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The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard: The Crown and Nobility of Scotland, France, and England, and the Struggle for Power (1100-1204)

Melissa Pollock

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Review by: Emily Joan Ward

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In *The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard*, Melissa Pollock undertakes an examination of the relationships between the rulers of three medieval kingdoms and the members of their aristocracy. The work's focus on "national identity" makes it an ideal fit for the Brepols series *Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces*, of which Pollock's book is the fourth volume. Pollock focuses on the period between 1100 and 1204, but the problem the author identifies in her introduction is one dating to the late thirteenth century: an oversimplification of the "Auld Alliance" negotiated between Scotland and France in 1295, and a lack of appreciation of the context of earlier Franco-Scottish relations. A study of cross-Channel families and the interrelations between the rulers and nobility across the kingdoms of Scotland, France, and England is much needed. While the traditions of investigating Anglo-Scottish or Anglo-French relations are relatively well-developed, historians have devoted far less time to the connections between the nobility in Scotland and in France. It is this aspect of Pollock's study that is original.

In her introduction, subtitled Sources and Context, Pollock places her work into a wider discussion of kinship studies to justify her focus on the locality, especially her consideration of the territorial proximity of kin groups—a point she returns to throughout her work. Pollock dates a turning point in ideas of national identity to 1204 in chapter One, Image and Identity, an argument that the author expands upon in the final chapter. It is unfortunate that Alice Taylor's *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland* (Oxford, 2016) came out the year after *The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard* was published, since Taylor's work would have been beneficial to Pollock's analysis of the Scottish aristocracy. Taylor's proposition that the conceptualisation of elite power was becoming increasingly territorialised in Scotland between 1160 and 1230 would perhaps challenge the importance of the date of 1204 alone, at least in a Scottish context. Chapter Two, The Scottish Marriage Market and the Continent, addresses the migration of Anglo-French nobles to the kingdom of the Scots during the first half of the twelfth century, and the marriage alliances secured by King Henry I, especially those acquired through matches made with his extra-marital children. Recent research on the Anglo-Scottish aristocracy has diverged from seeing migration to Scotland as entirely attributable to King David I, and Pollock's emphasis on dating communication between the kings of Scots and the noble families of Brittany and Boulogne to well before David's reign supports this trend.

The remaining chapters, chapters Three through Eight, unfold in chronological order, with each chapter dealing with anything from a single year (such as chapter Five, William the Lion and the Great War of 1173) to two decades (chapter Three, The Scots and the War of Succession, 1135-53, and chapter Four, Identity Challenged: Restructuring and Change in the Three Kingdoms, 1154-73). The remarkable scale of the genealogical analysis underpinning Pollock's monograph is evident throughout as she deploys specific case studies to elucidate her arguments. The author does this particularly well in chapter Three, using the intermarriage between Alain fitzFlaald and Aveline, daughter of Arnulf I of Hesdin, as a case study of how cross-Channel contact provided both political and marital alliances (127). In contrast, later in the same chapter, in a discussion of how Ada de Warenne "remained aloof of her kin" after her husband's death (145), Pollock fails to mention Ada's deliberate attempt to involve her son in her natal lands, possibly even after Earl Henry had died. Ada's middle son, William (later to become king of Scots) significantly took his mother's name in two documents issued in the 1150s. The absence of any reference to *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle* in this section is conspicuous. Not only does the chronicle draw on the history of the Warenne family, but it also contains the first appearance of the term Norman-English, "Normananglus", to describe individuals in England of Norman origin, making it especially worthy of consideration in Pollock's discussion of identity. This reviewer is unqualified to comment on Pollock's challenges to accepted intricacies of familial relations, such as her argument against Daniel Power's identification of Guy Mauvoisin as the son of William the Knight, but these particulars will clearly be of interest to the more genealogically-minded reader (345). While the descent and connections of some noble families are clearly outlined with helpful maps and family trees, such as for the Moubray family in chapter Five (202-10), the genealogical minutiae can occasionally become overwhelming.

From a structural perspective, the chronological arrangement of the book is perhaps a little too rigidly enforced. Combining a chronological approach with a thematic perspective could have given the author further space to expand on some of the important points she raises. One particularly pertinent example is Pollock's view that male nobles adopted new names or took their wives' names to more easily acclimate into Scottish society (82). This information is highly significant for understanding how these men conceived their own, and their familial, identities in the early decades of the twelfth century, but Pollock does not elaborate or provide further examples. The author's opinions regarding how lordship relationships interacted with kinship and with associations in close territorial proximity likewise never progress past more than a few basic asides, despite being integral to the

arguments posed. For example, it would have been interesting to know how far the author sees loyalties in the north of England as unique, or whether similar patterns emerge in the French territories as well (126).

There are some general issues with Pollock's approach. Despite identifying the historiographical problem of relationships with Scotland being treated as a footnote (3), Pollock still seems to have written *The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard* from a rather Anglo-centric viewpoint. This is revealed in the repeated references to the French and Scottish in 1173 as the "opposition party", despite Pollock's suggestion that King William and the lords who sided with Henry the Young King were upholding the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to Henry at his coronation (289). Furthermore, Pollock consistently refers to the events of 1204 as the "loss of Normandy". The French nobility she mentions, who expanded their lands in Normandy and profited from their involvement in Philip Augustus' 1204 campaign, would certainly not have viewed these events as a loss (405). In addition, this reviewer disagrees with Pollock's interpretation that Malcolm IV, King of Scots, needed knighting "to be able to take up the kingship after his minority" (166). Whether Malcolm really experienced a period of "minority" is contestable, since we have no evidence guardians were ever appointed for the care of the king and his kingdom. It is evident that Malcolm had "taken up the kingship" long before 1159, when Henry II knighted the eighteen-year-old at Périgueux.

In her endeavour to unite a trinity of kingdoms, Melissa Pollock was always going to be faced with a hard task. The overwhelming impression *The Lion, the Lily, and the Leopard* leaves its readers with is that there is immense value in doing so, as well as a wealth of evidence available. While it is fair to say that the book has some problems in its approach and argument, the ebbs and flows Pollock details in relationships between the rulers and nobility of England, Scotland, and France are crucial for understanding how kinship, patronage, lordship, and proximity networks could all influence the behaviour of individuals and families in the Middle Ages.

EMILY JOAN WARD
Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge