision to lead a rebellion against his half-brother. He may have been driven by a desire for revenge, both for his dead mother's

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[20] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Godfried Croenen, Caroline Lambert, Sofie Loomans, et al., in *The Online Froissart*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield, HRIOnline, 2013), <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:375. On Alfonso's view and treatment of his mistress and illegitimate children, see D.L. d'Avray, *Papacy, Monarchy and Marriage, 860-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 41-42.

[21] Froissart incorrectly names the pope as Urban V, but Urban's papacy did not begin until 1362, upon the death of Innocent VI (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:340). L.J. Andrew Villalon discusses Pedro's poor rulership in "Pedro the Cruel: Portrait of a Royal Failure," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, ed. Donald Kagay and Joseph Thomas Snow (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 201-16.

[22] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:340; Cesare Baronio, ed. *Annales ecclesiastici* (Barri-Ducis; Paris; Freiburg, 1880), 26:27, no. 9.

[23] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:340.

sake and for his twin brother Fadrique, executed in 1358 "on nothing more than suspicion, rumor, and guilt by association," as historian Clara Estow put it.[24] It is also possible that Enrique wished to regain the importance and influence he had known while his father was still alive. Froissart implies that Enrique was seeking to improve the lives of Castile's subjects through the removal of a tyrant who employed Jews[25] in his court and eventually collaborated with Muslims.[26] His account thus gives a crusading flavor to the rebellion, particularly with his emphasis on the pope's intervention at the beginning, and, although he was careful to assert the opinion that illegitimate children should not inherit thrones, the emphasis on Pedro's bad rulership might have engendered some sympathy for Enrique's rebellion.[27] At base, however, Enrique's primary aim was to gain

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[24] Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350-1369* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 190.

[25] Estow argues that Pedro's attitudes and policies toward Jews were no different than those of his predecessors, but the view in the fourteenth century seems to be that Pedro was particularly pro-Jewish. Enrique exploited this perception in his effort to discredit the king (Estow, esp. 172-73). English author Sir Thomas Gray's fourteenth-century *Scalacronica* scathingly describes Pedro as "governed by Jews," forsaking his wife for a Jewish mistress, and making Jews knights of the chivalric Order of the Bend, allegedly established by Pedro's father Alfonso (*Scalacronica: A Chronicle of England and Scotland from A.D. MLXVI to A.D. MCCCLXII*, ed. John Leland (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1836), 197).

[26] Froissart writes, "What is more, there was a rumor that this king Pedro had treated amiably with the kings of Grenada, Belle Marine, and Tresmesames, who were enemies of God and unbelievers" (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277r). For the final stage of the war in 1369, Pedro used Muslim troops from neighboring Islamic kingdoms. See Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 310v (Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:385) and Estow, 179. Enrique's propaganda campaign against Pedro included barbs about his supposed ennoblement of Muslims, and he received Ibn Khaldun as a diplomat in 1363 (Estow, 175 and 175 n.59). Estow points out that Pedro possessed no enthusiasm for crusading against Iberia's Muslim kingdoms, which must have played to Enrique's hand (Estow, 179).

[27] Pedro's many sins allegedly included the aforementioned questionable policies, the murder of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and abuses of the church and clergy. For Froissart's description of his actions, see his *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277r-278v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:340-42. For his view on the status of illegitimate sons, see for example *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 280r (Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:344), where Pedro begs the Black Prince to help him, "because it is not at all right that a Christian king is disinherited and a bastard inherits through force and tyranny." Froissart writes again, and at greater length, about his views of illegitimate sons inheriting, this time in the Voyage to Béarn section of Book III. His commentary at this point purports to be his own speech, in conversation with the Espaign de Lion on the subject of the death of Count Phoebus' son

the throne from his brother, and other potential goals were secondary.

Since Enrique and Pedro were half-brothers only, and Enrique the product of an illicit union, it is fair to question whether they, or their peers, considered the ideals of brotherhood to be applicable at all. Several vignettes in Froissart's chronicle suggest that illegitimate brothers' relationships could be cordial and even devoted. This state of affairs likely was connected to the legal barriers that limited bastards' prospects, making them dependent on familial goodwill even more than their brothers (and sisters) of legitimate birth.[28] Pedro and Enrique are the exception that proves that rule.

As to the applicability of the ideals of brotherhood to illegitimate brothers, the case is less clear-cut. Late medieval society does not seem to have differentiated greatly between full brothers, half-brothers, and sometimes even brothers-in-law in terms of the expectations associated with kinship. Froissart frequently calls brothers-in-law and half-brothers simply "brothers," both in his narration and in direct speech. This usage suggests an elision of relationships that we now categorize separately. Yet Froissart also took pains to identify illegitimate brothers as bastards when introducing them, making sure his audience knew of their difference from other half-brothers. Still, he sought to demonstrate that brother-versus-brother conflicts were fundamentally wrong, even in

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(Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 218v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:93).

[28] Richard Vernier cites the "civil and canonical disabilities" to which illegitimate children were subject, including their inability to inherit fiefs or thrones (*Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 16). See also Anthony Musson, *Medieval Law in Context: The Growth of Legal Consciousness from Magna Carta to the Peasants' Revolt* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 85-86; R.H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England: The Canon Law and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 556-57; James Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 543-44; d'Avray, *Papacy, Monarchy and Marriage*, 42 n.35; Michael M. Sheehan, "Illegitimacy in Late Medieval England: Laws, Dispensation and Practice," in *Illegitimität im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Ludwig Schmugge and Béatrice Viggenhauser (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994); Anne Lefèbvre-Teillard, *Autour de l'enfant: Du droit canonique et romain médiéval au Code Civil de 1804* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 259-73; Helen Matthews, "Illegitimacy and English Landed Society, c.1285-c.1500" (Ph.D. dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2013).

cases involving illegitimate brothers, which suggests that ideals of fraternity encompassed all brothers, even bastards.

Froissart's treatment of Enrique's saga is notable for its length and detail, far surpassing the coverage in the anonymously authored fourteenth-century *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, the chronicle of Pedro IV of Aragon (Enrique's ally during the civil war), and the *Cronica del rey don Pedro Primero* by the Castilian contemporary Pedro López de Ayala.[29] A close reading of Froissart's version shows that his text conveys an additional layer of meaning beyond the surface level of the story itself. Froissart underlined the fraternal tie between the rivals at every turn, effectively emphasizing ideal brotherhood as well as its violation.

Froissart uses the early stages of his narration of the civil war to reinforce the ideals of brotherhood, first by invoking their antithesis. The reader learns immediately of Pedro's hatred of his illegitimate brothers, a feeling that prompted him to revoke their father's gift of the county of Trastámara to Enrique.[30] Froissart uses the verb "tolir," meaning "to take away unjustly, by force," which underscores the wrong Enrique suffered. Against this example of unfraternity, Froissart offers two instances of model brotherhood. The first is Enrique's relationship with his brothers Tello and Sancho, which was characterized by mutual support. After Enrique's successful expedition into Castile,

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[29] The *Chronique des quatres premiers Valois* is laconic on this episode, treating the entire civil war in one long paragraph (*Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393*), ed. Siméon Luce (Paris: J. Renouard, 1862), 198-99). Pedro IV of Aragon's chronicle does not lean on the element of brotherhood nearly to the extent that Froissart does (Pere III of Catalonia, *Chronicle*, trans. Mary Hillgarth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), 2:580-81). Nor does the Castilian chronicler Pedro López de Ayala, who worked for Pedro the Cruel before changing to Enrique's cause. He devotes his attention instead to the role of the Breton Bertrand du Guesclin, and his version of the final fight between Pedro and Enrique is different than Froissart's (López de Ayala, *Crónica del rey don Pedro primero*, in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875), 1:592). See also L.J. Andrew Villalon, "Battle-Seeking, Battle-Avoiding or Perhaps Just Battle-Willing?: Applying the Gillingham Paradigm to Enrique II of Castile," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 8 (2010): 132 n. 5 and 133 n. 8.

[30] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 277r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:340.

in which Tello and Sancho participated, and his coronation as king at Burgos in spring 1366, he elevated these two brothers to the status of count and boosted their financial resources.[31] A second example is found in the English brothers Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, who became involved in the Castilian situation. Edward allied with Pedro to oust Enrique, and John then joined his brother at the city of Dax. Froissart writes that "they rejoiced greatly when they found one another, because they loved each other very much, and there were great expressions of love between them and their men."[32]

With the aid of the legendary Black Prince and John of Gaunt, Pedro was able to retake Castile in 1367, despite widespread support for the new king. The culmination of Pedro's campaign took place at the battle of Nájera (3 April 1367), a decisive victory for his coalition. Although Pedro and Enrique did not meet on the battlefield, Froissart reports that Pedro "was very worked up, and strongly desired to find and meet his brother, the bastard Enrique, and said, 'Where is this son of a whore who calls himself king of Castile?'"[33] It is notable that, while Froissart the narrator identifies the two men as brothers, he includes no such language in his representation of the speech they directed at each other. Here and in the final scene of the episode after Montiel, neither brother will acknowledge their shared father, in effect rejecting the fraternal tie that bound them nonetheless. The juxtaposition of narrator's voice and direct speech reflects the distance

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[31] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 279r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:343. There is disagreement in the sources as to the exact date of Enrique's coronation, with dates in March and April 1366 indicated. See Michael C. Jones, ed., *Letters, Orders and Musters of Bertrand du Guesclin, 1357-1380* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004), 56 n.1.

[32] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 290v: "Si se conjouyrent grandement quant ilz s'entretrouverent. Car moult s'entreamoient, et la ot grans approuchemens d'amour entr'eulx et leurs gens"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:357.

[33] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 302r: "La estoit le roy dam Piettre moult eschaufféz et qui durement desiroit a trouver et a encontrer son frere, le bastart Henry, et disoit: 'Ou est ce filz de putain qui s'appelle roy de Castille?'"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:373

between social expectations for brothers' conduct and the brothers' own views on their relationship.

Froissart is able to underscore this distance more strongly with his description of Pedro's actions after the battle at Nájera. Although Enrique managed to escape unharmed, Sancho fell into English hands and became the prisoner of the Black Prince. The next morning, Pedro made a request of his ally, Edward:

> Dear cousin, I request and beg in friendship that you might deign to deliver the evil traitors of this land, my brother Sancho the bastard and the others, so that I can cut off their heads, because they well deserve it.[34]

The courtly form of Pedro's plea contrasted starkly with its content, which Froissart dramatizes by including the phrase "my brother" in reference to Sancho. Edward, sensitive to Pedro's attempt to exploit chivalric discourse for unsavory ends, responded with his own manipulation of that very discourse. He asked an unspecified boon of Pedro, which the latter granted immediately, only to discover that Edward would release Sancho and the rest of the prisoners only on the condition that Pedro forgive them.[35] In order to avoid shame, Pedro agreed and "kissed the count Sancho, his brother, and forgave him his animosity."[36] Sancho then "swore fealty and homage and service" to the restored king

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[34] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 304r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:375.
[35] One prisoner was excepted from this request for clemency, evidently to give Pedro a chance to make a statement. Pedro executed him immediately (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 304r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:376).
[36] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 304r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:376.

his brother.[37] Froissart paints this post-battle scene in bold strokes of chivalry and feudal obligation, the expectations of which would have been well understood by his readers. Against this backdrop, he places Pedro's death wish for his brother Sancho, one of the heroes of the story. Pedro's intentions thus violated the spirit of chivalry as well as brotherhood, making him doubly reprehensible.

Enrique overcame his temporary ouster to lead a new expedition into Castile in 1368-69, by which time the Black Prince had left to deal with problems Enrique had caused in English-held Aquitaine. Froissart reports that when Pedro heard of Enrique's new invasion and the Castilians' ready acceptance of him as king once again, he "was thoroughly enraged at his brother, the bastard, and the barons of Castile who had abandoned him, and swore that he would take such cruel vengeance that it would be an example to all others."[38] Lacking sufficient men, Pedro allowed his anger to lead him into sin: he negotiated with Muslim rulers for "more than thirty thousand Saracens to aid him in conducting his war."[39]

With the stage set for the final scene, Froissart then deploys his considerable artistry to relate a narrative with strong symbolic overtones. He begins by reminding his audience that Pedro "desired to battle the bastard, his brother."[40] Pedro ordered a cross-country march from Seville at about the same time that Enrique also left a siege in his

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[37] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 304r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:376. Froissart never deals with the implications of Sancho abandoning Enrique. Sancho later reappears at Enrique's side for the final battle at Montiel, but Froissart does not explain how he slipped away from Pedro or what his reunion with Enrique entailed.

[38] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 310v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:385.

[39] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 310v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:385. Johnes' translation indicates a force of only 20,000 Muslim soldiers.

[40] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 311r: "desiroit a combatre le bastart, son frere"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:386.

brother Tello's hands and set out with his own army. Enrique and Sancho (who had escaped Pedro) led a force that overwhelmed Pedro's advance guard and surprised the main body of Pedro's eclectic army.

This engagement was merely the opening act to the main event, which Froissart frames in a way that emphasizes the impropriety of the entire situation. He writes, "This battle of the Spanish against each other and the two kings and their allies, rather near the castle of Montiel, was on that day very great and very horrible."[41] Civil war mirrors fraternal strife here, each emphasizing the wrongness of the other. Froissart extends the symbolism of this mirroring while also pointing to the brothers' rivalry when describing the opening moves of the battle, in which "the banner of King Enrique, [Pedro's] brother, lined up before [Pedro's] own."[42] Literally and figuratively facing off, Pedro and Enrique were ready to kill each other over the question of who would hold the Castilian throne.

The climax of Froissart's narrative occurs after Pedro is apprehended by Enrique's night watchman. The chronicler writes:

> As soon as the king Enrique was in the chamber where his brother the lord Pedro was, he said thus: "Where is the son of a Jewish whore who calls himself king of Castile?" To this, the king lord Pedro, who was very bold and a cruel man, advanced. "But you are the son of a whore. For I am son of the king Alphonso!" And at these words, he grabbed

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[41] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 311v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:387.
[42] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 312r. The text reads: "La s'adreça la banniere du roy Henry son frere devers la sienne," with little variation among the extant manuscripts. Thomas Johnes' translation is easier in English, but less faithful to the originals: "King Henry drew up his division opposite to his brother" (Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:387).

> the king Enrique his brother and pulled him to himself to wrestle, and was stronger than him and threw him down.[43]

Here again, Froissart depicts Pedro and Enrique as unwilling to call each other "brother." Only the narrator uses that term, and the juxtaposition here, as elsewhere, calls attention to the disjunction between expectation and (Froissart's portrayal of) the brothers' practice.

The perverseness of this situation finds further reinforcement in Pedro's choice to wrestle Enrique. He pulled Enrique into what might be an embrace but for his murderous intent, turning a gesture of affection into one of violence. Pedro was able to gain the upper hand due to his greater strength, but Enrique emerged victorious upon the intervention of one of his men.[44] Enrique delivered the decisive blow with his knife, rendered vividly by the illustrators of Besançon ms. 864, Stonyhurst ms. 1, and The Hague ms. 72 A 25.[45] Each miniature conveys the intimacy of the act of murder, which

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[43] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 313r: "Sitost que le roy Henry fut en la chambre ou son frere dam Pietre estoit, il dist ainsi: 'Ou est le filz de putain juif qui s'appelle roy de Castille?' Adonc s'avança le roy dam Pietre, qui fut moult hardi et cruel homme: 'Mais tu es filz de putain. Car je suis filz du roy Alphons!' Et a ces mots il prist a bras le roy Henry son frere et le tira a lui en luitant, et fut plus fort de lui et l'abati dessoubz lui"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:389.

[44] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 313r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:389. Froissart does not directly address the question of whether or not this intervention was dishonorable. Surely Pedro saw it as cheating, as Enrique would have lost the struggle without that help. However, Pedro also began the fight with a surprise attack, so it was not a fair contest in the first place.

[45] Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 864, fol. 286v, digital photography by David Cooper and Colin Dunn, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/browsey.jsp?img0=e&pb0=Bes-1_286v&div0=ms.f.transc.Bes-1&panes=1&disp0=pb> [accessed 12 June 2015]; Stonyhurst College, College Library ms. 1, fol. 274r, digital photography by Colin Dunn and Scriptura Ltd, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/browsey.jsp?img0=e&pb0=Sto_274r&div0=ms.f.transc.Sto&panes=1&disp0=pb> [accessed 12 June 2015]; The Hague, Royal Library ms. 72 A 25, fol. 290r, digital photography by the Royal Library <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/browsey.jsp?img0=e&pb0=H25_290r&div0=ms.f.transc.H25&panes=1&disp0=pb> [accessed 12 June 2015]. Both Besançon ms. 864 and Stonyhurst ms. 1 were illustrated by the Giac Master in Pierre Liffol's Paris workshop in the early fifteenth century (Godfried Croenen, "Pierre de Liffol and the Manuscripts of Froissart's Chronicles," in *The Online Froissart*, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.GC-Pierre [accessed 25

stands in stark contrast to the closeness that ought to characterize the fraternal bond. After the first strike, Enrique's men helped him dispatch his brother. They then threw the corpse outside the tent, where it lay unburied for three days and was subjected to various desecrations. Froissart concludes by opining, "it seems to me that this was a pity for humanity," a comment that could serve for the treatment of Pedro's body as well as the conflict of brother against brother for the sake of a throne.[46]

Froissart's laser focus on ideal brotherhood in the context of these two brothers' violent struggle over the throne of Castile is consistent with the overall aim of his project, to provide models of behavior in order "that all young men who love arms can learn something."[47] As the conflict between Enrique and Pedro escalated to its bloody end, Froissart infused the account with references to their fraternal bond in order to emphasize both the positive model of brotherhood and the consequences of failing to abide by it.

The failure of ideal brotherhood was central to Froissart's version of the Visconti brothers as well. In contrast to the view perpetrated by the Italian chronicler Matteo Villani, in which Galeazzo and Bernabò needed to solve the problem of their brother for the good of the family and the region more generally, Froissart contends that Galeazzo

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September 2015]). The Hague ms. 72 A 25, also produced in early fifteenth-century Paris, was illustrated by the Virgil Master ("Introduction" to the manuscript at the National Library of the Netherlands <http://www.kb.nl/en/digitized-books/chronicles-of-jean-froissart/introduction> [accessed 15 May 2015]), and probably not in Liffol's workshop (Croenen, "Pierre de Liffol"). Pedro and Enrique's denouement also appears in BnF ms. fr. 2663, fol. 312v, digital photography by Ateliers photographiques and the BnF http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/browsey.jsp?img0=e&pb0=P63_312v&div0=ms.f.transc.P63&panes=1&disp0=pb [accessed 12 June 2015]. In this rendition, Enrique's superiority over his brother, rather than the act of murder, is the subject. Pedro is depicted in scarlet, foreshadowing the imminent shedding of blood, kneeling before the fully armored, standing Enrique. BnF ms. fr. 2663 was illustrated by the Boethius Master in Pierre Liffol's Paris workshop in the early fifteenth century (Croenen, "Pierre de Liffol," <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/apparatus.jsp?type=intros&intro=f.intros.GC-Pierre> [accessed 14 May 2015]).

[46] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 313v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:389.

[47] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 869," ed. Godfried Croenen, in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 May 2015], fol. 1r.

and Bernabò simply lusted after money and power. These attractions led them to fratricide, the ultimate violation of good brotherhood. The moral of the story was clear: do not act like the Visconti brothers.

Whose Land Is It, Anyway?

Most disagreements between brothers did not involve vulnerable thrones, nor rise to the level of murder. Challenges over land were far more common, particularly in light of the strictures of inheritance customs that, in most places, provided the eldest son with the largest and best share, while younger sons received progressively smaller, less prestigious allotments. In the Low Countries county of Looz, a dispute arose between Thierry de Heinsberg and his next youngest brother Jean over the matter of the inheritances they received from their parents.[48] Resolution of their quarrel required arbitration by five local lords, including the high-ranking bishop of Liège and the count of Looz and Chiny, who was also their uncle.[49] The results of their efforts are detailed in a document dated 13 March 1331, which stipulates that Jean would receive the lands of Wassenberg, Sitters, Daelenbroek, and Nyle, along with the appertaining goods, revenues, and rights, which, the settlement notes, had been left to him by his father.[50] In addition to preserving the willed inheritance, though, the arbitrators awarded Jean 400 *l.*

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[48] The county of Looz (or "Loon" in Flemish) currently is a Flemish-speaking area. The medieval documents pertaining to this quarrel and this period were written in Latin and a dialect of French, but the Flemish names of towns within the documents suggest that Flemish also was, or had been, spoken there as well. Although I cannot say with certainty that the Heinsberg brothers were French speakers, the use of French in one of the documents suggests that they might have been. For this reason, I have rendered their names in their French forms, and for the sake of readability, I have not included the Flemish forms ("Loon" for "Looz," "Diederick" for "Thierry," "Jan" for "Jean").

[49] The bishop of Liège was Adolph de La Marck (d. 1344), and Louis IV (d. 1336) was count of Looz and Chiny. The others were Henry of Lewenberg, William of Horne, and Arnold of Steyne (Mathias-Joseph Wolters, *Codex diplomaticus Lossensis, ou Recueil et analyse de chartes servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'ancien comté de Looz* (Ghent: F. and E. Gyselynck, 1849), 227 no. 391).

[50] Wolters, *Codex diplomaticus Lossensis*, 228.

annually, which he and his heirs would earn from possession of the towns of Kerreke, Ende, and Byge, with the provision that, should the revenues of these towns prove insufficient, Thierry would make up the difference.[51] Finally, Thierry was required to make a one-time payment to Jean of 1000 *l*.[52] For his part, Jean would hold the towns of Kerreke, Ende, and Byge as fiefs from Thierry.[53] The terms of the settlement were, therefore, quite favorable to Jean, suggesting that Thierry was in the wrong in the brothers' dispute.

Even brothers whose relationship generally was amicable were not immune from conflict over inheritance. When Jeanne de Luxembourg died in 1430, she left what chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet describes as a "great part of her lordships" to her nephew Jean II de Luxembourg, who was the younger brother of Pierre de Luxembourg, count of Brienne and Conversano.[54] These lands included the county of Ligny and several locations in the Cambrai, including a strong castle at Bohain-en-Vermandois.[55] Although Pierre also received an inheritance from her, in the form of the county of Saint-Pol, it seems that he wanted all of her lands and titles, not just a portion. According to Monstrelet, Jeanne's act "was not very pleasing to the count of Conversan, the lord of Enghien, his elder brother, and they had quarrels together."[56] However, "in the end, they reconciled with one another."[57] Indeed, Monstrelet's chronicle shows them working

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[51] Wolters, *Codex diplomaticus Lossensis*, 229.
[52] Wolters, *Codex diplomaticus Lossensis*, 230.
[53] Wolters, *Codex diplomaticus Lossensis*, 229.
[54] Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:402; Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2682, fol. 73r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591670> [accessed 12 June 2015]; Fabien Roucole, "De royale et impériale maison: Les liens de parenté de Jean de Luxembourg, comte de Ligny," in *Familles royales: Vie publique, vie privée aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, ed. Christiane Raynaud (Aix-en-Provence: University of Provence, 2010), 118.
[55] Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:429; Roucole, 118.
[56] Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:402.
[57] Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:402.

together in the development of Pierre's own will and in prosecuting a joint war against the duke of Bar, among other things. Nevertheless, the possession of land, which entailed revenues as well as the title of count of Ligny, was a lure strong enough to cause dissension, even between otherwise harmonious brothers.

Inheritance from a parent or other blood relative was a key vehicle for bringing brothers into conflict over land, but it was not the only one. In the case of John of Gaunt and his youngest brother Thomas, at least according to Froissart's chronicle, the problem was land brought through marriage. In 1373, Thomas married Eleanor, one of the earl of Hereford's two daughters and co-heir of the massive Hereford lands—Froissart describes the earl as "one of the greatest lords and landholders in that country," whose "revenue was valued at fifty thousand nobles a year."[58] Hereford's other daughter was a young, unmarried girl named Mary de Bohun. Froissart writes that Thomas wished Mary to remain unwed, "for then he would have enjoyed the whole of the earl of Hereford's fortune."[59] To further his ambitions, Thomas allegedly took it upon himself to convince Mary to join the Poor Clares, so that she would no longer have a claim on her share of the inheritance. According to Froissart, Thomas instituted a program that amounted to brainwashing: from the time of his marriage until he left for France in 1380, he surrounded Mary with nuns from this order, "who tutored her in matters of religion,

[58] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:623. The episode that follows appears, according to Thomas Johnes, in only one manuscript that he consulted (Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:622), but we know only that it was one of the manuscripts that was destroyed when his home burned on 13 March 1807 (G.A. Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 24 n.6). While it is possible that Johnes invented the scene, I do not consider it likely, as his rendition of the chronicle remains otherwise faithful to extant manuscripts. Holmes holds that this story, as translated by Johnes, has "every appearance of truth" (Holmes, 24 n.6), a confident view that Anthony Goodman critiques even as he finds the broad strokes of the story plausible. See below and Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London; New York: Longman), 275-77.
[59] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:623.

continually blaming the married state."[60]

Thomas was not the only one with designs on Mary's future and her substantial inheritance, however. John of Gaunt thought Mary and her wealth would be suitable for his only surviving son, Henry of Bolingbroke (the future Henry IV), "but he did not take any steps in the matter until his brother of Buckingham [i.e., Thomas, earl of Buckingham at this time] had set out on his expedition to France."[61] He therefore bided his time until the moment Thomas had left, at which point, Froissart alleges that John managed (with the help of the girl's aunt) to convince her to abandon her future as a nun and take up with Henry. Whereupon, at Arundel castle, the marriage took place sometime between 28 July 1380, when the royal patent approving the union was granted, and 6 March 1381, when John's accounts show discharges for expenses incurred for the celebration.[62] Thereupon, "the marriage was instantly consummated between her and Henry of Lancaster."[63]

Froissart ends the episode with an assessment of the brothers' relationship after this point:

> The earl of Buckingham, as I said, had not any inclination to laugh when he heard these tidings; for it would now be necessary to divide an inheritance which he considered wholly as his own… When he learnt that his brothers had all been concerned in this matter, he became melancholy, and never after loved the duke of Lancaster as he had

[60] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:623.
[61] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:623.
[62] Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 276; *Notes and Queries*, ser. 7, vol. 6 (1888): 73, quoting John of Gaunt's register.
[63] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:623-24.

hitherto done.[64]

As Froissart tells it, the matter of land acquired through marriage was an object of desire for both men, but whereas Thomas sought to gain Mary's property by influencing Mary herself, John is portrayed as competing with his brother for it, ultimately resorting to an underhanded scheme in order to attain his ends.

There is reason to doubt Froissart's rendition. He incorrectly states the site of the wedding as Arundel castle, when in fact it took place at Rochford.[65] Mary was not under the care and tutelage of Thomas, as Froissart claims, but rather her own mother Joan, as evidenced by the sums granted to Joan for Mary's upkeep.[66] Since Mary was in Joan's custody and there is no allegation of kidnapping, we must conclude that Joan accepted the marriage, although we cannot know whether she did so out of enthusiasm or necessity.[67] Finally, the complicit aunt who allegedly helped persuade Mary to wed had in fact been dead for about eight years, since 11 January 1372.[68] Yet Goodman argues that Froissart's telling should not be wholly dismissed. Even though some details are inaccurate, Goodman thinks that Froissart probably was right about Thomas' reaction to the news that Mary had wedded Henry of Bolingbroke, because that meant the full Bohun inheritance was beyond his reach.[69]

John and Thomas managed to repair their strained relationship, but the fact of their reconciliation does not change the fact that the Bohun inheritance was a problem for

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[64] Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:624.
[65] Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 276; *Notes and Queries*, 73.
[66] *Notes and Queries*, 73, citing grants made on 7 Nov. 1376 and 10 March 1380.
[67] Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 276.
[68] *Notes and Queries*, 73.
[69] Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 276.

the two brothers.[70] Their quarrel—whether or not it was as dramatic as Froissart portrayed it—demonstrates another of the challenges to cordial relations that brothers faced. Indeed, Froissart's probable exaggerations lend further support to the argument for structural obstacles to fraternal concord. He was writing for an aristocratic audience that would have at least heard about the marriage of Henry of Bolingbroke and Mary de Bohun, and John of Gaunt and Thomas of Gloucester were well known figures in both England and France. Moreover, Froissart carefully noted his sources at several points throughout his chronicle, which indicates that he intended to record true history, at least as he understood it from his witnesses.[71] It is unlikely that Froissart could have, or would have, created the story from whole cloth, meaning that there was at least a rumor of fraternal discord. The idea that brothers might fight over the Bohun lands must have been believable, a possibility if not precisely a reality for John and Thomas. In other words, even when land did not descend through inheritance directly to one of the brothers, but rather came via marriage, friction between brothers might result.

Inheritance clearly was a path to discord between brothers, but appanages arguably created more acute problems because they were allocations of land that occurred during the life of the donor. This meant that the younger brother, the recipient of the appanage, had to rely on the benevolence of the elder brother to receive a good appanage in the first place, and then remained beholden to him for the remainder of his life. While some brothers, like Charles VI of France (d.1422) and Louis of Orléans (d.1407), were

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[70] Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 276. Goodman notes that John and Thomas' reconciliation is suggested by the gifts they exchanged on 1 January 1382, the messenger Thomas sent to John to announce the birth of his son, and the likely presence of John at Thomas' castle of Pleshy for the baptism of his daughter sometime before 6 May 1383.

[71] In the context of this episode, Froissart reminds his audience that he is a credible narrator when he notes that "I resided in England" (trans. Johnes, 1:623). Although he was, with this comment, supporting his assertion that the earl of Hereford was one of the biggest landholders in England, but it would have lent legitimacy to the entire account.

able maintain good relations despite the obvious opportunities for trouble, it was a system almost doomed to create fraternal rivalries.

France's fifteenth-century King Louis XI (1423-83) and his brother Charles of France (1446-72) are a case in point.[72] Their personal relationship does not seem to have involved affection, as too many factors—the great difference in age, Louis' experiences of isolation, disfavor, and exile, the vastly disparate treatment of the two sons by their father Charles VII—militated against Louis' forming a close bond with Charles, or anyone else.[73] Yet the two brothers did not become openly antagonistic until 1465, four years after Charles VII's death left Louis as king of France, when the younger Charles joined a group of disaffected noblemen in what historians call the League of the Public Weal. Although the League's primary aim was to safeguard the kingdom from Louis' attempts to arrogate ever more power to the crown, and thus diminish the nobles' power in their own domains, Charles himself did not become involved in order to make himself king.[74] Indeed, he played a decidedly secondary role behind such men as Duke François II of Brittany and Count Charles of Charolais (the future Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy).[75] Charles of France's overriding concern seems to have been his appanage,

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[72] See Part II for the problems François I and Gilles of Brittany experienced due to the matter of Gilles' appanage.

[73] On the privations of Louis' youth and the difficulties of his young adulthood, see Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: The Universal Spider* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971); Christopher Hare, *The Life of Louis XI: The Rebel Dauphin and The Statesman King* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907); Pierre Champion, *Louis XI*, trans. Winifred Stephens Whale (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1929). Kendall especially makes much of Louis' early years spent in relative isolation at Loches and Amboise while Charles VII's rule trembled on the edge of disaster, as well as Charles' neglect of his son. Cf. Champion, who devotes less than a page to this aspect of Louis' life (43), and does not delve into the dynamics of the father-son relationship.

[74] Philippe Contamine, "The European Nobility," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, VII: c.1415-c.1500*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 99. For the League of the Public Weal, see Jean Favier, *Louis XI* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 447-72; Jacques Heers, *Louis XI* (Paris: Perrin, 1999), 62-67; Henri Stein, *Charles de France, frère de Louis XI* (Paris: A. Picard, 1919), 45-134.

[75] Stein perceives François II duke of Brittany as the true leader and instigator of the League (*Charles de France*, 52).

the land Louis owed to him as the brother of the king.

Charles' first appanage was the duchy of Berry, assigned to him as early as his birth and confirmed by his brother the king, "for the great affection and natural love that we have, as we ought to have, to him," in 1461.[76] Despite the grand terms of Louis' proclamation, which played on ideal brotherhood, Berry was hardly a jewel worth having. It yielded a meager living of only about 900 or 1,000 *l.* per year, and the king reduced that amount further through gifts of rights and revenues drawn from Berry that should have pertained to Charles.[77] Berry's impoverishment gave the masterminds of the League a point of access with the young duke; by early 1465, Charles was pestering his brother for an improvement in his circumstances. Although Louis then granted him a pension of 6,000 *l.* per year, as well as a one-time sum of 10,000 francs, Charles allowed his ambitions to be stoked further by the Leaguers.[78] He began to agitate for the duchy of Normandy, or else the Dauphiné with an annual pension of 60,000 francs.[79]

Charles surely received encouragement in his territorial pretensions from François II of Brittany, who also likely guided his pen in the statements he wrote during the month

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[76] *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1811), 15:208 (hereafter, *Ordonnances*): "pour la grant affection et amour naturelle que avons comme avoir devons à lui." Stein argues convincingly that Charles was duke of Berry from a very early age (*Charles de France*, 25-27), despite Louis' decree of November 1461 stating that "our said late lord and father had not yet made an appanage nor given name or title of lordship to our very dear and beloved brother Charles of France" (*Ordonnances*, 15:208). Stein suggests that, while Charles was known as duke prior to 1461, he may not have gained the rights to the duchy until Louis' order, at which time Charles was nearly 15 years old.
[77] Stein, *Charles de France*, 37.
[78] By the later Middle Ages, the *livre tournois* had supplanted the *livre parisis*, so that Charles' pension must have been calculated in *livres tournois* (Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), 172). The franc was minted from the 1360s to 1380s, and during most of that time, it was equivalent in value to the *livre tournois*. Even after it was no longer struck and had fallen from circulation, the term "franc" was used interchangeably with *livre tournois* (Spufford, *Handbook*, 191). The two values here, therefore, were in the same currency, but I have retained the different terms to remain faithful to the sources. For the pension, see Joseph Frédéric Louis Vaesen, ed., *Lettres de Louis XI* (Paris: Renouard, 1885), 2:231. The additional sum appears in a list of points published by Louis' propagandists in 1465 (Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire écclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris: Osmont, 1746, 3:94). (Hereafter, *Preuves*.)
[79] *Preuves*, 3:95.

of March 1465. On 3 March, Charles undertook a daring escape from Louis' entourage, fleeing to François' court, and within days, he sent a letter to the duke of Bourbon explaining the reasons why something had to be done about the direction of the kingdom of France.[80] No mention of the appanage question appears in this document, in a letter to the duke of Burgundy, in a manifesto written later in the month, or in Réné of Anjou's report on negotiations conducted with the Leaguers in late March.[81]

However, a manifesto published by King Louis strongly suggests that land and a living—not the public good or high politics—were first among Charles' concerns.[82] From beginning to end, Louis' manifesto hammers the theme of Charles' appanage: how Louis granted Charles the duchy of Berry, how he heard Charles was discontent so moved immediately to make him happy, how he wanted to give Charles "so good and so great and notable an appanage and share of land as ever a brother of the king of France had, and still much larger," how he was willing to forgive all and work on the matter of Charles' appanage if Charles would only quit the League.[83] While Charles of France did not possess any real political power at this time, his symbolic capital as brother to the king meant that he was a prize for whichever side he chose; this was why the League's leaders wooed him, and it was why Louis needed to win him back. Louis chose land as the appropriate bait because he knew his brother would respond to it, which suggests that

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[80] For the story of Charles' flight, see Stein, *Charles de France* 56-57. Stein summarizes the points Charles made on p. 60, and a transcription of the document from the BnF appears at the end of the volume (518-19, no. 3).

[81] Charles' letter to Bourbon dated 13 March, Stein, *Charles de France*, 518-19, no. 3; Charles' letter to Burgundy dated 16 March, Denys Godefroy, ed. *Mémoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, seigneur d'Argenton* (London; Paris: Rollin, 1747), 2:437-38 (hereafter, Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*); Charles' manifesto dated 19 March, Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*, 2:438-39; Réné d'Anjou's report dated 1 April 1465, Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*, 2:445-52.

[82] For the letter to Burgundy, see Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*, 2:437-38. For Charles' manifesto, see Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*, 2:438-39. Both Morice and Stein place the manifesto in 1465, although there is not a date indicated within the document itself. Stein specifies that it appeared in the spring (*Charles de France*, 65).

[83] The manifesto appears in *Preuves*, 3:93-96, with the quotation appearing at pg. 96.

it was a primary source of Charles' discontent, even superseding the concerns he voiced in his early publications.

The War of the Public Weal continued throughout the summer and autumn of 1465 and occasioned several attempts to end the hostilities, both diplomatically and militarily. By the beginning of May, Louis had invaded Berry, clearly seeking to hit his brother where it hurt most. Louis' success brought the Leaguers to the negotiating table at Saint-Florent-le-Vieil later that month, where they included a new appanage for Charles of France among their demands.[84] Thereafter, land for Charles was a regular item on the rebels' diplomatic agenda.[85] Stein asserts that Charles of Charolais, François II, and the other leaders continued to push the matter of the appanage as a delaying tactic—they knew Louis would reject their demands—which would give them more time to organize their own forces.[86] Even if they were merely using Charles and his interests to advance their aims vis-à-vis the crown, two facts remain: Louis sought to appease Charles with land grants, and Charles was content to be so appeased. In other words, land was the issue that divided the two brothers.

The aftermath of the later treaty of Conflans is illustrative. On 5 October 1465, Louis agreed to a host of demands put forth by the leaders of the League, among which

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[84] Stein, *Charles de France*, 68.

[85] Charles de Charolais brought up Normandy as an appropriate appanage during a private negotiating session with Louis on 9 September 1465, and it was an official demand in the long list (121 folios according to contemporary Jean Maupoint) presented to Louis a few days later on 12 September. Lords of the League camped outside Paris at the end of September made it clear to the king that, in the wake of the recent fall of Rouen to the League, "my lord Charles, brother of the king, who formerly had been contented with Champagne and Brie [as appanage], would have no other appanage than the duchy of Normandy" (Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye, connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse*, ed. Bernard de Mandrot (Paris: Renouard, 1894), 1:120). For the 9 September private conference, see Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, ed. Bernard de Mandrot (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1901), 1:81 (hereafter, *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot). For the demands of 12 September, see Jean Maupoint, *Journal parisien de Jean Maupoint, prieur de Sainte-Catherine-de-la-Couture*, ed. Gustav Fagniez (Paris: Champion, 1878), 75.

[86] Stein, *Charles de France*, 68.

was the duchy of Normandy for Charles' appanage. Louis, having been defeated at the Battle of Montlhéry in July 1465, had little choice but to sign the document, but whatever his motivation, Charles seems to have been delighted that he finally possessed a province with enough revenue to support him properly. Even before the treaty was registered in Parlement, he began using the title of "duke of Normandy" and exercising his ducal rights. A quittance dated 10 October was given to the "receiver of the *taille* … in the viscounty of Caen for the duke of Normandy and Berry," and another quittance of 24 October was given to a man acting for "the duke of Normandy and Berry."[87] On the same day that Charles and the other Leaguers signed the treaty of Saint-Maur, which essentially reiterated the terms of Conflans, he gave official notice to the inhabitants of Berry that he was quitclaiming the duchy and it would henceforward belong to the king.[88] Wasting no time, he swore faith and homage the following day to Louis for the duchy Normandy.[89]

The peace of Conflans and Saint-Maur was short-lived, however. Even as Louis was agreeing to the treaties, he protested the loss of Normandy before Parlement.[90] He saw the opportunity to correct the situation when Charles, naively, wrote to his brother a month later of the difficulties he was having with the management of his new duchy. Reportedly, Louis' immediate response was to remark, "I believe that it will be necessary for me to retake my duchy of Normandy. It will be necessary for me to go rescue my

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[87] See Stein, *Charles de France*, 126 n.1, who quotes from Paris, BnF ms. fr. 26090, nos. 432 and 437, respectively.
[88] *Ordonnances*, 16:397-98. The treaty of Saint-Maur was signed on 29 October.
[89] *Ordonnances*, 16:396-97. Charles followed his oath of 30 October with another one on 2 November, made to Louis' representative Guillaume Jouvenal des Ursins, in which Charles swore to maintain the new peace established by the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur (*Preuves*, 3:112).
[90] Frederic Léonard, ed., *Traitez, Recueil des traitez de paix, de trêve, de confédération, et de commerce* (Paris: publisher unidentified, 1693), 1:74.

brother."[91]

Louis began to undermine Charles' rule, allowing the Bretons to maintain control over places they had conquered in Normandy during the War of the Public Weal and sending troops from the *arrière-ban* of Poitou and the Dauphiné, called up on 3 December, into Normandy.[92] He concluded a defensive treaty with his former enemy, François II of Brittany, on 23 December.[93] Meanwhile, town after town in Normandy abandoned the duke in favor of the king, some undoubtedly motivated by the news that royal officers were hunting down and executing Charles' administrative staff.[94]

Charles was not an astute politician, but he recognized that his brother Louis was about to oust him from his hard-won appanage. In early January 1466, he dispatched envoys to Louis' court in an effort to prevent this inevitability, and it is clear from his instructions that they were to use ideal brotherhood as a tool to accomplish this goal. Charles reinforced his own image as a dutiful brother throughout the document, beginning with the first item that the envoys were to address. They were to tell Louis:

> the thing in the world that my lord [Charles] desires most is to be and remain in the good grace of the king, to do always the things that would be pleasing and agreeable to him, and with all his power—as much of body and goods as of all his

[91] Maupoint, *Journal*, 96: "Je croy que il me faulra reprenre ma duché de Normandie. Il me fault aler secourir mon frere." Jean Maupoint recorded that Louis said "these words or similar" (*Journal*, 96). Maupoint (d. 1474) was prior of St. Catherine-de-la-Couture in Paris (also called St. Catherine-du-Val-des-Ecoliers) from 1437 to 1469. His sources for his *Journal* were his own observations and the eyewitness of others, including his teacher at the University of Paris, Thomas de Courcelles, who attended the negotiations with members of the League of the Public Weal (G. Fagniez, "Introduction" to *Journal parisien de Jean Maupoint*, 11).
[92] Stein, *Charles de France*, 150.
[93] Stein, *Charles de France*, 152.
[94] For the loss of Norman towns, see Stein, *Charles de France*, 156. Charles' finance general, Jean Le Boursier, was captured and drowned in late 1465, and Gauvain Mauviel, lieutenant bailiff of Rouen, was beheaded on 3 February 1466 at Pont-de-l'Arche. His head was displayed on a stake on the bridge. See Stein, *Charles de France*, 161-62.

> lands and subjects—to honor, serve, and obey him very humbly as his very humble brother, subject, and servant, and as he is held to do to his leader and his sovereign lord.[95]

This rhetoric repeats nearly verbatim in the latter part of the instructions, when Charles assures Louis that if the king accepts his offer to submit to arbitration, he "will find my lord [Charles] his very humble brother, subject, and servant as long as he lives, ready and desiring to serve, honor, and obey him, as his leader and his sovereign lord."[96] The fact that this language was formulaic does not necessarily negate its meaning or impact, particularly in the context of the tension simmering between the two brothers. Whether or not Charles wanted Louis to read an undercurrent of reproof in the ambassadors' instructions, the use of this language points to the sway of ideal brotherhood in aristocratic society.

