

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

**THE LANCASTRIAN INFLUENCE DURING THE 14<sup>TH</sup> AND 15<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURIES BEHIND ADOPTING THE CODE OF CHIVALRY  
BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS GENERATION IN PORTUGAL**

BA thesis

MAARIS AAS  
SUPERVISOR: PILVI RAJAMÄE, PhD

TARTU  
2018

## ABSTRACT

The present research grew out from my personal interest in Philippa of Lancaster, the daughter of John of Gaunt, the powerful Duke of Lancaster. Philippa was also the sister of King Henry IV (Bolingbroke), the niece of King Richard II and the granddaughter of the great chivalric king Edward III. For sealing the Treaty of Windsor, she married King John I of Portugal in February 1387, becoming the first queen of the Portuguese Avis dynasty. The marriage produced several talented and well-educated children, the so-called Illustrious Generation of Portugal, including the legendary seafarer Henry the Navigator, who among others further distributed their English mother's chivalric ideals, good education and pious behavioural etiquette to the Portuguese court. The upbringing of Philippa's children, the Illustrious Generation, was greatly influenced by Lancastrians' acceptance of the code of chivalry, having a strong effect on the distribution of the English chivalric ideals in Portugal.

The main aim of the present thesis is hence to refer to the Lancastrian influences behind adopting the code of chivalry by the Illustrious Generation of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries Portugal, and gather more information about the Anglo-Portuguese relationships and the Lancastrian influence in this process. In order to do so, I studied several texts in English from the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, by different authors with the English as well as Portuguese background, and compiled the present case study with the secondary aim to give an overview of the role of Philippa of Lancaster as the most influential ambassador of the English code of chivalry in Portugal.

## Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>I. THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS BEFORE THE WINDSOR TREATY, THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE AND THE PRE-CONDITIONS OF THE INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE. THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CHIVALRIC IDEALS IN PORTUGAL</b> .....	<b>7</b>
1.1 The Anglo-Portuguese relations before the Windsor Treaty and the pre-conditions of the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and King John I of Portugal.....	7
1.2 An overview about the historical process of adoption and the distribution of the chivalric ideals in Portugal.....	12
<b>II. THE CHIVALRIC ROLE MODELS AND THE ORDER OF THE GARTER AS THE MAIN KEYSTONES OF THE LANCASTRIAN INFLUENCE AND LEGACY BEHIND THE ADOPTION OF THE CHIVALRIC CODE BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS GENERATION IN PORTUGAL</b> .....	<b>15</b>
2.1 Philippa’s main role models behind accepting the code of chivalry. The Order of the Garter. The notable scholars in Gaunt’s household .....	15
2.1.1 Philippa’s main role models.....	15
2.1.2 The Order of the Garter.....	17
2.1.3 The notable scholars in Gaunt’s household.....	18
2.2 The characteristics of Philippa of Lancaster as an ambassador of the English chivalric code in Portugal.....	20
2.3 The Illustrious Generation and their legacy in distributing the English chivalric code in Portugal.....	23
<b>THE LIST OF REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>29</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>31</b>
Appendix 1 .....	31
Appendix 2 .....	32
Appendix 3 .....	33
Appendix 4 .....	34
Appendix 5.....	35
Appendix 6.....	36
Appendix 7.....	37
<b>RESÜMEE</b> .....	<b>39</b>

## INTRODUCTION

The present thesis grew out of my personal interest in medieval Portuguese Queen Philippa of Lancaster, the firstborn legitimate daughter of the English royal prince John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. Philippa of Lancaster's educational and chivalric background and her initially clearly political intercultural marriage to the Portuguese king on the Iberian Peninsula influenced not only the whole generation of Philippa's own direct descendants, including her son Henry the Navigator, but also the Portuguese court and future empire in general.

The aim of my thesis was to refer to the Lancastrian influences on the distribution of the English chivalric ideals during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in Portugal, studying Lancastrians' educational and cultural background and their acceptance of the code of chivalry. The marriage was arranged to support the political alliance between England and Portugal against Castile and France, partly helping also John of Gaunt's aim to claim the throne of Castile. The marriage produced several talented and well-educated royals, the Illustrious Generation, who helped to introduce the main English chivalric ideals also among the next generation Portuguese nobility and changed the course of Portugal as the independent Iberian kingdom. Based on the examined texts, I claim that John of Gaunt, arranging the Windsor treaty and her daughter's marriage, and the Lancastrian princess, the direct descendant of the powerful English chivalric kings Edward I and Edward III, both were the key figures in the distribution of the English chivalric ideals to the Iberian peninsula.