Charles' instructions to his envoys also highlighted, first subtly and then in the strongest of terms, Louis' failure to behave as a good brother should. He noted the violence that Louis' troops had visited upon his subjects in Normandy and remarked that, last he knew, relations between himself and Louis had been cordial. Insisting that he "never did or had any intention of doing anything that might turn [Louis] to displeasure," he declared that he did not understand Louis' hostility toward him, especially since the

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[95] Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac, ed., *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrites de la Bibliothèque royale et des archives ou des bibliothèques des départements* (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1843), 2:410 no.119 (hereafter, *Documents historiques inédits*): "la chose du monde que mondit seigneur désire plus, c'est d'estre et demourer en la bonne grâce du roy, faire tousjours choses qui luy soient plaisans et agréables, et de toute sa puissance, tant de corps, de biens, que de tous ses pays et subgetz, le honnorer, servir, et obéir très humblement comment son très humble frère, subjet et serviteur, et comme il est tenu de faire à son chief et son souverain seigneur."

[96] "Instructions des négociateurs envoyés au roi par le duc de Normandie," *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:415 no. 119 : "le roy trouvera mondit seigneur, tant qu'il vivra, son très humble frère, subjet et serviteur, prest et désirant de le servir, honnorer et obéir, comme son chief et son souverain."

assignment of Normandy to him had been "solemnly consented, authorized, and approved by the good pleasure of the king, by the counsel and consent of all the princes, the men of the great council, and several notable men of the realm, by the court of Parlement, by the *chambre des comptes*."[97] The strong implication was that Louis was behaving unreasonably and unfairly as a sovereign as well as a brother, which Charles made explicit when he wrote "the king ought to think that [Charles] is not his enemy, but his only brother, his subject, and his servant."[98]

Louis was not moved by Charles' approach. Indeed, as the Milanese ambassador Panigarola wrote on 26 January 1466, since Louis was no longer threatened by the amassed baronage of the League, "his thought was to accord to Charles of France a good pension without any territorial domain nor appanage of any sort."[99] According to Panigarola, Louis did, however, elect to submit to arbitration, although this likely was a maneuver meant to smooth any ruffled feathers among the magnates who might have been threatened by his blatant interference in Normandy, against his own brother of all people.[100]

Louis then set about convincing the chosen arbitrator, Charles of Charolais, why Normandy was an inappropriate appanage, and he included remarks meant to highlight his own fraternal goodwill and Charles of France's many shortcomings. Louis began by establishing his good conduct, instructing his envoys to tell Charolais

> how the king, from the time when he came to the crown,

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[97] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:411 no. 119.
[98] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:415 no. 119 : "le roy doibt penser que ce n'est pas son ennemi, mais son seul frère, son subjet et son serviteur."
[99] Panigarola's letter is translated in Stein, *Charles de France*, 170, and quoted in the original Italian from Paris, BnF ms. italien 1593 fol. 223 in Stein, *Charles de France*, 170 n.3.
[100] Stein, *Charles de France*, 170.

> had great and perfect love for my lord his brother, and desired his good and advancement as if he had been his own child, which he showed well in this way: because soon after his coronation, he gave to my lord his brother the title, name, and lordship of the duchy of Berry with good and honest pension and estate separately; because he was still only aged 14 years, this will be found never to have been done to any other royal brother at so young an age.[101]

Louis wanted Charolais to understand clearly that he had been demonstrably, even excessively, generous, a point reinforced by his further claim that, when informed that Charles wanted a bigger pension, he immediately gave him one.[102] When Charles still was displeased with his living, Louis gave him three options for ameliorating his circumstances, but "nevertheless all were refused on the part of my lord Charles."[103] In this narrative, Louis was the ideal elder brother: supportive, generous, loving. Charles, on the other hand, was greedy, selfish, and as Louis was about to argue, disrespectful and disobedient toward his elder.

According to Louis, Charles began demanding Guyenne or Normandy as his appanage, and indeed "without the consent and counsel of the said lords [the king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, and the duke of Maine], nor the title, leave, or permission of

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[101] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:425 no. 124 : "comment le roy, dès le temps qu'il vint à la couronne, avoit grant et parfaicte amour à mondit seigneur son frère, et désiroit son bien et avancement autant qu'il eust fait pour son propre enfant, et le luy monstra bien par effect : car tantost après son sacre, il bailla à mondit seigneur son frère le tiltre, nom et seigneurie de la duchié de Berry avecques bonne et honneste pencion et estat à part; posé qu'il ne fust encores que en l'aage de XIIII ans, ce qui jamais ne sera trouvé avoir esté fait à nul autre frère de roy, en si jeune aage."
[102] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:426 no. 124.
[103] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:426 no. 124.

the king, on his own authority he entitled himself duke of Normandy."[104] Indeed, as Louis framed it, Charles demanded that "he wanted to have his duchy of Normandy, and that he would be duke of Normandy and that the king would make it so, and that he would not be content with any other appanage."[105] Whether this statement was meant to convey Charles' petulance or arrogance, the effect would have been the same: Charles was overstepping himself. Despite Louis' attempts to provide for his younger brother, with a more extensive living than any other royal brother still in his minority ever had enjoyed, he could not satisfy Charles' greed.

Over the next several weeks, Louis and Charles took part in negotiations on the matter of Charles' appanage. Both parties presented various proposals, but after Louis declined Charles' final offer, the rebuffed younger brother retired to Vannes in Brittany.[106] Charles was, in essence, a refugee, but he was not without resources or friends. François II, a major force in the League of the Public Weal, gave asylum to Charles and granted him a pension of 3,000 *écus*, which augmented the 4,000 *l.* pension that Charles was still, curiously, receiving from the king's treasury.[107] Stein suggests that the royal pension was "granted to him out of habit," but it is more likely that Louis wanted to maintain Charles' dependence on him in an attempt to prevent another rebellion.[108] For the same reason, Louis continued negotiations with Charles despite the

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[104] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:427 no. 124.
[105] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:427 no. 124.
[106] Charles proposed the Dauphiné with 60,000 *l.* as pension (rejected by Louis as too near his current and potential enemies); Louis counteroffered the Valentinois and Montélimar (rejected by Charles as beneath his dignity), then Roussillon (rejected by Charles as too difficult to control and too far away from his friends); Charles' final request was either Berry, Poitou, and Saintonge, or Berry, Champagne, and Vermandois. See Stein, *Charles de France*, 177-78, 183.
[107] Stein, *Charles de France*, 183, citing *Preuves*, 3:146; Stein, *Charles de France*, 188, citing Paris, BnF ms. fr. 32511 fol. 281, 284. At an exchange rate current in the 1460s, 1 *écu* was worth approximately 1.5 *l. tournois*. The 3,000 *écu* pension thus was worth 4,500 *l. tournois*. See Spufford, *Handbook*, 192-93.
[108] Stein, *Charles de France*, 188.

latter's recalcitrance.[109] He also made it known that he wanted Charles to leave Brittany and the influence of François II; he could go to Lorraine or elsewhere outside the French realm, as he liked, and Louis would pay his way.[110]

Charles rejected Louis' latest offer out of hand and declined the request to leave Brittany, but only after repeating that "the thing in the world that we most desire is to serve him [Louis] and obey him very humbly and to be and remain in his good grace, as his very humble brother, subject, and servant."[111] Like his brother, Charles did not want to cut ties altogether, but neither did he want to get too close. His apparently roundabout refusal, combined with his choice to seek refuge outside of the French realm, suggests that Charles was afraid of Louis. Despite Louis' protests that he really was a good brother, it seems that Charles had some doubts on that score.

Negotiations continued to stall over the following months, and as each brother jockeyed for alliances with Burgundy, Brittany, and Foix, among others, outright war seemed imminent.[112] Although Charles still held nominal control of Normandy, Louis was the de facto power by means of the troops he had stationed there. It was this situation that Charles was attempting to remedy when he and François sent a force of Bretons into Normandy in October 1467. Nearly a year later, representatives from each party brokered a compromise that satisfied no one, but ended open hostilities. The Treaty of Ancenis, concluded on 10 September 1468, addressed "the appeasement of the differences that move at present between the king, on one hand, and my lord his brother and the duke [of

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[109] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:443 no. 127. Louis again offered Roussillon, this time with a pension of 60,000 *écus* to be drawn on the revenues of Languedoc.
[110] *Preuves*, 3:128.
[111] *Documents historiques inédits*, 2:443-44 no. 127.
[112] Stein, *Charles de France*, 204-08.

Brittany] on the other."[113] It established a panel of arbitrators who would choose an appropriate appanage within a year, during which time Louis would support Charles with quarterly payments totaling 60,000 *l*.[114] The fact that nearly half of the text deals directly with Charles' appanage shows how deeply the issue of land was wedged between the two brothers.

At this point, regional politics intervened in the brothers' dispute. Charles of Charolais, who was attempting to increase Burgundy's power at the crown's expense, knew that Charles of France could provide a means to that end if the king could be induced to provide the right appanage. Through trickery, Charolais imprisoned King Louis and forced him to accede to the extensive Treaty of Péronne (9 October 1468). Part of the agreement was to provide Charles of France with Champagne and Brie as his appanage, in exchange for Normandy.[115] Given the proximity of Champagne and Brie to Burgundian territory, this measure would have placed Charles of France within his friend Charolais' sphere of influence and protection.[116] The chronicler Philippe de Commines observes that Louis "did not at all want his brother and the duke [of Burgundy] so near neighbors;" any closeness between them presented perhaps a greater threat to the security of his rule and realm than had his brother's connection with more distant, and less powerful, Brittany.[117] Unsatisfied with the Péronne treaty he had been forced to sign, Louis decided to offer his brother Guyenne with the city of La Rochelle as an

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[113] *Preuves*, 3:189.
[114] *Preuves*, 3:188-91.
[115] Stein, *Charles de France*, 254; Commynes, ed. Mandrot, 1:149. Mandrot notes that, while no such clause was included in the original treaty, both Commynes and Olivier de La Marche attested to it, indicating that "It was the object without doubt of a distinct act" (1:149 n.1). Both Commynes and de La Marche were present at Péronne (*Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:148 n.1 and 1:149 n.2).
[116] Stein, *Charles de France*, 255.
[117] *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:173.

appanage.[118]

Even politically dim Charles knew that Guyenne would be a difficult province to control, and it was far from his friends and supporters. Moreover, if he accepted, he would risk alienating one of his strongest allies in Charles of Charolais. Louis probably offered the duchy for these very reasons, but he knew it would be a hard sell. Thus Louis sought to win over Charles' advisers, starting with Oudet de Rye, whom he cajoled with sweet nothings about how "they would be good friends and that they would live as brothers."[119] Here, Louis was trading on the currency of ideal brotherhood, with its loyalty, amity, and support, rather than the stormy performance he and Charles had been enacting since at least 1465.[120] Lest Oudet have any lingering doubts, Louis added further enticement, telling him that "there would be profit to him and his servants, and especially to him."[121] With these backroom tactics, and despite similar efforts on Charolais' part to halt the king's agenda, Louis won his brother's assent, and they signed a treaty exchanging Normandy for Guyenne and La Rochelle in April 1469.[122] Thus ended the conflict over Charles' appanage.

As with the other brothers discussed in this section, land was the major impediment to cordial fraternal relations between Louis and Charles, at least at this stage in their lives. The status and wealth that came with control of land provided strong

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[118] *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:173.
[119] *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:174: "qu'ilz fussent bons amys et qu'ilz vesquissent comme freres."
[120] See Chapter One.
[121] *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:174.
[122] *Commynes*, ed. Mandrot, 1:174; Godefroy, ed., *Mémoires de Comines*, 3:93-96. Charles de Charolais had Guillaume de Haraucourt, bishop of Verdun, on his side, who allegedly told Charles de France that "he should take [the appanage] of Champagne so that they [i.e., Charles and Charles] might be joined together, … in order to hold the king in subjection" ("Interrogation of Jean Balue," in Henri Forgeot, *Jean Balue, cardinal d'Angers* (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1865), 214). Balue himself, one of Louis' counselors who fell out of favor after Péronne, secretly began to work for Charolais and added his voice to those trying to persuade Charles de France to insist on Champagne and Brie. He testified later that "he said to him [i.e., Charles de France] that if he had Champagne, the king would fear him; and that if he was in Guyenne, he would fear the king" (Forgeot, 215).

incentives for men to seek it. Moreover, the strictures of inheritance customs, in which elder brothers' shares were larger and more prestigious than those of cadets, seemed to force men to choose between their brothers and their own ambitions. Those who opted to challenge their brothers could employ peaceful means, such as strategic marriages, litigation, or diplomacy, or they might turn to the violence of war to achieve their ends. Either way, the animosity that arose between brothers over the issue of landholding ran in direct contravention of the ideals of brotherhood, and the surviving evidence shows that brothers themselves understood this well.

Chasing Influence and Prestige

Closely tied to the thrones and lands over which brothers struggled were influence (the power to sway others) and prestige (respected standing among one's peers), understood broadly as political, military, and social. The licit acquisition of a throne or land could raise one's profile in his (or her) community, region, kingdom, and beyond. A man might gain influence and prestige in other ways as well, such as through feats of arms or stints of military command, which necessarily put him in competition with other men.[123] Even brothers who generally enjoyed cordial relations were not immune to tensions resulting from the lure of elevated prestige and influence.

King Charles II of Navarre (1332-87) and Count Philippe of Longueville (1336-

[123] For example, John Holland (half-brother of Richard II) built a prestigious reputation on his prowess at tournaments in France. See Michael M.N. Stansfield, "The Hollands, Dukes of Exeter, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352-1475" (Ph.D. dissertation, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1987), 77, 88. Froissart describes the March 1390 tournament of St. Inglevert (near Calais), in which Holland participated, in extensive detail in Book IV of his chronicle; see Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 42r-58r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 17 May 2015], and London, British Library Royal ms. 18 E II, fol. 50v-70r, reproduction at the British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_18_e_ii_fs001r> [accessed 17 May 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:434-46.

63) are a case in point. Until the late 1350s, the two brothers presented a united front. The anonymous author of the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* writes that Charles and Philippe together engaged in "much dissension at the court of the king of France" against the constable, Charles de la Cerda, with Philippe and the constable particularly vigorous in their enmity.[124] Philippe even went so far as to draw his dagger in French king Jean II's presence and had to be restrained by the Jean himself.[125] Charles and Philippe left the French court together and conspired in the assassination of the French constable Charles de La Cerda in 1354.[126]

When Charles II was captured by the French in 1356, Philippe remained loyal to his brother's cause, continuing to fight the French and "govern[ing] all the lands of the king his brother."[127] Charles II's difficulties with King Jean II of France stemmed from his inheritance of much of Normandy, and from his predilection for stirring up trouble between Jean and the dauphin, the future Charles V. Once Charles II fell into Jean's hands in 1356, Philippe chose to seek military support from Jean's great enemy, King Edward III of England. He renounced his fealty to Jean and swore new oaths to Edward.[128]

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[124] *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, 25-26.
[125] *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, 25-26.
[126] *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, 26, 28. While the anonymous chronicler places the bulk of the blame on Philippe's shoulders, Froissart seems to indict the brothers equally, citing them as Jean II's "cousins of Navarre" in his list of culpable parties (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "London Arundel 67 (vol. 1)," ed. Godfried Croenen , in *The Online Froissart*, fol. 363r, and Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Chicago f.37 (vol. 1)," ed. Croenen in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 140v).
[127] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Chicago f.37 (vol. 1)," ed. Croenen, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 176r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:255. The escapades of Charles and Philippe appear most completely in the so-called "C" version of Book I: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms. f37, although parts of it are contained in New York, Morgan Library, ms. M.804 and BnF ms. fr. 2663.
[128] Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventions, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae*, 3rd edition (The Hague: Joannem Neaulme, 1711), 3:128-29; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 274.

In November 1357, after nineteen months of incarceration, Charles managed to escape and was reunited with Philippe. They waged war together on the dauphin, but Charles soon saw their enterprise as futile and signed a peace treaty in late summer 1359 that restored the status quo ante 1356.[129] At this point, relations between the two brothers broke down, as Philippe strongly objected to his brother's decision. According to Froissart, Philippe

> said to the king, his brother, that he was enchanted and was seriously breaking faith with the king of England, to whom he had been allied, and whom he had always aided in prosecuting his war. So the said lord Philippe of Navarre left in great irritation with his brother, with only four [men], and rode as quickly as he could to Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte and stayed there, where there was an English garrison. And there was a captain…, a knight of England who was called lord Thomas d'Angourne, who received the lord Philippe of Navarre with great joy and said that he had acquitted himself well and loyally before the king of England.[130]

Froissart would have his readers believe that a sense of honor and loyalty drove

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[129] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 420-21.

[130] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 216v: "dist au roy, son frere, qu'il estoit tout enchanté et desloyautoit au roy d'Angleterre avecques qui il estoit aliéz, lequel l'avoit tousjours si loyaument aidié a faire sa guerre. Si se parti le dit messire Phelippe du roy, son frere, par maltalent, lui IIIIe tant seulement et chevaucha devers Saint Sauveur le Viconte et la se bouta, car c'estoit garnison anglesche et en estoit cappitaine un chevalier anglois qui s'appelloit monseigneur Thomas Dagorne, qui receut a grant joye le dit monseigneur Phelippe et dist qu'il s'acquictoit loyaument devers le roy anglois"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:259.

Philippe's actions, but the chronicler's interest in promoting chivalric values may have led him to embroider the event. Surviving documents suggest that Philippe's motivation was somewhat less virtuous. On 28 October 1359, shortly after his outburst and departure, Edward III renewed Philippe's commission as lieutenant and captain in Normandy, a post he had occupied since changing to the English side in 1356.[131] This appointment came with wide authority to render justice and muster and lead armies, both of which could be very lucrative. Aside from the financial rewards, the prestige of the lieutenancy was not insignificant, and must have been attractive to Philippe. Since Charles was in prison at that point in 1356, Philippe's appointment as Edward III's right hand in Normandy gave him a title and codified his status as the most important man in the duchy.

Given the generous terms he received for changing to the English side in 1356, Philippe may well have anticipated a long leash from the distant English monarch. At that time, he was promised that any Norman lands formerly belonging to himself or Charles would revert to his control, and that he could keep anything he conquered up to the value of 60,000 *écus* annually, which Sumption describes as "an enormous sum."[132] Even Henry duke of Lancaster, a major figure in Edward III's court and council, was commanded to assist Philippe in Normandy.[133] Philippe's defection to England in 1356 therefore manifestly increased his influence, prestige, and financial prospects. Even though he discovered early on that he would not, in fact, be able to rule Normandy as he pleased without English interference, the lure of the power he did wield as an English

[131] The first appointment was made on 30 October 1356 (Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:130), and it was renewed on 20 December 1357 (Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:161). The third renewal in 1359 included Thomas Holland as co-lieutenant and co-captain (Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:188).
[132] Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:128-29; Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 274.
[133] Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:130.

collaborator may have been the deciding factor in his choice to forsake his brother in 1359.[134]

The prospect of expanded influence and greater prestige also marks the case of Louis I of Anjou, Jean of Berry, and Philippe of Burgundy, all brothers of King Charles V of France (1338-80). During his reign, Charles had made extensive use of his brothers in governing his kingdom, which Graeme Small credits with reviving the authority of the French crown.[135] In this way, and probably through the force of his personality as well, Charles was able to curb any overweening ambitions and settle any internecine quarrels the brothers might have had. However, Froissart records that as Charles neared death, he recognized that the realm was at risk. His heir, Charles VI, was only eleven years old, which meant that the dying king had to entrust the kingdom to a regent.

Froissart writes that Charles "commanded all three of his brothers in whom he had the greatest confidence, [Jean] the duke of Berry, [Philippe] the duke of Burgundy, and [Louis II] the duke of Bourbon, and left out his second brother, that is [Louis I] the duke of Anjou, because he perceived him [to be] covetous."[136] The old king asked Jean, Philippe, and Louis II to be co-regents for the young Charles VI, and provided detailed instructions regarding the boy's upbringing and marriage, as well as policies for the realm. Froissart then reiterates that Charles wanted Louis excluded from direct control of the government "because he had strong doubts about him and perceived him [to be]

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[134] For Philip's difficulties with English oversight, see Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 276-77.
[135] Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 127. See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion of Charles' relationship with his brothers.
[136] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Hartley Miller and Godfried Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 43v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:615-16.

covetous."[137]

Charles' alleged act of exclusion would have been very damaging for Louis. Had it been successful, Louis would have suffered an enormous loss of prestige, having been embarrassed before his brothers and the rest of the French nobility. It might have limited Louis' ambitions abroad as well—he had just been named heir to the kingdom of Naples and county of Provence, but the Neapolitan realm was in a state of unrest and his succession there would require substantial financial backing for a military intervention.[138] Without access to the highest level of power, there was no guarantee that Louis could continue to levy the royal taxes on Anjou and Languedoc that had supported him to that point.[139] Moreover, exclusion from the regency would have limited his influence and prestige at court, while his younger brothers would have gained a great deal as regents.

In Froissart's rendition, Louis did not have to suffer this demotion and embarrassment, thanks to intelligence provided by a network of informants.[140] Froissart writes that, "As soon as his brother the duke of Anjou knew that his [i.e., Charles'] eyes were closed, he seized all the jewels of the king his brother, which were numberless, and put them all in a safe place in order to keep them to himself, and hoped that they would be useful for his voyage that he planned to take [to Italy]."[141] In Froissart's narrative, the Neapolitan throne clearly was foremost in Louis' mind, but the duke also was not content

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[137] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 44r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:616.
[138] Small, *Late Medieval France*, 138; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 393-94, 438-41.
[139] Small, *Late Medieval France*, 124-25.
[140] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 44r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:616.
[141] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 45r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:617.

to leave France to his brothers. The chronicler writes, "And I told you how the king Charles, on his deathbed, had ordered his other brothers to have the government of the realm of France, above the duke of Anjou, but this was not done at all. Because [Louis] immediately took possession and ruled above all."[142] Although he was willing to allow Charles VI to be crowned king, Louis "wanted to have the government of the realm, as much as the others or more, since he was [now] the eldest."[143]

Yet, although Louis' heavy-handed behavior in the weeks following Charles' death might have touched off a conflict among all the brothers, Froissart claims that Jean and Philippe followed along without complaint. They did not force Louis to return the treasury items he had stolen, valued at 32,000 francs, which Charles had designated for charitable purposes.[144] Nor did they protest against Louis' assuming the chief role among Charles VI's regents; Froissart suggests that they were too afraid to cause trouble ("none in the realm dared or wanted to dispute his plans").[145]

Louis' conflict, in Froissart's version of events, was with his dead brother, apparently in spite of their long history of cooperation and mutual support, and in spite of a strong cultural habit of respecting the dead.[146] Thirteen years after Charles V's death,

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[142] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 45r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:617..

[143] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 45r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:618.

[144] "Letter of Charles VI, 6 March 1393," transcribed by Siméon Luce from AN JJ 147 fol. 144 no. 279 in idem, "Louis, duc d'Anjou, s'est-il approprié, après la mort de Charles V, une partie du trésor lassé par le roi son frère?" *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 36 (1875): 299-303, at 302. As noted above, the term "franc" was synonymous with *livre tournois* by this period. See Spufford, *Handbook*, 191.

[145] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2014], fol. 45r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:618.

[146] See Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leerdam, eds., *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge:

his son Charles VI decreed that 500 francs per month should be allocated from his own income to pay the sum that Louis I had embezzled, in order that his father's will might be fulfilled.[147] Siméon Luce asserts that this decree "is a monument to the filial piety of Charles VI,"[148] but it is notable only in terms of its size and the delay in initiation; the nobility regularly endowed masses or made donations to churches in memory of their deceased loved ones. The salient point here is that, in Froissart's rendition, Louis was willing to disregard the wishes of his dead brother, with whom he had closely collaborated throughout his lifetime, for the sake of power.

This is a gripping story, although perhaps not quite an accurate one. Charles had established the identity and duties of the regent in October 1374, several years prior to his death. On account of "his great goodwill, sense, and valor, as well as for the singular, perfect, loyal, and true love that he has always had for us and our children," Charles chose Louis I to be the sole regent for young Charles and his other children.[149] Per the documentary record, Louis clearly was to be included in the government following Charles' death, but that may have changed by autumn 1380.

Whether or not Froissart was right about the attempted exclusion of Louis, Charles' decision to elevate Louis above the other brothers was not without problems. Youngest brother Philippe and brother-in-law Louis II were designated "tutors and

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Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Remembering the Dead at Dinner-Time," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[147] Charles VI put his monthly income at 10,000 francs ("Letter of Charles VI, 6 March 1393," in Luce, "Louis, duc d'Anjou," 302). He did not specify in the testament which charity would benefit from his monthly distribution, saying only that the sum should be paid to a member of his treasury, who would distribute it according to instructions he would receive from counselors Jehan Canart (bishop of Arras), Philippe de Savoisi (knight and chamberlain), Jehan Creté and Jehan de Vaudetar (accountants), the executors of Charles V's will, and others Charles VI had specified in a previous letter ("Letter of Charles VI, 6 March 1393,"in Luce, "Louis, duc d'Anjou," 303-04).

[148] Luce, "Louis, duc d'Anjou," 301.

[149] *Ordonnances*, 6:46: "pour le grant bien, sens & vaillance de luy, comme pour la très-singuliere, parfaitte loyal & vraye amour qu'il a toujourz eu à Nous & à noz Enfanz."

governors of our children,"[150] and the king named Philippe as second-in-line to be regent.[151] But Philippe and Louis II seem to have objected to their subordinate role, which afforded them less control over the governance of the realm. The official royal history, the *Grandes chroniques de France*, records that there was dissension between "the duke of Anjou on one hand [and the dukes] of Burgundy and Bourbon on the other, [who] were not fully in agreement on the aforesaid ordinance."[152]

The tension increased after Charles V died in September 1380. Philippe and Louis II were relegated to the sidelines as tutors of the royal minor children, while Louis I ran the kingdom as regent. Louis even attempted to extend his sway by merging the position of tutor with his own, as a clerk's note in the Parlement's register reveals.[153] In opposition, Jean of Berry joined former malcontents Philippe and Louis II in arguing that power ought to be balanced among the surviving brothers. Thus, regardless of the precise moment and catalyst of their disagreement, the three brothers of Charles V fell into discord over the matter of who would exercise power in France as regent and gain the influence and prestige that went with that office.

In both cases discussed here, the brothers managed to resolve their differences. Philippe and Charles patched up their spat by 1360, when Philippe renounced his homage to Edward III and began once again to act on his elder brother's behalf.[154] The surviving

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[150] *Ordonnances*, 6:50
[151] *Ordonnances*, 6:48.
[152] Roland Delachenal, ed., *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V* (Paris: Renouard, 1916), 2:385.
[153] The note was dated 2 October 1380 (*Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, 2:385 n. 2).
[154] Philippe stood in for Charles at the signing of the treaty of Calais on 24 October 1360 (D. Secousse, ed., *Recueil de pièces servant de preuves au Mémoires sur les troubles excités par Charles II, dit le Mauvais, roi de Navarre et comte d'Evreux* (Paris: Durand, 1755), 172-76, esp. 175; Edmond Meyer, *Charles II, roi de Navarre, comte d'Evreux et la Normandie au XIVe siècle* (Paris: E. Dumont, 1898), 147). In an act of 30 September 1360, Edward III appointed Thomas Holland as sole lieutenant and captain in Normandy and

brothers of King Charles V reached a compromise, wherein they decided that, "in order to nourish good peace and union between the king our lord and his uncles, … the realm should be governed in [Charles VI's] name by the counsel and advice of his uncles."[155] But the return of fraternal harmony does not negate the fact that there was dissension in the first place. Peaceful solutions were not guaranteed. Moreover, although Froissart's version of events is at variance with the documentary record, his choice to portray each conflict in high drama suggests that he well understood the draw that prestige and influence might exert, and that brothers were not immune from temptation.

Fighting Men and Manly Fighting: Chivalric Masculinity and Fraternal Conflict

In the *Tale of Gamelyn* with which this chapter opened, the hero's defiance of his eldest brother and quest for revenge begin when he becomes cognizant of his manhood, symbolized by the growth of facial hair. He immediately asserts himself forcefully, and not long afterward, violently. The juxtaposition of the Gamelyn's manly violence with both brothers' frequent references to brotherhood highlights the complicated interrelationship between masculinity and fraternity. These paradigms for behavior could not be fully compatible with each other, and in moments of crisis or vulnerability, many elite brothers seem to have privileged the competitiveness of chivalric masculinity over the cooperation of ideal brotherhood.

The struggles detailed in this chapter illustrate the ways in which the masculine culture of prowess, honor, and competition impinged on the ideal of brothers at peace by

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France (Rymer, *Foedera*, 3:216), suggesting that Philip of Navarre may have been distancing himself from England by then.

[155] Delachenal, ed., *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, 385-86 n.2, quoting AN X/1a/1471 fol. 382v.

constraining the aristocratic men's options for action. For example, Pedro the Cruel insulted and provoked Enrique by executing the latter's mother and twin brother Fadrique, and depriving him of his inheritance, the county of Trastámara. These actions were an assault on Enrique's family, his prestige as a titled landholder, and his honor, and they necessitated a response. Enrique's options were constricted by social and cultural expectations, including the paradigm of chivalric masculinity, which required that such provocations be met with force, indeed with violence. In other words, Enrique could not have turned the other cheek without losing face.

Such was the case for France's Louis XI, as well, when his own brother joined the rebellious barons of the League of the Public Weal. Of course, as king, Louis necessarily had to suppress the revolt in order to preserve his rule, but his masculinity was at stake as well. Failure to subdue his rivals, including his brother Charles, would have diminished him as both a man and a monarch. On the other side of the dispute, Charles was supposed to support himself on the small and relatively poor duchy of Berry, while his friends, such as Duke François II of Brittany and Charles of Charolais (the heir to Burgundy's vast lands and wealth), were able to maintain lavish lifestyles. Charles of France may well have been embarrassed at his circumstances, despite being royalty. The offer to join the League gave Charles the opportunity to push back against Louis, who had been whittling away at Berry's limited resources through improper alienations. The possibility of military engagements certainly was present, which would have allowed Charles to demonstrate prowess on the battlefield, and thus earn honor and build a reputation, all of which would have bolstered his masculinity.

In both cases, the wronged men had to respond forcefully in order to defend

themselves from perceptions of weakness. For Enrique, a military response likely seemed to be the only valid option, although the precise form of that endeavor—a civil war supported by the pope and other allies—was not a given. Enrique benefited from a constellation of influential enablers (the pope not least among them) and propitious circumstances that made his civil war not only thinkable but also likely to succeed. I am not suggesting, in other words, that war was the only option, but armed conflict of some sort would have satisfied the need to avenge Pedro's insults. The same holds true for Pedro, who suddenly found himself the target of a *coup d'état*. Just as with Louis XI a century later, Pedro had to muster resistance to Enrique's threat because he was a king, but his masculinity was under attack as well. He could not retreat before his bastard brother. Later, when Pedro successfully expelled the usurper and reestablished his status as the most powerful man in the realm, Enrique's options for his next move were, once again, limited by the masculine concerns of honor and competition for dominance. By this time, Pedro was Enrique's chief rival, and vice versa. Neither could live while the other survived.

Their private quest for dominance reached its climax in the aftermath of the Battle of Montiel (1369), when Pedro was captured and escorted to Enrique's tent. Froissart has the brothers trade insults involving bloodlines and their mothers' sexual honor, then launch into a wrestling match. A similar dynamic is at work in the *Tale of Gamelyn*: upon becoming aware of his mature manhood, he heaps insults upon his elder brother, then seemingly takes a narrative detour to a local wrestling match, where he resoundingly defeats the reigning champion. In both *Gamelyn* and Froissart's chronicle, the verbal and physical violence functions in the context of chivalric masculinity; it serves as a

demonstration of the hero's ability to best his rivals, and thereby to prove his superior masculinity.

Froissart's portrayal of the fight's end indicates an ambivalence about each figure's moral authority in this struggle. He writes that Pedro "was stronger than him [Enrique] and threw him down," and the prevailing justification of the institution of judicial dueling indicated that the party that won necessarily was in the right.[156] Moreover, as the man Froissart considered to be the rightful king (if only because he was not a bastard son), the chronicler may well have viewed the fraternal strife as an affront not just to ideal brotherhood, but also to the notion of rightful kingship. Indeed, in Froissart's rendition, Pedro

> would have killed him without fail if not for the viscount of Roquebertin, who grabbed the king don Pedro's feet and knocked him down, and King Enrique managed to put himself on top. [Enrique] drew a long Castile knife that he carried in his sash and drove it fully into [Pedro's] body.[157]

Froissart seems to be saying that Enrique defeated his brother because he cheated. For the chronicler at least, there is a hint—perhaps more than a hint—of shame in this finale.

The intimacy of this moment, apparent in the narrative as well as the illustrations of Besançon 864, Stonyhurst 1, and The Hague 72 A 25, reinforces the monstrosity of the fratricide, as I argued earlier. There are sexual overtones as well, in both text and image,

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[156] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 313r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:389. On judicial duels, see R. Coltman Clephan, *The Tournament: Its Periods and Phases* (London: Methuen & Co, 1919), 146-64; Malcolm Vale, "Aristocratic Violence: Trial by Battle in the Later Middle Ages," in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. Richard Kaeuper (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000), 159-81.

[157] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 15 May 2015], fol. 313r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:389.

which reinforce the masculine domination of the rival. Enrique positions himself above his foe, and his knife or sword thrust makes clear his domination and victory. The violence of this scene works thus on multiple levels.

The course of Pedro and Enrique's conflict was not predetermined by the masculinity of the chivalric elites; it may have played out in a number of ways while still being influenced by gender norms.[158] Still, chivalric masculinity would have influenced the range of behaviors understood as acceptable by Pedro and Enrique, and by chroniclers like Froissart and other contemporaries as well. Competition and honor—and competition *for* honor—were part of aristocratic men's identities. When threatened or shamed, they needed to respond, and those responses had to take forms that other men would understand and respect. That often meant violence or the credible threat thereof, offered in words, deeds, or both.

Of course, not every quarrel between men, brothers or not, ended with insults and bloodshed, and the chroniclers' treatment of those episodes is just as suggestive about masculinity and its effects as their coverage of violent encounters. Louis XI and Charles made peace after Louis—who had little choice—agreed to give his brother Guyenne in appanage as a replacement of the duchy of Normandy, which he had confiscated through underhanded coercion and outright military occupation. There was no unmistakable winner or loser in their conflict, at least not in the style of Enrique and Pedro. Instead, their years-long quarrel ended, with appropriate symbolism, at the middle of a bridge, which each man bringing the same number of attendants. Although Charles knelt before

[158] Karma Lochrie has argued against using the word "norm" for periods prior to the invention of modern statistics (*Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexuality when Normal Wasn't* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). However, the word "norm" has valences that extend beyond a narrow, statistical meaning, and it seems to me that it is the most concise way to refer to accepted parameters of social expectations.

Louis in ritualized submission, this was the required posture of a vassal before his lord or a baron before his king. Neither man suffered a loss of honor in their reconciliation, which was not a capitulation. That is, no diminished men walked away from this encounter or the conflict that preceded it.

The same appears to be the case for the princes Louis I, Jean of Berry, and Philippe of Burgundy, and for Charles II of Navarre and his brother Philippe. Both sets of brothers managed to resolve their quarrels without recourse to arms or, at least according to the historical record, verbal assaults, and without sacrificing their honor or reputation. Thus the question becomes: was violence really a necessary component of masculinity, and if so, how could non-violent confrontations *not* result in a diminution of masculinity? As Taylor points out, there had to be more to chivalry than prowess and the unrestrained defense of honor, because medieval society would have torn itself apart otherwise.[159] "Honour," he writes, was "the very foundation stone of more socially cooperative values such as trust and reciprocity."[160] Trust enabled loyalty, which served to bind men together when raw competitiveness and the defense of honor might otherwise push them asunder.[161] Moreover, the chivalric ethic also involved prudence, the practical side of wisdom that allowed a person to discern right and wrong as well as avoid mistakes that would lead to physical (or spiritual) harm.[162] I suggest that the uneventful, even tranquil conclusions to several of the cases explored here can be attributed to these more positive aspects of aristocratic, chivalric culture.

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[159] Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 74-75.
[160] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 75.
[161] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 77; David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 56-57; Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 185.
[162] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 233, paraphrasing Ramon Llull's *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*.

Nonetheless, chivalric masculinity, with its emphasis on competition for dominance, prowess (i.e., violence), and honor remained a critical factor influencing men's lives and the choices they could make. In circumstances like the conflict between Pedro and Enrique, or that between François I and Gilles of Brittany, the subject of Part II, surrender was unthinkable. For any of those brothers to have capitulated would have been an emasculation; nothing less than total victory would do. Even in more muted examples, chivalric masculinity would have limited the choices available to the men involved. Pedro's honor required that he show mercy to half-brother Sancho when Edward the Black Prince requested it; to break his promise to Edward would have been to diminish his own masculinity.[163] A warrior in combat might yield to his opponent without a loss of reputation, but only if he had given proof of his prowess by fighting well. Manliness still necessitated violence and the demonstration thereof, even for (and against) brothers.

Conclusion

Episodes of fraternal conflict among the highest echelons of society seem to have occurred with great frequency in the later Middle Ages. Part of this is, undoubtedly, a function of the sources—conflict is more interesting to narrate than peace, and it produces more documentation as well. It is necessary, therefore, to exercise caution when making assertions about the extent and impact of clashes between brothers. Nevertheless, both chronicles and documents of practice suggest that there was some anxiety surrounding fraternal quarrels. Froissart and Monstrelet include numerous stories and passing references to brothers, as well as comments on ideal brotherhood. Even—perhaps

[163] See Taylor, *Chivalry*, 79, for the link between trustworthiness and masculinity.

especially—when these stories featured brothers fighting each other, they functioned as a bulwark against the dangers of fraternal discord. The references to brotherhood made, for example, by Louis XI and Charles of France support the argument that it was important in society, even if individual brothers may not have believed in it wholeheartedly.

Along with the documents of practice, what the chronicles show is that, despite an acknowledged ideal of brotherhood, brothers had trouble getting along. This difficulty was an effect of the obstacles to concord that were inherent within aristocratic society in the later Middle Ages, chiefly the importance of status, land, revenue, influence, and prestige, combined with restrictive inheritance practices, and the pressures and constraints of chivalric masculinity. As the examples of this chapter illustrate, brothers' relationships could and did suffer in the shadow of these challenges. Like the fictional Gamelyn's eldest brother, real-life brothers sometimes attempted to increase their landed wealth by taking advantage of their siblings. Others sought to raise their status by usurping what belonged to their brothers by right. Still others opposed their brothers in bids to increase their political or social sway, or to raise their profile among their peers. Some even employed violence, as Gamelyn did repeatedly, not just to attain wealth or a throne, but to demonstrate their superior prowess, that key attribute of chivalric masculinity.

Of course, many brothers did manage to cooperate, and their stories find expression in chronicles, documents, and works of literature as well. Some, like the middle brother Sir Ote of the *Tale of Gamelyn*, had to negotiate a *modus vivendi* with their warring siblings. These brothers often remain marginal figures in the historical record, which focuses on the conflagration itself, not the bystanders. Sir Ote stays out of

the spotlight until the end of the narrative, when he offers himself as a hostage in Gamelyn's stead, and later designates Gamelyn as his heir. Ote, then, stands as the only exemplar of brotherhood in the *Tale*: he supports Gamelyn in times of need, but does not participate in the violent acts perpetrated by the elder and younger brothers against each other. The following chapter focuses on instances of brotherly concord found in the late medieval chronicles, and what made those moments possible. However, the course of fraternal conflicts and the reasons driving them suggests that, despite the rhetoric of ideal brotherhood, brothers made the best rivals.

Chapter 3:

To Dwell in Unity:
Moments of Concord between Brothers

Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity.
Psalms 132:1

On 12 March 1320, the comital brothers Arnoul V, Louis, and Guillaume de Looz jointly decided to give every knight of the county 10 *sous* of *gros tournois* currency and every squire 5 *sous* in order to ameliorate the "great debts" they owed, and in recognition of "the great love and loyalty that they have to us."[1] The next year, they gave the castle of Borne to one Jean de Fauquemont.[2] In 1321 and 1322, Frederick, Arnold, and Gerard von Blankenheim were the joint recipients of land from the Johann, king of Bohemia and Poland and count of Luxembourg, which gestures toward their cohesion. Arnold and Gerard also acted as joint plaintiffs in a case that required King Johann's arbitration,[3] and later convinced the king that the town, castle, and appurtenances of Kyle (Luxembourg) should pass to their heirs rather than revert to the crown.[4] On 25 June 1322, Count Guillaume I of Hainaut gave the brothers Eustache VI (d. 1337) and Fastré du Roeulx livery "such that we have given to our other knights," and extended to them the privileges of coming and going as they pleased, and hunting (nearly) wherever they liked.[5] The

[1] Jan Mantels and Laurentius Robyns, eds., *Historia Lossensis libri decem…* (Liège: F.A. Barchon, 1717), pt. 1, 245-46. The *gros tournois* was a small coin, worth 12-14 *deniers tournois* at this time (Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), 184). 10 *sous* of *gros tournois* thus equaled 120-140 *deniers*, or about ½ *l. tournois*.
[2] C.T.F.M. de Borman, ed., *Le livre des fiefs du comté de Looz sous Jean d'Arckel* (Brussels, F. Hayez, 1875), 292-94.
[3] Kreglinger, ed., "Analyse des diplômes, composant les archives des diplômes de Luxembourg qui se trouvent à Coblence," *Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire* 1 ser., 3 (1838/40): 235, 236.
[4] "Analyse des diplômes," 255.
[5] Léopold Devillers, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1874), 3:114-15 n.1.

same day, he gave them "our castle and house of Mirwart, all our land of Mirwart and all the revenues and appurtenances."[6] Their unity, which Guillaume implicitly recognized with his gifts to them as a joint entity, appears in an act of 1324, in which they confirm a rental agreement made by the village of Ecaussinnes-Saint-Remy with the abbey of Saint-Feuillien.[7] Finally, after acting together in life, the two brothers chose to maintain their unity in death: they were buried side-by-side in the choir of the abbey church of Saint-Feuillien.[8]

These three sets of brothers appear to show the ethos of ideal brotherhood in action. Their relationships featured cooperation and unity, and at least in the de Roeulx example, apparent affection. Arnold and Gerard von Blankenheim supported one another in a lawsuit and a petition. Although these records cannot indicate a total lack of strife, they do show the absence of discord *in these moments*. Contemporary chronicles, too, offer images of harmonious interactions between brothers, from the famous to the obscure. Striving to record and promote the meritorious and exemplary, Froissart emphasizes love and care in his portrayal of Charles VI and Louis of Orléans. He notes the affection that several of the sons of Edward III shared. Both Froissart and Monstrelet highlight brothers venturing together into battle, attempting to save each other's lives, caring for each other in times of illness. In short, many brothers seem to have enjoyed good relations. Indeed, Froissart and Monstrelet work to show that the brotherhood of these men bore out the ideal of cooperation, loyalty, support, and love.

However, a closer inspection that includes additional narrative and documentary sources appears to belie that message. Affection may well have been present in some

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[6] Devillers, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur*, 3:116-17 n.1.
[7] "Un document sur Ecaussines-d'Enghien," *Annales du Cercle archéologique d'Enghien* 3 (1887): 279-80.
[8] "Un document sur Ecaussines-d'Enghien," 278-79.

brothers' relationships, but oftentimes it seems that the wheels of fraternal cooperation and loyalty were greased with frequent and lucrative gifts. I contend that these things were not mutually exclusive, that love and largesse could coexist. Brothers' relationships worked best when elder brothers understood their duty to provide for their younger brothers, and when younger brothers accepted their subordinate position in the familial hierarchy and demonstrated their loyalty and support for their elders. The brothers covered in this chapter did not circumvent the expectations of brotherhood, any more than they evaded masculinity or extracted themselves from exclusionary customs of inheritance. As both the edifying vignettes of the chronicles and the sources that qualify these rose-tinted portrayals indicate, brothers simply found ways to work within these parameters.

Heralding Brotherhood: Brotherhood According to Froissart and Monstrelet

As the previous chapter shows, Froissart emphasized the quarrels of certain brothers, such as Pedro the Cruel and Enrique of Trastámara, as a way of demonstrating what brotherhood should *not* be. He also highlighted brothers whose relationships were, in his view, models worth emulating, beginning with Count Guillaume I of Hainaut (1286-1337) and Jean of Beaumont (1288-1356). While it is true that these brothers appear in Jean le Bel's chronicle, which Froissart copied heavily for the early years of his own work, Froissart develops them and their fraternal relationship beyond what he found in le Bel.[9] Guillaume and Jean were Froissart's first exemplar of ideal brotherhood, a theme he would explore throughout the chronicle.

[9] J.J.N. Palmer, "Book I (1325-78) and Its Sources," in *Froissart: Historian*, ed. Palmer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press; Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1981), 8; Nigel Bryant, "Introduction," to

Froissart follows le Bel on the objections raised by Guillaume and the comital council to Jean's proposed mission to England in support of Queen Isabella, who had come to the continent for the purpose of raising an army to overthrow Edward II. Froissart elaborates by writing that Jean gained permission "with great pain and much difficulty," and only once Guillaume realized that there was much honor and glory to be gained.[10] At that point, Froissart's Guillaume told Jean, "'Dear brother, it will never please God if I prohibit you from your good project; I give you leave in the name of God.' Then he kissed him and clasped his hand in the sign of great love."[11] Froissart emphasizes the brothers' love in another passage not found in le Bel, at the point of Jean of Beaumont's return from a later expedition aiding the new king Edward III against the Scots. He writes that after arriving at Wissant, the knights "returned to Hainaut, and each left for his own place. But my lord Jean of Hainaut went to see his brother who was at Valenciennes, because he loved him greatly."[12]

Jean le Bel, *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290-1360*, trans. Bryant (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2011), 1. For example, when Jean of Beaumont promises Queen Isabella that he will support her cause in England, Froissart writes that Jean caught Isabella in his arms to prevent her from throwing herself at his feet in gratitude. Froissart's Jean then told Isabella about his brother and sister-in-law, "who will receive you with great joy, for I have heard them say it" (Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 12 June 2015], fol. 12r-12v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:9). Jean le Bel does not include Jean of Beaumont's chivalric gesture or his speech about Guillaume's enthusiasm. He writes: "After speaking, when it was thus agreed, the noble knight immediately gathered the lady and her company and led them to Valenciennes, to his brother, the noble count Guillaume, who feasted and honored them as he could" (Jean le Bel, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez (Paris: Renouard, 1904), 1:16).

[10] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart [accessed 12 June 2015], fol. 13r-13v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:10.

[11] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart [accessed 12 June 2015], fol. 13v: "'Beau frere, ne plaise ja a Dieu que vostre bon propos je vous brise ne oste, et je vous donne congié ou nom de Dieu.' Lors le baisa et lui estraigni la main en signe de tresgrant amour"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:10.

[12] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart [accessed 12 June 2015], fol. 26v: "Mais messire Jehan de Haynault vint veoir son frere qui se tenoit a Valenciennes, car moult l'amoit"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:25. In Le Bel's version, Jean and his knights "took leave of one another very courteously and humbly, and each went to the place where he was loved most" (Jean le Bel, *Chronique*, 1:77).

Although Froissart may have embellished some of the details of Guillaume and Jean's relationship, the purpose of those embellishments is more important than his deviations from the facts. Froissart was framing his model of brotherly relations. Jean properly sought elder brother Guillaume's permission to undertake the mission to England, and Guillaume gave it when he realized the potential rewards—not of wealth, but of honor, a central feature of chivalry. Guillaume was thus supportive of his brother. Moreover, they shared mutual affection, a point both Froissart and le Bel note.

While Froissart seems to have been content to imply that Guillaume and Jean's excellent relationship was a product of their intrinsic goodness, contemporary documents suggest that Jean accrued certain benefits as a result of his connection to his elder brother the duke. For example, in 1321, Guillaume assigned him annual rents on lands in Zeeland and Hainaut totaling about 550 *livres tournois*,[13] and he received a house near Cambrai from Guillaume in 1333.[14] It is unlikely that these material gains caused the brothers to get along with each other as well as it seems they did, but they were part of the complex of behaviors that contributed to fraternal harmony. Elder brothers were expected to provide for cadets, who in turn were to support their elders. Guillaume's gifts to Jean simply show that he understood that aspect of his fraternal duties.

Froissart develops the model of brotherhood further in his treatment of the brothers Henri and Olivier de Spinefort. The Spineforts were involved in the Breton War of Succession between Charles de Blois and Jean de Montfort. In 1341, each brother was governor of a town for the Blois faction—Henri held Rennes, Olivier held Hennebont—and Jean de Montfort was leading an offensive against these places. During the siege of

[13] Devillers, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur*, 3:733-35.
[14] Devillers, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur*, 3:324.

Rennes, Henri, who was "much loved [by the town's inhabitants] for his loyalty," led a sally against the Montfort camp. He was captured and the town surrendered, after which he swore allegiance to Montfort and became part of Jean's council.[15] The army then moved to Hennebont, of which Henri's brother Olivier was the governor. Henri "feared greatly that misfortune would befall his brother by some chance."[16] Henri therefore initiated a plan that he knew would safeguard his brother's life, but that involved duplicity on his own part. He appeared before the town's gates with a large squadron of men, knowing that Olivier would think he was there to provide aid against the besieging army. Olivier admitted him and his soldiers, whereupon Henri promptly seized him, saying, "Olivier, you are my prisoner." Olivier's shocked reply sounds the notes of ideal brotherhood and chivalry: "I trusted you, and believed you were here to aid me in defending this town and castle."[17] Henri proceeded to tell his brother that he ought to switch to the Montfort side, just as he, Henri, had done already. Froissart writes that "Olivier was so much exhorted and admonished by Sir Henri his brother that he acceded to him."[18]

The story of the Spinefort brothers is, in a way, a puzzle, as it shows an act of treachery—two acts, if we include the abandonment of the Blois faction—in service to a greater good, the preservation of the brother's life. It is clear from Froissart's portrayal

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[15] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Godfried Croenen, Caroline Lambert, Sofie Loomans, et al., in *The Online Froissart*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield, HRIOnline, 2013), <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 75v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:90.

[16] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 76v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:90.

[17] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 76v: "'Olivier, vous estes mon prisonnier.' 'Comment!' fait le dit Olivier, 'frere, je me suis confiéz en vous, et cuidoye que vous venissiéz cy pour moy aydier a garder ceste ville et ce chastel'"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:91.

[18] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 76v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:91.

that Henri wanted to protect his brother, no matter the cost. The mention of Henri's "loyalty" and description of him as a *preux* and particularly *hardi* knight—the touchstones of chivalric masculinity—make his duplicitous actions seem even more questionable.[19] Yet, the fact that this vignette differs significantly from the version in Froissart's source, Jean le Bel, suggests his underlying purpose for including it.[20] Froissart is asking his readers to make a judgment on the question of whether dishonor can be acceptable in the course of protecting one's brother. With this story, he seems to be suggesting that it is, and indeed that dishonor might transform into honor through such an act.

Froissart continues to develop the model of ideal brotherhood in his coverage of the five sons of England's King Edward III: Edward the Black Prince (1330-76); Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence (1338-68); John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (1340-99); Edmund of Langley, duke of York (1341-1402); and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester (1355-97). He focuses particularly on the cordial relationships of Edward and John of Gaunt, and John and Edmund. When John met Edward at Dax in southern France in preparation for a campaign in 1386 against Enrique of Trastámara, Froissart writes that "they rejoiced greatly when they found one another, because they loved each other very

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[19] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 75v. *Preux* is difficult to define, but involves valor, usefulness, worth, renown, goodness, and wisdom. See David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow: Longman, 2005), 31-32. *Hardi*, the adjectival form of *hardiesse*, describes someone who is courageous, valiant, and bold.

[20] Le Bel includes Henri's stratagem as well his motivation for acting thus: "When Sir Henri de Spinefort saw that the count [of Montfort] would take Hennebont, of which Sir Olivier his brother had been for a long time governor and still was, he feared that evil would take him through some adventure" (Le Bel, *Chronique*, 1:255). However, le Bel's version of the capture of Hennebont comprises two sentences: "This counsel well pleased the count, and was carried out as had been devised. Thus was the count of Montfort lord of the castle of Hennebont and placed his garrison there, and then set out toward the city of Vannes" (Le Bel, *Chronique*, 1:256).

much, and there were great expressions of love between them and their men"[21] Edward's final illness caused John and Edmund to be "thoroughly dismayed."[22] John and Edmund later undertook joint military campaigns in Brittany and northern Spain, the latter in the attempt to gain control of their wives' Castilian inheritances. Froissart cites numerous instances of the two brothers speaking and acting on each other's behalf, in this regard and, for example, in negotiations with the French, indicating a unity of purpose that many other brothers did not enjoy.[23]

Thomas of Woodstock was the outlier. One of Froissart's sources, Sir Jean de Grailly, allegedly told him that "this Thomas duke of Gloucester is of extraordinary temper, is impetuous and cocky and of perilous manner."[24] Froissart provides his own rather unflattering picture of Thomas' character as well:

> the duke of Gloucester, his brother, who was malicious and subtle, was always asking from his nephew the king Richard of England, and made himself out to be poor, although he was a great lord, the constable of England, count of Hartford, Essex, and Buckingham. In addition, he had a pension of 4,000 nobles from the king's coffers. And

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[21] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 290v: "Si se conjouyrent grandement quant ilz s'entretrouverent. Car moult s'entreamoient, et la ot grans approuchemens d'amour entr'eulx et leurs gens"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:357.

[22] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al. <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 362r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:455.

[23] See esp. Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Peter Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 202r, 231r, 274v and 275r; Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 144v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:70; 2:110, 2:165-66, 2:519, respectively.

[24] Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 199v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:573. Froissart says he traveled with de Grailly, "the bastard-son of that valiant knight the captal de Vens," from Leeds to Richard II's residence at Eltham (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 200r; trans. Johnes, 2:574. Johnes renders "Vens" as "Buch").

> he refused to undertake an expedition for the needs of the king and the realm.[25]

Thomas held Edmund in disdain for his preference for peace and quiet, and he derided John for his scandalous marriage to Katherine Swynford.[26] By Froissart's account, John and Edmund were fully aware of the effects of their brother's abrasive personality. When Thomas ran afoul of Richard II, they assured their king, "we know well that our brother of Gloucester has the worst and most perilous temper in England, but… if he works on one flank, we will work on the other."[27] They were prepared to keep him check, but at no point did they wash their hands of him.

Upon hearing that Richard had ordered Thomas' arrest, John and Edmund "were completely enraged."[28] Thomas was whisked to Calais, where he was murdered, almost certainly at Richard's order. Froissart writes that "the death of [John's] brother greatly displeased him," and that the two surviving brothers met to strategize about how to proceed. John and Edmund were not prepared to accept Thomas' murder for what they considered mere "idle speech" and opposition to the truce with France.[29] Froissart

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[25] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 203r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:576. Froissart elsewhere notes that Gloucester was a "very tricky man" (BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 213r; trans. Johnes, 2:586).

[26] For Thomas' view of Edmund, see BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 203r , reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 6 July 2015] and London, British Library Royal ms. 18 E II, fol. 239v, reproduction at the British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_18_e_ii_fs001r> [accessed 6 July 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:576. For his opinions on John of Gaunt's marriage, see BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 227v; trans. Johnes, 2:600.

[27] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 273r , reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 6 July 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:641-42.

[28] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 290r , reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 6 July 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:656.

[29] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 292r , reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 6 July 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:658.

observes that their reactions could have "trouble[d] all England," but eventually John rejected proposals to overthrow Richard.[30]

Froissart's portrayal of these brothers and their interactions shows how different the brothers' personalities were, and how challenging Thomas was, but also the way this particular family functioned in response to a threat. Although John and Edmund had openly acknowledged Thomas' flaws and declared their intention to counter his actions, they closed ranks when it became clear that the youngest was in serious trouble. There is no indication, at least in Froissart, that John and Edmund felt affection for their brother, but their actions indicate fraternal loyalty and, to an extent, support of his person if not his actions.

As with Guillaume of Hainaut and Jean of Beaumont, the reasons for the good relations among the sons of Edward III included the material as well. In the early years, Edward III's long reign served as a check on whatever ambitions they might have held. The Black Prince's early death in 1376, followed by the death of Edward III a year later brought the child Richard II to the throne, which presented opportunities for John, Edmund, and Thomas to assert a measure of control over the government. However, any attempt at outright usurpation of the crown by one or more of them could not have been successful at that time; Edward III's rule was hailed as the model of what English kingship was supposed to be, despite its decline in the final years.[31] In other words, the

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[30] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 292r , reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:658.

[31] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War III: Divided Houses*, 176-77; Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 1-2. On Edward's posthumous reputation, see W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), 587-93; D.A.L. Morgan, "The Political After-Life of Edward III: The Apotheosis of a Warmonger," *English Historical Review* 112 (1997): 856-81.

kingdom was not ready for a monarch to be toppled.[32]

The five brothers benefited from Edward III's practice of handing out prestigious (and lucrative) appanages and titles to his sons, which augmented their gains from their own marriages and various military enterprises.[33] In short, the titles, lands, and wealth that each brother controlled, on their own and in right of their wives, were incentives toward cooperation, or at least against conflict. The risks of infighting outweighed potential rewards, especially since the crown was out of reach. These more pragmatic concerns very well could have coexisted with the idealistic picture Froissart paints; the sons of Edward III were able to enjoy good relations, giving the appearance of (mostly) ideal brotherhood, because the material elements were in place.

The theme of brotherly cooperation, loyalty, and support continues in Monstrelet's chronicle. Much more oriented to the Burgundian sphere than his predecessor, both because of his personal circumstances and because the Burgundian-Orléanist conflict was reaching a fever pitch when he began writing, Monstrelet devotes significant attention to Jean the Fearless (1371-1419) and his brothers Antoine (1384-1415) and Philippe (1389-1415).[34] He frequently depicts them working together, both

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[32] It is true that Henry Bolingbroke's rebellion and overthrow of Richard II took place only a generation later, but Richard's reign had been rife with dysfunction and baronial dissatisfaction, including an attempt to take over control of the government in the Lords Appellant Crisis (see below).

[33] For details of the many lands, pensions, military expeditions, and marriages of the five brothers, see David Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman, 2007); W. Mark Ormrod, "Lionel, Duke of Clarence (1338-1368)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, online edition ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/view/article/16750> [accessed 25 May 2015]; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London; New York: Longman); Anthony Tuck, "Edmund, First Duke of York (1341-1402)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/view/article/16023 [accessed 25 May 2015]; Anthony Tuck, "Thomas, Duke of Gloucester (1355-1397)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/view/article/27197> [accessed 25 May 2015].

[34] Monstrelet (c. 1390-1453) seems to have spent his life in northern France and the Low Countries. He was a bailiff of Compiègne, provost of the city of Cambrai, and bailiff of the nearby town of Walincourt. He

before and after Jean orchestrated the murder of Louis of Orléans on 23 November 1407. Monstrelet writes that after their father's death in 1419, they "held many councils together on how they ought to conduct themselves toward the king their sovereign lord," and they met again later to discuss strategies for managing Jean's many enemies.[35] In January 1408, Jean, Antoine, and Philippe, along with a large military force, attended a conference at Amiens brokered by their uncle Jean of Berry and the king of Sicily, which was intended to bring an end to the conflict between the Burgundian and Orléanist factions.[36] But Jean, supported by his brothers, refused to acknowledge his role in the Louis' murder or to ask the king's pardon, thus escalating the feud that eventually became a civil war. Jean continued to rely on the advice of his brothers, holding a "great, closed council on several matters, at which were his brother of Brabant" and others, 8-13 December 1413 at Antwerp.[37]

Antoine and Philippe supported their elder brother in matters of war as well as peace. As the feud with Louis of Orléans escalated, they coordinated a military operation that brought a large body of troops to Paris "at the command of the duke of Burgundy

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began his chronicle while at Cambrai, and although he wrote on his own initiative, he presented his chronicle to the Burgundian duke Philippe the Good in 1447 (Hanno Wijsman, "Enguerrand de Monstrelet," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. Graeme Dunphy (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:578).

[35] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:90, 1:390; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:32, 1:129.

[36] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:173; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:60; Ernest Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1419)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1888), 363.

[37] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:419; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:278; Petit, *Itinéraires*, 404. Philippe's whereabouts at this time are unknown. He next appears in the record on 2 February 1414, when he met Jean at Compiègne with "an entirely handsome company" (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:428; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:282; *Itineraires*, 406). He and his army traveled with Jean around the countryside, stopping for a few days at Saint-Denis, before returning to Compiègne (Petit, *Itinéraires*, 407). Monstrelet portrays Jean seeking Antoine's advice again in early October 1414 at a meeting at Cambrai (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:48; trans. Johnes, 1:317; Petit, *Itinéraires*, 412). Philippe almost certainly was not welcome at this point, as he had just submitted himself to Charles VI (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:12-13; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:304). Philippe's action may well have been a subject of discussion at the Cambrai meeting.

and his two brothers."[38] After Louis' murder, they marched a joint army to Paris, ostensibly to give Jean a chance to present his side of the story.[39] When Jean prepared a force to counter the Orléanist incursions into the Low Countries in 1411, he "also commanded the duke Antoine of Brabant, his brother, to come to serve him with all his strength, [and] he came with a very handsome company"[40] Jean also called on Philippe to meet them at Montdidier, but Monstrelet notes that he was forced to Paris by the Orléanists, whose army outnumbered his.[41] Even then, Philippe worked in his brother's favor, organizing the merchants of Paris who supported Jean when the Burgundian duke arrived on 23 October 1411.[42]

Despite the many examples of loyalty and support, the brothers' relationship was not without its challenges. In early summer 1414, Philippe received intelligence that Charles VI was dispatching an army to his county of Rethel, with the aim of seizing Philippe himself. Faced with capture and likely destruction of his land, he chose to save himself and abandon his brother's cause. He requested a passport to visit the king at Laon, where he "placed in the king's hand all the lordships he held in the realm of France, begging pardon and mercy for all his offenses, promising that from now on, he would not openly or covertly comfort or aid his brother the duke of Burgundy in this conflict against the king his sovereign lord."[43] Monstrelet does not record Jean's reaction,

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[38] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:120; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:41.
[39] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:176; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:61. Monstrelet mentions only Philippe with Jean at this point, but after Jean Petit's oration on the duke's behalf, the chronicler writes, "Item, the fifth day of July [1408], the duke of Burgundy, with his two brothers, left Paris" (ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:259; trans. Johnes, 1:86).
[40] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:172; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:187; Petit, *Itinéraires*, 382.
[41] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:180, 182; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:190-91; Petit, *Itinéraires*, 383.
[42] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:199; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:196; *Itineraires*, 384.
[43] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:12-13; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:304. Charles was at Laon in early June—he issued an order on 4 June and a letter two days later. By 20 June, he was at Saint-

but he does note that after the conference with Antoine in Cambrai in early October, the duke traveled south to Burgundy by way of the county of Rethel. He dined and lodged at Poys on 21 October before moving on, spending only "a short time with the count Philippe, his brother."[44] Yet it seems that they did not have a permanent falling out, as Jean attended the baptism of Philippe's second son (also named Jean) on 21 October 1415 at Clamecy.[45] Any further development in their relationship was cut short, however, as both Philippe and Antoine died fighting in the French army at Agincourt on 25 October. Monstrelet reports that when Jean heard of the defeat and deaths there, "like the other princes, he was very sad and angered, especially for his two brothers the duke of Brabant and the count of Nevers.[46]

Despite the hiccup in the relationship between Jean and Philippe, the overriding themes of the Burgundian brothers' tie were loyalty and mutual aid. These receive emphasis in a number of smaller vignettes in both Froissart's and Monstrelet's chronicles. Froissart writes of the brothers Thierry and Guillaume de Sommaing, from Hainaut, who participated in John of Gaunt's failed expedition to Castile in 1386. Thierry succumbed to the illness that swept through the English army, but "his brother Guillaume de Sommaing was always beside him up until death, and he was at great risk to his own

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Quentin. (Louis Guillaume de Villevault, ed., *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1763), 10:vi, 212, 213.

[44] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:48; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:317; Petit, *Itinéraires*, 412. Poys is modern Poix-Terron.

[45] Petit, *Itinéraires*, 420. It is highly unlikely that Philippe was present when the baptism took place, as he was killed four days later at Agincourt, on 25 October 1415. Clamecy and Agincourt are over 270 miles apart. Although Froissart alleges that Charles VI and his brother Louis covered the roughly 466 miles from Montpellier to Paris in under five days, Louis traveled at least partly by boat, and both men were exhausted upon their arrival, hardly an appropriate condition for engaging in combat. Moreover, Philippe could not have known that the battle would happen when it did, meaning he would not have known to rush at horse-killing speed to arrive in time. Thus, Philippe must have been absent from his son's baptism.

[46] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:127; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:348.

life."[47] Guillaume could not save his brother, but his concern, his affection even, for Thierry is apparent. In Monstrelet's chronicle, Duke Jean I of Bourbon (1381-1434) displayed similar sentiments for his illegitimate brother Hector in 1413 or 1414. At a battle against the Burgundians at Villefranche, Hector became separated from the rest of the host, so that "the duke greatly feared that he would be taken or killed."[48] Jean might have expressed such concern for any of his fellow noblemen, but Monstrelet makes it clear that the duke was motivated by brotherhood: he "spurred his courser and cried loudly to his men, 'Now on, forward! My brother is taken if we do not aid him.' … And before that day no man …. had heard the duke call him 'brother.'"[49] Jean managed to save Hector's life then, but Hector was killed later by an arrow while negotiating with the Burgundian partisan Enguerrand de Bournonville. In retaliation, Jean, "who loved [Hector] very much, conceived such great hatred against Enguerrand …, that he convinced the king and those of his great council that Enguerrand should be beheaded, and his head affixed to the end of a lance, and his body hung by the armpits."[50]

Even brothers who fought in opposing armies might come to each other's aid, as in the example of the Saveuse brothers, who were caught up in the Burgundian-Orléanist civil war. Guillaume was an Orléanist, while his brothers Hector and Philippe served the duke of Burgundy. "Thus," Monstrelet comments, highlighting the monstrosity of the

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[47] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Peter Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 29 June 2015], fol. 371r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:291.
[48] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:227; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:205.
[49] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:227: "féry son coursier des esperons en escriant haultement à ses gens: 'Or sus, avant ! mon frère est prins se nous ne le secourons.' … Et avant ce jour n'estoit homme, de quelque estat qu'il feust, qui audit duc l'eust oy nommer frère"; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:205.
[50] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:10: "le duc de Bourbon son frère, qui moult l'amoit, avoit conceu si grant hayne contre ledit Enguerran et aucuns autres des asségez, qu'il procura et fist tant envers le Roy et ceulx de son grant conseil, que cellui Enguerran fut décapité, et fut sa teste fichée au bout d'une lance et son corps pendu par les aisselles"; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:303-04.

civil strife, "in this war, brothers were against one another, and the son against the father."[51] During a minor battle in the Valois, Guillaume was captured by the Burgundian governor of Senlis. Rather than allow their brother to remain a prisoner, Hector and Philippe, along with their father, succeeded in negotiating his freedom.[52]

The view that emerges from these stories clearly is a positive one, carefully nurtured by Froissart and Monstrelet. The brotherhood of the chroniclers was a force for good, comprising unity, loyalty, mutual aid, and love. It provided cohesion and security in the challenging circumstances of the later Middle Ages. By tapping into the prevalent ethos of ideal brotherhood, described in Chapter One, Froissart and Monstrelet were offering an alternative model to the rivalries and dissensions that divided brothers of every noble rank.

Kings and Their Brothers

Absent thus far in this chapter are royal brothers, for whom, in general, there is far greater coverage in narrative sources and documents of practice than for siblings of less exalted status. Froissart and Monstrelet devote significant attention to the kings who shaped their era, most of whom appear in their chronicles as exemplars of brotherly concord. Froissart depicts Jean II of France and his brother Philippe of Valois acting in concert to suppress the threat posed by King Charles of Navarre, and when Jean died in captivity England (April 1364), Philippe was "much grieved" at the death of his brother

[51] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:203: "Et par ainsi, en celle guerre, frères germains estoient l'un contre l'autre, et le filz contre le père"; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:198.
[52] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 2:203; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:198.

the king.[53] According to the chroniclers, Jean's successor Charles V similarly enjoyed good relations with his brothers throughout his lifetime, and the brothers of England's Henry V maintained their unity during Henry's reign at least.[54]

Medieval fraternal relationships always bore the imprint of duty and hierarchy, but for royal brothers, these factors take on the added layer of the subject's duty to the king, making analysis of their relationship as brothers particularly challenging. Especially for moments of concord, the question of intentionality seems paramount. Was a king's support of his younger brothers a function of his official position as monarch or of his familial position as (eldest) brother? Conversely, was a younger brother's loyalty due to brotherly feelings, the duty to obey his king, or materialistic self-interest? Lacking personal journals or interviews—which are not guarantors of truth, either—it is impossible to say, but I contend that these chicken-or-egg questions are not the most important ones.

Instead, I will focus on how the chronicles present royal brothers, as well as what factors might have contributed to the harmony that kings and their younger brothers appear to have enjoyed.[55] Both cases examined here feature contemporary kings—Charles VI of France and Richard II of England—who began ruling while minors, and whose reigns were shaken by significant problems. These circumstances afforded various

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[53] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart [accessed 8 July 2015], fol. 255v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:310. See Chapter Two for Charles of Navarre.

[54] Froissart relates a brief falling out among Louis of Anjou, Jean of Berry, and Philippe of Burgundy after Charles V's death, on which see Chapter Two. Henry V's brothers were Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester. For relations between Henry and Thomas, see Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 67-83.

[55] Monstrelet's chronicle, which runs from 1400 to 1444, does not treat the matter of kings and royal brothers nearly to the extent that Froissart's does, primarily due to the accidents of history. For most of the period he covers, Charles VI had no surviving brother, and Charles VII was the last survivor among his brothers as well. England's Henry VI was an only child. While Monstrelet does write about Henry V and his brothers, the similarities between Charles VI and Richard II were sufficiently compelling to merit their inclusion here. Henry V, Thomas, John, and Humphrey must await development in a future project.

opportunities to the royal brothers, and presented certain challenges to the performance of good brotherhood. As the following analysis will show, the issue of royalty did not complicate Froissart's theme of ideal brotherhood in action. On the contrary, he seems to have held up royal brothers as examples *par excellance* of what brotherhood could and should be, a sort of magnification of the model borne out by such less-exalted pairs as Guillaume I of Hainaut and Jean de Beaumont, or Henri and Olivier de Spinefort.

Froissart's positive depiction of brotherhood appears clearly in his presentation of the royal brothers Charles VI (1368-1422) and Louis of Orléans (1372-1407). He shows Louis providing advice to his brother, as when he sat among the counselors in 1388 who helped Charles make an agreement with the duke of Jülich, whose son, the duke of Guelders, had provoked a French invasion. Louis was present at the rapprochement between Charles and the duke of Guelders as well.[56] We see Louis giving support and counsel when Charles received an embassy from England that was the precursor to the Truce of Leulinghem (1389), and later when peace negotiations with England took place at Amiens in the spring of 1392.[57]

For his part, Charles is portrayed as trusting his younger brother with the kingdom. Regarding preparations in 1385-86 for an invasion of England, Froissart asserts, "I believe, and indeed it was assured to me for fact, that the duke was appointed regent during the king's absence, in conjunction with the count of Blois and other

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[56] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 18 May 2015], fol. 437v, 440v.
[57] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 102r-103v, 138v, 143r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:486-87, 513, 517. Louis also was present with Charles for diplomatic occasions after 1392, e.g. negotiations with delegates from the English court (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 185r, 208v-210r; trans. Johnes, 2:559, 2:582-84), and when Richard II himself arrived in France for his marriage with Charles' daughter Isabelle (BnF ms. fr. 2646 fol. 248r-248v; trans. Johnes, 2:620).

principal barons."[58] A few years later, according to Froissart, Charles was contemplating a move to give Louis political control, this time as king of Castile. The current Castilian monarch, Juan I, had brokered a marriage on 17 September 1388 between his son Enrique and John of Gaunt's daughter Catherine, who had been intended for Charles' uncle Jean of Berry. Charles viewed this alliance between Castile and the house of Lancaster as a danger to France, and threatened to topple Juan's rule in order to install Louis as king.[59] Neither invasion took place, but Froissart made a point of mentioning them and Louis' potential role.

The two brothers seem to have enjoyed each other's company as well. In addition to their trips to Guelders and Amiens, and the abortive military expedition to Brittany of 1392, they undertook a lengthy sojourn into Burgundy and southern France in 1389-90, with stops in Dijon, Avignon, Toulouse, Béziers, and Montpellier.[60] Affairs of the state took up some of their time—they initiated an investigation of Jean de Berry's treasurer, Bethisac, while in Béziers, for example—but Charles and Louis also saw to their entertainments.[61] Froissart writes that Charles "was young and light-hearted, so he

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[58] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 18 May 2015], fol. 303v-304v; Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI: La folie du roi* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 179; Eugène Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans, 1372-1407* (Paris: Picard, 1889; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine-Magariotis Reprints, 1976), 26. Despite the many and costly preparations, which included debasing the currency to raise money, and weeks of waiting at Sluys, the planned expedition ultimately was abandoned. See Sumption, *Divided Houses*, 537-39, 551-553, 555-56.

[59] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 30 June 2015], fol. 443r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:384-85.

[60] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 16r-16v and 17v-20r, 31v-33r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:407-411, 422-24.

[61] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 26v-30r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:416-21.

danced and sang with those lively ladies of Montpellier all night."[62] As their southern tour was drawing to a close, Charles challenged Louis to a race back to Paris.[63] They wagered 500 francs on the contest, then set out the next morning, riding "night and day, or had themselves carried by cart when they wanted to rest."[64] Completing the journey in 4 1/3 days, Louis won the race and the bet, and when Charles arrived slightly later (he took 4 1/2 days), they together told their wives about their adventure.[65] In this moment of friendly competition, we see two brothers engaged in what we think of today as typical, harmless sibling rivalry. Clearly both men were fierce competitors, but there is no hint of animosity between them, and they reunited at the end with evident goodwill.[66]

Indeed, according to Froissart, the brothers' relationship was grounded in love, which appeared most clearly after the events of the summer of 1392. While at the conference with John of Gaunt at Amiens in 1392, Charles fell ill with "a burning fever" in early April and was carried in a litter to Beauvais.[67] There, "his brother of Touraine

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[62] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 20r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:411.

[63] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 33v-34r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:425.

[64] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 33v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:425. As noted in the previous chapter, the franc was minted from the 1360s to 1380s, and during most of that time, it was equivalent in value to the *livre tournois*. Even after it was no longer struck and had fallen from circulation, the term "franc" was used interchangeably with *livre tournois* (Spufford, *Handbook*, 191). The brothers' wager was a significant sum.

[65] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 34r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:425. Froissart measures the distance between Montpellier and Paris at 150 leagues. It is roughly 466 miles via modern roads. According to Spufford, a courier's trip from Montpellier to Avignon required three days, and a further 15-16 days from Avignon to Paris (*Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 320-21).

[66] Cf. Autrand, who sees in this moment a "note of disquieting rivalry," (*Charles VI*, 255). Her reading of this episode imposes an *a priori* view that the brothers *must* have been rivals, which is not supported by any of the sources, documentary or narrative, at that point in their lives.

[67] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 146r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:520; R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 1-2. Famiglietti suspects it was typhoid fever based on the symptoms described by Froissart.

[remained] beside him, as well as his uncles of Berry and Bourbon.[68] As Charles was recovering from this illness, he received the news that former chamberlain Pierre de Craon had attempted to assassinate the constable Olivier de Clisson on 13 or 14 June 1392, then fled to Brittany, where he was being sheltered by the Breton duke.[69] Interpreting this crime as an affront to the crown, Charles resolved to invade Brittany, and the expedition launched in mid-summer 1392. On 5 August, outside Le Mans, Charles suffered a mental breakdown, the first of many occurrences that plagued him for the remainder of his life. He was removed to the castle of Creil to recover, where Louis visited "to know how he carried on," and once the king's recovery seemed assured, his physician "turned him over to his brother the duke of Orléans, and to his uncles."[70] In Froissart's presentation, brotherly love bound the two men together: he writes that Charles "received [Louis] sweetly and joyfully because he loved him very much."[71] The reader is left to infer that Louis loved Charles, too.

Froissart thus paints a generally rosy picture of the brothers' relationship, a model of fraternal unity. Only four years apart in age, Charles and Louis were like-minded in both politics and pleasure. There are clues, however, even in Froissart, that indicate

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[68] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 146r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:520.

[69] The exact day is a matter of some dispute in the sources. Jean Juvenal des Ursins writes that it took place on "the day of Saint Sacrament, the fourteenth day of June" (*Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France, et des choses mémorables advenues durant 42 années de son règne 1380 jusques à 1422*, ed. Denys Godefroy (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1653), 88), as does the Monk of Saint-Denis (Michel Pintoin, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. M.L. Bellaguet (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1840), 2:4). Jarry follows these sources (*La vie politique*, 92), but Famiglietti (2) follows J. Pichon, who holds that the feast of the Holy Sacrament occurred on 13 June (*Mémoire sur Pierre de Craon* (Paris: publisher unidentified, 1860), 15).

[70] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 165v, 173v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:539, 547.

[71] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 123v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]: "Le roy le recoeilli doulcement et lyement car moult laymoit"; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:497.

Louis' loyalty to Charles was motivated by more than an abundance of brotherly feeling. In summer 1391, for example, Louis complained to Charles about Pierre de Craon, then chamberlain to both brothers, who had until that time been in high favor at court.[72] Someone had told Louis' wife Valentina Visconti about one of the prince's affairs, and Louis suspected that Pierre had been the one to leak the information. In response, Charles declared that he would have Pierre dismissed from his post, and that Louis ought to fire him, too.[73]

Froissart narrates other instances of Louis' ability to leverage his relationship for personal gain as well. Not long after the Craon incident, Louis decided that he wanted to purchase the county of Blois, and asked Charles to intercede on his behalf with the count to make it so.[74] The sale which "was major news … in several places and countries," took place on 13 October 1391.[75] In the summer of 1392, on the eve of the expedition against Brittany that was retaliation for the attempt on Olivier de Clisson's life, Froissart writes that

> an exchange of lands and dependencies was made [that was] greatly to the profit of the duke of Touraine, because he resigned the duchy of Touraine and all its appurtenances into the hand of the king his brother, and immediately the

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[72] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 122v, 123v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:496; Autrand, 277.
[73] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 123v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:497.
[74] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 139r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:513.
[75] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 138v-140v, quotation at 140v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:513-15, quotation at 515; Jarry, *La vie politique*, 82-83; L. Mirot, "L'assassinat de Louis d'Orléans et la théorie du tyrannicide au XVe siècle," *Revue des études historiques* 100 (1933): 147.

> king gave him … the duchy of Orléans, which was of more than four times the value.[76]

Despite the hints that Louis may have viewed his brother as a source for his own enrichment, Froissart's portrayal remains optimistic. In the midst of court intrigue, dissension within the royal family, and the tragedy of Charles' mental breakdown, Charles and Louis remained true to one another. In highlighting the cooperativeness and indeed affection of their fraternal bond, the chronicler thus asserts the power of brotherhood as a unifying and supportive force, particularly in difficult times.

Over the years, Charles experienced recurrence after recurrence of his mental affliction, making it clear to his familiars that he would never fully recover. This state of affairs opened the way for power struggles within the court, with Louis of Orléans and Philippe of Burgundy as the principal antagonists. As the rift between uncle and nephew widened, each of them took advantage of the king's compromised state to further his own cause. After Charles finally recovered from his first bout of insanity, in January 1393, he named his brother as regent in the event of his death, "giving [him] authority and plenitude of power to govern, keep, and defend our realm."[77] The tutelage of the dauphin and other minor royal children went to their mother Isabeau of Bavaria, with advice from the royal uncles, but Philippe apparently desired more.[78] Over the coming years, Louis and Philippe engaged in a tug-of-war over who would have control of the government upon the king's death, with each man taking advantage of moments alone with Charles to

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[76] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 155v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:529.
[77] *Ordonnances*, 7:535-38 at 535; Famiglietti, 29.
[78] *Ordonnances*, 7:530-35 at 531.

push his own agenda.[79] Louis seems to have had no scruples about manipulating his unwell brother when it came to preserving his hold on the government, although he saw that control slip from his grasp eventually, when the Burgundy-initiated ordinance of 11 May 1403 confirmed the elimination of the regent's office in favor of an advisory council.[80]

As the years of Charles' illness wore on and infighting with the royal uncles worsened, Louis continued to use his fraternal connection to the king in order to bolster his own position. For example, while Philippe was away from Paris in July 1401, Louis convinced Charles to give him the county of Dreux as well as the governorship of Toul (in Lorraine).[81] On 28 February 1402, he complained to Charles that his appanage of Orléans was not large enough, and Charles immediately established an inquest to investigate. Meanwhile, Charles named Louis chief financial official in France, save for Languedoc (18 April 1402), then ordered a large tax levy prior to lapsing once again into insanity.[82] As a result of the appanage inquest, Louis gained rights to Soissons and other places purchased from Marie de Coucy, valued at 500 *l. parisis* in rent (22 May 1404), and the lands of Châtillon-sur-Marne, Montargis, Courtenay, and Crécy-en-Brie (5 June

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[79] Famiglietti notes that ordinances issued while the king was alone were signed only "Par le Roy," while those taking place in the company of his counselors or witnesses bore the signature "Par le Roy presents plusieurs chambellans" or a similar formula (6). The numerous ordinances of 1403, in which Charles first eliminated the office of regent, then invalidated that ordinance, only to revoke the invalidation, all were issued without counselors present, which indicates that Philippe or Louis managed to get the king alone for each of them. Famiglietti's central argument is that Charles VI suffered from schizophrenia, so that even in times of apparent lucidity, the king still operated under "schizophrenic logic," leading him to accept words at face value (Ch. 1, esp. pg. 20). While Famiglietti is perhaps too enthusiastic in his application of modern psychiatric evaluation to a long-dead subject, the argument that Charles remained compromised for the duration of his reign after the initial break in 1392 accords well with the historical record.

[80] Famiglietti, 34, citing AN J/468/12. This ordinance was signed "Par le Roy, Monseigneur le duc de Bourgongne et autres presents. Neauville" (Famiglietti, 223 n.75).

[81] Famiglietti, 24; *Ordonnances*, 8:448-49.

[82] Famiglietti, 26; *Ordonnances* 8:494-96. Charles revoked the tax when he reemerged to apparent lucidity (18 June 1402) (Famiglietti, 27).

1404).[83] Two days after the grant of Soissons and the rest, the king also made Louis lord of Pisa, and bestowed on him monetary gifts totaling 40,000 francs.[84] Enguerrand de Monstrelet reports that in 1407, Charles convinced his brother to give him the duchy of Aquitaine "by certain means that he had used for a long time."[85] These gains added to counties, lordships, and castellanies he had either received or purchased: Ferté-Bernard, Forte-Maison-lès-Chartres (given by the king in 1392), Angoulême (given by the king in 1394), Périgord (1400), Vertus and Asti (in right of his wife, Valentina Visconti), castellanies in Champagne (purchased), Porcien (1400), Coucy (purchased), rights to the duchy of Luxembourg (purchased in 1402), as well as Blois and Dunois.[86]

In the early years, Louis had had good reasons for building up his landed wealth. He had not received a very large inheritance from their father Charles V, getting only the small counties of Valois and Beaumont, which were not sufficient to sustain the lifestyle of a royal brother who was both a counselor and a prince with his own interests.[87] As Graeme Small notes, Philippe of Burgundy controlled vast wealth and lands as a result of his marriage, which put him in possession of the Low Countries, "the largest and most

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[83] In May 1404, he gained Soissons, Ham (in Vermandois), Pinon, Moncornet, Origny (in Thiérache), and the tax paid on wine production ("le vinage") in Laon (*Ordonnances*, 9:1-2). For the June grant, see *Ordonnances* 8:700-702. See also Famiglietti, 220 n.25.

[84] Famiglietti, 36; L. Mirot, *L'enlèvement du dauphin et le premier conflit entre Jean sans peur et Louis d'Orléans (juillet-octobre 1405)* (Paris, 1914): 333. Charles VI gained suzerainty over Pisa when Gabriel-Marie Visconti swore an oath of fidelity on 15 April 1404, conceding lordship of all his lands to the French king (Jarry, *La vie politique*, 337).

[85] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:151-52; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:52.

[86] Autrand, 386; Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 89. For a map of Louis' possessions at his death, see Claude Ribéra-Perville, "Aspects du mécénat de Louis Ier d'Orléans (d.1407)," in *Jeanne d'Arc: Une époque, un rayonnement* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 138.

[87] Autrand, 265, 385-86. She argues that Charles had intended to make Louis "a new type of prince, the prince-servant of the State, deprived of all personal power, entirely devoted to the monarchy and the king" (386). Such an arrangement could only have engendered resentment and rivalry, and in any case, Charles quickly amended their father's poor provisioning, first by giving Louis the Touraine as an appanage in 1386, prior to the abortive mission to England (Autrand, 179-80; Jarry, *La vie politique*, 26), then by assigning him Orléans instead.

populous complex of territories ever ruled by a Valois prince."[88] By the time of Charles' mental breakdown, Philippe's revenues were one-third of the king's.[89] Louis' constant effort to augment his own possessions must be viewed in light of the massive wealth of his uncle Philippe, and Philippe's repeated attempts to monopolize control of the government.