For getting a better overview of the role of the strong-willed Lancastrians and their clearly significant part in the continental Portugal's growth into a prosperous empire in the medieval age of discoveries during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, I designed the present research to be a qualitative case study. I was mainly interested in

getting the answers for the following questions: 1) What was the historical background of the Anglo-Portuguese relationships before the marriage arrangement, and the pre-conditions and reasons that brought John of Gaunt to arrange the intercultural marriage of his favourite daughter to somewhat exotic Portuguese king in the Iberian Peninsula? 2) How the chivalric ideals were understood in Portugal, both before and after the marriage? 3) Who were the obvious chivalric role models and influential figures for Philippa in her closest family network and in Gaunt's household whose manners and attitudes towards chivalric code helped her to educate her own children in the similar manner in the Portuguese court?

For this purpose, I studied different English texts from the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, by authors with both English as well as Portuguese background, in order to understand how these authors have described the Lancastrians, and whether or not they have realised and depicted the role which both of them played in the distribution of the English code of chivalry in Portugal.

Hence, the first part of the thesis gives a brief overview about the historical background of the Anglo-Portuguese relations before the intercultural marriage, and the pre-conditions that made John of Gaunt to go to Portugal in the first place, and later to arrange the marriage. This section also briefly describes the historical process of the adoption and the distribution of the chivalric ideals in Portugal, before the marriage as well as at a time of it.

The second part of the thesis discusses the possible role models and influential figures in the closest family of Philippa and in John of Gaunt's household, helping her to accept the code of chivalry and teach these ideals and the code of behaviour to her own children, covering also the significance of the Order of the Garter in the chivalric life of 14<sup>th</sup> century Lancastrians. Finally, this part of the research also studies Philippa

as an ambassador of the English chivalric ideals in Portugal, and the Illustrious Generation and their legacy, as the direct result of the Lancastrian influences in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in Portugal.

For my thesis, I studied the texts by authors such as Aguiar, Armitage-Smith, Empson, Hearnshaw, Prestage, Rodrigues and Silva. Out of these authors, Prestage and Pinto are experts on Portugal's history; Pinto has also researched Henry the Navigator in depth. Hearnshaw and Aguiar have studied chivalry in general, Hearnshaw being an expert on chivalry's historical civilizing influence and Aguiar concentrating on chivalry in Medieval Portugal. Armitage-Smith and Empson have studied John of Gaunt's life in depth, and Rodrigues and Silva have researched Philippa of Lancaster and the medieval queenship on the Iberian Peninsula in particular.

There are still too few works and researchers who have concentrated their attention on the Anglo-Portuguese relations, and even if they have done so, the Lancastrian influence has been observed and written about by still very few researchers and quite vaguely. It is difficult to find the material describing exactly when and how Gaunt went to Portugal or why exactly Philippa is still so popular in 21<sup>st</sup> century Portugal. All the information available about Lancastrians in Portugal is fragmented in very different books and articles, with the main attention and chief concerns elsewhere.

# **I. THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS BEFORE THE WINDSOR TREATY, THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE AND THE PRE-CONDITIONS OF THE INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE. THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CHIVALRIC IDEALS IN PORTUGAL**

## **1.1 The Anglo-Portuguese relations before the Windsor Treaty and the pre-conditions of the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and King John I of Portugal**

The Anglo-Portuguese alliance supported by Gaunt was sealed with the Windsor Treaty in 1386, being allegedly one of the oldest political treaties in Europe and in the world as well, still in force. But there were clear hints in different texts and sources that much earlier intercultural relations between England and the Iberian kingdoms existed long before the abovementioned treaty. The further details about such relations are available in Appendix 1.

As for intercultural marriages between the English and Iberian courts, already at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the English king Henry II had married her daughter Eleanor to Alfonso VIII of Castile, Richard I Lionheart had married Berengaria of Navarre whose mother had been the daughter of the King of León and Castile, and Edward I was married to Eleanor of Castile, the sister of Alfonso X, to give just some examples of the royal marriages and politics, obviously supporting the growing collaboration between the Iberian kingdoms and England.