Yet, Charles seems to have been at least somewhat uncomfortable with Louis' increasingly obvious ambition. As described above, he ended Louis' attempt to reestablish the office of regent in May 1403. Shortly thereafter, on 4 July 1403, he moved to prevent Louis from acquiring the office of royal lieutenant of Languedoc and Guyenne, which was held at that time by the aging uncle Jean of Berry. Instead, that post would go to the dauphin, Louis duke of Guyenne.[90] Charles reinforced this act on 30 January 1404, when he confirmed that all royal revenues from those places would go to the duke of Guyenne.[91]

Despite whatever misgivings Charles had, Louis managed to pressure and manipulate his brother into acquiescing to his wishes. Louis succeeded in getting Charles to make him captain-general of Guyenne on 12 March 1404, and on 18 April 1404 to assign him 50,000 *livres* from the *aides* of Languedoc.[92] Famiglietti asserts that Louis, in gaining these grants, was preying on the unwell king, who, according to the Monk of Saint-Denis, had again lapsed into insanity from late February until mid-May.[93] After the death of Philippe of Burgundy on 27 April 1404, Louis had free rein with his brother, and

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[88] Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 140.
[89] Small, *Late Medieval France*, 139.
[90] Famiglietti, 35
[91] Famiglietti, 35.
[92] Famiglietti, 35-36.
[93] Famiglietti, 36; Religieux de Saint-Denis, 3:122, 142.

it appears he took advantage of it. He quickly arranged the marriage of his son Charles to Isabelle, his niece and the widow of Richard II, which included 100,000 francs that he could spend on himself.[94] He also gained from Charles the right to pursue the return of Isabelle's dowry of 200,000 francs, which Henry IV currently controlled. It was a hopeless endeavor, as Louis surely knew, because he sold that right back to the French crown on 20 September 1404 for 200,000 francs, essentially swindling his brother and the royal treasury out of the money.[95] In addition, he milked the royal treasury for over 400,000 francs for the fiscal year September 1404 to October 1405, an expenditure so excessive that the king had to levy a new tax on 5 March 1405.[96] Louis continued to dip into the realm's coffers in fiscal year 1406-07, when he "had at his disposal all the revenues of the kingdom."[97] These examples of Louis' apparent willingness to use his brother for financial and political gain bear little resemblance to the image of good brotherhood that Froissart painted up to the chronicle's end in 1400.

The shift in the brothers' relationship, enabled by Charles' mental illness, is as illuminating as the apparent closeness of their bond in the early years that was symbolized by the identical clothes they sometimes wore.[98] Louis' access to wealth and prestige at that time was assured by his brother, but also clearly was limited. He could live the high life alongside his royal brother and wield significant power as one of Charles' counselors, but he had to remain in his brother's good graces. After the fateful day outside Le Mans in August 1392, when Charles attacked and killed his attendants,

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[94] Denys Godefroy, *Histoire de Charles VI* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1653), 609-10; Famiglietti, 36. The agreement took place on 5 June 1404.
[95] Famiglietti, 36.
[96] Famiglietti, 39.
[97] Mirot, "L'assassinat de Louis d'Orléans," 147.
[98] Famiglietti, xv (citing AN KK 24, fol. 93), 217-18 n.155.

even pursuing and wounding Louis, the younger brother must have understood his vulnerability.[99] Having three powerful uncles with whom to contend, Louis knew he needed to protect his interests. The struggle with Philippe of Burgundy in particular certainly would have had an effect on Louis' actions; Louis' view of his brother Charles and their relationship thus was not the only factor to influence his conduct. Nonetheless, Louis' apparent willingness to exploit his brother's vulnerability as the years passed paradoxically illuminates the elements that could facilitate brothers' cooperation. While land and wealth could and did serve to divide brothers, gifts of the same could also bind them together. The brothers might then exhibit the ideal brotherhood that Froissart recognized and celebrated.

The case of Richard II (1367-1400) and his half-brothers Thomas (1350-97) and John Holland (c.1352-1400) follows a similar arc. As in the French example, Richard ascended the throne as a minor—he was ten years old, Charles was eleven—and his grasp on power never was entirely secure. Indeed, Richard survived a major challenge midway through his reign in the crisis of the Lords Appellants of 1386-88, only to be deposed by his first cousin Henry Bolingbroke in 1399.[100] Thomas and John Holland, the sons of

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[99] Monstrelet's chronicle includes the detail about Louis being wounded (Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:8; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:4). Froissart writes only that Charles drew his sword and began to chase Louis, who had been riding close to him (BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 160v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:534).

[100] The Lords Appellant, originally Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, Richard FitzAlan earl of Arundel, and Thomas de Beauchamp earl of Warwick, later joined by Thomas de Mowbray duke of Norfolk and Henry Bolingbroke earl of Derby (the future Henry IV), gained control of the government in November 1386 with the aim of destroying Richard II's favorites and thereby curbing his ability to rule as he wished. The following year, they defeated Richard's army in battle, and in 1388 during the so-called "Merciless Parliament," they had Richard's closest adherents condemned to death. Richard was able to regain power only through the return of his uncle John of Gaunt from Spain in 1389. The original Appellants were either killed or imprisoned, their lands confiscated and redistributed to Richard's surviving supporters, including the Hollands. Bolingbroke and Mowbray eventually were exiled and prevented from inheriting their fathers' lands. See Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London: Routledge; K. Paul, 1971).

Joan of Kent and her first husband, were Richard's half-brothers only, but their partial fraternity does not seem to have been an impediment.[101] The Hollands were legitimate sons rather than bastards, and at least Thomas stood to inherit from his father's estates. Still, both Thomas and John were, in ways similar to illegitimate brothers, dependent on the generosity of their step-father Edward and then half-brother Richard for wealth and advancement.[102]

Richard's own situation as an only child (compounded later by his failure to have any children of his own) meant that Thomas and John's connection as half-rather than full-brothers was of less consequence that it might have been. As Nigel Saul notes, Richard's lack of close full-blooded kin required that he make use of the family he did have, especially the children of his mother Joan of Kent by her first marriage. This tactic was particularly important in light of the tenuousness of his grip on power, which the crisis of the Lords Appellant made manifest. Richard treated Thomas and John "as if they were royal kin," allowing them to use the royal arms on their heraldic devices and giving Thomas a royal funeral in Westminster Abbey at his death in 1397.[103] For our purposes, then, we may approach the fraternal connection between Richard and the Hollands as Richard himself seems to have done, by putting aside the "half" aspect of it. The question remains whether he did so out of brotherly feeling or political necessity, and conversely,

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[101] Joan married Edward of Wales, called the Black Prince, in 1361, a year after the earl of Kent died, and their only surviving child was Richard, called "of Bordeaux" because of his birthplace. Joan and Edward's first son, Edward of Angoulême, died aged 6 (1365-70).

[102] Michael M.N. Stansfield details the complications involved in the Kent inheritance for Thomas, which included Joan of Kent's longevity and the presence of other relatives who controlled extensive portions of it. See his "The Hollands, Dukes of Exeter, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, 1352-1475" (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1987), 52-53.

[103] Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 245-46; R.A. Griffiths, "The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England," in idem, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London; Rio Grande, Ohio: The Hambledon Press, 1991), 5.

whether Thomas and John adhered to him for love or for money. Surviving evidence suggests that it was the latter for all parties.

Thomas Holland's (1350-97) career was well underway by Richard's accession to the throne in 1377, and his consequent elevation in status as brother of the king. He was knighted by his step-father at the Battle of Nájera in 1367 and participated in several French campaigns in the 1370s. Moreover, his step-father had arranged his marriage to Alice FitzAlan, daughter to Richard earl of Arundel, for which he received three manors in Yorkshire worth 500 marks.[104] Those properties were, however, his only source of wealth, as the entirety of the Kent inheritance remained in his mother's hands, and his father Thomas Holland senior never had acquired any land in his own right.[105] The only respite from his penury during this period was a single grant of 5,000 marks from the estate of Alice's father upon his death in 1375.

It was only after Richard gained the throne that Thomas' circumstances improved, as the Continual Council moved to ameliorate the desperate situation of the new king's brother.[106] Thomas received a gift of 100 marks as well as a £200 annuity in 1378, which was later changed to a grant of rents that increased his total annual income to nearly £1,000.[107] He also received an appointment as warden of the royal forests south of the Trent immediately in 1377, a post that brought responsibility and some prestige, although

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[104] Stansfield, 49-52. Rents of 500 marks equal £333 or 2,000 *l. tournois*.
[105] Stansfield, 52.
[106] Stansfield, 54-55. Although Stansfield uses the term "regency council," this is a misnomer, as there was no formal regency for Richard's minority (Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 76). Instead, a Continual Council was established in July 1377 to advise the king, not rule in his place. It was disbanded by Parliament in 1380 (Fletcher, 76, 82). This grant equaled £3,333 or 20,000 *l. tournois*.
[107] Stansfield, 54-55. Stansfield describes the difficulty collecting these rents, which rendered their actual worth somewhat less than the raw figure indicates. The 100 mark gift was worth almost £67 or 400 *l. tournois*.

not necessarily income.[108] The year 1380 saw a number of advancements in Thomas' career, all made possible by his nearness to the king: he was named marshal of England in March, he received the first of several appointments as justice of the peace in May (this time in the county of Surrey), and he was made captain of Southampton in June in response to a perceived French threat to the coast.[109] Later in the year, he received the title of earl of Kent, which his late father had held. All of this made him "suitably prestigious and influential," in Michael M.N. Stansfield's words.[110]

Over the following years, Thomas continued to benefit from his connection to the king. Stansfield suggests that the role he played in suppressing the Peasants' Revolt, especially in the county of Kent, was one of the reasons his mother gave him a yearly rent of £30 from Kent lands along with the manor of Wickhambreux.[111] He was appointed captain of the Norman stronghold of Cherbourg in 1384, a post that brought him some

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[108] Stansfield, 55; George James Turner, "The Justices of the Forest South of the Trent," *English Historical Review* 18.69 (Jan. 1903): 115. He later gained the custody of the New Forest as well (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II*, vol. 2: *1381-85* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897), 311 (hereafter, *CPR*). The warden of the forest (called justice of the forest up to 1311 and after 1397) was the highest magistrate of forest law, responsible for authorizing the release of offenders against forest law on bail, and for overseeing the forest administration, among other duties. From Thomas' appointment onward, the office of warden was occupied by men of the nobility; he was followed by Edward earl of Rutland, then King Henry V's brother Humphrey duke of Gloucester. See George James Turner, ed., *Select Pleas of the Forest* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901), xv; idem, "Justices," 113, 115.

[109] Stansfield, 56-57. The office of justice of the peace was an important one in the preservation of peace and order in the counties. From the time of Edward III, they were empowered "to keep the peace, try local quarrels, and conduct preliminary inquiries into more serious disputes." They had the authority to make arrests and stipulate financial penalties against wrongdoers for any failure to maintain good behavior. While most of the justices of the peace were members of the gentry, a few belonged to the upper nobility. For example, when Thomas was appointed as a JP for Surrey in 1380, he was joined by Richard earl of Arundel. In 1382, he was joined in Surrey again by Richard earl of Arundel and by the bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham, a member of King Richard's council. While acting as JP of Southampton in 1385, John of Gaunt held that office for the counties of Lincoln and York. See Emma Hawkes, "Justices of the Peace," in *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272-1485*, ed. Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robison (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 295; *CPR, 1377-81*, 514; *CPR, 1381-85*, 247, 347, 502, 589.

[110] Stansfield, 57.

[111] Thomas was appointed to commissions charged with restoring peace and arresting insurgents in the county of Kent on July 10, July 20, July 25, and Sept. 2 (*CPR, 1381-85*, 72, 73, 75, 77). For Joan's grant, see Stansfield, 57; *CPR, 1381-85*, 98.

financial benefit since it was not being threatened by the French at the time, so he could keep the garrison small and pocket money not spent on soldiers and arms.[112]

Beginning in 1385, however, Thomas began to withdraw from court life, enabled by the death of his mother Joan and the release of her Kent inheritance.[113] Thomas gained two-thirds of her lands there, meaning that he now held sufficient lands and revenues that he no longer had to depend on his brother.[114] This new independence and an apparent unwillingness to stir up trouble led Thomas to keep his distance from the tumult of the Lords Appellant crisis.[115] As Stansfield points out, Richard apparently did not forgive his brother for this lack of support.[116] Thomas' wardenship of the forests was designated in 1391 to Edward, earl of Rutland, and his constableship of the Tower, bestowed in 1387, was reassigned in 1392. From that point, Thomas disappeared from court life, although he did receive one final grant in 1396, custody of Carisbrooke castle on the Isle of Wight.[117]

Across the arc of Thomas' career, the impact of land, wealth, and office on his relationship with Richard is apparent. His impoverished circumstances only began to improve upon Richard's accession, and in the years before Countess Joan's death in 1385, Thomas was almost entirely dependent on the king for the income and

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[112] Stansfield, 58-59.
[113] The death of Joan of Kent meant the end of a potential mediating influence for Richard, Thomas, and John. There is a hint that she played such a role between Richard and John. Her death followed the news that John had murdered Sir Ralph Stafford (see below), meaning that John lost "a champion of his cause," as Stansfield writes (76). Richard had to navigate that difficult situation without the benefit of her counsel, which he seems to relied on up to that point (Stansfield, 60).
[114] Stansfield, 61. The remaining one-third fell to Richard.
[115] Stansfield, 61, 62, 68.
[116] Stansfield, 67.
[117] Stansfield, 66, 68. The act of 27 November 1391 grants the wardenship of the forests south of the Trent to Edward earl of Rutland (*CPR, 1391-96*, 12). But Thomas may have continued to hold that office and the wardenship of the New Forest until his death. Another act, dated 26 April 1397, appoints Rutland to the New Forest and "all other the king's forests this side Trent, as fully as Thomas, late earl of Kent … held the office" (*CPR, 1396-99*, 118).

appointments that afforded him the prestige and lifestyle necessary to a king's brother. But when Thomas came into his inheritance, reducing his financial dependency, there no longer was a need to maintain a close connection with the crown as an institution, or with Richard as a brother. The parting of the ways seems to have been mutual after 1389, when Richard regained control of his government and began retracting the favors shown to his now-distant brother Thomas.

John Holland's star, on the other hand, rose significantly after 1389. Even more than Thomas, John was relatively poor in his early years, with no endowment of lands, no wife, and no real military experience by Richard's accession in 1377. Once Richard became king, however, John received an annuity that later became a landed grant, which was augmented later still with other grants and wardships, including a lordship in Gascony in 1380.[118] These awards served to bind John to Richard's government, since without them, he was utterly without land or wealth.

John's political career began in 1381, when he was appointed as a justice of the peace in Cheshire, although when he was denied a post as lieutenant in Ireland in 1382, he appears to have begun exploring other avenues to wealth and status.[119] John associated himself increasingly with John of Gaunt. When Gaunt undertook embassies to Calais in 1383 and 1384, John Holland was with him, and on the second trip, Holland gained the rank of knight banneret.[120] He joined Gaunt's expedition to Castile in 1386 as constable of the army, and before the army left Plymouth, he married Gaunt's daughter Elizabeth—

[118] Stansfield, 69-70, 71.
[119] Stansfield, 71.
[120] Stansfield, 71.

reportedly after seducing her.[121] Still, Holland did not withdraw from Richard's orbit even as he pursued the Lancastrian connection; as Richard slowly took control of his government, Holland continued to benefit from his fraternal connection to the king, receiving a substantial grant in the form of 13 manors in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.[122]

John joined Richard for the expedition against Scotland in 1385, but at that point, his career lurched to a halt. Some of his men quarreled with the men of Sir Ralph Stafford, eldest son of the earl of Stafford and a favorite of the king, and two of John's men died as a result. According to Froissart, when John learned of the death of his squire (Froissart reports that only one died, not two as in the *Westminster Chronicle*), he

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[121] Stansfield, 76. According to the Winchester chronicler, Holland "fell violently in love with her at first sight and pursued his wooing night and day until at last his constantly renewed campaign of enticement led to such folly that by the time her father the duke left for the coast she was with child" (193). The continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* contained in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 197, pg. 130ff echoes this account (*Polychronicon Ranulph Higden, monachi Cestrensis: Together with English Translations of John Trevisa and an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London: Trübner & Co, 1886), 9:96). Elizabeth had been betrothed to the earl of Pembroke (b.1372) since 1380, but the marriage had not yet taken place (*Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, ed. and trans. L.C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 193; *Polychronicon*, 9:96). Armitage-Smith, whom Stansfield cites, is careful to distinguish between betrothal and marriage, but Stansfield (76) and contemporary chronicler Henry Knighton (*Knighton's Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G.H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 343) both claim Elizabeth and Pembroke were married at the time of the seduction. The arrangement, whatever its true nature, was voided, and Elizabeth was hastily wedded to Holland.

[122] John received the promise of these manors late in 1384, and the manors themselves in 1386 and 1387, upon the deaths of the holders (Stansfield, 72-73). There is some difficulty in ascertaining when Richard began to exercise royal power on his own. It is impossible to determine how much weight his opinion held in the deliberations of the Continual Council that met until 1380, and beyond that, by the later Middle Ages, there were so many acts undertaken in the name of the king that no monarch could have originated them all himself. Moreover, as Richard's adolescence progressed, Parliament sought to curtail his ability to assert his prerogatives by restricting his finances and his freedom to appoint his own counselors. By his middle teenage years, however, Richard actively sought to assert some control over his government, which involved, among other things, the promotion of his favorites, and, as Fletcher argues, an attempt by the king to prove his mature manhood through a military expedition to the continent (which, nevertheless, never launched). Richard did succeed in leading an army against the French (in Scotland, not the continent), but his choices during and after the campaign led to calls for more oversight and attempts to control his actions. Parliament subjected him to a new Continual Council, also known as the Commission, in autumn 1386—when he was 19—and then he had to deal with the Lords Appellant. Thus, despite his efforts throughout his minority, Richard did not gain full control of his government until 1389, and even then, his situation was precarious. See Fletcher, 84-106, 128, 140-43, 151-80.

"seemed completely mad and said: 'I will not drink nor eat until it is amended.'"[123] According the *Westminster Chronicle*, Richard assured John that he would "bring the affair to such a conclusion that it would conduce to his interests and his honour alike," but John took justice into his own hands: he found Sir Ralph and killed him.[124] John then sought sanctuary in a nearby church because he was afraid of retaliation by the Staffords, and "he did not know what his brother, the king Richard of England, would say."[125]

The Westminster chronicler reports that "When the death of the earl's son [Sir Ralph] was made known the king abandoned himself for some time to tears and mourning, since he had loved the lad all the more tenderly for having been a contemporary and comrade in the heyday of his own youth."[126] As Nigel Saul notes, Ralph's death was a political blow as well as a personal loss, since the Staffords were a family whose support Richard needed, and the youthful Ralph likely would have become a vital member of Richard's government.[127] In response, Richard "declared upon his oath that neither his kinship with his brother nor any entreaty that might be addressed to him should prevent John Holland from being subjected to the common law as a vulgar homicide."[128] In Froissart's account, Richard tells Ralph's father that he certainly would render justice in the matter such that the barons would not dispute it, "And not for any

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[123] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 24 September 2014], fol. 188r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:51.
[124] *Westminster Chronicle*, 123.
[125] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 30 June 2015], fol. 188r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:51.
[126] *Westminster Chronicle*, 123.
[127] Saul, 120.
[128] *Westminster Chronicle*, 123.

brother that I might have would I do otherwise."[129] Both chroniclers therefore highlight the fraternal tie, but Froissart's portrayal speaks also to the difficulty of Richard's position. The king had to choose between fulfilling his duties as a just ruler and as a good brother, and circumstances required that he choose the former.

Thus, John lost the lands and offices he had been awarded up to that point, and remained away from politics for several years. Although he was pardoned in February 1386, chronicler Henry Knighton alleges that the pardon was not necessarily Richard's idea, but rather took place "upon the intervention of the good duke of Lancaster [John of Gaunt], and other lords of the realm."[130] It is possible that Richard encouraged this interpretation, as it would have shown him accepting the counsel of his magnates while also deflecting any potential ire that the earl of Stafford might have felt about the pardon. On the other hand, Richard may well have continued to harbor anger against his half-brother for the death of Sir Ralph, necessitating Gaunt's intervention on John's behalf.[131]

John resurfaced at the court in 1388, when he returned from a largely ineffectual campaign as constable of Gaunt's army in Spain.[132] He arrived near the end of the Appellants' control over Richard and his government, and they were keen to cultivate the influence of Holland's father-in-law John of Gaunt. Saul asserts that Holland's creation

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[129] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Miller and Croenen, in *The Online Froissart*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 24 September 2014], fol. 188v, *The Online Froissart*.

[130] Knighton, 339.

[131] Stansfield speculates that Gaunt may have been interested in developing a closer connection to Richard (and power), so he chose John Holland as the means to that end. Even despite Holland's disgrace, Gaunt made him constable of the army he was assembling for his expedition in Spain, indicating that Holland and Gaunt had formed some kind of alliance (75-76). Although this theory makes sense for the early stage of Holland's career, it is difficult to imagine how backing Holland in the wake of the murder scandal would have helped Gaunt's cause.

[132] Gaunt had married Constance of Castile, the daughter of the deposed and murdered king Pedro the Cruel (see Chapter Two), in 1371. He refused to recognize Enrique's claim to the Castilian throne, instead claiming it himself in right of his wife; Edward III recognized him as king of Castile in 1372. The military expedition was an attempt to secure his wife's inheritance and topple Enrique. See Knighton, 339; Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 111-12, 118. On Holland's role in the expedition, see Stansfield, 76-77.

as earl of Huntingdon on 2 June 1388, which came with land and an income of 2,000 marks, likely was the Appellants' idea.[133] John may have been tempted to change his loyalties at this point; Richard was little more than a figurehead at the time, and John's place at his brother's court still was not secure due to the Stafford fiasco of 1385. The Appellants would have seemed like a sure path toward prosperity, never mind that their interest in him was merely a means of accessing John of Gaunt.[134] Whatever his internal debates, the issue was decided when Richard regained control of his government.

Thus began the second phase of John's political career, during which his wealth and influence grew year by year. He began by benefitting from the downfall of the Appellants, receiving the post of admiral of the west and captain of Brest. By February 1390, he was chamberlain of the royal household.[135] The grants of castles, lordships, and wardships he received between 1389 and 1393 made him a rich and powerful man, and he became even more so when he was created duke of Exeter in 1397.[136] John owed his wealth and status entirely to his brother the king, and he certainly would have been cognizant of that fact.

Except for a brief moment after Richard's deposition, John remained Richard's devoted ally until his death in 1400. As the foregoing suggests, John's loyalty undoubtedly was connected to—perhaps even caused by—the material and social gains that he accrued because of his royal association. We need not go as far as Stansfield, however, who argues that greedy and ambitious John was willing to support whomever

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[133] Saul, 243; *CPR, 1385-89*, 494-95; *Rotuli parliamentorum; ut et petitiones, et placita in parliament tempore Ricardi R.II* (London, 1771), 3:250-51 (hereafter *RP*). Thomas de Beauchamp earl of Warwick was one of the sponsors for Holland's elevation (Saul, 243; *RP*, 3:251).
[134] Stansfield, 79; Saul, 243.
[135] Saul, 243-44.
[136] Saul, 244, 382; Stansfield, 106.

would give him the most. In Stansfield's view, John abandoned his brother for Henry Bolingbroke, then changed his mind again after it became clear that the new king would not shower him with wealth.[137] In Stansfield's analysis, John made a calculated choice: "his half-brother had still been a more beneficent relative than his brother-in-law [Henry IV] was proving to be; so he chose to help remove the latter."[138]

It is true that after Henry Bolingbroke's coronation as Henry IV, John and other former Ricardian supporters endured the loss of the lands and titles they had received since 1397, when Richard's uncle Thomas of Woodstock, the duke of Gloucester, was imprisoned for treason.[139] New grants were slow in coming, and since many of John's previously awarded grants had disputed titles, John witnessed the depletion of what wealth remained to him.[140] It is also true that John participated in the Parliament that approved Richard's deposition and Henry's elevation, and he assisted with Henry's coronation on 13 October 1399.[141] But caution is required in assessing freedom of choice to these latter actions, as John almost certainly would have been pressured into supporting the usurper. Although extant sources suggest that Henry was not immediately inclined to execute his predecessor, John may have believed that Richard was doomed to death, and that support beyond what he had showed his brother during Henry's rebellion would threaten his own life.[142] In contrast to Stansfield's pessimistic view, Saul holds that Richard's former supporters, which included John Holland, "continued to grieve over [Richard's] loss and hankered after his restoration."[143]

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[137] Stansfield, 126, 128, 130.
[138] Stansfield, 130. Henry was the brother of John Holland's wife Elizabeth.
[139] Stansfield, 126.
[140] Stansfield, 129.
[141] Stansfield, 126; Saul, 422-23.
[142] Saul, 424.
[143] Saul, 424.

In the end, we cannot know why John deserted his ousted brother, nor why he returned to Richard's cause in January 1400. For Richard's tenure in power post-1389, however, it seems that the tie that bound John to his brother was largesse. John received lands, titles, wealth, and the status that went along with these things from Richard's hand. But the presence of material benefits does not necessarily indicate the absence of brotherly feeling. Perhaps John's leadership of the January rebellion against Henry was motivated by both.

Richard's motives for his support of John were calculated as well. As indicated above, Richard's reign was beset by challenges from beginning to end, and he lacked the extensive network of siblings and children that, for example, Charles V of France or his grandfather Edward III had enjoyed. The tactic he employed in his early years of advancing a small group of relative nobodies, such as his teacher Sir Simon Burley, had failed because these men could not provide the strong base of support he needed to secure his reign, and because Richard's concentration of favors on them alienated everyone else. The Lords Appellant made these errors abundantly clear to the young king when they seized power in 1386-87.[144] John Holland, on the other hand, was descended from royal stock (Edward I was his great-grandfather through the distaff side), and was half-brother to a king, making him prestigious enough to be useful while not engendering resentment about obscure origins.[145] Moreover, John obviously was beholden to Richard, unlike the king's uncles John of Gaunt and Thomas of Woodstock—Gaunt had exerted considerable influence during Richard's minority and was the most direct competitor for the throne as

[144] Saul, 112-20, 128-29. The Lords Appellant executed Burley in 1387 (Saul, 194). For the Appellant Crisis, see Saul, 176-204 and Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*.
[145] Joan of Kent's father was Edmund earl of Kent, the youngest son of Edward I (Stansfield, 20).

Edward III's eldest surviving son, and Woodstock was a member of the Lords Appellant.[146]

Richard's grants of estates to the Hollands across Southampton, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, both before and after the Appellants Crisis, meant that his royal authority had a presence throughout southern England, in many cases at the expense of political opponents.[147] John's reputation as a warrior, attested by Froissart on the basis of his performance in several tournaments, including St. Inglevert (1390), and his experience as constable of the Spanish expedition in 1386 meant that he was able to offer valuable military service.[148] Richard took advantage of this by making him captain of three vulnerable border posts, first at Brest, then Carlisle, and finally Calais, as well as castles of strategic importance throughout the 1390s.[149] Through Richard's orchestration, John's family (including Thomas' children and grandchildren) married into most of the major noble houses of England—Lancaster, York, Stafford, Mortimer, Beaufort, Montague, Neville, de Vere, and Mowbray—which planted royal supporters throughout the

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[146] Richard's rule, although Goodman argues that Gaunt used that influence to bolster the king (*John of Gaunt*, 83-84). After the Peasants' Revolt, which was at least partly directed against him, Gaunt began to work for his own interests (Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 78, 87; Fletcher, 84). He maintained the appearance of dominance in the government until 1386, when Gaunt set out for Spain to pursue his claim to the Castilian crown (Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 87). As Goodman points out, minor kings usually came to resent their regents and advisors as they grew to maturity, which is what happened with Richard and Gaunt in the 1380s. Their relationship became more cordial later in Richard's life (Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 88). See also Chris Given-Wilson, "Richard II and the Higher Nobility," in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 107; Fletcher, 77-78

[147] Stansfield, 66, 80-83; Michael J. Bennett, "Richard II and the Wider Realm," in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, 194-95.

[148] For the St. Inglevert tournament, see Book IV of Froissart's chronicle, BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 42r-58r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 17 May 2015], and BL Royal ms. 18 E II, fol. 50v-70r, reproduction at the British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_18_e_ii_fs001r> [accessed 17 May 2015].

[149] For John's usefulness as a border post captain, see Stansfield, 93, 105, 116. For the castles, see Stansfield, 92.

peerage.[150] By the end of Richard's reign, John was a central figure at court, which benefited both brothers.

Although there were points of tension, when John might have turned against his brother and vice versa, self-interest brought both men back together in every instance. Self-interest was the operating principle for Thomas Holland as well, although with different results. His early years were marked by the necessity of maintaining close relations with Richard (and the Continual Council) so that he could avoid penury, but when he became independently wealthy after his mother's death, he realized he no longer needed Richard's largesse. Thus, he withdrew from political life. The presence or absence of affection is impossible to determine with certainty for any of these brothers, but the fact of their fraternal connection made the Hollands both useful to Richard's rule and appropriate recipients of his gifts and trust. In providing material and social gains to his brothers, Richard was acting as an elder brother—and a ruler—ought to do, and these gains, in turn, ensured the Hollands' loyalty.[151] Even if their relationship did not adhere fully to the spirit of ideal brotherhood, it demonstrated the key elements of support, faithfulness, and cooperation.

In some ways, the situation of kings and their brothers was unique. The institution of the appanage generally applied only to them—the Breton dukes also supplied appanages to younger sons and brothers, but they considered themselves to be sovereigns rather than merely peers of the French realm.[152] Although noble cadets looked to their elder brothers for leadership, as Jean de Beaumont did with Guillaume I of Hainaut or

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[150] Stansfield details these connections, 97-102.
[151] Although Richard was, technically, the youngest brother of the three, his status as king made him the de facto senior.
[152] See Part II.

Antoine and Philippe did for Jean the Fearless, the younger brothers of non-royal noblemen were not beholden to their elders in the way that royal appanagists were. Yet, the ideal brotherhood that kings and their brothers practiced was in essence the same as that of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, for example, or Duke Jean I of Bourbon and Hector, or the knights Thierry and Guillaume de Sommaing.

Conclusion

In addition to the cases analyzed thus far, Froissart and Monstrelet include numerous references to brothers working and playing together. Many of them feature men of very minor standing, whose deeds and names otherwise would be lost in time. Thus, the "three brothers de Harlebeke" were among the duke of Brabant's force in the English battle lines before Buironfosse.[153] During the siege of Oudenarde by Philip van Artevelde's forces, "Lambert de Lambres and Tristan his brother, and the lord de Luneghien won great renown" through frequent sallies from the town.[154] The brothers Guy and Guillaume de la Tremouille competed in a tournament in St. Catherine's square in honor of the queen's first entry into Paris in 1389.[155] Monstrelet records that "Sir Boort Quieret and his brothers" were part of the Picard force that supported Jean the Fearless in his defeat of the Liègeois.[156]

Some of these relatively low-status brothers receive more sustained coverage, such as "Sir Robinet de Mailly and two of his brothers," who were among the leaders of

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[153] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2663," ed. Croenen et al., in *The Online Froissart* http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart [accessed 12 June 2015], fol. 48v; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:55.
[154] Froissart, *Chroniques*, "Besançon 865," ed. Ainsworth, in *The Online Froissart* <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> [accessed 30 June 2015], fol. 113r; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 1:714.
[155] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol.12v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:404.
[156] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 1:372; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:124.

Jean the Fearless' expedition to Paris in 1418.[157] When Robinet fell off his horse into a bog and "died there very piteously," Duke Jean and "especially [Robinet's] three brothers, who were in that company, expressed great sorrow. [These brothers were] master Jean de Mailly, who later was bishop of Noyon, Colard, and Ferry.[158] The Mailly brothers continued to work together in military enterprises after their tragic loss. Ferry and another brother, Nicholas, became co-governors of St. Riquier when the Burgundians gained control of it.[159] Ferry and Colard participated in Jean de Luxembourg's siege of Guise.[160] These two also were in charge of the castle of Chauny-sur-Oise when it was overthrown by the town's Orléanist residents.[161]

The image of brotherhood that emerges from these cameos and the longer vignettes is one of loyalty, protection, and indeed love. For Froissart especially, but Monstrelet as well, this ideal brotherliness spanned the nobility, from the lowest knights to the kings of England and France. The reality on the ground, as it were, indicates that the brotherhood Froissart depicts was tightly bound up with material and social benefits—lands, titles, pensions, and the like. These elements facilitated fraternal harmony. But the presence of cold, hard cash does not negate the image of brotherhood that Froissart promotes. First, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine with certainty whether such perks were enticements to cooperation or rewards for support, or

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[157] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:214-15; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:380.
[158] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:378: "par espécial, ses trois frères qui estoient en ladicte compaignie en menèrent grant dueil, c'estassavoir maistre Jehan de Mailli, qui depuis fut évesque de Noiom, Colard et Ferry"; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:435.
[159] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:73; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:469.
[160] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 4:184; BnF ms. fr. 2682, fol. 16r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591670> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:508.
[161] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 5:19-20; BnF ms. fr. 2682, fol. 95v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591670> [accessed 30 June 2015]; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:601-02. For the genealogical details of this family, as well as the offices each of the brothers held, see P. Ange and P. Simlicien, eds., *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Compagnie des libraires associez, 1733), 7:624, 653-54, 416.

both at once. Furthermore, as the cases in this chapter show, not every instance of harmonious interactions between brothers involved personal gain. Brothers might possess sufficient wealth and influence to keep them from fraternal clashes that would put their holdings and status at risk. The sons of Edward III of England—even disagreeable Thomas—or Jean de Beaumont vis-à-vis his brother Guillaume I of Hainaut are examples. In other words, land, wealth, and titles served as for a way of managing life within the constraints of contemporary society, a relief valve for the pressures imposed by the strictures of hierarchy and inheritance and the competitiveness of chivalric masculinity.

PART II

Introduction to Part II

Thus far, this study has taken a broad view, looking at brotherhood, masculinity, and chivalric culture across a wide-ranging geography and chronology. Such an approach is necessary in order to analyze men at the intersection of ideal brotherhood and chivalric masculinity in a variety of situations. The results are suggestive, even provocative, but the wide-angle lens that yields this panoramic view of brothers, masculinity, and brotherhood at the highest echelons of society also short-changes local particularities, for example, and the nuances of individual situations. Moreover, since the foundation of Part I is chronicle evidence (with the exception of the case of Louis XI and Charles), some skepticism is warranted regarding the extent to which the argument fits historical reality as opposed to the textual world Froissart and his fellow chroniclers recorded.

Part II functions as an answer to these questions. While Part I established the context of the chivalric world of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Part II narrows the focus to a single case, that of the Montfort brothers of Brittany: Duke François I (c. 1414-50), Pierre (1418-57), Gilles (1424/25-50), and illegitimate brother Tanguy, called the Bastard of Brittany (d. after 1459). It does so primarily based on documents of practice, which carry a different set of evidentiary concerns than chronicles. The court proceedings, letters, accounting registers, and testaments that form the basis for Part II's analysis reveal the imprint of their makers' hopes and aims, which are as illuminating as the chroniclers' choices, but in different ways. This deep case study thus reinforces the arguments presented in Part I by bearing them out in minute detail.

In this introduction, I survey Brittany's history since the mid-fourteenth century, the events and ideologies of which continued to bear fruit in the fifteenth. I also provide a sketch of English politics during the reign of King Henry VI, since they directly affected events in Brittany toward the end of the Montfort brothers' conflict. I then discuss the contemporary Breton chroniclers whose works provide witness to the tumultuous events of fifteenth-century Brittany. The task of Chapter Four is to present the immensely involved narrative of the four brothers' interactions in the 1440s, with pertinent background and context. On the basis of this material, Chapter Five concentrates on François and Gilles to explore the ways in which the two brothers deployed and manipulated ideal brotherhood, and the ways chivalric masculinity impinged on their fraternal relationship.

First, though, a brief sketch of François, Gilles, and their quarrel is necessary. François, whose sympathies in the Hundred Years' War were strongly pro-French, succeeded his father as duke of Brittany in 1442. Relations between him and his youngest brother Gilles, who had been fostered with England's King Henry VI, appear to have been amicable at that point. But by 1445, Gilles was openly hostile and secretly conspiring with English operatives. The catalyst to their quarrel was the matter of an appanage in Brittany: Gilles demanded one, François steadfastly refused to provide. After pardoning Gilles for treason in October 1445, François arrested his brother a second time in 1446. He failed in his effort to obtain capital punishment through the Breton Estates General, so placed Gilles in captivity instead. This situation continued for almost four years, in increasingly dismal conditions.

Attempts by French and English ambassadors to ameliorate the situation failed, as did an English-orchestrated sack of the Breton town of Fougères in March 1449. This assault was intended to coerce François into freeing Gilles, but it had much the opposite effect, apparently exacerbating François' negative feelings toward his brother. On 24 or 25 April 1450, Gilles was poisoned and then strangled to death by the henchmen of François' court favorite. François himself died that summer from an illness he contracted while on campaign to recover Fougères and other English possessions in neighboring Normandy.

Context: Brittany and England

The War of Breton Succession, which established the Montfort family upon the ducal throne, began—rather fittingly considering this study's topic—with a squabble between half-brothers: Duke Jean III had no children, and for most of his reign, he was adamant that his half-brother from his father's second marriage, Jean de Montfort, should not inherit the duchy. The other potential heir was a niece, Jeanne de Penthièvre, whom he married to the French king's nephew, Charles de Blois. The plan was for Charles and Jeanne to take the reins upon Jean III's death, and Charles swore oaths to that effect. However, Jean apparently changed his mind in 1340, reconciled with his half-brother, and wrote a new testament that designated Montfort as the heir.[1] Thus, at his death on 30 April 1341, Jean III left a mess.

Because of Jean III's exclusionary policy, Jean de Montfort could not build the sorts of alliances in Brittany that were necessary for him to take over power smoothly in

[1] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 370-71.

such a contested atmosphere—the Breton clergy and nobility supported Charles and Jeanne. Montfort and his wife, Jeanne of Flanders, thus made the first move, taking control of the principal Breton city of Nantes in May 1341 and seizing most of the late duke's treasury. In June, he gained control of Champtoceaux, Rennes, and Dinan, meaning he now controlled most of the strong places of eastern Brittany. By the end of the summer, Jean controlled most of the duchy, having taken the southern and western coasts.[2]

Charles, in the meantime, sought aid from his uncle, King Philippe VI of France, who initially ignored him. Philippe had trouble enough in the south with King James II of Majorca repudiating French suzerainty and English hostilities in Gascony, and with the truce of Esplechin expiring in June 1341. As the English prepared a fleet for invasion that summer, Philippe heard rumors that Jean de Montfort intended to swear allegiance to King Edward III, and this is what prompted Philip to intervene in Brittany both militarily and via the law. Jean was summoned to the Parlement of Paris in late August 1341, and when it became clear to him that the duchy would be awarded to his rival, and that he would then be held hostage to enforce the transfer of power, he fled back to Nantes and prepared for the broadening of the war. Parlement duly proclaimed Charles de Blois as the rightful heir of Brittany on 7 September 1341, and an army was mustered.[3]

Upon his return to Brittany, Jean attempted to secure assistance from Edward III in exchange for his oath of allegiance, but the expedition Edward planned was canceled before it left the English coast. In the meantime, the French army, commanded by Charles de Blois and Philippe's son, the future Jean II, launched an attack from the Loire

[2] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 374, 375, 377.
[3] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 378-80, 383-84.

region in October 1341. The castle of Champtoceaux fell at the end of the month, which signaled the demise of Jean de Montfort's cause. Nantes fell, and Montfort surrendered all of his Breton possessions to the French king in exchange for Philippe's promise to reconsider his claim to the duchy. Once in Paris, however, Jean was imprisoned and the coalition he had built in Brittany began to evaporate. Charles de Blois controlled all of francophone Brittany by February 1342.[4]

The Montfort cause would have been completely finished at that point except for the efforts of Jean's wife, Jeanne of Flanders. She made a series of astute tactical decisions that allowed her to maintain a toehold in Brittany, then sent a diplomatic party to England to secure assistance from Edward III. Via her agents, Jeanne ceded control of the Montfort possessions to the English king, who authorized a military expedition to defend them, in exchange for the entirety of the duchy's treasury. But help from England was slow to materialize in Brittany, and Charles de Blois' army penetrated into Montfort-held territory during the summer of 1342. Montfort hopes suffered a further blow when the newly elected pope, Clement VI, who was firmly attached to French interests, immediately began to work to prevent further English aid from arriving in Brittany.[5]

Eventually, however, the English arrived in force, commanded by Edward III himself, which turned the tide of the war. Although Edward was unable to capture Vannes as he had intended, English raiding parties took several towns in eastern Brittany and subdued remaining Blois supporters in the west. The truce of Malestroit of 19 January 1343 between the forces of Philippe and Edward preserved the English king's gains in southern and western Brittany, and maintained the status quo between the two

[4] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 385-86, 388-89.
[5] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 390-91, 395-96.

powers in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland.[6] Brittany clearly was a theater of the wider war between England and France.

Fighting in Brittany continued unabated throughout the period of the truce of Malestroit. Although Edward III had withdrawn to England and Philippe VI had ended military intervention by the French army, Charles de Blois refused to adhere to the terms of the truce. The Montfort faction suffered under the lack of a leader—Jeanne of Flanders was suffering mental illness and was enclosed in an English castle, her madness a secret; Jean de Montfort eventually was released from prison, but under the condition that he would not return to Brittany; the children of Jean and Jeanne were too young even to be effective symbols of resistance to the Blois claim. This situation persisted until 1345, when Jean absconded to England and Edward III repudiated the truce of Malestroit.[7]

A new period of hostilities began with another English expedition to Brittany, this time led by Jean de Montfort and the earl of Northampton. Montfort was not a good general and failed to make any significant gains before dying on 26 September 1345, which left the Montfort faction without a visible leader once again. Jean's son, Jean, was still a child, although the earl of Northumberland made him the figurehead of the cause and accepted oaths of homage on his behalf. Northumberland's campaigns into northern Brittany, the historic stronghold of the Penthièvre family, were ineffectual save for the capture of the town of La Roche-Derrien. The earl returned to England in the spring, although he left a garrison at the newly acquired town, and Edward III began to lose interest in Brittany. Philippe VI, much more concerned with events in the south, left Brittany to Charles de Blois. The Anglo-Montfort cause thenceforth was prosecuted by

[6] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 403, 405-07.
[7] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 409, 432-35, 454.

independent captains of middling status who enjoyed extensive authority and all the revenues they could collect from the duchy.[8]

Only in June 1347, when Charles de Blois himself was captured in battle outside La Roche-Derrien and a great number of Breton nobles were killed or captured, did the Montfort cause begin to look more promising. Philippe VI took over control of the Blois war effort, sending a lieutenant with a small army, but he could not undo the loss of Charles and the Breton nobility. As Philippe also began to lose interest in Brittany, he left the resistance to English occupation to Charles' wife Jeanne de Penthièvre, who was supported by the viscounts of Rohan. Jeanne, for her part, believed that the Blois faction needed Charles back—he had been sent to England to be held for ransom—but her attempts to negotiate with the English king yielded no results.[9] Charles remained in English custody, although he was released in 1351 to raise money for his ransom in Paris, and Jeanne struggled on without him.[10] When the new French king Jean II abandoned the Blois faction in 1352, Jeanne took matters into her own hands and negotiated a treaty with Edward III. The English king would recognize Charles as duke of Brittany in exchange for an enormous ransom, and two of their children were to remain in England as hostages while he gathered the funds to pay it. Their eldest son was to be married to a daughter of Edward III as well. The upshot of the agreement was that Brittany would be neutral in the wider conflict of England and France.[11]

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[8] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 471-73, 493-94, 572.
[9] Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 574-76; Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 25.
[10] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 91. The new French king, Jean II, agreed to pay Charles' ransom himself, but could not make the first payment in time. Charles had to surrender himself into English custody again in May 1352.
[11] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 100-01.

The Montfort cause appeared lost, but Edward was unable to persuade the independent captains in Brittany to abide by the terms of the new peace. Charles de Blois lost patience and his men attacked an English garrison in September 1353, giving Edward an excuse to abandon the treaty. Once again, Charles returned to prison in England, and the Montfort cause revived a few years later with the military expedition of John of Gaunt, in September 1356. Although Charles de Blois had been released by that time to raise funds for his ransom, he could do nothing to prevent Gaunt's conquest of most of the remaining Blois holdouts in Brittany. England continued to govern Brittany in the young Jean de Montfort's name until 1362, when Jean came of age and Edward formally surrendered the duchy to him. English troops remained in Brittany for several more years.[12]

With Jean now installed in Brittany and Charles de Blois once again at his liberty and supported by the intrepid Bertrand du Guesclin, the Montfort-Blois conflict took on new life. Although Jean and Charles agreed in July 1363 to a compromise that would have split Brittany between them, Charles soon repudiated it. Open war resumed in the summer of 1364, but without the support of either Edward III or the new king of France, Charles V. The Battle of Auray, fought on 29 September 1364, decided the civil war at last—Charles de Blois was killed, along with 800 of his men, with another 1,500 captured. The death of Charles led immediately to his faction's dispersal: Jeanne de Penthièvre fled to Angers and most of the remaining Blois strongholds surrendered. The new duke, Jean IV, mended fences with King Charles V and offered to render him homage. The war finally ended on 12 April 1365 at Guérande, where Jeanne de

[12] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 134-35, 250-51, 459.

Penthièvre formally recognized Jean IV as duke. In exchange, she was allowed to keep her possessions in Brittany.[13]

The circumstances of the Montfort victory meant that Jean IV necessarily had to tread a careful path between England and France. On one hand, Jean owed everything to the English. After the death of his father, Edward III had taken up his guardianship and his cause, and it was only through English efforts that the Montforts retained any foothold in the duchy during Jean's minority. On the other hand, the duke of Brittany was a peer of France, and eastern Brittany in particular was strongly francophone even after a quarter-century of civil war.[14]

Jean used this difficult position to craft a more autonomous position for his duchy, but not without a significant challenge from the Penthièvre-Blois camp. Charles de Blois' family had been lobbying for canonization proceedings, which began in summer 1371, despite Jean IV's efforts to prevent them.[15] Jean's hold on power was shaky and growing shakier, and the advancement of the cult of Blois only weakened his position. Indeed, he was forced to flee Brittany in 1373, and he remained absent from the duchy until August 1379, following a failed attempt by King Charles V to annex Brittany to France. By that

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[13] Sumption, *Trial by Fire*, 490, 517-20.

[14] Michael Jones, *Ducal Brittany, 1364-1399: Relations with England and France during the Reign of Duke John IV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), xv; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, 376.

[15] Although Charles de Blois' contemporaries considered him to be very pious, the attempt to canonize him certainly was politically motivated. Louis duke of Anjou and King Charles V supported the effort, which would have bolstered the Blois claim to Brittany had it succeeded. The fact that the papacy was in Avignon at the time and thus inclined toward the French king's wishes, and that the canonization proceedings were abandoned when the papacy returned to Rome in 1376 lends further weight to the charge of political undercurrents. The case laid dormant until the 1870s, and Charles de Blois finally was beatified in 1904. See Jones, *Ducal Brittany*, xvi, 66; Michael Jones, "Politics, Sanctity and the Breton State: The Case of the Blessed Charles de Blois, Duke of Brittany (d. 1364)," in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Pallister (London; Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 2000), 228.

time, the canonization effort had stalled indefinitely due to changing papal politics, and Jean was able to consolidate his rule at the expense of the Penthièvre-Blois faction.[16]

The balancing act that Jean V was to continue in 1399 began with Jean IV's attempt to establish a measure of independence from both England and France, despite his connections to both. He negotiated the concession of the lordship of Richmond—which François I would later attempt to renew—as part of the Anglo-Breton treaty of 1372, and the diplomatic contacts he maintained with England throughout his reign were meant to shore up Brittany's position. With France, Jean and his lawyers sought to modify the terms of his homage in 1366 and 1381, and he successfully balked at fulfilling the services he owed to the crown. Jean's reign also saw the development of important institutions, such as the *chambre des comptes* and the office of the receiver-general, as well as the growth of the duke's regalian rights, including ennoblement, licensure of fairs and fortifications, control of taxation, the minting of coins, and prosecution of treason.[17] Thus, Jean firmly set Brittany upon a path toward autonomy.

Jean V's approach to the challenge of preserving an independent Brittany involved making use of the numerous brothers and sisters who survived to adulthood. He was only 10 years old when Jean IV died in 1399, which meant that the task of arranging his younger siblings' marriages fell almost entirely to him. He began in 1407 with the marriages of Marguerite to Alain IX count of Rohan and youngest sister Blanche to Jean IV count of Armagnac. The count of Rohan had been a staunch supporter of the enemy Blois faction during the Breton civil war, so the union of Montfort and Rohan was useful domestically. Blanche's marriage into the French nobility reinforced the connections

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[16] Jones, *Ducal Brittany*, xv, 60-76, 200; Jones, "Politics, Sanctity and the Breton State,"224-25, 227-29.
[17] Jones, *Ducal Brittany*, 201-03; Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London: Hambledon Press, 1988), 11.

forged by their father prior to his death: the future duke had married Jeanne of France, daughter of Charles VI, in 1396, and sister Marie had married Jean I of Alençon in 1398. Youngest sister Blanche died sometime before 1419, in the midst of the civil war in France that drew in her husband, the count of Armagnac, on the Orléanists' side. The Breton ducal family implicated itself deeply in that conflict, with the marriages of Arthur to Marguerite of Burgundy (daughter of Jean the Fearless) in 1423, and Richard count of Etampes to Marguerite of Orléans (daughter of the murdered Louis and niece of the king) in the same year.[18] In addition to the marital connection to the house of Burgundy, Arthur was a member of Charles VI's court, holding the title of constable of France from 1425.

Jean V extended this multi-pronged approach to foreign policy to his eldest and youngest sons as well.[19] He connected François with the French through marriage to Yolande of Anjou in August 1431. Yolande's father, Louis II, was duke of Anjou, count of Provence, king of Naples, and had been a supporter of the Orléanist faction during the civil war. When Yolande died in 1440, Jean again sought to reinforce the French tie by setting up a union with Isabelle of Scotland, daughter of the Scottish king James I and sister-in-law to France's Charles VII. The marriage took place on 30 October 1442, two months after Jean's death. For his youngest son, Jean forged an English linkage. He made arrangements for Gilles to be fostered in England in 1432, in the household of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, where the young King Henry VI also was in residence.[20]

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[18] Jean-Pierre Leguay, "La Bretagne devant la Guerre de Cent Ans: Du neutralisme à belligerence 1399-1453," in *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale 1213-1532*, ed. Leguay and Hervé Martin (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1982), 195.

[19] Two of Jean's children maintained local connections. His eldest daughter, Isabelle, was married to Guy XIV de Laval in 1430, and middle son Pierre married François d'Amboise, the eldest daughter and heir to Louis d'Amboise, in 1431.

[20] Arthur Bourdeaut, "Gilles de Bretagne: Entre la France et l'Angleterre," *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 1 (1920): 55-56.

Although Jean V generally was inclined more to the French than the English, he renewed treaties with England in 1407, 1409, 1411, 1415, and 1417.[21] But he also fulfilled his feudal duties to the French crown, coming to Isabeau of Bavaria's aid when called in 1408, and briefly acting as arbitrator between the Burgundians and the family of the late Louis of Orléans. Still, he did not throw himself and his duchy in with France entirely. For example, he delayed his arrival at Agincourt long enough that he missed the battle, which was part of his policy of providing only the bare minimum of military assistance to the king.[22] He also signed the Treaty of Troyes, which recognized Henry VI as future king of France and England, but later rekindled the Breton alliance with Charles VII.[23] By playing both sides, Jean was able to maintain some distance from each.

While juggling diplomatic concerns outside Brittany, Jean V also had to deal with the lingering fallout from the War of the Breton Succession. The Penthièvre family remained a power in the duchy, and the intervening years had not dampened its members' ambitions or their anger. Charles de Blois' widow, Jeanne de Penthièvre, died in 1384 and was survived by their son, Jean de Châtillon, who inherited the title of count of Penthièvre. At his death in 1404, his wife Marguerite de Clisson carried on the family grudge with their sons Olivier de Blois, Jean de l'Aigle, Charles, and Guillaume. When, in 1419, Jean V aligned himself more closely with the English, thinking that the dauphin Charles' cause was lost, Marguerite de Clisson took the opportunity to establish an alliance with the future Charles VII. The Penthièvre would support him in exchange for his aid in effecting a regime change in Brittany. Thus, with Charles' encouragement, they invited Duke Jean to a St. Valentine's Day dinner at Champtoceaux in 1420, where they

[21] Leguay, "La Bretagne devant la Guerre de Cent Ans," 197.
[22] Leguay, "La Bretagne devant la Guerre de Cent Ans," 194, 197.
[23] Leguay, "La Bretagne devant la Guerre de Cent Ans," 198.

seized him and held him prisoner for several months while attempting to force him to abdicate. Jean's wife, the Duchess Jeanne (the dauphin Charles' sister), rallied the Breton Estates General, which brought charges of treason against the Penthièvre offenders and mobilized an army to besiege Champtoceaux. Marguerite and her sons released the duke in July 1420. Their land was confiscated and redistributed—some of it went to Jean's middle son Pierre—and several castles were demolished, but the Penthièvres never stood trial because they refused to participate in one.[24] Tensions continued to fester until 1448, when François I finally reached a settlement with Jean de l'Aigle, by then heir to the Penthièvre lands.[25]

The War of the Breton Succession thus had several long-lasting consequences, setting in motion the rivalries and ducal policies that would impinge on François, Pierre, and Gilles a century after Jean III's death. Also critically important to the conflict between François and Gilles was the situation in England. The death of Henry V in 1422 left the infant Henry VI (1421-71) as king. Despite Henry V's deathbed wish that his brother John duke of Bedford would be regent in France and other brother Humphrey duke of Gloucester would be regent in England, Bedford and the noblemen who would make up the regency council, led by the bishop (and future cardinal) Henry Beaufort, blocked Gloucester's ambition. Instead, Gloucester received the title of "protector" and was given nominal leadership of the council. Beaufort, however, exercised considerable

[24] Leguay, "Les aspirations à l'autonomie et le renforcement du pouvoir ducal sous les Montforts," in *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale 1213-1532*, ed. J-P. Leguay and Hervé Martin (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1982), 173-74; Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, 343.

[25] Leguay, "Les aspirations," 174. François' successor Pierre II and later duke François II continued to work on the settlement with the Penthièvre, as François' early death imperiled the peace that had been agreed, but hostilities were largely finished during François' reign.

influence due to the loans he repeatedly extended to the crown. Divisions became apparent soon; Beaufort's support of Bedford led to hostilities with Gloucester.[26]

These divisions played out over several years as Gloucester attempted to assert control over the council and king at the expense of his brother Bedford and Cardinal Beaufort. Bedford was able to suppress his brother's ambitions in the early 1430s, but his death in 1435 left Gloucester in power as heir to the throne, head of the council, and captain in France. This situation was short-lived, however. Henry's minority formally ended on 13 November 1437, and Cardinal Beaufort benefited from de facto elevation to chief minister. Gloucester's political career ended in 1441 when his wife, Eleanor of Cobham, was implicated in a plot to murder the king using magic.[27]

In practice, Henry VI was content to let the council continue to handle matters of policy while he attended to matters of grace, which he exercised capriciously. He gave grants of title, land, and money without thought to consequences, and extended pardons with the same lack of due consideration. The result was rampant factionalism. Cardinal Beaufort was the early power behind Henry's newly minted majority, and he used his influence to boost his family's interests. By this time, the English position in France was dire, and when the council launched a military expedition to the continent in 1443, Beaufort's nephew, John duke of Somerset, was put in charge. The campaign was a miserable failure, and Somerset died soon after his return to England, probably of suicide. This event marked the decline of the cardinal's power, although it may not have been the cause—it is unclear whether Beaufort retired from politics of his own accord or was pushed out. In his place, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk at the time and duke from

[26] A.J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England, 1399-1509* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Ltd., 2000), 92-95.
[27] Pollard, 100-03, 106-07, 118, 121.

1448, exerted growing influence over the king, and he gradually placed his supporters on the council.[28]

Suffolk remained in ascendancy for several years, but the king's predilection for reckless largesse put the kingdom in a financial crisis by 1446. Suffolk, backed by Henry, sued for peace with France. As a result, England gave up the county of Maine per a secret agreement in 1445, and Henry married Marguerite of Anjou. Neither the loss of Maine nor the marriage were popular in England, and Suffolk was tainted by his role in bringing them about. Moreover, Suffolk's party determined that it was necessary to get rid of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, who was imprisoned, charged with treason, and murdered in February 1447. Although his death was a financial windfall for the crown, his popularity meant that Suffolk suffered for it. The loss of Maine had other consequences as well, as English noblemen had investments there that needed to be compensated. Chief among these men was Edmund Beaufort, nephew of the cardinal, who was given the position of lieutenant general of Normandy. The transfer of Maine to French control occurred only when Charles VII mustered an army to force Matthew Gough (Gilles' correspondent and co-conspirator) and Fulk Eyton into relinquishing Le Mans in March 1448.[29] The peace process with France had become an embarrassing debacle for Suffolk, and trouble with Scotland in 1448 only compounded his political difficulties.

It is in this context that the affairs in Brittany intersected with English politics. François I's Francophile sentiments and allegiance to Charles VII, and his open hostility against his Anglophile brother Gilles, signaled further diminution of English ambitions on the continent. The English were not, however, willing to abandon Brittany to the

[28] Pollard, 107, 116, 118, 122-23, 124.
[29] Pollard, 126-28; M.H. Keen and M.J. Daniel, "English Diplomacy and the Sack of Fougères in 1449," *History* 59.197 (Oct. 1974): 387, 390.

French, as Henry VI could reasonably claim the duchy's homage via the Treaty of Troyes of 1422.[30] The dissention between François and Gilles provided an opportunity for England to intervene, with an eye toward regaining sway in Brittany. According to witness testimony, Edmund Beaufort, created duke of Somerset in March 1448, was the principal organizer of the March 1449 assault on Fougères by François de Surienne, but Somerset owed his position as lieutenant general of Normandy to Suffolk, who played a supporting role in the Fougères incident.[31] As Keen and Daniel point out, Suffolk's political freefall was certain to bring down those who benefited from his influence as well, which means that Somerset's Breton gambit was part of the failed attempt to salvage Suffolk's career.[32] Fougères was to be exchanged for Gilles' freedom, a primarily symbolic victory that Suffolk and Somerset must have hoped would improve their reputations.[33] The gamble failed, and by August 1450, Suffolk was dead and England had lost Normandy.[34]

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[30] Craig Taylor, "Brittany and the French Crown: The Legacy of the English Attack upon Fougères (1449)," in *The Medieval State*, 249. According to the 1460s treatise entitled *Pour ce que plusieurs*, English operatives secretly added Brittany to the list of English allies when they drew up the text of an extension of the truce of Tours. Under cover of darkness outside Le Mans in March 1448, they passed this altered document to the French, and all later arguments for English jurisdiction in Brittany were based on it. Keen and Daniel take this later account at face value ("English Diplomacy and the Sack of Fougères in 1449," *History* 59.197 (Oct. 1974): 387-88). Taylor, on the other hand, offers an explanation for the genesis and purpose of *Pour ce que plusieurs*, arguing that it was not a faithful account of events on the ground at the end of François' reign (Taylor, "Brittany and the French Crown," *passim*).
[31] See Chapter Four.
[32] Keen and Daniel, 390.
[33] Taylor, "Brittany and the French Crown," 245.
[34] Keen and Daniel, 389-91; Pollard, 129. Suffolk's role in botching relations with Brittany was among the charges of impeachment brought against him in the Parliament of 1450, and he was murdered as he left England to begin his sentence of exile. Somerset escaped prosecution thanks to Henry's grace, but died during the early years of the War of the Roses, in the 1455 Battle of St. Albans.

On the Chroniclers

The matter of Brittany, as the brothers' conflict is called, receives extensive treatment in the works of four contemporary and near-contemporary Breton chroniclers: Guillaume Gruel, Pierre Le Baud, Alain Bouchart, and Bertrand d'Argentré. Gruel, Le Baud, and Bouchart were connected directly to the ducal family, and d'Argentré's interest was at least in part familial, as Le Baud was his great-uncle. Yet the views contained in each chronicle and history were not simply echoes or derivatives, and they did not necessarily rehearse a party line. These witnesses thus provide invaluable perspectives that complement, and sometimes challenge, the material of the documentary sources.

The Gruel family were vassals of the lords of Montauban, the house that produced François of Brittany's favorites Jean and Arthur.[35] Both Guillaume (c. 1410-74/82) and his older brother Raoul were raised in the Montauban household, but spent their adult lives in service to Arthur de Richemont.[36] Guillaume served as a soldier in Arthur de Richemont's retinue for 30 years beginning around 1425, participating with Arthur in the Norman campaign of 1449-50, among other occasions. Like Raoul, Guillaume received several gifts upon Arthur's accession to the ducal throne in 1457, including an

[35] Achille Le Vavasseur, "Introduction," to Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, connétable de France, duc de Bretagne (1393-1458)*, ed. Le Vavasseur (Paris: Renouard, 1890), ix.
[36] Le Vavasseur, "Introduction," ix, xi. In 1420, Raoul (d. 1463) joined Arthur in captivity in England (Arthur had been captured at Agincourt). He helped negotiate his first two marriages, to Marguerite of Burgundy in 1423 and Jeanne d'Albret in 1442. He also played a role in the negotiations leading up to the treaty of Arras (1435) between France and Burgundy. Like Guillaume, Raoul made a career of military service as well: he was knighted in 1439 outside Avranches and later was captain of Solidor (near St. Malo). Once Arthur became duke, he granted Raoul several pensions and gifts (Le Vavasseur, "Introduction," ix-x).

appointment as captain of Dol.[37] He remained in that office until 1459, after Arthur's death. He does not seem to have been elevated to the knighthood as his brother was.

Gruel's contribution to the historical record is a chronicle of Arthur's life and exploits, written between 1462 and 1466. His sources include Arthur himself as well as other eye-witness accounts (including his own for the years 1425-58), with limited reliance on archival materials.[38] The work survives in three manuscripts: Nantes, Médiathèque ms. 966 (fifteenth century); BnF ms. fr. 5037 fol. 43-119 (early sixteenth century); and BnF ms. fr. 5507 (early seventeenth century).[39] Gruel's autograph manuscript does not survive.[40] The best modern edition, which I use here, is that of Achille Le Vavasseur, completed in 1890. It is based on the Nantes manuscript with "several corrections and additions" drawn from the other witnesses.[41]

A near-contemporary of Gruel, Pierre Le Baud (c.1440/50-1505) also moved in ducal circles. He was a son of petty Breton nobility and worked as secretary to Jean de Malestroit, lord of Derval, to whom he presented his *Compillation des chronicques et ystores des Bretons* (BnF ms. fr. 8266) in 1480.[42] He then served the second wife of Duke François II, Marguerite de Foix, for whom he produced a genealogy of Brittany's rulers in 1486. Le Baud changed patrons again in 1490 when he became secretary to Duchess Anne of Brittany. He remained in her service when she married King Charles VIII in 1491 and became queen of France. Le Baud wrote his second great historical work during

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[37] Le Vavasseur, "Introduction," xv-xvi; Michael Jones, "Gruel, Guillaume," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. Graeme Dunphy (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:737-38.
[38] Le Vavasseur, "Introduction," xxxi; Jones, "Gruel," 1:738.
[39] Jones, "Gruel, Guillaume," 1:738. The sixteenth-century manuscript, BnF ms. fr. 5037, is available in digital facsimile at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449698r. For descriptions of these manuscripts and others that are no longer extant, see Le Vavasseur, xlii-li.
[40] Le Vavasseur, lxi.
[41] Le Vavasseur, lxiii.
[42] Michael Jones, "Le Baud, Pierre," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 2:1011. This illuminated manuscript is available in digital facsimile at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h.

this period, a revision of his earlier *Compillation* now titled *Livre des croniques des roys, ducs et princes de Bretaigne armoricane*, which he presented to Queen Anne in 1505; it is extant as BL Harley ms. 4371. Due to the work's publication as *Histoire de Bretaigne* by Pierre d'Hozier in 1638, this is the title by which it is most commonly known.[43]

While the passages on the matter of Brittany follow the same narrative arc in both chronicles, the *Compillation* is far more detailed and pointed than the later *Histoire*, despite the extensive research Le Baud did in the intervening years.[44] This difference almost certainly is connected to the question of audience, or more precisely, of patrons. Anne of Brittany was the daughter of François I's cousin, Duke François II. Le Baud could not, therefore, comment very freely in the *Histoire* on the brothers' quarrel or François' culpability. He was under no such restriction when he wrote the *Compillation* for Jean de Malestroit, whose father Geoffroy de Malestroit lord of Combour had been instrumental in preventing the Estates General from executing Gilles in 1446.[45]

It would be tempting to think of the *Histoire de Bretaigne* as the more "official" version of the brothers' conflict, or at least the more officially acceptable, and the *Compillation* as closer to the view from the non-ducal ranks of the aristocracy, but this interpretation is too simplistic. Malestroit was a major baron of the duchy. In this capacity, he had reason both to make common cause with the other noble families and to maneuver against them as they all jockeyed for favor, prestige, and authority. In other words, the Malestroit viewpoint on the Montfort brothers' quarrel was not necessarily the

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[43] Jones, "Le Baud," 2:1011.
[44] Jones, "Le Baud, " 2:1011-12.
[45] Le Baud, *Compillation des croniques et ystores des Bretons*, BnF, ms. fr. 8266, fol. 368v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h> [accessed 10 June 2015]. Le Baud names the abbot of Buzay as well, who was Jean Gendron (Edouard Sich'han de Kersabiec, *La bienheureuse Françoise d'Amboise, Duchesse de Bretagne* (Nantes: V. Forest & E. Grimaud; Paris: Énault & Vuaillat, 1868), 291).

same as that of any other noble Breton house, so we cannot assume that Le Baud's rendition of events in the *Compillation* represented the views of "the aristocracy." What the *Compillation* can do, in comparison to the *Histoire*, is show the distance between two potentially competing narratives: one designed for a noble house that played a crucial oppositional role and the other written for François I's own heirs. I make use of both works here, relying on d'Hozier's edition for the *Histoire*.

Alain Bouchart (c.1440/50-1514/31) was an exact contemporary of Le Baud, and the two must have known each other, since Bouchart worked as secretary to Duke François II and then counselor to Charles VIII. His specialty was the law, which he studied at Angers or Paris before being appointed to a commission that compiled the first published edition of the *Très ancienne coustume de Bretaigne* in 1485. Bouchart strongly opposed Charles VIII's move to annex Brittany to France, but reconciled himself to the inevitable when Charles married Duchess Anne. He relocated to Paris in 1494, and worked as an advocate in Parlement until 1505, in addition to his role on the king's council.[46]

In Paris in 1514, Bouchart published his *Grandes croniques de Bretaigne*, a work meant to celebrate the Montfort ducal line. He wrote at the encouragement of Queen Anne using eyewitness accounts and a host of written sources, including Breton and French histories, law codes, and documentary records. His initial choice to stop the chronicle at François II's death (1488) shows that he still rued Brittany's incorporation into France. However, the work was such a strong seller that it was reprinted several

[46] Michael Jones, "Bouchart, Alain," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1:194-95.

times from 1518 with a new section on Anne's reign. This addition was not Bouchart's own work.[47]

There are two modern editions of the *Grandes croniques de Bretaigne*, both based on witnesses printed in 1514, but neither reproducing a single witness exactly. Henri Le Meignen was not clear about which copies he used for his 1886 edition, but according to later editors Marie-Louise Auger and Gustave Jeanneau, Le Meignen primarily worked with Nantes, Bibliothèque municipale 48220R and Brest, Bibliothèque municipale 30576.[48] Auger and Jeanneau used fourteen manuscripts to develop their edition, although their base text was printed by Galliot Du Pré in Paris, 25 November 1514.[49] This study employs the Le Meignen edition, as the relevant passages of Bouchart's chronicle are substantially similar to those in the edition of Auger and Jeanneau.

The last Breton chronicler whose work appears in this study is Bertrand d'Argentré (1519-90), a legal scholar like Bouchart and the great-nephew of Pierre Le Baud. He studied the law at the university at Bourges while nurturing a taste for history; he was twenty-three years old when he finished a Latin translation of Le Baud's history of Brittany.[50] He then took up his public career, beginning with an appointment as seneschal of Rennes in 1546/47.[51] The first of his many commentaries on Breton customary law appeared in 1566, and by 1570, he was sufficiently well-known to catch the attention of the French king Charles IX.[52]

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[47] Jones, "Bouchart," 1:195.
[48] Marie-Louise Auger and Gustave Jeanneau, "Presentation de cette édition," for *Grandes croniques de Bretaigne*, by Alain Bouchart, ed. Auger and Jeanneau (Paris: Editions du Centre Nationale de le Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 1:14.
[49] Auger and Jeanneau, "Presentation," 1:9-14.
[50] Daniel Louis Miorcec de Kerdanet, *La vie de Bertrand d'Argentré: Jurisconsulte et historien Breton* (Rennes: Duchesne, 1820), 7.
[51] Miorcec de Kerdanet, 8.
[52] Miorcec de Kerdanet, 10-12.

Bertrand's *Histoire de Bretaigne*, commissioned by the Breton Estates General, was written in three years and published in Rennes in 1582. He continued to revise his work and brought out a second edition published in Paris in 1588, but this later effort was suppressed by the procurer general of Parlement for having inserted "facts against the dignity of our king, the realm, and the French name."[53] Fiercely pro-Breton, Bertrand supported the aspirations of the duke of Mercoeur in 1589, who envisioned Brittany's secession from France.[54] For this, he was banished in December 1589, and he died three months later.[55] For this dissertation, I use the third edition printed in 1618, which Bertrand's son Charles edited.[56]

The French chroniclers Jean Chartier and Mathieu d'Escouchy also weighed in on the events in Brittany, focusing particularly on Gilles' imprisonment and murder. Chartier (d.1464) was a monk at St. Denis and Charles VII's official historiographer.[57] He worked on the *Grandes chroniques de France* for the years treating Charles VII's reign, using eyewitness testimony that included his own observations—Chartier himself was present for some of Charles' military campaigns. Although Chartier initially wrote in Latin, in 1445 he switched to French, translating everything he had written up to that point and proceeding until 1461 in the vernacular.[58] Mathieu d'Escouchy (1420-c.1482) was another of the Hainaut-born chroniclers, like Froissart and Monstrelet, whose work focused on the years 1444 to 1461. He was not, however, a Burgundian sympathizer, a point reinforced by his choice to structure his chronicle around the bookends of the truce

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[53] Jacques de la Guesle, qtd. in Miorcec de Kerdanet, 19.
[54] Miorcec de Kerdanet, 24.
[55] Miorcec de Kerdanet, 25.
[56] See Miorcec de Kerdanet, 21.
[57] Estelle Doudet, "Chartier, Jean," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1:267; Auguste Vallet de Viriville, "Notice sur la vie et la chronique de Jean Chartier," introduction to *Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France*, by Jean Chartier, ed. A. Vallet de Viriville (Paris: Jannet, 1858), 1:viii.
[58] Doudet, "Chartier, Jean," 1:267.

of Tours (which resulted in the marriage of Henry VI of England with Charles VII's niece and the return of Maine to French control) and Charles VII's death.[59]

Despite both chroniclers' devotion to the French king and cause, the death of the Anglophile Gilles, brother of Duke François I, seems to have given them pause. D'Escouchy was the more circumspect of the two, merely commenting that Gilles "was a very good knight, vigorous, well formed, and powerful of body."[60] There is an implication that it was a shame that such a man should meet so ignominious an end. Chartier's treatment is at once more direct and more enigmatic. He praises François' support of the French king, but implies that perhaps François loved Charles too much, since he was willing to move aggressively against anyone whom he perceived to oppose the king, "even against one of his own brothers, namely my lord Gilles."[61] Chartier did not mince words when it came to assessing blame for the prince's murder, writing, "the duke of Brittany, his brother, conceived a mortal hatred against him, which was so great that he ordered that [Gilles] be put to death."[62] He concludes with the judgment:

> And thus my lord Gilles finished and ended his days, very miserably and poorly, and very piteously, which is a considerable example for many others.

Clearly, he disapproved of Gilles' murder, but whether the intended lesson "for many others" concerned the risks of elevating political allegiance over kinship bonds, the problems caused by a lack of mercy, or the repercussions of Gilles' misplaced fidelity to the English is a question that lingers.

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[59] Tania van Hemelryck, "Matthieu d'Escouchy," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 2:1096.
[60] Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, ed. G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt (Paris: Renouard, 1863), 96.
[61] Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, 2:229: "mesmement contre l'ung de ses propres frères nommé Messire Gilles de Bretaigne."
[62] Chartier, *Chronique*, 2:229-30.

Chapter 4:

The Story of the Montfort Brothers

The quarrel between Duke François I of Brittany and his youngest brother Gilles, which also drew in middle brother Pierre and bastard brother Tanguy, is as intriguing as it is intricate. From the beginning, there was more to the struggle between François and Gilles than a simple case of a vassal rebelling against his lord might entail. This conflict was between brothers, which drew in the expectations of ideal brotherhood that François, Gilles, and their contemporaries professed to respect. As the conflict intensified, moreover, the matter of chivalric masculinity loomed ever larger. Gilles' continued rebelliousness, at least in part an effect of his own need to prove himself a man, posed a threat to François' masculinity. The following narrative suggests these themes, which receive full development in the final chapter of this study. Here, I aim to offer an exhaustive account of the brothers and their conflict, which will serve as the foundation for Chapter Five's analysis.

The Spark

The early years of François' and Gilles' lives give a hint of the rivalry that would later tear them apart, but only a hint. François, probably born in 1414, was the eldest son of Jean V, and as such, he stood to inherit his father's ducal title as well as the title of count of Montfort.[1] Following the custom of primogeniture, the two younger sons, Pierre

[1] Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie, citing Gui Alexis Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris: F. Muguet, 1707), 1:520) and Hyacinthe Morice, *Histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris: Delaguette, 1750), 1:447, puts François' birth in 1410, but the passage in Morice echoes Lobineau verbatim, and neither cite a medieval source. Evidence for the later date comes from an act dated 18 May 1414, in which

born 7 July 1418[2] and Gilles no later than 16 February 1425,[3] would receive smaller inheritances: Pierre was given the county of Guingamp,[4] and in 1439, Gilles received a pension of 6,000 *l.*, primarily on the lordships of Chantocé and Ingrandes, on the Loire in Anjou.[5] The boys also were assigned occasional revenues from the duchy, as when Pierre and Gilles received a two-year hearth tax of 42 *sous* per hearth in St. Brieuc sometime around 1433.[6] Gilles' living was not a beggarly sum, although the lordships he received were not as glamorous as an entire county, let alone a duchy, and they were tainted by the legacy of the disgraced murderer Gilles de Rais, from whom Jean V had purchased them.[7]

Jean V confirms the privileges of the citizens of Nantes on the occasion of "the joyous birth of our very dear and beloved son the count of Montfort" (*Lettres et mandements de Jean V*, vol. 5: *De 1407 à 1419*, ed. La Société des Bibliphiles Bretons (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1890), 177 no. 1168). There is no mention of François during the year 1410 in Jean V's acts.

[2] Hyacinth Morice, ed., *Memoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris: C. Osmont, 1744), 2:901. (Hereafter, *Preuves*.)

[3] Bourdeaut asserts the earlier date, remarking in a footnote that Gilles appears in the acts of Jean V in 1423, but he provides no citation ("Gilles de Bretagne: Entre la France et l'Angleterre," *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 1 (1920): 54). My search through the nineteenth-century edition of Jean's acts revealed no trace of this information, but it is possible that Bourdeaut had an archival source not included in the edition. Keen and Daniel follow Bourdeaut, although without citation (378-79). La Borderie holds that Gilles was born at the end of 1424 (*Histoire de Bretagne*, 4:313), but he cites what he says was Gilles' first appearance in Jean's acts, dated 16 February 1425 (*Lettres et mandements de Jean V*, vol. 6: *De 1420 à 1431*, 142-43 no. 1610).

[4] Attested in account book of Jean d'Ust: "From the receipt of Guingamp he [Jean V] received nothing, because the Duke had given it to M. Pierre his son" (*Preuves*, 2:1298).

[5] Julien Trévédy, *Le connétable de Richemont (Le duc de Bretagne Arthur III)* (Vannes: Lafolye & Fils; Rennes: Plihon & Hervé, 1900), 201; La Borderie, 4:315 n.1. Trévédy describes them as being in the "communes du canton de Saint-Georges-sur-Loire, arrondisement d'Angers" (201). For the value of Gilles' lordships, worth roughly 250,000 francs in 1900 money, see Trévédy, 202. La Borderie provides a summary of a source held in the Archives départementales de Loire-Atlantique that explains the terms of Gilles' inheritance: the 5,000 *l.* of the 6,000 *l.* rent was to come from Chantocé and Ingrandes, 800 *l.* from a tax on the trade live animals, and 200*l.* from revenue from Rennes (4:315 n.1, referencing *Inventaires des titres, lettres et chartes de Bretagne trouvées en la chambre du trésor desdittes lettres et chartes estant en la tour neufve du chateau de Nantes, 30 September 1579*, Archives départementales de la Loire-Atlantique, E 243).

"Chantocé" corresponds to modern Champtocé, or more fully Champtocé-sur-Loire, but to maintain close correlation with the medieval sources, I use the fifteenth-century spelling here.

[6] *Preuves*, 2:1269

[7] La Borderie, 4:315 n.1; Bourdeaut, 57; *Preuves*, 2:2306, 2320, 2321, 2326, 2338, 2373. Bourdeaut asserts that Jean V "acquired [the properties] under conditions of doubtful honesty" (57), but does not explore this idea. For the life, crimes, and death of Gilles de Rais, see Matei Cazacu, *Gilles de Rais* (Paris: Tallandier,

Jean V's approach to foreign relations, which featured alliances with England, Burgundy, and France, also could have facilitated rivalry between his eldest and youngest sons. As detailed in the introduction to Part II, Jean attached François to the French via marriage, and Gilles to the English through fosterage in the same household where young King Henry VI also was in residence. Close in age, Gilles and Henry seem to have struck up a friendship in the two years that Gilles stayed there. Henry's esteem for the Breton prince continued after Gilles' return to Brittany in 1434. The English ambassador Montferrant was instructed to speak directly to Gilles during his 1439 mission to Jean's court in order to tell him "how the king is very happy and thanks him very affectionately for the noble will that he has toward him."[8] Gilles' good standing in English eyes is further apparent from a 1440 treaty between England and Brittany, in which Jean V confirmed that he "has given over the ruling of the town of St. Malo to Gilles of Brittany his son, so that the king's subjects and those of the duke may freely and peaceably come and go."[9]

Such conflicting loyalties might have been sufficient on their own to cause tension within the ducal household, but the choice of François' second wife may have had an exacerbating effect as well. Jean tried twice to find a suitable match for Gilles,

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2005); Eugène Bossard and René de Maulde, *Gilles de Rais: Maréchal de France, dit Barbe-Bleue (1404-1440)* (Paris: Champion, 1886).

[8] *Preuves*, 2:1327. Montferrant also was to convey the king's appreciation of "the great and honorable offers that he made to serve him, which offers the king receives very agreeably, and has every intention of employing and occupying Monsieur Gilles, and also of recognizing his good will and the services that he will do him." The terms of Gilles' alleged offer of service are unknown, but the lack of reaction from any other parties suggests that this earlier profession of affinity for England's king was of a different character than his oath in 1443. Moreover, there was no pension attached to this profession, unlike the later version. Gilles previously had received financial support from the English court in 1432 while he was "living near the person of the king," but there is no indication that he continued to benefit from an English pension upon his return to Brittany. See Rymer, *Foedera*, 10:522 (20 *l.* on 28 August 1432, a one-time gift "for his private expenses") and Rymer, *Foedera*, 10:563 (250 mark annuity "for his private expenses and his servants").

[9] *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry VI*, vol. 3: *1435-1441*, ed. A.E. Stamp (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), 389; Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2:1067; *Preuves* 2:1342.

first with the daughter of the marquis of Ferrara (1432), then again with a Scottish princess (1437).[10] Although Gui Lobineau says only that Jean's ambassadors to Scotland were to negotiate a union "with one of the daughters of the king of Scotland," Arthur Bourdeaut claims that the intended bride was Isabelle, who later became François' wife.[11] Since King James had only two unmarried daughters at the time—twelve-year-old Isabelle and ten-year-old Eleanor—Bourdeaut's conjecture may well be correct, which would have given Gilles cause to be resentful of his elder brother.

Once planted, the seeds of the brothers' divided loyalties seem to have lain dormant for a time, even after François inherited his father's authority as duke of Brittany in 1442. Soon after his accession, he sent Gilles on an embassy to Henry VI to inquire after the earldom of Richmond, which had been a only titular possession of the family since the death of Duke Jean IV in 1399. François seems to have wanted to assume real control over it and even was willing to do homage to the English king to get it.[12] He also volunteered to serve as a mediator between Henry VI and Charles VII, with a view toward brokering a long-lasting peace between the two powers.[13] Gilles, with his close ties to the English king and court, was the perfect ambassador, and François' willingness to send him suggests that, at least from the elder brother's view, their relationship was not a cause for concern. Gilles' efforts were only moderately successful: in a letter dated 26 August 1443, Henry VI denied François' claim to Richmond, declaring that he had no record of the Bretons ever having possessed it, but he did express interest in the

[10] Lobineau, 1:588
[11] Lobineau, 1:606; Bourdeaut, 66.
[12] *Preuves*, 2:1361: "Item, as pertains to the possession of the county of Richmond that my lord of Brittany requests, in doing homage to the king by a procurator…"
[13] *Preuves*, 2:1361.

mediation proposal.[14]

France's King Charles VII, however, had no interest in peace negotiations, as shown by his reaction to Gilles' presence in England. Citing the long attachment of Gilles (and, implicitly, Jean V) "with our ancient enemies and adversaries the English," Gilles' preference for the English cause, and his return to that country, "where he is at present a counselor and favorite, and is consorting with our adversaries," Charles declared on 28 August 1443 that Gilles "constitut[ed] himself our enemy and rebel, for which cause he has forfeited and confiscated to us his body and his goods."[15] The fact that Gilles' mission was diplomatic, undertaken at his brother's command, apparently had no effect on King Charles' view of the matter. Gilles thus was left without any property, his lordships of Chantocé and Ingrandes being reassigned to Prigent de Coëtivy, Admiral of France.[16]

Faced with embarrassment, dishonor, and perhaps impoverishment, Gilles resolved to improve his fortunes on his own. On 12 December 1443, he agreed to serve

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[14] In the following analysis, I use "Henry VI" to mean both the king and the counselors who advised and at times overshadowed him. There is some debate as to the extent to which Henry controlled his government, and particularly for the king's youth, the members of his counsel certainly held sway over policy. Moreover, even for kings that were mature adults and more autonomous, they could not possibly oversee every letter and act purported to be in their name (see Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 84-85). While these complications are important to bear in mind, the question of whether Henry conceived an idea himself and personally directed its implementation is immaterial. What matters is that Henry and/or his counselors made certain moves with regard to Gilles, François, and the problems on the continent. See Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 55-58 for a survey of scholarly opinions on Henry and his role in his government.

[15] *Preuves*, 2:1362.

[16] *Preuves*, 2:1362. Trévédy (202) holds that the confiscation deprived Gilles of property only, not income, and that Gilles continued to receive a pension from François. This assertion receives some support from a sixteenth-century inventory held in the Loire-Atlantique departmental archives (*Inventaires des titres, lettres et chartes de Bretagne trouvées en la chambre du trésor desdittes lettres et chartes estant en la tour neufve du chateau de Nantes*, 30 September 1579, E 243) and described in La Borderie 4:315 n.1. However, Trévédy himself cites no sources and no record of a pension drawn on the Breton treasury survives, making it difficult to support his conclusion with certainty. Whether Gilles lost just his land or both his land and income, the confiscation damaged his honor and reputation, as the status of a nobleman was built upon control and ownership of land.

and obey the king of England "in peace and in war … in all fashions that will please [Henry] to command of him, saving his honor."[17] This was a far-reaching commitment, one that could potentially bring him into conflict with France, and by extension with his brother François, who was within the French orbit. Even with the clause "saving his honor," which he could use to excuse himself from such entanglements, Gilles' maneuver clearly aligned him with France's archenemy.

More significantly for this study, Gilles' oath to Henry was his first moment of open defiance. He acted without François' permission, a move that flouted his elder brother's familial and political authority. He may have believed that the circumstances warranted decisive action: deprived of land and thus prestige, he was residing at the court of a powerful long-time friend who could ameliorate his situation. That Henry VI happened to be the enemy of the man who was responsible for his reduced state may have made the prospect of throwing in with England even more attractive. In return for his oath, Gilles received an annual pension of 2,000 nobles, enough to begin reestablishing his status in society.[18] The youngest Montfort was thus willing to subvert and probably anger his brother in order to upgrade his own standing.

When Gilles returned to Brittany in 1444, it was with the intention of improving his circumstances even more. Technically, he still did not possess any land—although

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[17] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 6: *22 Henry VI 1443 to 39 Henry VI 1461*, ed. Harris Nicolas (London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1837): 10. In Maurice Keen and M.J. Daniel's discussion of this aspect of Gilles' life, they invert the order of events, claiming that Gilles accepted the English pension and pledged his loyalty first, and that King Charles "responded with an *arrêt* declaring Chantocé and Ingrandes confiscate" ("English Diplomacy and the Sack of Fougères in 1449," *History* 59.197 (Oct. 1974): 385). However, the events in England occurred over three months after Charles' act, making Keen and Daniel's chronology impossible.

[18] *Preuves*, 2:1364; *PPC*, 6:16. According to Trévédy, 2,000 English nobles was equivalent to 5,000 *l. tournois*, which was "more than 200,000 francs of our money" in 1900 (Trévédy, 203). By way of comparison, François assigned a pension of 2,000 *l.* to their brother Pierre in 1445-46, which was additional to his revenues from his appanage of Guingamp, his own acquisitions of Châteaulin and Minibriac, and the county of Benon that his wife brought to their marriage.

letters to him continued to be addressed to the "lord of Chantocé" and he styled himself as such more than a year later—but that problem could be remedied through marriage or through a grant from his brother the duke.[19] Gilles pursued both. His lack of land made him a poor marital prospect, so rather than try to negotiate a good match, he simply kidnapped his chosen bride, the heiress Françoise de Dinan, aged eight years.[20] With this marriage, which took place no later than 14 July 1444, Gilles became lord of Châteaubriant, La Hardouinaie, Montafilant, and Le Guildo, among other smaller holdings.[21] In right of his wife, Gilles became one of the largest landholders in Brittany, rivaling François himself and increasing his own prestige significantly.[22]

Although the payoff in terms of increased wealth was clear and immediate, Gilles' act earned him considerable ill-will. Guy XIV de Laval, father of Françoise's former fiancé, immediately allied himself with Françoise's grandfather in order to seek revenge.[23] However, rather than punish Gilles for stirring up trouble at the beginning of his reign, François intervened to save his youngest brother from possible ruin: he promised 6,000 *écus* to the grandfather and a further 1,000 to an uncle of the young heiress, as well as 20,000 *écus* to Guy de Laval.[24] Gilles helped his own cause as well,

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[19] See Gilles' letter of 26 September 1445 to his accountants, which begins, "Gilles, son of the duke of Brittany, lord of Chantocé, Châteaubriant, Montafilant, and Beaumanoir" ("Lettre de Gilles de Bretagne pour Alain Labbé, son chambellan (1445, 26 septembre)," in *Mélanges historiques, littéraires, bibliographiques*, ed. Societé des Bibliophiles Bretons (Nantes: Societé des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1883), 2:243).