Morgan (2001: 199-200) provides the general reason why the English (hence also Gaunt) reached the Iberian Peninsula during the Hundred Years War in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, pointing out

*.../ the dynastic ties, commercial and strategic considerations, even differing attitudes to Papacy .../ combined to extend the Anglo-French conflict to the Low Countries, to Castile and Portugal .../ The renewal of war in Castile (1367) inaugurated a period of more modest and fitful campaigning in Portugal .../. (Morgan 2001: 199-200)*

Bullón-Fernández mentions that the most intense period in Anglo-Iberian relationships in the Late Middle Ages was during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II (Bullón-Fernández 2007: 5-6). John of Gaunt was closely linked to both mentioned kings and their ruling periods.

As for the pre-conditions of the intercultural marriage, the modern translation of Froissart's *Chronicle* (Online Froissart) provides the contemporary reason why English royal princes were directly involved in mid-14<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese-Castilian conflict. It appears that not only John of Gaunt, but also his brother Edmund of Langley was married to the Castilian princess. (Online Froissart, folios 67r-68r) Further details about these marriages can be found in Appendix 2.

Armitage-Smith (1904: xxii) states quite directly in his introduction, that Gaunt was the man behind founding the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. He added that the Portuguese alliance,

the Duke's own creation, was conceived on a grand scale, bounding England and Portugal together in a league offensive and defensive against all Europe, saving only Pope, Emperor, and the legitimate King of Castile. (Armitage-Smith 1904: 303)

The same author also points out that the Windsor treaty was of major importance for Gaunt, referring as well to Froissart's words which indicated that Gaunt had staked everything on the Portuguese alliance (Armitage-Smith 1904: 319). In several sources, Froissart has been repeatedly said to be the frequent visitor in Gaunt's royal household, belonging already from earlier times to the household of Gaunt's mother, Queen Philippa of Hainault, and Gaunt's brother Lionel's household as well, which proves that Froissart obviously knew well what he wrote.

From 1372 on, Gaunt assumed the title of the king of Castile in right of his second wife, which he profitably renounced after campaigning there in 1386-87 (Cannon 2002: 535). Curiously enough, Cannon writes nothing about Gaunt



participating the campaign in Portugal, let alone his role in arranging the oldest political alliance treaty in the world, or the marriage, which greatly influenced the historical course of the Portuguese kingdom, the history of the Iberian peninsula and the history of the European trade. Still, Pinto has nevertheless noticed Gaunt's importance behind the scenes, writing:

*/.../ John of Gaunt would have a strategic role in the history of Portugal, by arranging the marriage of the new King, D[om] João I, with his daughter, the English Princess, Philippa of Lancaster. (Pinto 2002: 64)*

Birmingham refers to the Treaty of Windsor in his text and points out the legacy of the treaty and the royal marriage, stating that during the first decades of the Hundred Years War, Portugal had intermittently sided with England.

*Now John I [of Portugal] signed a perpetual alliance, sealed at Windsor in 1386, which was the bedrock of Portuguese diplomacy until well into the twentieth century. He also married Philippa of Lancaster, granddaughter of Edward III of England; their sons, the royal princes, carried Portugal to the edge of the modern age. (Birmingham 2003: 23-24)*

Curiously enough, Birmingham here, as it happens with many other sources, omits mentioning that the treaty and the marriage were both arranged by John of Gaunt.

How did Gaunt end up in Portugal in the first place? Armitage-Smith indicated that John of Gaunt's political gambling with Portugal actually began much earlier, already during the reign of the previous Portuguese king Fernando I, probably long before Gaunt met with John of Avis. Armitage-Smith wrote that by 1372, a treaty of alliance had been concluded between John and Constance, King and Queen of Castile and Leon, on the one part, and Fernando and Leonor, the King and Queen of Portugal, on the other, by which the allies bound themselves to attack the House of Trastámara. (Armitage-Smith 1904: 101)