[20] While modern sensibilities balk at the age of the new bride, in late medieval aristocratic society, child marriages were relatively common. Gilles' mother was only five years old at the time of her wedding (her husband was nearly seven). Françoise's vast inheritance was hers because her father and brother had died, which left her without a male protector within her own family (La Borderie, 4:319; Bourdeaut, 64).

[21] For the date by which Gilles and Françoise were married, see Bourdeaut, 66.

[22] La Borderie, 4:319; Bourdeaut, 67.

[23] Bourdeaut, 67.

[24] Bourdeaut, 67. Bourdeaut cites an archival source (E 185), which likely refers to the Archives départementales de Loire-Atlantique. At exchange rates of 1 *écu* = 25 Breton *sous* (Spufford, 194) and 1 *l. tournois* = 24 Breton *sous* (Spufford, 180) in the 1440s, 6,000 *écus* = 6,250 *l. tournois* and 20,000 *écus* = 20,833.33 *l. tournois*.

promising 20,000 *saluts* to Françoise's mother, Catherine de Rohan,[25] but François' aid was critical to the success of Gilles' self-improvement project.

François' apparent backing of his brother might suggest that relations between them were amicable and indeed cooperative, the very image of good brotherly behavior. There are, however, at least two alternative explanations. First, François could not afford to allow a feud in his duchy so soon after he gained the throne, and particularly one that involved his own immediate family. Besides being caught precariously between France and England, the house of Montfort was still mired in a long-standing disagreement with the house of Penthièvre regarding who was the rightful ruler of Brittany.[26] Risking even a minor war would have been foolhardy.

The second potential explanation for François' intervention has to do with the nature of fraternal relationships, which an *exemplum* discussed in Chapter One explores. In it, two brothers fight each other until one is threatened by an external foe, at which point they abandon their quarrel in order to unite and defeat their new enemy.[27] When faced with a major threat, familial solidarity trumps internecine strife, and François' rescue of Gilles can be read in the same light. In any case, the documents reveal only François' public actions. What he may have said to Gilles in private, or what he may have thought of his youngest brother's action, remains a matter of speculation. Even so, it is reasonable to suppose that Gilles' choice to kidnap and marry an eight-year-old, offending important noblemen and threatening the stability of François' rule in the

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[25] Bourdeaut, 67, who cites BnF fonds Doat, vol. 161, fol. 23. The *salut d'or* was issued by the English government in northern France during the fifteenth century as a competitor to the French *écu*, with the same valuation (Rémy Ambuhl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), xii). Thus, 20,000 *saluts* = 20,833.33 *l. tournois*.

[26] See the introduction to Part II.

[27] "Odonis de ceritona parabolae," in *Les fabulists latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. L. Hervieux (Paris: Libraire de Fermin-Didot, 1896), 4:284-85, no. L.

process, certainly was inconvenient for François, and would have earned him a reputation as a troublemaker, particularly given his recent behavior in England.

Despite Gilles' massive gains, he still believed that he was owed an appanage, particularly one within Brittany. Although no record of a request directly from Gilles to François survives, he did seek to use his English contacts in France and his friendship with Henry VI to influence his brother. Sometime before 5 April 1445, Gilles sent his herald to speak on the matter with two English contacts, Thomas Hoo and Robert Roos, who were in France as representatives of Henry's government.[28] They wrote to Gilles advising him that "it seems to us very expedient that … you should write and send before the king our lord in England," who would receive the missive with joy. They assured Gilles that "in him you will find all sweetness, love, and good lordship."[29] Gilles accepted their advice and sent a Monsieur N. as envoy to England, with instructions dated 5 July 1445.[30] The envoy was to remind Henry VI that Gilles should enjoy "the good grace of the King as his loyal servant in all places where he will have need."[31] More specifically, Monsieur N. was to approach Henry for assistance in the matter of a Breton appanage, "because my lord Gilles is now of an age to be able to ask his right of inheritance from Monsieur [François] of Brittany his brother [of] what appertains to him

[28] Gilles' activities and whereabouts from the time of his marriage until the letter sent by Hoo and Roos are not well attested. Bertrand d'Argentré writes that he moved his household to Le Guildo, explaining that Gilles wanted to remove his wife from Arthur de Montauban's presence (*L'histoire de Bretaigne, des roys, ducs, comtes, et princes d'icelle, depuis l'an 383 jusques au temps de Madame Anne Reyne de France*, rev. ed. by Charles d'Argentré (Paris: Nicholas Buon, 1618), 804), but the theory of Arthur's supposed sexual desire for Françoise has been discounted by most modern historians. Bourdeaut, always eager to impugn Gilles' character and England in general, argues that Gilles moved to Le Guildo to make secret communications with the English easier (Bourdeaut, 68). While there, Gilles allegedly lived a life of excess and luxury, entertaining English visitors frequently, and it was these foreigners, according to Bourdeaut, who encouraged Gilles to pursue the question of an appanage (Bourdeaut, 68).
[29] *Preuves*, 2:1374.
[30] Bourdeaut assumes that this envoy is the Thomas Lesquen named in the reconciliation proceedings of 19 October 1445 (Bourdeaut, 70; *Preuves*, 2:1386). While it is possible that they were the same person, the different names suggests that they were not and that Gilles had more than one man in England.
[31] *Preuves*, 2:1380.

as his share of land, of which he has not yet been satisfied, as he should be, like his other brother Pierre."[32] Monsieur N. was to repeat that Gilles "lives as [Henry's] loyal servant," and that he would be "happy to point out his rights before him in his council in France or in England, as his servant, and whom he claims for his principal lord."[33] As to what Henry could do for Gilles, the young lord suggested that he might "write to my lord of Brittany, [asking] that he give to my lord Gilles what pertains to him in Brittany for his right of inheritance."[34] Gilles then reiterated, through his diplomat, that he was willing and ready to serve Henry in whatever capacity necessary, short of breaking any treaties.[35]

The significance of Gilles' request for intercession is twofold. First, he was reinforcing his own feudal connection to the English court. He mentioned his position as "servant of the King" five times and called on Henry as his "principal lord" to "support and aid him." Secondly, Gilles' solicitation of Henry's assistance was an escalation of the tension between himself and his brother.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1445, Gilles maintained a network of contacts, both on the continent and in England. He received a gift sometime before August of two horses from Richard duke of York, who was currently in France to meet Charles VII.[36] Two letters from Matthew Gough, a seasoned English operative in Normandy, describe a close relationship with the young prince: Gough planned to meet Gilles "in three weeks or a month" after his letter dated 1 August, and, in an indication that he was a frequent visitor, he thanked Gilles, Françoise, and Madame de Montafilant (probably was Françoise's mother Catherine de Rohan) "for the good cheer always done

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[32] *Preuves*, 2:1380.
[33] *Preuves*, 2:1380.
[34] *Preuves*, 2:1380.
[35] *Preuves*, 2:1380.
[36] *Preuves*, 2:1381. York also sent two horses to François.

to me in your hôtel."[37] He also acted as Gilles' informant, promising that he would find out what York and Charles VII had discussed and, "as soon as I know it, I will send before you, or will write to you and cause you to know all."[38]

Gough's letters also suggest that Gilles was involved in an unwholesome business, as both include the vague language meant to maintain secrecy in written communication. On 1 August, Gough wrote, "I believe that the thing of which you and I have previously spoken will be carried out well."[39] Two months later, he wrote again, saying "if it pleases God, soon I will go before you and will tell you several things by mouth, about which I have great desire to speak to you, [but] which I cannot write to you."[40] He then provided an update on the status of three contacts in England, including one Nicolas Molineaux, whom he sent to England "for the fact that you know, and if it pleases God we will hear good news," as well as "Geoffrey your servant," whom he also mentioned in the August letter.[41] In light of the damning letter that would be confiscated by François' men that autumn, which was addressed to English operative Thomas Lesquen and signed with Gilles' own hand, we could speculate that the young prince had immersed himself in a plot that threatened François' rule, his life, or both.[42]

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[37] *Preuves*, 2:1381. For Matthew Gough's biography, see A.D. Carr, "Gough, Matthew, (d. 1450)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/view/article/48559> [accessed 9 May 2014].
[38] *Preuves*, 2:1381.
[39] *Preuves*, 2:1381.
[40] *Preuves*, 2:1382.
[41] *Preuves*, 2:1382.
[42] Gilles' letter to his accountants of 26 September 1445 suggests that he was preparing for a military endeavor. He sent money to a lieutenant of the English-held city of Avranches and made arrangements for 600 *l.* of saltpeter to be stored at Châteaubriant, at a cost of 150 *l.* (*Mélanges historiques*, 2:243-44).

Acceleration

The recovery of the letter to Thomas Lesquen gave François proof of Gilles' intrigues, as well as an opportunity to demonstrate his own power publicly and decisively. He did precisely that in the proceedings against Gilles of 19 October 1445, forcing a number of humiliating concessions before ultimately pardoning his brother. François won an unmistakable victory in the competition between the two men, and it cost him nothing. Far from being a moment of reconciliation, the events of 19 October in fact marked the beginning of a new phase of conflict.

At about this time, Henry finally responded to Gilles' entreaty to intercede with François on his behalf. He sent a forceful letter, which he copied to Gilles on 25 October 1445, in which he made the case for why François should grant Gilles a Breton appanage.[43] His argument hinged on François' fraternal duty to provide for his brother Gilles, as he had already done for Pierre. It is unlikely that François paid any attention to Henry's admonitions, given his preference for the French. Moreover, as the proceedings in October showed, François already considered himself to be a good brother; he did not need to be lectured on the subject by the king of England.[44]

Nevertheless, perhaps as an expression of goodwill, François extended limited financial support to his youngest brother. The duchy's accounts show that Gilles received 116 *l*. on 11 November 1445 and another unspecified sum on 2 December. François also continued the tradition of giving gifts called *étrennes* on the first of January, bestowing a gold cup and goblet on his youngest brother, although he may have signaled some lingering displeasure by having Gilles' gift weigh slightly less than those given to Pierre

[43] *Preuves*, 2:1391.
[44] See Chapter Five for a full analysis of this event.

and uncle Arthur.[45] François even assigned Gilles a pension of 600 *l.*, equal to that assigned to illegitimate brother Tanguy, called the Bastard of Brittany, but much less than the 2,000 *l.* given to Pierre, and less even than the 1,000 *l.* assigned to each of two noblemen not within the duke's close family, the lords of Léon and of Rieux.[46]

The 600 *l.* pension appears even less generous in light of the document Gilles was forced to sign on 23 December 1445. In it, Gilles "revokes … his consent, assents, contracts, agreements, transactions, or conventions [that were] initiated, made, conceded, and held during his minority by that duke [Jean, his father], in his testament and elsewhere."[47] Although Charles VII had confiscated his inherited lands already, Gilles evidently had refused to recognize that Chantocé and Ingrandes no longer belonged to him. His English contacts continued to address their correspondence to "Monsieur Gilles of Brittany, lord of Chantocé," suggesting that Gilles continued to style himself as such, or at least neglected to his friends of the change in his circumstances.[48] With this renunciation, François was forcing Gilles to give up on his lordships and, importantly, to

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[45] *Preuves*, 2:1394-95. Both Arthur and Pierre received cup and ewer sets, each weighing "4 m. 6 on. 6 gros," while Gilles' cup and goblet set was only "4 m. 3 on. & demie" (2:1395). On the other hand, the difference may have been due to Gilles position as youngest.

[46] *Preuves*, 2:1397. Monseigneur de Léon was Alain IX, viscount of Rohan and lord of Léon (d. 1462), previously married to François' aunt Marguerite and active in the Breton court (François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* (Paris: Antoine Boudet, 1778), 12:259-60). Monseigneur de Rieux was François I (1418-1458), who possessed the titles of lord of Rieux and Rochefort and count of Harcourt, among others. He was a member of Duke François' council (Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire*, 12:107).

[47] *Preuves*, 2:1393. Relying on his opinion that Gilles was impulsive, angry, and stupid, Bourdeaut interprets this renunciation as an act of defiance (Bourdeaut, 74). However, Gilles' actions up to this point show that he did not move unless there was a clear benefit, and there would have been no such benefit to thumbing his nose at François in this way. La Borderie, on the other hand, dismisses the act as redundant (4:323 n.2), arguing that Gilles had already complained about and rejected this appanage in 1439 (while also arguing, pg. 315, that Gilles did *not* reject Chantocé and Ingrandes at that time). He does not seem to have considered the possibility that the renunciation was coerced, since he remarked on the lack of "any recrimination against the duke François" in the act (La Borderie, 4:323 n.2). Naturally, if Gilles was being forced to give up his inheritance, his overseers would not have allowed the inflammatory language that La Borderie expects to see.

[48] Thomas Hoo and Robert Roos did this in their letter of 5 April 1445, as did Mathew Gough in his letters of 1 August and 7 October 1445, and Humphrey duke of Buckingham in his 31 October 1445 letter. *Preuves*, 2:1374, 1381, 1382, 1392.

abandon his 6,000 *l.* pension, for which Chantocé and Ingrandes were merely the landed source. In addition to losing his freedom of movement, control of his wife's lands, and custody of Françoise herself as a result of the October treason hearing, Gilles now found himself in nearly penurious circumstances. This reduction would have been a blow to his pride as much as his coffers, as it made Gilles almost totally dependent on his elder brother's benevolence.[49] The duke had outmaneuvered his youngest brother once again.

Gilles did not, however, give up hope of striking back, as shown by letters he received from his English friends in late January 1446. In addition to giving confirmation of Henry VI's continued support, his previous contacts, Thomas Hoo and Robert Roos, assured him that they would "do you all service, sweetness, and love that we can."[50] Gilles received even better news from Matthew Gough, who wrote on 26 January that he had

> communicated with the commissioners appointed by the king our lord [Henry VI] to the government of France in Normandy, and spoke with them a long while, and from what I could hear and understand of them, it seems to me that the king our sovereign lord has a great desire and very great affection to do you well, and to give you more land in his country than you have in Brittany, and especially the county of Richmond.[51]

Gough's noncommittal language indicates that Henry was not planning to follow through

[49] In theory, he still possessed his English pension, but there is a hint in Hoo and Roos' letter that suggests he was experiencing problems collecting it. One of the reasons they suggested that Gilles contact King Henry was "the fact of your pension" (*Preuves*, 2:1386).
[50] *Preuves*, 2:1398.
[51] *Preuves*, 2:1398.

on this idea, but it would have been irresistible bait for Gilles; with Richmond, Gilles could escape his brother's choke-hold, while also gloating at his ability to obtain what François had not been able to secure in 1443.

Probably suspecting that his brother was not fully domesticated, and pressured by other political difficulties within the duchy as well, François sought a closer affiliation with Charles VII of France.[52] Charles' power was unmatched in western Europe, and François' familial links to the French made France the obvious choice. On 16 March 1446 at Chinon, François pledged homage to Charles VII for the duchy of Brittany as well as his holdings within France.[53] The same day, Charles extended amnesty to François, his brother Pierre, Arthur de Richemont, and Arthur's brother the count of Etampes, absolving them of any blame for treaties the late Jean V had made with England. Gilles' name is conspicuous in its absence.

Gilles must have felt endangered by François' maneuver and King Charles' continued displeasure with him, since by 3 May 1446, he had engaged around two dozen

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[52] The dispute with the Penthièvre family needed to be resolved, there was lingering animosity from the family of the disgraced and executed Gilles de Rais, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain Brittany's autonomy in the face of consolidating French power. See Bourdeaut, 76-77.

[53] While François' homage for the French lands was clearly liege homage, there was and remains some confusion as to whether the homage for Brittany was simple or liege. Technically, François' oath bound him to liege homage, as had Jean V's oaths to Charles VI and VII. However, as Paul Jeulin notes, "[t]he ambiguity of the nature of the homage rendered for Brittany, although still juridically liege, persisted" ("L'hommage de la Bretagne en droit et dans les faits," *Annales de Bretagne* 41.3-4 (1934): 443). Charles seem to have been content to leave the matter vague with François as well, which would contrast with Pierre II's later experience when renewing his brother's oaths at Montbazon on 3 November 1450. At that point, when Pierre and his counselors attempted to evade efforts at funneling them more clearly into liege homage, the French chancellor disrupted the homage ceremony in order to argue with them. For François' oath, see *Preuves*, 2:1399-1400. For discussion of the oaths of François and Pierre II, see Jeulin, 449-50. Of the modern historians to address François' oath for Brittany, Arthur Cosneau holds that it was simple homage (*Le connétable de Richemont (Arthur de Bretagne) (1393-1458)* (Paris: Hachette, 1886), 380), while Bourdeaut trumpets that "Charles VII had reason to be joyful: the unity of the France of Saint Louis was … reconstituted. Brittany kept its privileges, but it held them by the grace of the king and not through a vague or distant independence. The royal diplomacy restored under a new form the liege homage that, for 80 years, the dukes of the house of Montfort had refused to it" (Bourdeaut, 78). Neither view has overwhelming evidence to support it, but Bourdeaut's clearly exaggerates the strength and content of François' oath.

English bodyguards from the garrison at Avranches.[54] A letter from Hoo and Roos a month later, on 6 June, attests to the continuing threat against Gilles' safety. Gilles had written to them expressing his fear, which Hoo and Roos said "is not without cause," and they advised him to leave Le Guildo due to the weakness of its defenses, and to send Françoise de Dinan abroad.[55] That they were considering Le Guildo's ability to withstand an assault suggests that the tension between Gilles and François had escalated greatly even since the previous autumn. Against the threats presented by the Breton duke and his French support, Hoo and Roos reiterated their own commitment to serve Gilles. They also reassured him of Henry VI's support, writing, "on my life the king will never fail you."[56]

Bolstered by support from his English friends, Gilles remained at Le Guildo. On Tuesday, 21 June, he received Jean Hingant, one of François' principal counselors and the new governor of Châteaubriant, who was bearing a letter from François that offered an appanage if Gilles would meet his brother in person. An accompanying letter from their uncle Arthur de Richemont sought to reassure Gilles by saying he would be present at the meeting.[57] The entire visit lasted less than a full day, and Hingant reported the details to François, with notable embellishments, in a letter written on 23 June at Rennes.[58]

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[54] *Preuves*, 2:1401.
[55] *Preuves*, 2:1401.
[56] *Preuves*, 2:1402.
[57] *Preuves*, 2:1378.
[58] *Preuves*, 2:1378-80. Morice incorrectly places this letter under the year 1445. Not only do the contemporary chroniclers place the events described by Hingant's letter in 1446, but also evidence within the letter strongly supports dating it to 1446. Hingant wrote that he arrived at Le Guildo "the most recent Tuesday" and did not leave until the following morning. His letter is dated 23 June, and he said he delayed in writing it. In 1445, 23 June was a Wednesday, putting the "Tuesday last" as 22 June. The distance from Le Guildo to Rennes is too great to travel in less than one day, particularly since Hingant reported that he warned several surrounding strong points of Gilles' plans for war. Even if he only stopped at one of them,

Hingant began his account by maligning Gilles' hospitality; the prince made him wait from 11:00 a.m. when he arrived at Le Guildo until the hour of Vespers before giving him an audience. Even after Gilles had read the letters and heard Hingant's message, he delayed further, taking time to eat dinner and dance. It was late when Gilles finally responded to the letters, and at that point he began to threaten Hingant, declaring that "if [Gilles] found me with my red doublet, he would peel it from my back."[59] Hingant reported that after the interview, he feared for his safety and left the castle early the next morning.

Hingant was painting an unflattering picture of the young prince, which grew much worse when he described Gilles' response to the contents of the letters. François had written to ask Gilles to come to court in order to discuss the matter of a Breton appanage, and Arthur, surely suspecting that Gilles would not agree to walk into the lion's den, had offered to meet with him at a place of Gilles' choosing. Gilles refused both offers, saying that "he would never enter [François' court], and that he would have no confidence in the assurances of the constable [of France, Arthur de Richemont]."[60] He probably suspected a trap because he himself was acting duplicitously, maintaining contact with the English via letters and in person in contravention of the conditions he had accepted the previous October. Hingant himself witnessed such contact: upon his arrival at Le Guildo, he saw Gilles bowling with an Englishman, and two Englishmen arrived from Avranches later that day. Gilles would have known that Hingant would

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the journey would have occupied more than one day. Moreover, the tenor of Gilles' response to the contents of the letters from François and Arthur, and to Hingant's mere presence, does not mesh with his demonstrated behavior of the summer of 1445. In 1446, 23 June was a Thursday, making the preceding Tuesday the 21st and a much more likely candidate in terms of logistics.

[59] *Preuves*, 2:1378-79.

[60] *Preuves*, 2:1379.

report this intelligence to François, and his secret defiance would be exposed.

Provoked, Gilles launched into a tirade that revealed to Hingant and several other witnesses the extent of his anger toward his brother. According to Hingant, Gilles declared that François knew "that he was [his] mortal enemy [*ennemi mortel*]," and referencing the long-standing dispute with the Penthièvre family over who should rule the duchy, he declared that "he would do worse than [Jean de] l'Aigle and [Olivier de] Blois ever had done, except that he did not want to be a traitor as they had been."[61] He allegedly told Hingant to inform his brother "that he would have his right, whether [François] wanted it or not," and with Henry VI's backing, he would see that François divvied up Brittany between the two of them.[62] Finally, and most damningly, he boasted that "when he placed a foot outside Le Guildo, he would have six or seven hundred knights to lead."[63] Although careful to distance himself from the "traitors" of the Penthièvre family, Gilles essentially was threatening military action against his brother, a clear violation of the oath he had sworn in October 1445.

Gilles' half-brother Tanguy the Bastard of Brittany and his friend Sir Bertrand Millon, both whom were present for this tirade, "marveled much that he destroyed himself," and all of the witnesses "marveled much on all this."[64] Hingant wrote that he "told him that I did not believe that he would want to do such evil," and that he "was completely awed at these words and always wanted to soften them, and I found there

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[61] *Preuves*, 2:1379. Jean de l'Aigle and Olivier of Blois were involved in the ambush and imprisonment of Jean V by the Penthièvre family in 1420. See the introduction to Part II for a fuller explanation. See *Preuves*, 2:998-1003 for documents relating to this incident, as well as Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London: Hambledon Press, 1988), 342-44; Jean-Pierre Leguay and Hervé Martin, eds., *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale 1213-1532* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1982), 173-74; A. Bourdeaut, "Jean V et Marguerite de Clisson: La ruine de Châteauceaux," *Bulletin de la société archéologique de Nantes et de la Loire-Infèrieure* 54 (1913): 331-417; La Borderie, 4:196-214, 234-38.
[62] *Preuves*, 2:1379.
[63] *Preuves*, 2:1379.
[64] *Preuves*, 2:1379.

nothing good."[65] He came to the conclusion that "these English who are there had thus strongly turned him," and wrote, "I believe that he was out of his mind, or sick with rage."[66]

To read Hingant's letter, it seems that Gilles had traveled far from the man who had bowed to his older brother's authority as recently as March 1446, when he wrote a letter denying reports that he had illegally initiated a hearth-tax.[67] The term "mortal enemy" was a serious one, not to be used lightly.[68] He was flagrantly disregarding the terms of his agreement with François, and he all but declared war on his brother. That two of the witnesses, Tanguy and Cardinet Le Frère, later disputed Hingant's most inflammatory allegations could not undo the damage Hingant's letter would have done when François read it.[69] Tanguy denied that Gilles used the term "mortal enemy" or that he "said that he would see [François] in one of his towns, in the event that he would not give him his right [of an appanage]."[70] Cardinet challenged the threat regarding l'Aigle and Blois and denied hearing anything about Hingant's red doublet. But neither man contested the part of Hingant's letter that described the presence of Englishmen at Le Guildo, Gilles' intention to leave Brittany to gather English support, or his boast of having the backing of several hundred knights. Even discounting Hingant's exaggerations, it is clear that Gilles had raised the stakes of the competition with his

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[65] *Preuves*, 2:1379.
[66] *Preuves*, 2:1380.
[67] See Chapter Five for an analysis of this letter.
[68] See Robert Bartlett, "'Mortal Enmities': The Legal Aspect of Hostility in the Middle Ages," in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, ed. Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2010); David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 125-29.
[69] Although the printed edition of Hingant's report has Cardinet's name as "le Frere," Auguste Vallet de Viriville names him as Cardinet le Fèvre, Pierre de Brézé's secretary in "Gilles de Bretagne: Son role politique, son emprisonnement, son assassinat par le duc François I," *Revue des questions historiques* 4 (1868): 493.
[70] *Preuves*, 2:1380.

brother. As he told Hingant, "he would be the master or the varlet."[71]

What Gilles did not know is that, by the time of his meeting with Hingant, François had already moved to subjugate his brother, issuing an order for arrest from Razilly (near Chinon) on 19 June. Hingant's report is dated 23 June (a Thursday), and he wrote that he arrived at Le Guildo "the most recent Tuesday," which was 21 June.[72] It seems that after writing the letter he sent with Hingant, he changed his mind and decided to arrest his brother—the distance from Razilly to Le Guildo would have required 3.75 to 6.25 days of travel, meaning François' letter would have been written no later than 17 June.[73] Gilles was, therefore, quite right to suspect his brother's intentions and profession of goodwill.

François issued his order for Gilles' arrest to Prigent de Coëtivy, the admiral of France who had earlier benefited from King Charles' confiscation of Chantocé and Ingrandes. Prigent was to take a "company of several warriors, lay siege to Le Guildo or other place in our duchy where our said brother is or might be, in order to take him prisoner and bring him before us."[74] The stated reason was "for certain rebellions and disobediences against us done and committed by our brother Gilles of Brittany."[75] Funded by a grant of 200 *l.* from the French treasury, ostensibly "for a journey to Granville [in Normandy] to inspect the troops," Prigent traveled north, in the direction of

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[71] *Preuves*, 2:1379: "il me dist qu'il demourroit le maistre ou le varlet."
[72] Vallet de Viriville, "Gilles de Bretagne," 493.
[73] Via modern roads, the distance between the two places is roughly 187 miles. The estimated travel times above are based on a pace of 50 to 30 miles per day.
[74] *Cartulaire des sires de Rays: 1160-1449*, ed. René Blanchard (Poitiers: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1898), 227. Prigent was admiral of France and beneficiary of the lordships of Chantocé and Ingrandes confiscated from Gilles by Charles VII. Married to the daughter of the late, disgraced Gilles de Rais, he also was a member of the Breton nobility.
[75] *Cartulaire des sires de Rays: 1160-1449*, 227.

both Granville (of which he was governor) and Le Guildo.[76] Despite the cover story, William Roskill, an administrator at Avranches, gained intelligence of the arrest order and wrote on 25 June to inform Gilles that "I heard that a certain undertaking of warriors is begun against you on the part of my lord the duke of Brittany."[77] He urged Gilles' immediate departure "because it is certain that without delay, pains will be taken to vanquish and conquer you."[78]

Despite the warnings of Gilles' English friends and his own misgivings about his security, the young prince was captured at Le Guildo. The Breton chronicler Pierre Le Baud writes that "the King sent there Sir Pierre de Brézé, Sir Renaud Dresnay, with a number of men at arms, who arrived before Le Guildo on Sunday the 26th day of the month of June, where the said Monsieur Gilles was, who was playing tennis with his squires."[79] Guillaume Gruel, the biographer of Arthur de Richemont, says that Renaud de Dresnay was responsible for the apprehension and does not mention de Brézé, Bouchart writes only of de Brézé and a force of 400 lances, while the Berry Herald names Renaud, de Brézé, and Prigent as the leaders of the party.[80] Regardless of who was in charge,

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[76] For the accounting record, see Louis de La Trémoille, *Prigent de Coëtivy: Amiral et bibliophile* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1906), 61 n.1. For Prigent's position as governor of Granville, see Bourdeaut, 82.
[77] *Preuves*, 2:1403.
[78] *Preuves*, 2:1403.
[79] Pierre Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les Chroniques de Vitre et de Laval*, ed. Pierre d'Hozier (Paris: Gervais Alliot, 1638), 492. D'Argentré's account of the event was drawn from Le Baud's, which it follows nearly verbatim (805). Testimony in the 1459 suit of Jean Hingant vs. Duke Arthur III, heard before the Parlement of Paris, supports Le Baud: "the king sent the late lord Prigent admiral of France, [and] de Dresnay… to arrest my lord Gilles and leave him under guard with the late duke François" [le roy envoya feu messire Prigent admiral de France, de Dresnezay lesquelz apres que eurent este informez mirent en arrest messire Giles et le baillent en garde au feu duc François] (AN X/2a/28, fol. 213v).
[80] Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, connétable de France, duc de Bretagne (1393-1458)*, ed. Achille Le Vavasseur (Paris: Renouard, 1890), 192; Alain Bouchart, *Les grandes croniques de Bretaigne, composes en l'an 1514*, ed. H. Le Meignen (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1886), fol. 196r; Berry Herald, "Suite d'une Chronique, depuis l'an 1423 juscques au decés de Charles VII composée par Jacques le Bouvier (surnommé Berry) premier Heraut, ou Roy d'Armes de France," in *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. Denys Godefroy (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1653), 347. Bourdeaut, relying on Du Fresne de Beaucourt, holds that de Brézé could not have been with the party at Le Guildo because he

Gilles surrendered and was conveyed to Dinan, where François had taken up residence after leaving Razilly, and where Pierre and Arthur de Richemont were staying as well.

François and Gilles had not been in the same place since the arrival in Brittany of Arthur's new wife Catherine of Luxembourg the previous year, when relations between them had been at least civil, though not friendly.[81] By the time of everyone's convergence at Dinan, François would have been fully apprised of Gilles' actions by means of Hingant's letter, complete with the dubious claims that Tanguy and Cardinet would later dispute. Soon he would receive a letter of support from Charles VII, in which the French king noted that "we are very displeased [with Gilles' conduct], and we would love better that he govern himself toward you as he ought." Charles offered to "send to you our said cousin [Guy XIV de Laval] with such number of his men as will be necessary to you" in order to manage the situation.[82] Thus armed with his righteous indignation and Charles' backing, François was ready to overpower his wayward brother definitively.

The way in which he did this is a matter of dispute among the chroniclers. Gruel, a member of Arthur de Richemont's household and author of a chronicle about his life, may have been present at Dinan. He relates the following scene: "my lord Gilles placed himself on his knees, [as did] my lord the constable and my lord Pierre, begging the duke … to have mercy on his brother, and all three weeping in all humility; but the duke only laughed."[83] If accurate, Gruel's narrative paints a stark picture of the relationship between François and both his brothers, and an unflattering image of François' approach to

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was countersigning an act of Charles' on the same day at Razilly, but neither author cite a source for this act.

[81] Gruel, *Chronique*, 189.

[82] *Preuves*, 2:1404.

[83] Gruel, *Chronique*, 193: "et monseigneur Pierres, supplians au duc qu'il lui pleut avoir merci de son frere, en plorant tous troys en toute humilité; mais le duc ne s'en fist que rire." D'Argentré (805), writing a nearly century later, follows Gruel.

rulership as well. However, the resemblance of this scene with the record of the proceedings of October 1445 renders it suspect, as does the fact that it appears only in Gruel's chronicle.[84]

Pierre Le Baud, a near contemporary and chaplain to Duchess Anne of Brittany, presents a different version of events. In his rendition, when Gilles arrived at Dinan, François "did not at all want to see him, nor to speak to him; so [François] sent him immediately to Rennes, and from there to Châteaubriant, and several other towns and castles in Brittany under secure guard."[85] Bouchart, contemporary with Le Baud and member of François II's court, mentions neither the moment of spurned supplication from Gruel nor the refusal to grant an audience of Le Baud. He merely notes that Gilles was brought to Dinan, where François was in residence, that François dismissed the French men-at-arms who undertook the capture, and that he ordered Gilles to be taken to Châteaubriant.[86]

Whether Gruel's version or Le Baud's represents the historical reality, both scenes demonstrate François' total control of the situation. If Gilles did humble himself before François in a repeat of his plea of October 1445, François' dismissive laughter and refusal to show mercy would have been a clear demonstration of his power over his brother. François' alleged refusal to see or listen to Gilles would have had the same

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[84] This did not stop the nineteenth-century historians Sismondi (J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des français* (Brussels: Société typogrpahique belge, 1837), 9:268) and Cosneau (*Le connétable de Richemont*, 383) from repeating the story, which is good theater even if its veracity is questionable.

[85] Le Baud, *Histoire*, 492: "qui oncques ne le voulut veoir, ne parler à luy; ains l'enuoya incontinent à Rennes, & de là à Chasteaubrien, & en pluseurs aultres villes & chasteaulx de Bretaigne soubs sceure garde."

[86] Bouchart, fol. 196r. He also offers the names of five men who were assigned to guard Gilles, who were "principal friends and familiars of Arthur de Montauban and carried his affairs as much or more than [Arthur] himself." Bouchart's inclusion of this detail suggests the climate of opinion in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries as to who really was to blame for the events that would follow from Gilles' arrest, for his chronicle was patronized by Duchess Anne, a cousin of François and Gilles.

effect, showing Gilles that his elder brother held all the power in that moment. In either scenario, the question of who was winning the competition and who was losing was clear. From this point onward, Gilles no longer was able to compete with François in any meaningful way.

Conflagration

Despite François' victory, he was not satisfied, as Gilles' continued existence must have been a reminder of the threat to his personal and political power. François knew from the events of the preceding six months that Gilles could not be trusted, but he did not have the legal authority to order Gilles' execution outright. Keeping him under close supervision at court might have been an option, but surely would have been distasteful for the man who, if Le Baud is to be believed, did not want to see or speak to his youngest brother. Moreover, Gilles could not be contained long at court, as he had demonstrated in 1445; he had been prohibited from leaving as part of the terms of his pardon, but Le Baud reports that after only a short time, Gilles "left … the court of the duke his brother, in a bad temper, and without taking his leave or getting permission."[87]

In July 1446, François summoned the Estates General to Redon and, according to Le Baud, he explained to the Estates that Gilles was "guilty of treason and that for this crime, he deserved death."[88] François also requested counsel from Charles VII, who sent Monsieur de Précigny and Guillaume Cousinot.[89] They arrived at Redon on 1 August, were briefed on 4 August, and the Estates General took up the matter the following day.

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[87] Le Baud, *Histoire*, 492.
[88] Le Baud, *Compillation des croniques et ystores des Bretons*, BnF ms. fr. 8266, fol. 368v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h> [accessed 10 June 2015]: "il estoit en coulpe de mageste lese et que pour ce c[ri]me il avoit mort desservye."
[89] *Preuves*, 2:1404-05.

Soon afterward, de Précigny and Cousinot offered their opinion, agreeing that Gilles' alleged actions "were capital, very bad, and detestable, and according to the rigor of justice, required grievous corporal punishment." They "had no doubt that my lord [François] of Brittany had just cause for having proceeded in the capture of my lord Gilles his brother."[90] However, they urged that, for the sake of fairness and propriety, "as it is accustomed to happen in such cases, … it was necessary to allow my lord Gilles a trial, and to hear in full what he would like to say on the matter."[91] Moreover, because Gilles was the duke's own brother and not just any man, de Précigny and Cousinot thought that "fraternal love ought to stir my lord of Brittany to pity and compassion toward my lord Gilles his brother."[92] The consensus of the Breton Estates echoed that of the French representatives, which was "to beg and require [François], that it might please him to have pity and compassion on my lord Gilles his brother, and to impart to him his grace and mercy."[93]

François, therefore, found himself encircled by expectations that he follow custom and allow Gilles to speak in his own defense, and that he abide by the acknowledged standards of brotherly conduct, even to the point of showing mercy on a proven reprobate. Neither of these were satisfactory, as his continued detention of the young prince shows. François' attempt to hurry through an irregular trial in which Gilles was not allowed to respond to the charges against him suggests that the duke was still too angry to countenance dealing with his younger brother in person (if we follow Le Baud's

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[90] *Preuves*, 2:1405.
[91] *Preuves*, 2:1406.
[92] *Preuves*, 2:1406: "amour fraternel devroit esmouvoir mondit Seigneur de Bretaigne à pité & compassion envers ledit Messire Gilles son frere."
[93] *Preuves*, 2:1406: "supplier & requerir, qu'il lui pleust avoir pitié & compassion dudit Messire Gilles son frere, & de lui imparter sa grace & misericorde."

account of events at Dinan), that he had some concern that Gilles would manipulate the Estates General into forcing a pardon, that he felt some compunction about having his own brother arrested and thus wanted to get through the trial before his resolve weakened, or some combination of the three. Rather than implement the recommendations he had received, François chose not to act. While he did not pursue the "grievous corporal punishment" deemed justifiable by Précigny and Cousinot, he also did not allow Gilles the opportunity to defend himself in court. Instead, indefinite detention, at this point under Jean of Montauban, was to be Gilles' fate while François determined what to do with him.[94]

François' decision was to be taken in consultation with a committee formed by the Estates and made up of several ranking men in the administration of the duchy.[95] With the meeting of the Estates General finished, François visited Charles VII at Razilly, then spent six weeks at Chantocé before traveling to Châteaubriant by November 1446.[96] There he met with the commission mandated by the Estates General, and it is likely that François chose that site, Gilles' former possession and current prison, in order to demonstrate to his younger brother—yet again—that he was in control. The commission proceeded to interview witnesses at Nantes, Clisson, and Vannes, a process that lasted until July 1447.[97] François traveled with the investigators to Clisson, where he resided from 13 December 1446 and where Tanguy gave two statements on Gilles' behavior during Jean Hingant's visit to Le Guildo the previous June.[98]

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[94] The accounting register for 1447-48 shows an expense of 500 *l.* paid on 23 October 1447 to "the Sire de Montauban Marshal of Brittany … for the guard of Monsieur Gilles" (*Preuves*, 2:1411).
[95] Bourdeaut, 94.
[96] Bourdeaut, 94 n.2 (citing archival material), 95, 95 n.1.
[97] Bourdeaut, 95.
[98] Bourdeaut, 95 n.2; *Preuves*, 2:1407-09. Tanguy's deposition occurred on 10 January 1447.

What François learned at Clisson could only have exacerbated his anger with his brother. Tanguy testified that he had heard Gilles complain on the matter of his appanage "several times and in several places, at Le Guildo and elsewhere," and that the young prince complained "in the presence of several people of the household" as well as to Tanguy alone.[99] The issue was that he believed he should possess an appanage in Brittany, as their brother Pierre already had as lord of Guingamp. Although he technically no longer had the lordships of Chantocé and Ingrandes, after Charles VII's confiscation in 1443 and his own abandonment of them in December 1446, he allegedly told Tanguy and others that he "was not content to have Chantocé because it was in Anjou subject to the king [of France], and that he was a servant of the king of England, and because he did not at all want to be a subject of the king of France."[100] This profession, so divergent from François' personal and political ties to France, likely would have been more irritating than alarming to the duke, as it showed Gilles to be a contrarian more than anything else. At the least, it would not have endeared Gilles to his elder brother.

According to Tanguy's deposition, Gilles began his complaints only after a visit to the episcopal palace of Kerango (or Kerangoff), in Plescop near Vannes, where he met with François one last time to request an appanage in Brittany.[101] He was rebuffed, and afterward began to voice his frustration openly. This meeting took place sometime before March 1446, when François traveled to Razilly to pledge homage to Charles VII, and perhaps as early as May 1445.[102] Tanguy's testimony therefore lends weight to the

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[99] *Preuves*, 2:1407.
[100] *Preuves*, 2:1407.
[101] *Preuves*, 2:1408.
[102] La Borderie dates the meeting to April 1446, but as Cosneau points out, François was in France for about two months in the spring of 1446, making an April visit to Kerango unlikely. See La Borderie, 4:324 and Cosneau, 381. Trévédy merely says the meeting took place "before the month of April" in 1446

assertion of Bourdeaut and others that Gilles did not begin to agitate for a new appanage until after his return from England in 1444. The conflict with François was not, at base, about land, although that was the catalyst. It was about prestige and entitlement, and more fundamentally, it was about competition for dominance. Gilles requested something he thought was due him, François dug in his heels and refused, and Gilles responded with equal stubbornness. Both men were determined to win, which precluded compromise because anything less than victory would mean a loss of honor and reputation.

Tanguy testified that he had warned Gilles about the dangers of the game he was playing, telling him that "he had no people who could aid him, and had no places to hide."[103] Gilles allegedly retorted, "When I will have in my company five or six thousand English I will be able to go up to Saint-Mahé de Finistère, and he who has the fields has the advantage."[104] Gilles was threatening war. Tanguy attempted to convince the young prince to abandon this idea, arguing that England's king surely would not break the truce with France in order to back such a foolhardy assault, but Gilles was impervious to criticism. Tanguy tried again with the argument that, if he did invade with English soldiers, "you will not find a man in Brittany who is not with the duke and against you and all others who might want to [join you], and as for me … I will be with the duke and against all others, and you will find me there."[105] To which, according to Tanguy's

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(Trévédy, 211), while Bourdeaut dates the interview to May 1445 (Bourdeaut, 70). None of these authors cite any source except Tanguy's testimony, which provides no date for the trip to Kerango.

[103] *Preuves*, 2:1408.

[104] *Preuves*, 2:1408: "Quant je aura yen ma compaignie cinq ou seix mil Anglois je pourray aller jucques à S. Mahé de fine pousterne, & qui a les champs, a l'avantaige." I have emended the phrase "de fine pousterne" to "de Finisterre," which in modern French is "de Finistère." The Benedictine abbey of Saint-Mahé (or Mathieu) de Finistère is on the southwest coast of Brittany, as far as one could go from the English strongholds of Normandy.

[105] *Preuves*, 2:1408: "vous ne trouverez homme en Bretaigne qui n'estoit o le Duc & contre vous & tous autres qui le vouldroient faire & moi-mesme … je serois o le Duc & contre tous autres & my trouveriez."

testimony, Gilles lost his temper and said, "if I find you there, I will bust your head."[106]

Although Tanguy shared a room with his brother Gilles that night, he testified that they spoke no more on the subject, and he arose early the next morning (22 June) in order to take his leave. Yet he could not resist trying once again to make Gilles see reason. The young prince, perhaps feeling regret or suffering from a hangover (Hingant remarked in his report that Gilles had "danced and made, it seems, good cheer"[107]), seemed somewhat chastened and even dejected, at least in Tanguy's rendering of the events. In response to Tanguy's advice that he send a letter to François immediately to excuse himself for what surely would appear in Hingant's report, Gilles allegedly asked, "My brother, what would you have me do? Should I abandon to the duke my right?"[108] He then reiterated the plan he had announced to Hingant the previous night, that he would leave Brittany with his wife for Normandy, and that "I will demand my right through the men of the king of England."[109] Yet, Tanguy claimed that he finally persuaded Gilles to write to François for safe passage to the Breton court in order to excuse himself for his treatment of Hingant.[110]

In the months between Gilles' arrest at Le Guildo and Tanguy's deposition at Clisson, François made two moves that emphasized his position of superiority over his brother. Having already taken over Gilles' lands and castles as part of the proceedings of

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[106] *Preuves*, 2:1408: "si je vous y trouve, je vous y rompré vostre teste."
[107] *Preuves*, 2:1379.
[108] *Preuves*, 2:1408: "Mon frere, que voulez-vous que je face? que ne me baille le Duc mon droict?".
[109] *Preuves*, 2:1408.
[110] *Preuves*, 2:1409. It is possible that Tanguy's deposition was less about rehabilitating Gilles than it was about establishing his own good behavior and intentions. Although François had not yet said aloud that he wished his brother were dead, he had attempted earlier that year to bring capital charges against Gilles. As an illegitimate brother, Tanguy could not afford to lose François' favor, and he had been spending a lot of time with Gilles. It is difficult to judge whether polishing his image was the aim, and if so, whether it was successful. Although Tanguy received a silver cup and ewer for the *étrennes* of January 1448, the extent of François' personal involvement with that tradition is unknown.

October 1445, François went a step further and confiscated the jewels belonging to his brother's wife Françoise. The items were delivered to the duke's representatives and inventoried on 20 August 1446.[111] Middle brother Pierre was among the receivers, showing that he had chosen to back the obvious winner in the struggle.[112] Then, in what might have seemed to be a volte-face, François included Gilles in the *étrennes* of 1447, giving him the same gift as Pierre and Arthur de Richemont received, a gold cup and ewer.[113] Gilles may well have been confused by what usually was an expression of goodwill, but it could have been François' aim to keep him off-balance, as Lobineau posited.[114] It is also possible that François might have felt some pity for his younger brother, or perhaps that he was simply keeping up appearances by following the annual tradition. Alternatively, François may not have handled the *étrennes* himself and was unaware that Gilles was included. However, the juxtaposition of the 1 January gift and the confiscation of Françoise de Dinan's jewels would have signaled to Gilles that François had the power to give and to take away. Gilles, by contrast, had no power at all.

After July 1447, François seems to have abandoned the legal case and instead chose to maintain Gilles in perpetual confinement. Eugène Cosneau holds that the duke was worried about having enough evidence for a conviction, which is why he turned to the extra-legal route of long-term captivity.[115] This scenario seems at odds with the strong evidence against Gilles in Tanguy's deposition, but perhaps Gilles' supporters in the Estates, who "held, on their life, that in all the assembly [of the Estates] there had never

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[111] *Preuves*, 2:1406-07.
[112] The document specifies "Monseigneur Guingamp" along with three other men as being present when the jewels were transferred, and it was signed by Pierre (*Preuves*, 2:1406-07). Since Pierre was count of Guingamp, it is reasonable to conclude that he was among the duke's men in this event, even though he is not identified explicitly as the duke's brother.
[113] *Preuves*, 2:1412. Illegitimate brother Tanguy received a cup and ewer of silver.
[114] Lobineau, 1:630.
[115] Cosneau, 385.

been a better Breton than him [and] none who more perfectly loved the crown of France and the king his uncle,"[116] were gathering enough support to resist him. The view expressed by the Estates and the French counselors in August 1446, that brotherliness ought to bring about François' mercy, would not have helped François' side of the case.

D'Argentré, the sixteenth-century historian, offers a slightly different reading, in which François' procurer general, Olivier du Breil, tells the duke that "by custom the eldest brother does not have criminal jurisdiction over his younger brother, nor could the duke punish him through his justice." D'Argentré asserts that, at that point, François abandoned the search for a legal remedy to the problem of his brother.[117] However, the injunction du Breil cites does not appear in the *Très ancienne coutume*, a manual for lawyers that pertained throughout the period.[118] There are three possible explanations: it was custom that remained unwritten, which is unlikely in a society as sophisticated as late medieval Brittany; it was invented by du Breil to curtail François' vengeance, which is Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie's conclusion; or, d'Argentré fabricated the entire vignette, which appears in no extant source prior to the 1580s.[119] Whatever the cause, Gilles remained imprisoned at François' command.

By 1448 at the latest, the matter of Gilles' captivity had grown into a much bigger problem. The English government sent an embassy to the continent, stopping at Charles VII's court before proceeding to Brittany.[120] Charles then sent two of his own men to

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[116] Bouchart, fol. 196v.
[117] D'Argentré, 809.
[118] The *Très ancienne coutume* initially was compiled in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. It was an informal guide to the law rather than a legal code (Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, 318, 340).
[119] For the customary, see Marcel Planiol, ed., *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne* (Rennes: Plihon and Hervé, 1896). For its purpose and compilation, see Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, 340. For the state of Breton social, political, and legal development, see Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, esp. 1-12, 283-307. La Borderie, 4:328-29.
[120] *Preuves*, 2:1413.

François, an official from Paris and his own chamberlain Sir Pierre de Brézé, "not at the request of the English ambassadors, but in order to advise, aid, and counsel" the duke regarding "his wellbeing and honor, and the security of his land and subjects."[121] Their instructions, dated 21 June 1448, include many and onerous recommendations for the conditions on which Gilles might be released, which involved sealed oaths from Gilles himself and from all major Breton lords swearing not to support Gilles if he turned rebellious again, sureties from King Henry VI on the same subject, and even a papal bull guaranteeing excommunication for Gilles and any allies in the event of revolt.[122] Yet Charles also signaled his willingness to intercede for Gilles if "Gilles as subject and peer would want to supplicate the king."[123] Such a move on Gilles' part would, of course, require that he abandon his previously attested resolve to remain allied with Henry VI and the English cause.

Perhaps Gilles learned the contents of Brézé's diplomatic instructions, or else his two years of detention were wearing on him, but in late 1448 or early 1449, Gilles wrote to the French king.[124] By this time, he had been moved to Moncontour, situated near Jugon, a base of Arthur of Montauban's power.[125] Citing "beatings, harshness, rigors, and hard imprisonments," as well as his undying allegiance to Charles, Gilles begged the king to bring about his release.[126] Also working on Gilles' behalf at the French court was Arthur de Richemont, who may have recruited the assistance of the king's cupbearer,

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[121] *Preuves*, 2:1413. A. Vallet de Viriville asserts that the "esleu conferme" named in the document was Guillaume Chartier, bishop of Paris ("Gilles de Bretagne," 496).
[122] *Preuves*, 2:1413-15.
[123] *Preuves*, 2:1415.
[124] Although the letter is undated, Gilles notes that "he has two and a half years and more been, and still is, detained prisoner," which suggests it was written at the end of 1448 or early 1449 (*Preuves*, col. 1438). Bourdeaut dates the letter to December 1448, but provides no explanation for his choice (Bourdeaut, 106).
[125] Bourdeaut, 106. Arthur of Montauban was captain of Jugon.
[126] *Preuves*, 1438.

Guillaume de Rosnyvinen.[127] Bourdeaut opines that these efforts would have achieved Gilles' liberation, and "spared a great misfortune in the ducal family," if not for "a new blow of English presumptuousness."[128]

At the same time, François appears to have been under pressure from a shift in perceptions about Gilles' imprisonment. The knight Jean Hingant later testified that François had asked him to handle the task of guarding Gilles. Hingant initially refused, then reluctantly accepted—during which time he claimed that he "did all courtesies and pleasures for [Gilles] that he could"—only to beg "on his knees before the duke François," to relieve him of duty.[129] According to Hingant, François did not react well: "the duke drew his dagger and attempted to strike him."[130] Nonetheless, François heeded his request, discharging him "more than 14 months prior to the death of my lord Gilles," which would have been February 1449 at the latest.[131] It was probably at this point that François, clearly agitated but still unwilling to release his brother, transferred Gilles' custody to Arthur of Montauban.[132]

At least from François' perspective, the situation changed drastically on 24 March 1449, when the mercenary and knight of the Garter François de Surienne captured the town of Fougères, on the Breton-Norman border, in an overnight surprise assault.

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[127] Bourdeaut relates the story of Rosnyvinen imploring Charles VII to show mercy to Gilles "with such eloquence that the king was touched" (Bourdeaut, 107). He also put up 10,500 *écus* as surety for the Breton prince's good behavior. This story, in varying amounts of detail, appears in Lobineau, 631-32; J. Geslin de Bourgogne and Anatole de Barthélemy, *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne* (Paris: Herold; Saint-Brieuc: Guyon Frères, 1864), 3:325; Christophe Goudé and Guillotin de Corson, *Histoire de Châteaubriant, baronnie, ville & paroisse* (Rennes: Oberthur et Fils, 1870), 55-56; Cosneau, 387-88—always without citation to a medieval source.
[128] Bourdeaut, 107.
[129] AN X/2a/28, fol. 213v: "messire Gilles, l'appellant fit toutes les curialitez et plaisirs qu'il peut;" "il se mict agenoulz devant le duc François lors estant a Rennes."
[130] AN X/2a/28, fol. 213v: "le duc tira sa dague et l'en cuida frapper."
[131] AN X/2a/28, fol. 213v: "l'appellant s'en descharga et en fut descharge plus de xiiii mois paravant la mort de feu messire Gilles."
[132] Vallet de Viriville, "Gilles de Bretagne," 497

Although it became clear later that Surienne had undertaken his mission at the behest of William de la Pole duke of Suffolk (with the support of Edmund Beaufort duke of Somerset), neither this affiliation nor the reason for the attack were apparent at first.[133] François dispatched Michel de Parthenay to Fougères in order to discover the cause of the aggression and to negotiate for the town's return. According to the later testimony of Jacquemin de Molineaux, one of Surienne's men, Parthenay recognized Surienne as a Garter knight, then told him: "It is said that you have taken [Fougères] in order to have my lord Gilles. If I give him to you with a good pot of wine, would you be happy?"[134] Surienne refused this and the more profitable offer of 50,000 *écus d'or* that Parthenay extended.[135]

An opportunity to settle the matter of Gilles' captivity, and potentially the matter of Fougères, came in May 1449. Le Baud writes that Charles VII dispatched a letter supporting Gilles' release, which the admiral Prigent de Coëtivy carried to François at

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[133] François de Surienne, the mercenary who carried out the attack, testified in 1450 that Matthew Gough had wished to employ some of his men "in order to find the means of liberating my lord Gilles of Brittany." De Surienne's associate, Jean le Rousselet, then went to England and obtained letters of credence from the duke of Suffolk directing him to capture Fougères (Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 1:280-82). He implicated the duke of Somerset as well (Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers*, 1:297). According to the 6 November 1449 deposition of Jacquemin de Molineaux, a German squire in de Surienne's service, a "varlet de chambre of my lord Gilles" was among Suffolk's household and "did great diligence for Gilles' deliverance." Molineaux testified further that Rousselet and Suffolk agreed that de Surienne should "find a means of recovering my lord Gilles by taking the place of Montauban (because the lord of that place was keeping my lord Gilles), or another place by which it would be possible to get Gilles" (Deposition of Jacquemin de Molineaux, in Thomas Basin, *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, ed. J. Quicherat (Paris: Renouard, 1859), 4:320-21).

[134] Deposition of Jacquemin de Molineaux, in Basin, *Histoire*, 4:326. De Molineaux's deposition is among the supporting documents collected by Quicherat; it is not part of Basin's history proper.

[135] Deposition of Jacquemin de Molineaux, in Basin, *Histoire*, 4:326; Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers*, 1:296. When the French royal council met on 31 July 1449 to discuss the taking of Fougères, it was reported that François had offered "to give up his brother Gilles and 50,000 *écus d'or*" in exchange for the town (Record of the French royal council meeting of 31 July 1449, in *Recueil de lettres et pièces originales, et de copies de pièces indiquées comme telles dans le dépouillement qui suit…*, BnF ms. fr. 4054, fol. 155v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059427h/f330.item> [accessed 29 July 2015]; Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. 3: *Pièces justificatives*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (Paris: Renouard, 1864), 249-50).

Vannes. Le Baud's story continues with François being overjoyed at the news of Charles' blessing. He allegedly sent de Coëtivy to Moncontour with orders to release the prisoner, but countermanded them immediately (on 30 May 1449) when he received a letter purporting to be from Henry VI.[136] It described Gilles as Henry's "constable and knight of the Garter," and threatened that if François did not free the young prince, the king "would send a great force of English to burn, devastate, destroy his lands, his towns, and recover [Gilles] by force."[137] Such a letter would have triggered the return of all François' anger and suspicions, leading him to believe that Gilles had not reformed at all and needed to be kept in detention. Le Baud declares that the letter was a forgery written at the behest of Arthur de Montauban, who by this time had become interested in taking over Françoise de Dinan's lands.[138] The moment of fraternal reconciliation passed.

In the aftermath of the capture of Fougères, François transferred his brother from Moncontour to Touffou, located in southeastern Brittany near Nantes and far from the English advance. However, by the autumn of 1449, he chose to move Gilles north again, this time to the castle at La Hardouinaie.[139] This relocation signals the hardening of François' attitude toward his brother.[140] La Hardouinaie belonged to Françoise de Dinan, but since the proceedings of October 1445, it had been under the duke's control. In 1449,

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[136] Craig Taylor, "Brittany and the French Crown: The Legacy of the English Attack upon Fougères (1449)," in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Pallister (London; Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 2000), 255.
[137] Le Baud, *Histoire*, 496.
[138] Bourdeaut doubts that the forged letter ever existed, arguing that a late-spring letter from the duke of Somerset to Charles VII—which does not survive—gave François sufficient cause to revoke Gilles' release. He infers its contents from the negotiations between France and England that took place at Vaudreuil and Louviers, June-July 1449 (Bourdeaut, 110-11).
[139] Bourdeaut, 111-12; Lobineau, 637.
[140] Trévédy and La Borderie assert that the taking of Fougères was the turning point, after which François saw Gilles only as an enemy of the duchy (Trévédy, 225) and no longer felt "any fraternal sentiment" (La Borderie, 4:341). I see Fougères as a catalyst for change, but not as the defining moment itself, as there is no evidence to support an immediate shift in attitude. The first indication that François was steering a different course came with the transfer to La Hardouinaie, which put Gilles closer to English forces and therefore did not make sense tactically.

the captain there was Olivier de Méel, who was in the service of the Montauban family, and the castle itself was, like Moncontour, near Arthur of Montauban's stronghold of Jugon.[141] La Hardouinaie, Moncontour, and Jugon were near Fougères and the English threat, making this final relocation tactically problematic. If, on the other hand, François' intent was to return Gilles to the clutches of his brother's enemy, he could not have done better than La Hardouinaie.

During June and July 1449, English and French diplomats met at Verneuil and Louviers to negotiate a new truce following the events at Fougères, which had disrupted the one established by the Treaty of Tours in 1444.[142] The English insisted repeatedly that Gilles was a subject of Henry VI, and that he must be delivered from his captivity, and the French rebutted both points at every opportunity.[143] In the end, there was no truce, Gilles remained in prison, and as of 31 July 1449, open war ensued between England and France once again.[144] Meanwhile, François mobilized his forces, along with reinforcements from Charles VII and from his former enemy, the lord of l'Aigle, in order to retake Fougères and repel England's advances in Normandy.[145]

In October 1449, soon after the transfer to La Hardouinaie, François summoned the new chief jailer, Olivier de Méel, to Fougères, where he was participating in the siege

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[141] Bourdeaut, 114-15.
[142] Keen and Daniel, 375. The English sought to establish the premise that Duke François was an English subject and therefore the taking of Fougères, "which appertains to the duke," did not involve France (*Preuves*, 2:1473). The French, for their part, maintained that François was a subject of Charles VII.
[143] For the English assertions: *Preuves*, 2:1473 and 1478, 1493 and 1495, 1502. For the French rebuttals: *Preuves*, 2:1491, 1496-98, 1503-4. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, ran the negotiations for England, and he was allied to William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, at that time fighting to retain his control over the English king and government. Gilles and the sack of Fougères were part of Suffolk's strategy to save his own career, a plan Somerset needed to support in order as well. See the introduction to Part II.
[144] On that date, Charles VII informed English envoys that he considered the truce between France and England to be broken, effectively declaring war. See Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450* (London: Little, Brown, 2009), 382.
[145] Bourdeaut, 109.

to retake the town after returning from a campaign in Normandy.[146] According to de Méel's later testimony, François allegedly exclaimed that "he wanted the late lord Gilles in Paradise, and that the admiral of France [Prigent de Coëtivy], the lord of Estouteville, the Bourgois, and others mocked him for having [Gilles] so kept."[147] Although long-term confinement was nothing new by this period—King Henry II had used it against Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth century—it generally was employed against hostages being held for ransom.[148] For whatever reason, François' peers saw weakness in the Montfort brothers' conflict, and their remarks reminded him that his reputation was suffering. Even if he did not intend murder with this comment, as La Borderie and Bourdeaut argue, it is clear that he had lost patience with the situation and desired a resolution.[149]

Further evidence for François' attitude comes from the second meeting de Méel had with him, this time at Dinan, probably in December 1449.[150] The duke ordered de Méel to put Gilles "all alone in a prison that was at La Hardouinaie" and that he not be allowed to walk about.[151] Jean de Montauban reiterated François' order during a visit he and his brother Arthur paid to La Hardouinaie later that spring.[152] The duke thus was directly responsible for the worsening of his brother's conditions, and Gilles would have known that to be the case.

Over the next few months, Gilles grew despondent. The message de Méel bore to

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[146] Bourdeaut, 115.
[147] *Preuves*, 2:1551: "dist au dit de Meel qu'il voulist led[it] feu Gilles Mons[seigneur] en Paradis & qu l'Admiral de France, le Sire d'Estouteville, le Bourgois & autres se moquoient de lui de l'avoir tant gardé."
[148] For example, Jean of Brittany, the count of Penthièvre, was held captive for a number of years while awaiting ransom in the late fourteenth century, on which see Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, 263-82. See also Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*.
[149] La Borderie, 4:333; Bourdeaut, 116, 119, 335
[150] Bourdeaut establishes December as the date of this meeting, although without justification (Bourdeaut, 117 n.1).
[151] *Preuves*, 2:1551: "qu'il fust mis tout seul en une prison qui estoit à la Hardoynaye, … & que on ne lui fist plus d'estat."
[152] *Preuves*, 2:1552.

François at Dinan in April 1450, after the visit from Jean and Arthur de Montauban, indicates that Gilles was a broken man who understood, beyond doubt, that he was defeated. De Méel testified that he had petitioned the duke on Gilles' behalf "to require him to deliver Gilles, hear him in court, or put him to death, or he would kill himself."[153] François' response, which de Méel reported to Gilles as well as Pierre and Arthur de Richemont, was cold in the extreme: "And the duke responded to him [i.e., de Méel] that he never would deliver [Gilles], and he did not intend to hear him in court, nor had he decided to put him to death, but if [Gilles] killed himself, that was his choice."[154] This lack of concern over Gilles' potential suicide would have shown the young prince precisely how little he was valued by his brother.

On 24 or 25 April 1450, not long after de Méel returned to La Hardouinaie, Gilles was strangled to death after a failed attempt to poison him. De Méel alleged that Arthur de Montauban was the driving force behind the plot (although Jean de Montauban was complicit), and that it was carried out by their henchmen while de Méel himself, bribed by the promise of the captaincy at Châteaubriant, looked the other way.[155] In his

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[153] *Preuves*, 2:1552: "requerir mettre a délivrance ledit feu Gilles, le oyr en sa justice, ou qu'il le feist mourir, ou qu'il se turoit de lui-mesme.".

[154] *Preuves*, 2:1552: "Et le duc lui respondit que james ne le délivreroit ne n'estoit pas déliberé de le mettre en justice, ne avisé de le faire mourir, mais s'il se touit de lui-même, qu'il s'en rapportoit à lui." Lit., "that depends on him."

[155] *Preuves*, 2:1551. For his role in the plot, Olivier de Méel was executed on 8 June 1451, along with seven accomplices, at the order of the Parlement convened at Vannes by François' successor as duke, Pierre (*Preuves*, 2:1574 and Bourdeaut, 141-42). Neither of the brothers de Montauban were punished, however. Arthur fled to France, where he remained for the rest of his life, first becoming a monk at the Celestine house of Marcoussis, then rising to the position of archbishop of Bordeaux in 1468. He died in 1478/79 in Paris. Jean served as bailiff of Cotentin from 1450 (when Arthur vacated the position) until 1454, then became Grand Master of Water and Forests under Charles VII, and finally was named admiral of France in 1461 by the new French king, Louis XI. He died in 1466 and was buried at the Carmelite church of Notre-Dame in Dol, Brittany. See M. de La Chenaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse contenant les genealogies, l'histoire and la chronlogie des familles nobles de France*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Antoine Boudet, 1778), 12:285-86; Diane Brooten, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 58. Jean Hingant, counselor to François and one of Gilles' jailers at Moncontour, fled Brittany for France, where he evaded capture until 1458. At that point, he was arrested by the king's men and interviewed at Tours, but they refused to repatriate him to Brittany. Hingant won his

testimony given sometime between November 1450 and his execution on 8 June 1451, de Méel attempted to exculpate François of any knowledge of the impending assassination, claiming that "the late duke never spoke of the said poisons, [and] did not write anything to him about them," and further, "the late duke neither commanded him through letters nor other ways to put to Gilles death."[156] Nevertheless, de Méel could not exonerate the duke of all guilt, for it was François who kept Gilles under lock and key and deliberately worsened the conditions of his imprisonment, in what appears to have been an effort to subjugate and finally to dominate his youngest brother.

Stuck in the Middle: Pierre and Tanguy

Caught between the eldest and youngest Montforts were middle brother Pierre (1418-57) and illegitimate brother Tanguy (d. after 1459).[157] The extant record points to a long-standing cordial relationship between the Pierre and François. Prior to Jean V's death, Pierre witnessed a number of acts alongside François, which indicates a veneer of civility at the very least. The two brothers together petitioned their father to establish a living for the middle brother in 1439. Citing the strictures of primogeniture on younger sons, the "humble supplication and request" of both brothers, and "the good pleasure and consent of the Lord Count of Montfort [François]," Jean assigned revenues of 6,000 *l.* per year to Pierre.[158] After describing in detail the sources of this revenue and what would

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case against Arthur III before the Parlement of Paris (Bourdeaut, 140-41 and 140 n.1; AN X/2a/28, fol. 213r-215v).

[156] *Preuves*, 2:1552. According to Bourdeaut, the Parlement sat at Vannes between November 1450 and June 1451. Seven other men were put to death along with de Méel: Jean Raiart, Robert Roussel (or Rouxel), J. de la Chaise, Maletouche, Pierre Salmon, a man named d'Oreille-Pelue, and Raoul du Breilrond (Bourdeaut, 141-42).

[157] In the accounting register of June 1460-January 1462, Tanguy is noted as receiving a pension of 500 *l.*, although the specific date does not appear in the abbreviated version printed in *Preuves* 2:1756.

[158] *Preuves*, 2:1319-20.

happen to it in various scenarios, Jean reiterated François' consent and desire for the arrangement, and François signed the sealed the document alongside his father.[159] Although it is necessary to exercise caution in attributing "real" feeling based on official documents that employ formulaic language, François' role in this transaction suggests that he understood the duty of an elder brother to provide for younger siblings.

Pierre continued to remain close to his elder brother during the latter's reign. His pension in the accounting register of 1445-46 was 2,000 *l.*, at least twice as much as anyone else's, and four times more than either Gilles or Tanguy received.[160] After the Estates General refused to bring capital charges against Gilles in summer 1446, and François ordered that Françoise de Dinan's jewels be inventoried, Pierre was chief among the duke's agents, and he signed the resulting document "with his hand."[161] The following years saw Pierre's responsibilities increase. He provided counsel to his brother in October 1447, along with Arthur de Richemont, on a situation with the towns of the Breton-Poitevin border.[162] The accounting record of 1447-48 includes a lengthy entry detailing numerous trips carrying "letters and copies of letters" across Brittany and France.[163] While the position of envoy did not confer high status in itself, in light of Gilles' second betrayal and arrest, as well as François' inability to force the Estates

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[159] *Preuves*, 2:1323.

[160] Alain IX, viscount of Rohan and lord of Léon, drew a pension of 1,000 *l.*, as did François I, count of Harcourt and lord of Rieux and Rochefort (*Preuves*, 2:1397). Alain IX had previously married to Duke François' aunt Marguerite and was active in the Breton court (Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire*, 12:259-60). The lord of Rieux was a member of Duke François' council (Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire*, 12:107). Gilles' low pension of 500 *l.* can be attributable to his involvement in treason; although François had pardoned him, life hardly was back to normal. Tanguy's pension—in the same amount as Gilles' in fact—was due to his illegitimate birth.

[161] *Preuves*, 2:1406-07. Pierre was listed first among the duke's men, followed by one Thebaud de la Clartiere and Roland de Carné, who had previously served as Pierre's maître d'hôtel and continued to be his friend until at least May 1450, when Pierre wrote him a letter from the battlefield at Avranches (*Preuves*, 2:1445-46; per Bourdeaut, 126 n.1, the letter should be dated to 1450 rather than 1449). (Pierre identifies Carné as his maître d'hôtel in a letter of 22 Dec. 1439, *Preuves*, 2: 1324.)

[162] Lobineau, 1:630.

[163] *Preuves*, 2:1411.

General to do his bidding, it is conceivable that François wanted to use someone he could trust. Pierre's job as messenger can be seen as evidence of both his dedication to François and François' faith in him.

On 4 September 1449, in the aftermath of the sack of Fougères, François gave official expression to that faith by establishing Pierre as Lieutenant General of Brittany, "entrusting fully in the sense, manly worth, and loyalty of our very dear and beloved brother Pierre."[164] This post gave Pierre wide powers within the duchy in matters of administration, justice, finances, and "other things appropriate and necessary for the good of us and our said land."[165] François made this appointment while planning to take personal charge of a military expedition into Normandy; he meant to leave Pierre to manage Brittany in his absence.[166] Their uncle Arthur de Richemont had already taken a force across the border and captured two English sites (Saint-James de Beuvron and Mortain), and François' own army of 6,000 men was ready to deploy.[167] That plan soon was abandoned, however, and Pierre found himself at the head of a force split from the main army and bound to invest Fougères, while François led the greater part of the troops to the Cotentin.[168] Pierre's role in the Norman offensive continued in the spring of 1450, when he participated in the siege of Avranches.[169] Thus, whether in managing the duchy

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[164] *Preuves*, 2:1514: "nous confians à plain ez sens, prudhommie & loyauté de nostre tres-cher & trés-amé frere Pierre." On the *preudomme* and *preudommie*, see David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 29-46.
[165] *Preuves*, 2:1514.
[166] François mentions the "certain just and reasonable causes" that were motivating him to "[go] in person to Normandy" at the beginning of his act, as well as his desire to provide for his duchy during his absence (*Preuves*, 2:1514).
[167] La Borderie, 4:353-54.
[168] La Borderie, 4:354.
[169] La Borderie, 4:356; *Preuves*, 2:1445-46.

or a military force, François trusted Pierre to be loyal and supportive. In other words, Pierre would be to François precisely what Gilles was not.

Unlike Pierre, Tanguy, called the Bastard of Brittany, maintained connections with both François and Gilles. We know neither his birthdate or his mother's name or circumstances, but he may have been the eldest of the Montfort brothers—he was captain of men-at-arms and archers at La Guerche in 1431, when François was about 20 years old.[170] Although he does not appear in any chronicle, it is possible to reconstruct some of his life based on documentary evidence. He appears in various accounting registers until 1460-62; he was a captain at Dol after his stint at La Guerche; there is a record of a disagreement he had with the bishop and residents of Dol in 1435; he may have participated in a siege of Avranches in 1439; he was present for Jean Hingant's visit to Gilles at Le Guildo; and he is noted as being present at two meetings of the Estates General during Pierre's rule.[171]

He received a sum of money from François on 2 December 1445, as well as a 600 *l.* pension—far less than Pierre's 2,000 *l.* assignment, but similar to that of the recently pardoned Gilles.[172] For the *étrennes* of 1448, he received a silver cup and ewer, as did Jean de Montauban and certain other lords in François' service. This gift was not as

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[170] *Preuves*, 2:1234.

[171] For the relevant accounting registers, see *Preuves*, 2:1234, 1235, 1262, 1316, 1394, 1397, 1725, 1756, and *Lettres et mandements*, 7:56, 7:114-15. For his captainships, *Preuves*, 2:1234, 1235, 1262, and *Lettres et mandements*, vol. 7: *De 1431 à 1440* (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1894), 56, 114-15. For his squabble with the people of Dol, *Preuves*, 2:1288-92. For Hingant's letter and Tanguy's addendum to it, see *Preuves*, 2:1378-80. According to nineteenth-century historian Alexandre de Couffon de Kerdellech, Tanguy was knighted by Arthur de Richemont during a siege of Avranches in 1439, during Jean V's reign (*Recherches sur la chevalerie du duché de Bretagne* (Nantes: Vincent Forest and Emile Grimaud; Paris: Dumoulin, 1877), 1:535). The record of Tanguy's deposition at Clisson is at *Preuves*, 2:1407-08. For his presence at the Estates General, see *Preuves*, 2:1565, 1674. In August 1454, he and his wife Jeanne Turpin purchased La Behardière from Jean of Montauban, and a further document pertaining to that sale of that property, dated 31 October 1459, appears in *Preuves*, 2:1742-43.

[172] *Preuves*, 2:1397. The amount he received in December and the reason for it are unspecified in the published edition, as it is an extract of the accounting record that (presumably) survives in a French archive, probably at Nantes.

valuable as the gold cups bestowed upon the lord of Rohan and the lord of Léon, and certainly less so than the gold cups and ewers given to Pierre, Gilles, and Arthur de Richemont,[173] but it does indicate a continued connection with his brother the duke.

This link with François did not preclude Tanguy from maintaining a relationship with Gilles, however. According to his deposition of January 1447, Tanguy claimed to have spent time with Gilles on a number of occasions, at Le Guildo and elsewhere.[174] Jean Hingant's report following the visit to Le Guildo in June 1446 confirms that Tanguy was present when Gilles finally granted Hingant an audience.[175] The meeting occurred late at night, after a day spent bowling and an evening of carousing, which suggests that Tanguy and Gilles at least tolerated each other's company. When Gilles began to show his temper, Hingant reports that Tanguy was one of two men who attempted to bring the young prince to his senses.[176] Indeed, after spending the night in the prince's company, Tanguy helped convince Gilles to send a letter of apology to François.[177] That he was able to intervene so directly without incurring Gilles' animosity again points to the geniality that prevailed between them.

Aftermath

Within three months of Gilles' murder, François had died from disease contracted at the siege of Fougères. In his first will, made 22 January 1450 and while Gilles was still alive, he did not mention his youngest brother at all. Although he did not provide an

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[173] *Preuves*, 2:1412.
[174] *Preuves*, 2:1407.
[175] *Preuves*, 2:1379.
[176] *Preuves*, 2:1379: "and also Monsieur the Bastard and Monsieur Bertrand [Millon] said to him that they marveled much and that he destroyed himself."
[177] *Preuves*, 2:1408-09.

inheritance for Pierre in this will, the middle brother was included as a guardian for the duke's daughters and as an executor of the will.[178] While besieging Avranches in the spring of 1450, François' ailment worsened, to the point that on 3 June, Charles VII sought the best physicians in Paris to tend him.[179] Significantly, just two days prior, François had caused a mass to be said for Gilles' soul at the abbey at Mont Saint-Michel before continuing on his way to Vannes, a move perhaps signaling some twinges of conscience.[180] By midsummer, François knew his death was near, so he amended his will on 16 July with a codicil designating Pierre as his successor. The matters of Gilles' death and his own conscience had to wait until the following day, 17 July. At that time, he made a second codicil treating several lingering matters, including outstanding debts to jewelry merchants and an unfulfilled wish of his deceased father Jean V, before addressing the subject of the young prince. François ordered "that in the abbey of Boquien should be made a solemn foundation at the ordinance of the said executors, and such services that they will decide, for dear brother Gilles, may God pardon him."[181] It seems that, on the eve of his own death, which occurred on 18 July, François finally may have felt some remorse for at least some aspect of the struggle with his brother.[182]

Both Pierre and Arthur de Richemont, the next two dukes of Brittany, launched investigations into Gilles' murder. Pierre's investigation resulted in the executions of

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[178] *Preuves*, 2:1519-20.

[179] La Borderie, 126, on the evidence of a letter of 3 June 1450 from Jean Singet, transcribed in Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, ed. Henri Beaune et J. d'Arbaumont (Paris: Renouard, 1883), 1:208 n.1, in which Singet remarks, "On dit pardeça que le duc de Bretaigne est bien malade et en dengier de mort et a le Roy envoyé querre les medecins à Paris."

[180] Bouchart, fol. 201v; Bourdeaut, 126-27.

[181] *Preuves*, 2:1538: "Item, ordonnons que en l'Abbaye de Boquien soit faite foundation solemnelle, à l'ordonnance desdits Executeurs, pour beau-frère Gilles que Dieu pardoint, & services tells qu'ils adviseront."

[182] Bourdeaut makes the opposite argument, writing, "Vainly in this act of last will would one search for any sign that betrays the disquiet of a soul conscious of a great crime" (Bourdeaut, 127). However, the fact that François saw fit to amend his will a third time, just before he expired, suggests a troubled conscience.

Olivier de Méel and seven others, although he later felt some contrition about Pierre Salmon's sentence—in his will of 1457, he ordered that goods confiscated from Salmon be returned to the man's heirs and that 100 *l*. from the ducal treasury be used to establish a weekly mass in perpetuity for Salmon's soul, in addition to the 100 *l*. he had already given to one of the heirs.[183]

Arthur, crowned Duke Arthur III, began his inquiry even before Pierre died. On 20 September 1457, he ordered the arrests of Henri de Villeblanche (grand maître-d'hôtel), Michel de Parthenay (the man who had handled negotiations with François de Surienne), Jean Hingant, Bogier (treasurer), and Olivier de Coëtlogon (controller general), and assigned several bishops to manage the investigation.[184] The investigation involved calling numerous witnesses to Nantes and paying for their trouble, as well as the capture and interrogation of Jean Hingant at Tours.[185] But Arthur found nothing to condemn the men and released each of them in April 1458. He lost his case against Hingant, heard before the Parlement of Paris on 30 May 1458, as well.[186] Both Pierre and Arthur had to content themselves with continued financial support for masses dedicated to their murdered brother and nephew.[187] Neither of them appear to have endowed masses for François.

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[183] *Preuves*, 2:1707-8.
[184] Lobineau, 1:665; Bourdeaut, 144. According to Bourdeaut, Hingant was captured in France but not sent back to Brittany. His case was heard at the Parlement of Paris (140 n.1).
[185] Arthur's account records of October 1457 to April 1458 include distributions to defray witnesses' expenses: in October 1457, Macé Bourneuf, Jean Jarniguen, Alain de la Chasse, Guillaume Breven de Châteaubriant, Guion de Champeaux, Dom Guillaume Maubec, Robert Morhan, and Olivier de Carrai received funds from the ducal treasury "in order to come to Nantes before the duke, to be questioned concerning the fate of Monsieur Gilles" (*Preuves*, 2:1723).
[186] Lobineau, 1:665; Bourdeaut, 144; AN X/2a/28, fol. 213r-215v..
[187] In May 1455, Pierre's accounts show that he withdrew 50 *l*. at Estenic "for a service that the duke caused to say for the late Monsieur Gilles," and that he designated 10 *saluts* for "a priest who said several masses for the late Monsieur Gilles" and for "the Abbey of Prayers to hold a service for the late Monsieur Gilles" (*Preuves*, 2:1687). Arthur, more generously, earmarked 100 *l*. per year on 6 November 1457 for the abbey and monks of Boquien in order to support a perpetual mass for Gilles (Lobineau, 2:1199-1200).

Chapter 5:

Brotherhood and Masculinity in Action

In February 1438, Jean V updated his wishes regarding the assignment of appanages for his younger sons Pierre and Gilles, in order that "they might not have cause to question [our] dear son [François] the count of Montfort, our eldest son, but to serve and honor him, and to persevere in good love and union, as is fitting for good brothers."[1] Jean's statement echoes the construct of ideal fraternity detailed in Chapter One, but it also hints at what might splinter the fraternal relationship. The implication is that, if not for Jean's provision of adequate land and revenues, the cadets would be likely to quarrel with their eldest brother.

Indeed, as the preceding chapter notes, the matter of Gilles' appanage was a catalyst for his conflict with François. The near-contemporary chronicler of Arthur de Richemont, Guillaume Gruel, writes that, by 1445, "there was between the duke François and my lord Gilles his brother a certain discord, and they were not very happy the one with the other."[2] Pierre Le Baud asserts, in his first history offered to Jean de Malestroit and Hélène de Laval, that Gilles did not want an appanage in Anjou—subject to France—but rather he believed that he

> ought to be party to the inheritances of Brittany and to have a portion there as his other brothers, without being subject

[1] "Lettres d'apanage pour Pierre et Gilles de Bretagne, fils de Jean V," in *Lettres et mandements de Jean V duc de Bretagne*, vol. 4: *De 1431 à 1440*, ed. René Blanchard (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1894), 179: "ilz n'eussent cause de faire question à beau filz le comte de Montfort, nostre aisné filz, mès le servir, honnourer et perseverer en bonne amour et union comme appartient à bons frères."

[2] Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, connétable de France, duc de Bretagne (1393-1458)*, ed. Achille Le Vavasseur (Paris: Renouard, 1890), 189: "Et y avoit entre le duc Françoys et monseigneur Gilles son frere aucun differant, et n'estoient pas bien contens l'un de l'autre."

> to another prince. These things the duke François his brother, for his part, denied him, and refused to give and assign [them]. And for this reason began between the brothers a great hatred, and my lord Gilles left in anger from the court of the duke his brother, without taking nor requesting leave or license from him.[3]

Although Arthur de Richemont managed to smooth the brothers' relationship for the moment, Le Baud writes that "nevertheless there always remained the imprint and the memory and the anxiety of this hatred in the duke's heart, who afterward showed his brother my lord Gilles little sign of love; he held him estranged from him, and hardly spoke to him."[4]

According to the idealized view of brotherhood described in Chapter One, the bitter and ultimately deadly struggle between François and Gilles never should have happened. Brothers, after all, were supposed to be loyal, cooperative, supportive, even loving. But this ideal existed in tension with another pervasive standard, the chivalric masculinity of aristocratic men, with competition being the central feature. François and Gilles stood at the intersection of these competing forces.

The extent to which brotherhood, masculinity, or both impinged on, directed, focused their interactions varied from scene to scene throughout the brothers' drama.

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[3] Le Baud, *Compillation des chronicques et ystores des Bretons*, BnF ms. fr. 8266, fol. 367r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h> [accessed 7 June 2015].

[4] Le Baud, *Compillation*, BnF ms. fr. 8266, fol. 367r, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h> [accessed 7 June 2015]: "neantmoins demoura tousjours l'impression & la memoire & le remors de celle hayne ou couraige du duc qui dempuix monstroit a son frere mons[seigneur] Gilles petit signe d'amour quar il se tenoit estrange de luy et ne parloit a luy fors bien peu." Alain Bouchart follows Le Baud on the origins of the conflict and Arthur de Richemont's intervention (Bouchart, *Grandes croniques de Bretaigne*, ed. Auger and Jeanneau (Paris: Editions du Centre Nationale de le Recherche Scientifique, 1986): 2:328-30).

While confrontations that deployed brotherhood, as a theme or a tool, are more readily apparent, the influence of chivalric masculinity on brothers' relationships, although often less visible, cannot be ignored. This chapter will focus on several key moments in which brotherhood featured most clearly in the conflict between François and Gilles, then address the workings of chivalric masculinity as it functioned in the conflict writ large. The chapter argues that François and Gilles used brotherhood proactively in order to attain certain ends. Brotherhood was a tool in their hands, and sometimes a weapon, and the rhetorical battle stemmed from their masculine quarrel, the need for each man to attempt to defeat and ultimately dominate the other.

The Uses of Brotherhood

In a society that depended on kinship ties for its structure and proper functioning, it was useful to have brothers. A brother could be the means to church office or government appointments, grants of property, and other opportunities to gain or maintain power.[5] Thus, Pierre benefited from his fraternal connection to Duke François through his appointment as lieutenant general of Brittany (September 1449), and subsequently as commander of the army sent to besiege Fougères. He possessed enough individual authority by the summer of 1446 that he was able to confiscate one of Françoise de Dinan's jewels.[6] Tanguy also benefited from his fraternity with the other, legitimate sons

[5] Such benefits did not have to emanate directly from an elder to younger brother, but could instead flow through him or in association with him. Thus, Robert Bertrand's position as marshal of France enabled his brother Guillaume Bertrand to become bishop of Bayeux in 1338 (Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle*, 417).

[6] *Preuves*, 2:1407. He sent this item, a gold baton decorated with a ruby, garnet, and emerald, to one of Charles VII's men, a Jean de Noncelles, who later was one of the two French delegates charged with negotiating a resolution to the problem of the sack of Fougères (Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI, King of England* (London: Longman Green, 1864), 1:249).

of Jean V. He received *étrennes* and pensions from François, and during Pierre's reign (1450-57), he participated twice in meetings of the Estates General.[7] The level of responsibility Pierre bore for Tanguy's attendance at the Estates General cannot be known, but Tanguy would not have had the opportunity at all if not for the patronage and favor his brothers continued to show him after their father's death in 1442.

Brotherhood as a set of ideals also had its uses, which François and Gilles employed to the fullest extent in the course of their struggle. They did so by applying and manipulating the rhetoric of brotherhood. The fraternal bond itself remained important—without it, the rhetoric would have been far less pointed—but through their deployment of the ideals and language of brotherhood, François and Gilles attempted to make the institution work for them.

Gilles in particular used it as a lever to boost himself, similar to the ways brothers used their siblings and other members of their kinship networks to bring about material and political advantages. For Gilles, though, ideal brotherhood became a means by which to lift himself out of difficulty. When he wrote to François in March 1446, the aim of the letter was to exculpate himself from suspicion of levying an unauthorized hearth tax—only the duke could collect such a tax, and Gilles' alleged attempt was a challenge to François' authority less than six months after his pardon for treason.[8] To accomplish his ends, he traded on the currency of brotherhood. He reminded François that he was not just a brother, but a "good brother and servant."[9] Moreover, he was a brother who enacted

[7] For pensions and *étrennes*, see *Preuves*, 2:1394, 1397, 1412. For attendance at the Estates General in 1451 and 1455, see *Preuves*, 2:1565, 1674.
[8] See Chapter Four, pg. 214 for context. The letter is transcribed in J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, eds., *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1885), 3.1:322 n.2.
[9] Geslin de Bourgogne and Barthélemy, eds., *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, 3.1:322 n.2: "vostre bon frère et serviteur."

the ideals of brotherhood. He wrote, "I am and will be and will remain your *loyal* brother and servant," and signed the letter as "Your very humble and very *obedient* brother, Gilles."[10] That this language is, to an extent, formulaic does not mean that it lacked meaning, particularly in the context of a brother (who was in trouble) trying to plead his case.

The letter Gilles wrote to Charles VII almost three years later served a similar function, even though he did not direct it at François.[11] By late 1448 or early 1449, Gilles had been in captivity for two and one-half years, in increasingly miserable conditions. Charles had signaled his willingness to intervene in the brothers' quarrel, if Gilles chose to throw himself at the king's feet. That was one of Gilles' strategies in his letter, but he also made brotherhood a focus. By pointing out that François refused to grant him a proper trial, keeping him imprisoned instead, Gilles was implying that François was failing to be a good brother. His lament about the cruelties and deprivations he continued to suffer at the hands of his jailers only reinforced that notion, as Gilles would not have been subject to such abuses if François had treated him as a brother ought. Lest he come across too strongly, Gilles was careful to say that François himself was not a bad man, only that he was badly advised by Gilles' enemies. In fact, the young prince wrote that "he certainly believes that his brother had goodwill toward him, and that all the trouble that [François] gave to him [i.e., Gilles] does not come from [François], but comes through the instigation and desire of the aforesaid enemies."[12] It was therefore possible for François to act as a good brother should, and if Charles could convince François to

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[10] Geslin de Bourgogne and Barthélemy, eds., *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, 3.1:322 n.2: "je suis et seray et demeureray vostre *loyal* frère et serviteur;" "Vostre très humble et très *obeisant* frère, Gilles." Emphasis added.
[11] See Chapter Four, pg. 227.
[12] *Preuves*, 2:1439.

remember the principles of brotherhood, Gilles' situation would be ameliorated.

Such was the power of ideal brotherhood that it might also be used as a goad by others to compel reform. Thus, when Henry VI of England was attempting in 1445 to convince François to bestow a Breton appanage on Gilles, the English king launched a rhetorical offensive. In a letter to François, which Henry copied to Gilles on 25 October 1445, he began by scolding François for treating Gilles unfairly, writing:

> Gilles your brother has, many times and in grave instances, prayed and requested of [you] to make a distribution of land and assign to him his living in Brittany according to his estate, as pertains to him, and as you have already done for our very dear and loved cousin Pierre, your other brother.[13]

The fact that Gilles already held a great deal of Breton land in right of his wife was beside the point. Henry appears to have supported Gilles' claim that, as a member of the ducal house, he ought to have a Breton appanage. Henry's repetition of the term "brother" in this passage suggests that he wished to make the provision of an appanage an explicitly fraternal duty. Indeed, the concept of support was characteristic of ideal brotherhood. His argument, that as a brother, François ought to give Gilles his due, deployed the spirit of ideal brotherhood.

Henry went on to accuse François of behaving unjustly toward Gilles, noting that

[13] *Preuves*, col. 1391. In fact, Pierre had been assigned the county of Guingamp as his appanage by their father, Jean V, and beyond that, he controlled the lordship of Minibriac (purchased in 1444), the lordship of Châteaulin, and county of Benon (in right of his wife). François was not, therefore, responsible for Pierre's living, but that detail is irrelevant in the context of Henry's letter. See *Preuves*, 2:1363; Louis-Etienne Arcere, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aulnis* (La Rochelle: René-Jacob Desbordes, 1756), 1:125-28.

"you have been and are refusing, or at least too much delaying in long waiting, to very great prejudice and damage," some "other gifts" designated by the late Jean V as part of Gilles' inheritance.[14] The clear implication was that François was in breach of his brotherly duties. Henry then cited "the singular love and affection that you [i.e., François] have toward our cousin Gilles," simultaneously exhorting François on how brothers' relations ought to be and chiding him for what his relationship with Gilles seemed to lack.[15]

When Henry reached the crux of his message, he pressed on even more strongly with the rhetoric of brotherhood, writing:

> [W]e, desiring your fraternal love [*dilection fraternelle*] always to be maintained and preserved between you, each of you brothers the one to the other, as is wise, we pray you and request very affectionately and from the heart that you will deliver to our cousin Gilles, your brother, a share of land and provision for living in your land of Brittany, and do for him the other gifts according to the will and order of our deceased uncle your father, and in this you will do fairness and justice, and to us singular pleasure.[16]

Henry's understanding of the ideal brotherhood thus encompassed not just love, but a

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[14] *Preuves*, 2:1391. Henry's letter does not identify what these "other gifts" were.
[15] *Preuves*, 2:1391: "la singuliere amour & affection que vous avéz envers nostredit cousin Gilles."
[16] *Preuves*, 2:1391: "nous desirans vostre dilection fraternelle estre tousiours maintenue & gardée entre vous, chacun de vosdits freres l'un envers l'autre, comme raison est, vous prions & requerons très-affectueusement & de cueur que à nostred[it] cousin Gilles vostre frere veillez faire délivrer ledit partaige & provision de vivre en vostre pays de Bretaigne & lui faire avoir les autres donations à lui deues selon la volonté & ordonnance de nostred[it] feu bel oncle vostre pere, & en ce feréz équité & justice, & à nous bien singulier plaisir."

particular sort of inspired love [*dilection fraternelle*] associated with brotherliness.[17] It also involved fairness, justice, and support, in this case through provision of land and full execution of Jean's will. In the absence of the necessary support, Henry implies, strife would be the inevitable result. In other words, François would have only himself to blame if Gilles acted out. Henry draped his argument in politeness, but beneath the careful words and pleas "from the heart," he was wielding ideal brotherhood as a prod to initiate a change in the duke's behavior.

Although with less theatricality, the Estates General and the French counselors Monsieur de Précigny and Guillaume Cousinot attempted a similar tactic. After Gilles was arrested a second time, in June 1446, and brought up on capital charges before the Breton Estates General, the Bretons and the French counselors pushed back against Duke François. Précigny and Cousinot argued that they "knew that my lord Gilles is brother of the lord of Brittany." Thus, they "presume[d] that *fraternal love* ought to stir my lord of Brittany to pity and *compassion* toward my lord Gilles his brother."[18] The Estates General also "begg[ed] and require[ed] him, that it might please him to have pity and *compassion* on my lord Gilles his brother, and to impart to him his *grace* and *mercy*."[19] Taken together, these statements, peppered as they are with the key notes of ideal brotherhood, were a clear statement about what brothers in François' situation ought to do. They were, in other words, an attempt to influence François' behavior.

Ideal brotherhood might serve as a means toward improving one's circumstances or a tool for effecting change, but in the hands of two angry brothers, the rhetoric of

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[17] *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, s.v. "dilection" http://atilf.atilf.fr/ [accessed 11 December 2014].
[18] *Preuves*, 2:1406: "à présumer que *amour fraternel* devroit esmouvoir mondit Seigneur de Bretaigne à pitié & *compassion* envers ledit Messire Gilles son frere." My emphasis.
[19] *Preuves*, 2:1406: "supplier & requerir, qu'il lui pleust avoir pitié & *compassion* dudit Messire Gilles son frere, & de lui imparter sa *grace* & *misericorde*." My emphasis.

brotherhood might become something else. During the summer or early fall of 1445, François' agents intercepted an incriminating letter from Gilles to his English operatives. Gilles was charged with treason and subjected to a hearing, and that hearing became an arena of battle for the two brothers. Their chosen weapon: brotherhood itself.

Under oath, Gilles was forced to admit that he had, in fact, written the offending letter to Henry VI of England, although he attempted to argue that he did not really intend treason.[20] Gilles was in a weak position, as he must have known. The very fact that the hearing was taking place indicated that the elder brother held the advantage, and Gilles' partial admission of guilt sealed his defeat. His best course of action, therefore, was to solicit mercy by invoking the expectations of brotherhood. He launched his attack along that line, protesting that "he always had been, was, and would be to us [i.e., to François] a good, loyal, and true brother."[21]

François easily parried, highlighting the ways in which Gilles was not, in fact, a good brother at all. He "reprimanded the great dishonor, evil, crime, and reproach committed by him in making the plan of the said letter and embassy." He spoke of the "great ingratitude" that Gilles had demonstrated while participating in "the crime of treason, felony, and disloyalty."[22] Then came François' riposte: he declared that Gilles "had found in us a good lord and brother."[23] His echo of Gilles' claim was a rebuttal, made more pointed by the accompanying indictments of Gilles' crimes and failures. François also highlighted his own standing as feudal overlord, which was a reminder to Gilles of his superior status.

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[20] *Preuves*, 2:1386.
[21] *Preuves*, 2:1386: "toujours avoit esté, estoit & nous seroit bon, loyal & vray frere."
[22] *Preuves*, 2:1387.
[23] *Preuves*, 2:1387: "que en nous avoit trouvé bon Seigneur & frere."

François continued to press his advantage, noting his counselors' agreement that Gilles' behavior merited "punishment as much of body as of goods," before making a show of relenting to the pleas of middle brother Pierre and uncle Arthur de Richemont.[24] After reciting his list of required concessions, François landed a series of rhetorical blows that resulted in his victory. According to the record of the hearing, he required that

> from now on he [i.e., Gilles] would *be a good and loyal brother, subject, and servant* toward all and against all, and that … with all his power he would maintain and keep them [i.e., his lands] in our true obedience and in all he would be truly obedient to us and pursue our good and guard against our detriment to the extent of his power as to his true and natural lord.[25]

Gilles duly swore the necessary oaths, "bringing himself toward us as a *good, true, and loyal brother, subject and obedient*."[26] He received François' pardon, but not before he was forced to relinquish control of his lands, custody of his wife, and the governorship he exercised over the Breton towns of Saint Malo and Moncontour. François also confined him to court, prevented him from entertaining any of his English friends, and prohibited him from corresponding with Henry VI or any other Englishman without permission.

François' deployment of the language of "good and loyal" and "good, true, and

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[24] *Preuves*, 2:1387.
[25] *Preuves*, 2:1387: "que à toujourmais nous *seroit bon & loyal frere, suget & serviteur* vers tous & contres tous, & que … tout son pouvoir les feroit maintenir & garden en nostre obeissant & pourchasseroit nostre bien & obvieroit à nostre mal à son lige pouvoir comme à son vray & naturel Seigneur." My emphasis.
[26] *Preuves*, 2:1388: se portant envers nous comme *bon, vray & leal frere, suget & obeissant*." My emphasis.

loyal" brotherhood was almost identical to Gilles' own opening statement, and it served two purposes. First, François was refuting Gilles' own claim to performing good brotherhood; these statements on the heels of the recitation of Gilles' crimes and justifiable punishment highlighted how drastically Gilles had deviated from the model of ideal brotherhood. François was, in essence, pointing out that Gilles was incapable of using the weapon he had chosen for the duel. Secondly, François subtly manipulated the ideal of brotherhood to suit his own ends. That ideal, as discussed in Chapter One, did not include total equality—the hierarchies of age and title were facts of medieval life—but François here equated the status of brother with those of subject and servant. In François' view, then, brotherhood (at least the brotherhood of younger siblings) was a subservient state, characterized by full obedience as well as "goodness" and "loyalty."

The fact that both men implemented the rhetoric of brotherhood here indicates that they well knew the expectations for brotherly behavior. Even if they did not buy into the ideal—and we can only speculate whether or not they did—they understood the weight brotherhood carried in society. Each therefore sought to sway the other and, just as critically, the members of court who had gathered to witness the proceedings and render advice.

Masculinity

Gilles' need to prevail in the duel of the treason hearing is obvious—his head was at risk. To understand the vigor with which François wielded the sword of brotherhood, it is necessary to turn to chivalric masculinity. As discussed previously, this version of masculinity involved honor, reputation, prowess, and competition. Through prowess—

meaning the successful use of violence in licit armed competition with other men—a man won honor, which enhanced his reputation. Competition was, therefore, fundamental to the very masculinity of elite men, to their identities *qua* men. In other words, a man's masculinity depended, at least in part, on his ability to compete with, *and defeat*, other men. It also required that men defend themselves against attacks, which could come as physical threats or assaults on their honor and reputation. This is the context in which François and Gilles lived, and in which their quarrel must be read. Their use of brotherhood as a tool and a weapon is a key aspect of the conflict, but it also was part of the larger, overarching struggle about masculinity. Their fight was a struggle for dominance, the stakes of which were both immediate (elimination of a rival) and abstract (proof of superior masculinity).

In this context, François' response to Gilles' first arrest for treason necessarily had to be forceful and clear, a strong message to his younger brother as well as the Breton lords who were watching. François had to convey that he was fully in control of his duchy (and family), which also would serve to shore up his threatened masculinity. Thus, François bludgeoned Gilles with the rhetoric of ideal brotherhood, a strategy that functioned simultaneously to attack Gilles' manhood. For example, given the close ties between chivalric masculinity, honor, and loyalty, François' use of the words "dishonor" and "disloyalty" during the October 1445 hearing emphasized Gilles' failures both as a brother and a man.[27] Gilles' protest that he did not remember writing the most incriminating parts of the treasonous letter, and that he did not intend treason anyway, would have been a weak rebuttal to François' charges, making intimations of

[27] *Preuves*, 2:1387; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71-74, 117-18.

unmasculine weakness appear credible. The confiscations and restrictions that François imposed as a condition for pardon only compounded the damage to Gilles' masculinity. He was, in effect, reduced to the status of a child—his movements were constrained, his actions supervised, his wife removed from him. The effect became more pronounced by the end of the year, when François forced Gilles to renounce all claims he had to his inheritance.[28]

Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that Gilles escaped his brother's court at the first opportunity and began subverting François' rule once again.[29] In this reading, his correspondence with the English, entertainment of English visitors, and retention of English bodyguards become an effort to rehabilitate his masculinity even as he challenged his brother's. The arrival of Jean Hingant at Le Guildo, with letters from François and Arthur de Richemont, gave Gilles a perfect opportunity to show his brother the extent of his irritation; Hingant became François' substitute. First, Gilles made him wait for hours before granting him an audience, a stunt meant to demonstrate his authority within his castle: Gilles would see his brother's messenger only when he wished, and not a moment sooner. He proceeded to launch threats against Hingant as well as François while boasting that he had "six or seven hundred knights" to lead and that the king of England was on his side.[30] The imperiousness, harsh words, and implied violence in this scene allowed Gilles to assert his masculinity against his brother in a way he could not have done had François stood before him in actuality.

Gilles' efforts at masculine rehabilitation could only be partially successful,

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[28] *Preuves*, 2:1393.
[29] Pierre Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne, avec les chroniques de Vitre et de Laval*, ed. Hozier (Paris: Gervais Alliot, 1638), 492.
[30] *Preuves*, 2:1379.

however, due to his own repeated misbehaviors. Not only did he continue to plot secretly with the English, he also betrayed his oaths to the duke his brother. Both actions rendered him untrustworthy in the eyes of his peers, thereby damaging his reputation as a member of aristocratic society. His behavior also hurt his standing as a man. To be recognized as a "real" man, a manly man, one had to keep one's word and deal openly with others; a man who did so boosted his reputation—his social credit—with other men.[31] To do otherwise was an abrogation of the "homosocial code" that bound mature men together, an error that risked his identification with youthful inconstancy or the tarnished femininity of common women.[32]

With his empty boasts and threats of violence, Gilles only added to that view. According to Tanguy's testimony, Gilles continued to bluster even after Hingant fled, claiming that he would lead "five or six thousand English" all the way to St. Mahé de Finistère.[33] Boasts and threats of this tenor were, along with actual violence, part of the ritual and vocabulary of chivalric masculinity.[34] However, Gilles' inability to make good on this and other boasts must have damaged his credibility, especially in light of his proven failure to keep his word to François. Moreover, although Gilles continued to plot with the English, his plots never led to action, opening him up to the charge that he lacked the proper manly vigor to accomplish his projects. Indeed, while his lack of action after being warned that François was about to arrest him might have been an attempt to

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[31] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 44, 72.
[32] Neal, *Masculine Self*, 44, Taylor, *Chivalry*, 79. According to the fifteenth-century Middle English *Secretum secretorum*, rendered from a Latin translation of the much older Arabic text, breaking one's promises was "appropriate to untrue folks and ill doers, to youths and to women of ill repute [stottes]" (M.A. Manazalaoui, ed., *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1:43; see also 140, 221).
[33] *Preuves*, 2:1408.
[34] Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 104-13.

display courage, it is likely to have been viewed by others as a lack of masculine vigor, the antithesis of manliness. In effect, Gilles was emasculating himself.

Despite Gilles' missteps and problematic masculinity, François still experienced challenges as he attempted to subjugate his brother and shore up his rule. In order to ensure Brittany's security in light of Gilles' intrigues, François swore an oath of allegiance to Charles VII of France on 16 March 1446.[35] The Breton dukes had long considered themselves sovereigns of their own realm, the equals of any other king.[36] François' maneuver was a blow to that pretension. It also carried gendered implications, as the count of Vendôme insinuated. During the oath ceremony, Vendôme joked that, if more men would swear to the king as François was doing, Charles "would have a *magnam caudam*, and be well attended."[37] *Caudam* carried the double meaning of "tail" and "penis," which Vendôme surely intended. The gist was unambiguous: Charles was the superior man by virtue of his greater authority as king as well as his *magnam caudam*. François was left to pick up the pieces of his dignity, and Gilles was to blame.

The meeting of the Estates General in August 1446 proved to be another difficult moment for François. According to Le Baud, a small cadre of men led by the lord of Combour defied François' wishes regarding capital punishment for his brother.[38] Although Gilles did not benefit in the long term from the Estates' rebuff, the encounter certainly was not a victory for François. Moreover, his refusal to accept the counsel of the Estates and the French advisors Précigny and Cousinot would not have reflected well on

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[35] *Preuves*, 2:1399-1400.
[36] Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London: The Hambledon Press,1988), 8-12.
[37] *Preuves*, 2:1399.
[38] Le Baud, *Compillation des croniques et ystores des Bretons*, BnF, ms. fr. 8266, fol. 368v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8530342h> [accessed 10 June 2015]. Alain Bouchart's chronicle follows Le Baud's, with variation in detail (Bouchart, *Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne*, ed. H. Le Meignen (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1886), fol. 196v).

him as a ruler or a man. By comparison, François had solicited the advice of his counselors during the October 1445 hearing, which demonstrated his self-mastery and wisdom—taking counsel was a buttress against rash acts, and an expected element of good governance.[39] His decision to pardon Gilles in 1445 at the request of brother Pierre and uncle Arthur showed his mercy, another feature of good rulership as well as chivalry.[40] The August 1446 meeting of the Estates General, however, brought about no such mercy or acceptance of counsel, leaving him vulnerable to criticisms of excessive passion more characteristic of children, or women, than mature men.[41]

Whatever resentment François bore toward his youngest brother in connection with the homage ceremony in France and the meeting of the Estates would have been amplified by the events in Normandy of 1449-50. François de Surienne's capture of the town of Fougères was an assault on the Breton duke's sovereignty, which required an immediate, forceful, military—that is, a manly—response. By marshaling and deploying his armies, François was able to parry the blow to his masculinity that the mercenaries' invasion represented, but the Norman campaign could not silence his detractors entirely because the situation with Gilles remained unresolved. According to Olivier de Méel's testimony, François expressed frustration that "the admiral of France, the lord of Estouteville, the Bourgois, and others mocked him for having [Gilles] so kept."[42] It was in this same conversation that François expressed the wish to see Gilles "in Paradise."[43] Whether or not the mockery that François endured from the nobility took the form of

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[39] Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 31.
[40] Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 28-30; Taylor, *Chivalry*, 178-83.
[41] Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 28.
[42] *Preuves*, 2:1551: "l'Admiral de France, le Sire d'Estouteville, le Bourgois & autres se moquoient de lui de l'avoir tant gardé."
[43] *Preuves*, 2:1551: "il voulist led[it] feu Gilles Mons[seigneur] en Paradis."

gendered barbs—it is conceivable that it did—the fact remains that François' stock was diminishing in the eyes of his peers, even as he was proving to Gilles through the fact of the captivity that he was the superior man.

A further complicating factor was François' own ill health. By the time he met with Olivier de Méel and expressed his desire for Gilles' death, he had already contracted the illness that would kill him by mid-July 1450. At the peak of the Norman campaign, his sole military endeavor and thus his best and only chance to demonstrate his martial prowess in the crucible of war, François' movements and vitality became more and more circumscribed. Whatever François may have thought of these problems and limitations, the combination of mortal illness, invasion, and defiance from his own brother did not bode well for perceptions of his manliness. In other words, François' masculinity was under threat, whether or not François himself conceived of the struggle in precisely those terms.

The conflict between François and Gilles thus carried on at the level of masculinity as well as brotherhood. The barbs they traded that implicated their honor and reputation also impinged on their masculinity. Each brother suffered accusations or insinuations that shamed him, which in turn diminished his honor. As Taylor observes, any failure to address an insult to one's honor would have been viewed as "a failure of manhood."[44] Each brother, therefore, needed to mend his masculine reputation, and for aristocratic men, that required violence.[45] The downward spiral of the brothers' conflict—from initial stubbornness and disagreements, to the hearing of October 1445, to open defiance, imprisonment, abuse, and murder—appear as a continuing struggle for

[44] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 71.
[45] Taylor, *Chivalry*, 70-74.

each man to rehabilitate his masculinity through the use of force.

Concluding Remarks

The competition that engulfed François and Gilles also transfixed those who looked upon it. From Guillaume Gruel, who lived through the events and their immediate aftermath, to near-contemporaries Pierre Le Baud and Alain Bouchart, to Bertrand d'Argentré more than a century later, the Breton historians made the matter of Brittany a focus of their attention. François and Gilles appeared in French chronicles as well, with mention by Matthieu d'Escouchy and Jean Chartier.[46] Even Parisians passed rumors about Gilles' death. The Burgundian adherent and cleric Jean Singet wrote to the duke of Burgundy in a letter of 3 June 1450: "And so it is said that Gilles of Brittany is dead from the displeasure that he had from the destruction and slaughter that was done against the English."[47] Modern authors, too, allowed themselves to be caught by the spectacle of François and Gilles. Since the early nineteenth century, the brothers' conflict and its end have become the subject of works of fiction, poetry, theater, and an opera, and the public library at Breteil featured an exhibit on the subject as recently as January 2013.[48]

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[46] Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, ed. G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt (Paris: Renouard, 1863), 1:96-98; Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville (Paris: Jannet, 1858), 2:228-31.

[47] Letter of Singet to the duke of Burgundy, 3 June 1450, in Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Henri Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (Paris: Renouard, 1884), 2:208 n.1. This was the rumor encouraged by Gilles' murderers to mask their crime, per Olivier de Méel's testimony (*Preuves*, 2:1553).

[48] "The Prince of Brittany," *The Lady's Miscellany, or, the Weekly Visitor* 15.7 (6 June 1812): 97-100; Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Le fratricide, ou, Gilles de Bretagne* (Paris: Hivert, 1836); the conflict figures prominently in Lady Georgiana Fullerton's *A Stormy Life: A Novel* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868); Maryvonne Quémarac, *L'ambassadeur de la paix: Gilles de Bretagne* (Le Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 2003); V. Aubrey, "Le captif, ou Gilles de Bretagne," *Le lycée armoricain: Revue de l'Ouest* (1827): 484-85; Bertrand Robidou's "Françoise de Dinan," a play in five acts, opened in Rennes on 27 December 1879 (Frédéric Sacher, *Bibliographie de la Bretagne, ou Catalogue général*

There are obvious reasons for the continued popularity of the tale. It contains basic themes of good storytelling, with intrigue and betrayal, espionage, lust and temptation, war, crime, and tragedy, all set within the romanticized later Middle Ages. That the conflict involved brothers makes it all the more compelling, since brotherhood was—and is—supposed to be a special bond, characterized by loyalty, support, affection. François' and Gilles' relationship was everything brotherhood should not be.

Their dysfunction was not merely the result of personal idiosyncrasies or character flaws, however. François and Gilles were caught by the social forces of their age, the conflicting paradigms of ideal brotherhood and chivalric masculinity that had the considerable potential to set brother against brother. As François, Gilles, and many other brothers show, the incompatibilities of these paradigms often proved insurmountable.

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des ouvrages historiques, littéraires et scientifiques parus sur la Bretagne… (Rennes: J. Plihon, 1881), 180); Henri Kowalski, *Gilles de Bretagne: Opéra en quatre actes et cinq tableaux*, libretto by Amélie Perronnet (Paris, Alphonse Leduc, 1878). A short review of the opera in the English language weekly journal *The Athanaeum* noted that it was produced on Christmas Eve at Paris' Théâtre Lyrique, and that the opera was a "failure." In addition to unsatisfying music, "The story was found too sad." *The Athanaeum*, no. 2619 (5 Jan. 1878), 29. For the Breteil library's exhibit, see <http://www.ouest-france.fr/une-exposition-sur-le-prince-gilles-de-bretagne-930527> [accessed 30 May 2015].

Conclusion

From the murderous Visconti brothers to the litigious Heinsbergs, from Gilles' aggression against François I in Brittany to the rebellion and strong-arm diplomacy of Charles of France and King Louis XI, the clash of ideal brotherhood with chivalric masculinity made conflict between brothers possible and, indeed, likely. Avoiding the crush of these forces involved deliberate interventions. Although it is impossible to say whether brothers bestowed gifts and offices in order to secure goodwill and loyalty, or instead in appreciation of goodwill and loyalty already present, the fact remains that grants of lands, titles, pensions, and offices often were a feature of harmonious fraternal relationships. Pierre benefited in this way from his support of François, as did Louis of Orléans with King Charles VI and the Hollands (especially John) with King Richard II. Even when brothers were not directly responsible for the augmentation of wealth and prestige or the advancement of a career, these factors played a role in the brothers' interactions. Tanguy, as an illegitimate son of Duke Jean V of Brittany, needed to remain in François' good graces in order to maintain his career and lifestyle. The lands, titles, and responsibilities possessed by the sons of King Edward III and the Burgundian brothers Jean the Fearless, Antoine, and Philippe were strong incentives against the risky business of internecine conflict.

These cases might suggest that the ideals of brotherhood described in Chapter One had little bearing on the relationships of actual brothers. François and Gilles used brotherhood not as an inspirational model, a guide for behavior, or a source of strength and support, but rather as a weapon. It was a tactic Louis XI employed, and it appears in

the *Tale of Gamelyn* as well. Froissart's and Monstrelet's apparent insistence on brotherhood as an institution of intrinsic goodness might be read as a reformative project. Perhaps they were not describing brotherhood as it was, but rather as they hoped it would become. Indeed, perhaps the loyalty, cooperation, support, and love of ideal brotherhood were possible only for fictive brothers.

While provocative, such a view goes too far in the direction of cynicism. It ignores (or at least discounts) the examples of brothers who, according to the historical record, seem to have attempted to make the ideal a reality in their relationships. Froissart and Monstrelet name dozens of brothers who campaigned together. Participating in Duke Albert I of Bavaria's offensive against Friesland in 1396, for example, were the lord of Fléron and his brother Jehan, Guillaume and Pinchart de Hermée, Ostes and Gerard de Caussines, the lord of Ittre and his brother Jehan, and Sir Jehan and Persant d'Andregines.[1] Among the men killed at Agincourt in 1415 were "the lord of Rocheguion [Guy VI] and his brother," "the lord de Maumez and his brother Lanselot," "Mathieu and Jehan de Humières, brothers," "Sir Oudart de Renty and two of his brothers," "the lord of Roisinbos and his brother," and many others.[2]

While the mere presence of two or more brothers in an army did not mean that they got along or even liked each other, there is evidence that suggests they did. For example, Sir Robinet de Mailly's three brothers were "very distressed" at his tragic death in a bog and showed "great sorrow." [3] Other cases, described in Chapter Three, show men tending their brothers during illness, mourning their brothers' deaths, rescuing their

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[1] BnF ms. fr. 2646, fol. 240r-240v, reproduction at *Gallica* <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438607b> [accessed 29 June 2015]; Froissart, trans. Johnes, 2:613.
[2] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:113-14; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:344.
[3] Monstrelet, *Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, 3:378; Monstrelet, trans. Johnes, 1:435.

brothers from harm. Taken together, these examples suggest brotherly feeling that went beyond concern for personal benefit.

Masculinity, too, played a role in brothers' relationships. For the hostile brothers and the cooperative ones alike, it determined the sorts of options men had in their dealings with one another. Brothers did not fight because of masculinity, just as they did not cooperate in spite of it. Rather, the expectations and pressures of chivalric masculinity made certain actions and attitudes possible and others unthinkable. The need to demonstrate prowess through exploits of arms was real, and sometimes required men had to take up arms even against their own brothers. Perhaps ideal brotherhood was the best and most effective curb available for masculine competitiveness that otherwise would have been even more destructive.

There are, of course, a number of unknowns in the cases examined here, chief among them the extent to which the brothers' individual personalities influenced their actions. Nor can we know, for most brothers, what sorts of events took place during the poorly documented life-stage of childhood. Did Richard II's mother Joan of Kent encourage the future king to treat his half-brothers Thomas and John Holland well? Was youngest brother Gilles bullied by François, who was over ten years his senior? Brothers' feelings about one another and their fraternal relationship only appear through a glass darkly, obscured by generic conventions, formulaic language, and authors' agendas, in addition to the accidents of source preservation and the cultural differences that separate the Middle Ages from the present.

Still, it is possible to recover something of the context in which François and Gilles or Guillaume I of Hainaut and Jean de Beaumont or Charles VI of France and

Louis of Orléans lived. We know, for instance, that the wars of the later Middle Ages offered noblemen opportunities to distinguish themselves through feats of prowess and courage—that is, to prove their masculinity—but also strained fraternal relationships. Olivier and Henri de Spinefort, for example, fought on opposite sides of the Breton War of Succession, and the Saveuse brothers were opponents in the Burgundian-Orléanist civil war.[4] The ongoing dispute between France and England fanned the flames of Gilles' discontent with François. Land was another stressor for brothers' relations, as a number of the cases analyzed in this dissertation show. A paltry appanage was a catalyst for Charles' discontent with Louis XI as well as Gilles' conflict with François. Unhappiness with the inheritance shares designated by Jeanne de Luxembourg brought her nephews Jean II and Pierre into discord.[5] The nature of power at the highest levels—held by a titled person (usually a man) for his lifetime—made thrones a tantalizing prize, and, as the Bernabò and Galeazzo Visconti and Enrique of Trastámara showed, brothers were not immune to temptation.[6]

It also is possible to learn something of the ideologies and expectations that prevailed at the time. One of these, ideal brotherhood, was a powerful force in medieval culture and society, as Chapter One demonstrates. Another was chivalric masculinity, a key dynamic in the lives of aristocratic men. The intersection of these two forces bore heavily on medieval brothers, pressuring them simultaneously to cooperate and to compete even as they navigated the challenging circumstances of the later Middle Ages. Thus, although we cannot know precisely what François, Gilles, and the rest of the

[4] See Chapter Three, pp. 142-43 for the Saveuse brothers, and Chapter Three, pp. 132-34 for the Spineforts.
[5] See Chapter Two, pg. 92-93.
[6] For the Visconti brothers' case, see Chapter Two, pp. 78-80. For Enrique of Trastámara and Pedro I the Cruel of Castile, see Chapter Two, pp. 80-90.

brothers were thinking or feeling when they chose to attack or support each other, we at least know what the possibilities were.[7]

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As the cases highlighted throughout this study demonstrate, brothers were integral to the events of the later Middle Ages. The conflict in Brittany brought about what proved to be the final phase of the Hundred Years' War, while middle brother Pierre's support of François I enabled the duke to prosecute a successful military campaign in Normandy. Pedro the Cruel's provocation of illegitimate brother Enrique brought about his death and the establishment of a new ruling dynasty in Castile. The assistance of Jean the Fearless' brothers, Antoine and Philippe, allowed him to continue his civil war with the Orléanists, which in turn kept France at a disadvantage in the war against England. In short, whether as allies or rivals, brothers were in the thick of the action. For what they can reveal about governments, war, and kinship, therefore, brothers merit our attention.

Brothers also were keenly aware of the duties, opportunities, and challenges that their fraternal bond entailed. The idea that brotherhood was a special sort of bond was well-established by the later Middle Ages. There were grounds for it in religious thought and practice, craftworkers were part of fraternities, the members of which were called "brothers;" military men who were particularly close were called "brothers-in-arms" and sometimes solemnized their connection with formal compacts. The wide appeal of ideal brotherhood is evident in its use in such differing milieux, but its influence did not end there. Biological brothers also understood its applicability to their own fraternal relationships, as the preceding chapters show. It is a key contention of this dissertation

[7] David Gary Shaw, *Necessary Conjunctions: The Social Self in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.

that chivalric masculinity was no less influential. By shedding light on the masculinity that bore on aristocratic brothers, and more particularly on the effects of their chivalric masculinity, this dissertation aims to advance the conversation from discussions about what masculinity looked like for various categories of medieval men, to what it did.

My project thus seeks to enhance our understanding of not only aristocratic men, their actions, and their motivations, but also the society and events of the later Middle Ages more generally. Ideal brotherhood, as I have shown, certainly was not limited to the upper echelon of society, but the performance and influence of chivalric masculinity beyond the rarified circles of the aristocracy is an issue that requires investigation. R.W. Connell's concept of "hegemonic masculinity" almost certainly applies here, in that chivalric masculinity "embodied the currently most honored way of being a man" and "required all other men to position themselves in relation to it."[8] The extent and form of its impact on other types of medieval masculinities has immediate relevance to the ways in which masculinity and brotherhood functioned in the lives of men outside the marital elite.

A natural question, therefore, is whether and to what extent the argument of this dissertation applies to other social groups and situations. Did biological brothers among the craftworkers and merchants experience a similar tension between their masculinity (which was somewhat different than the chivalric version of the elites) and the ideals of

[8] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19.6 (Dec. 2005): 832. See pp. 829-32 for the history of the term, which Connell developed. A third aspect of hegemonic masculinity is its role in the legitimation of "the global subordination of women to men" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 832). Since the focus of this dissertation has been on men and their relations with each other, I have highlighted the parts of hegemonic masculinity's definition that are most relevant to that topic. I do not intend to minimize the effects of chivalric masculinity specifically or hegemonic masculinity in general on women, who frequently bore the brunt of men's campaign for dominance.

brotherhood?[9] Even among the aristocrats, chivalric masculinity was not the only available option. The masculinity of the churchman necessarily emphasized a different array of qualities and behaviors, even while borrowing some of the language and imagery of its martial cousin.[10] The effect of multiple masculinities on single sets of brothers that included both lay and religious, such as the Courtenays, Nevilles, or Despensers of fourteenth-century England, is a matter of considerable interest.[11]

The chronological boundaries of this dissertation precluded an in-depth analysis of change over time, although the shift to primogeniture from modes of inheritance that afforded younger brothers more opportunities suggests that late medieval brothers' squabbles over inherited lands and titles would have been of a different character than, for example, those of the twelfth or the ninth centuries. A study of brothers from earlier periods would yield fruitful opportunities for comparison with the argument developed

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[9] For the masculinity of craftsmen, see Ruth Mazo Karras, "Masters and Men: Independence and Urban Craft Workers," Ch. 4 in *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Kathryn Reyerson and Nada Zečević have studied merchant brothers—Jacobus and Guiraudus Cabanis and Carlo and Leonardo Tocco, respectively—although with different aims and analytical lenses than I apply in this study. See Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Zečević, "Brotherly Love and Brotherly Service: On the Relationship Between Carlo and Leonardo Tocco," in *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

[10] See esp. Ruth Mazo Karras, "Thomas Aquinas' Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe," in *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, ed. Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Maureen C. Miller, "Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era," *Church History* 72.1 (Mar. 2003): 25-52; Derek Neal, "Husbands and Priests," Ch. 2 in *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Katherine Allen Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050-1250," *Speculum* 83 (2008): 572-602; Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, "Man of the Church, or Man of the Village?: Gender and the Parish Clergy in Medieval Normandy," *Gender & History* 18.2 (Aug. 2002): 380-99; idem, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Hugh M. Thomas, "Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 87.4 (Oct. 2012): 1050-88.

[11] Of the many sons of Sir Hugh de Courtenay (d. 1377) were the canon Thomas Courtenay and William Courtenay (d. 1396), who became archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander Neville (d. 1392) was the ninth child and fifth son of Ralph Neville, 2nd Baron Neville de Raby. He was the only one to enter the church, and rose to the archbishopric of York in 1374 before running afoul of the politics of Richard II's reign. Henry le Despenser (d. 1406), bishop of Norwich and leader of the so-called "Bishop of Norwich's Crusade" to Flanders, had three brothers in the secular world, Edward, Thomas, and Henry.

here.

Moreover, masculinity and brotherhood were not the only socio-cultural forces that impinged on brothers' lives and actions, and further work on the nuances of brothers' relationships might address, for example, the function and influence of piety or local laws and customs. Brothers' relationships with their sisters are an intriguing area of inquiry as well, particularly for the later Middle Ages. There is a disconnect between the picture of cooperation painted for the central Middle Ages by Amy Livingstone and Jonathan Lyon (although not by Martin Aurell) and the more fraught relations described by Erica Bastress-Dukehart for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[12] An examination of the intervening two centuries that is sensitive to gender as well as matters of kinship and power might explore how brothers negotiated the male-centric focus of chivalric masculinity when dealing with their sisters, or how notions about ideal brotherhood might have applied to mixed-gender sibling relationships. Such inquiries would build on the work done by this dissertation, stretching, challenging, or reinforcing its findings. The entangled subjects of brothers, brotherhood, and masculinity are rich indeed, and full of promise.

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While I was working on this project, the *New York Times* ran a brief article under the intriguing title, "Fruit Fly Brothers Tend to Cooperate."[13] In this summary of a study in the journal *Nature*, I learned that male fruit flies looking for a mate are highly

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[12] See Introduction, pp. 5-6, and Bastress-Dukehart, "Sibling Conflict," *passim*.
[13] Sindya N. Bhanoo, "Fruit Fly Brothers Tend to Cooperate," *New York Times*, 24 January 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/28/science/fruit-fly-brothers-tend-to-cooperate.html> [accessed 28 July 2015], summarizing Pau Carazo, Cedric K.W. Tan, Felicity Allen, Stuart Wigby, and Tommaso Pizzari, "Within-Group Male Relatedness Reduces Harm to Females in *Drosophila*," *Nature* 505 (30 Jan. 2014): 672-75. I thank Ruth Karras for bringing the *NYT* article to my attention.

combative, except when they happen to be brothers. When scientists exposed female fruit flies to sets of three brothers, cooperation rather than conflict among the males was the result. Clearly, humans and human society differ extensively from the world of flies, but the harmonious brotherhood that seems to operate in fruit fly society bears remarkable similarity to the vision that prevails among many human populations. Phrases like "we were like brothers" and "I loved him like a brother," when spoken today, invariably signify a deep and abiding connection, one that goes beyond simple friendship to something *more*.

Brotherhood is more complicated than that, of course. A man's brother can be his strongest supporter or his fiercest competitor, or both, a reality known to brothers both modern and medieval. Yet the fantasy of the fraternal bond as an ideal sort of kinship persists, defying evidence of brothers cheating, betraying, harming, or merely disliking each other. Our willing disregard for the examples of fraternal misconduct is why a phrase like "I loved him like a brother" is so evocative.

Men of the later Middle Ages do not appear to have said those words precisely, but their collective faith in brotherhood is not very far removed from our own. Perhaps, then and now, the ideal of brotherhood was and is a necessary fiction. I have argued here that it existed in tension with chivalric masculinity in the later Middle Ages, and suggested that it functioned as a counterbalance. Whatever its relationship to today's various masculinities, brotherhood remains a compelling paradigm, one that necessarily overlooks the complexities of actual fraternal relations to inspire faith in what could be possible.

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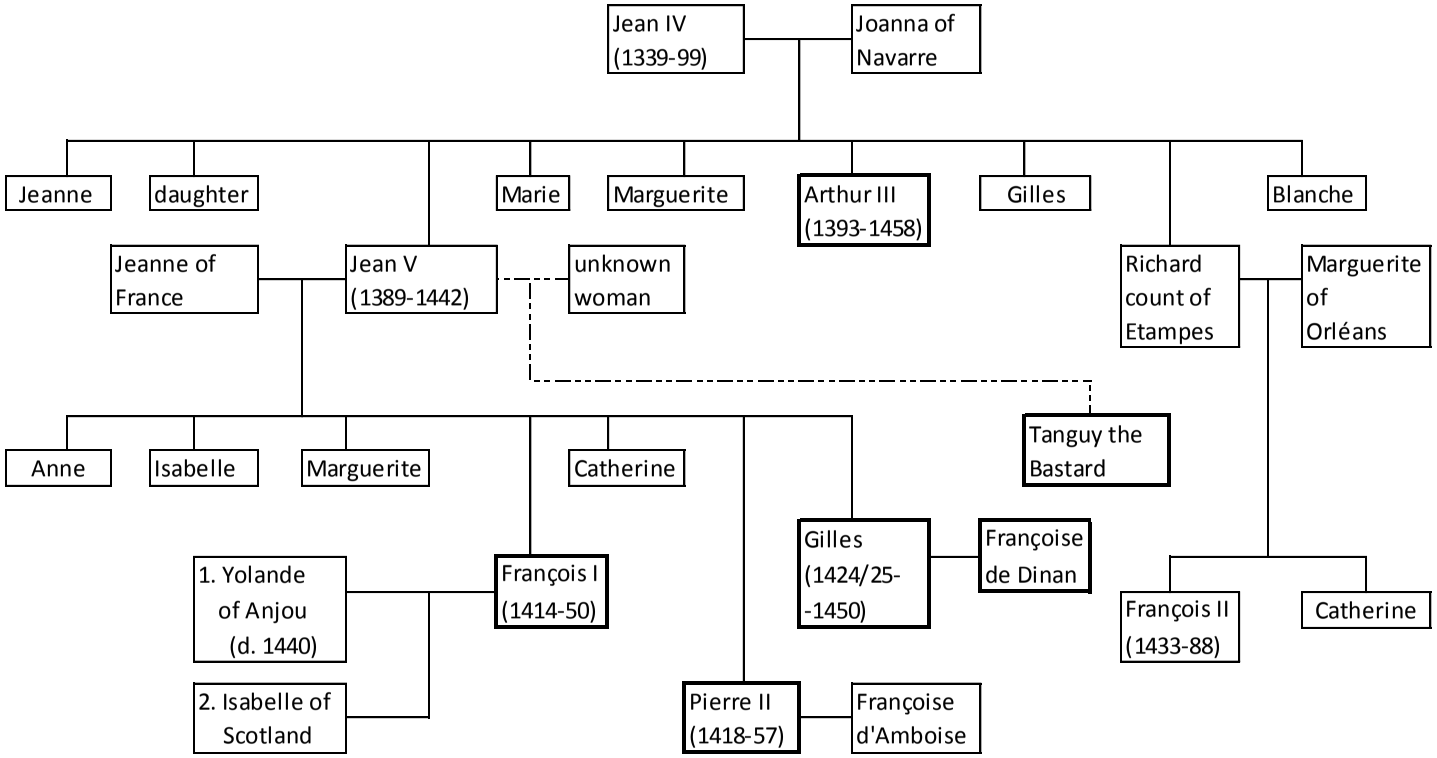
Appendix: The Montfort and Penthièvre Families of Brittany

The Montfort Family



Dukes of Brittany	
Jean V	r. 1399-1442
François I	r. 1442-50
Pierre II	r. 1450-57
Arthur III	r. 1457-58
François II	r. 1458-88

▯ = person of particular relevance to the conflict

The Penthièvre Family