Gaunt, as Pinto (2002: 64) pointed out, obviously knew perfectly well that from his position (as the third surviving son of King Edward III) it was nearly impossible to claim the English throne, so he allegedly steadily looked for opportunities to find a throne on the Continent, including the areas on the Iberian Peninsula, today's Portugal and Spain. Being involved in the campaigns of his chivalric brothers Edward and Edmund on the Iberian Peninsula, the possibility for Gaunt came when the English ally, the Portuguese king Fernando I died without male heir, leaving everything to Fernando's only daughter Beatriz who had previously married the King of Castile, threatening in that way to annex Portugal to Castile, and the local nobility strongly opposed this possibility out of fear to lose everything. A period of political anarchy for several years (interregnum) followed until John, the Grand Master of the Order of Avis, the natural son of Peter the Cruel of Portugal (and the half-brother of the previous king and Gaunt's ally, Fernando I of Portugal), was finally declared to be the new king John I of Portugal. This was soon followed by the invasion of the king of Castile as a protest, supported by the French, wanting to conquer Lisbon and annex Portugal to Castile. English troops and generals, John of Gaunt as the representative of King Edward III and later his brother, the Black Prince, were obviously among them, taking the side of John of Avis, and forcing the attack of the Castilians to a stop in the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385. (Prestage 1933: 17) The stability of the Portuguese throne was thus secured with the help of the English troops and this was the right moment for John of Gaunt who saw his opportunity to make a good deal by marrying his favourite daughter to a newly declared Portuguese monarch who had just secured his throne. Some time later, in February 1387, Philippa of Lancaster and John I of Portugal were married to support both the Anglo-Portuguese alliance treaty as well as Gaunt's claims to Castilian throne.

While Gaunt's goals were clear, I also had the question why would the new Portuguese king be interested in marrying the somewhat exotic and obviously picky English princess who was already more than 25 years old while the average age of royal brides was usually 14 or similar. First of all, the newly declared king was the 10<sup>th</sup> king of Portugal, but the first one of the new Avis dynasty, and as the natural son of Peter the Cruel of Portugal, his claim was not strong. As Pinto pointed out, through this marriage, he [King John I of Portugal] was able to gather a broad set of significant information about Europe, the world, economy, commerce, politics, religion, art and literature that provided new opportunities of strategic design and a new direction for his nation. (Pinto 2002: 60) The connections, skills and experiences that Gaunt had, were very useful for his son-in-law and daughter to reform their court and ruling their country. Likewise, having the Portuguese king as an ally was a very useful prospective for John of Gaunt who single-mindedly intended to claim the throne of Castile, or as Armitage-Smith put it:

The first and most obvious ally for a would-be invader of Castile is the sovereign who holds Oporto and Lisbon and commands access to the long and exposed Castilian frontier. Lancaster recognized the fact, and shaped his policy accordingly. (Armitage-Smith 1904: 101)

In conclusion, several texts clearly provided information that there were already the existing relations between England and the Iberian kingdoms much earlier than Gaunt began his political gamble with Castile and Portugal. Several authors pointed out that the Windsor Treaty as well as the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in general were very important for Gaunt for various reasons. Philippa, as Gaunt's favourite daughter, obviously knew it, and it might have been the main reason why she agreed to marry John I of Portugal. Whereas some of the authors have clearly pointed out that it was Gaunt who designed and sealed the Treaty of Windsor as the basis of further Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the marriage of Philippa as the follow-up of the treaty, there are many sources that still fail to provide the fact and omit to mention it.

## **1.2 An overview about the historical process of adoption and the distribution of the chivalric ideals in Portugal**

It would be wrong to claim that chivalric ideals came to Portugal only as the result of the newly appointed Portuguese king marrying the prominent Lancastrian princess. Among the texts I studied, there were two authors who had researched the distribution of the chivalric ideals before Lancastrians in Portugal in depth, Hearnshaw in 1928 and Aguiar in 2015.

Hearnshaw (1928) referred to France as the home of chivalry, and as such, continental closeness to Portugal's neighbours in Spain's territory, these ideals and the code of behaviour were probably well known on the Iberian peninsula long before Gaunt reached the territory of the Portuguese kingdom in his plans. Hearnshaw also pointed out the significant historical difference between the traditional Anglo-Saxon knights and the Continental knights. (Hearnshaw 1928) Further details about his explanation can be found in Appendix 3.

Aguiar admitted at the beginning of his article that Portuguese historiography has never taken a particular interest in the main stages of the spread of chivalric ideals, and that there are just a few works that have centred their attention on the last centuries of the medieval period. (Aguiar 2015)

Aguiar provided a useful overview about spreading the chivalric ideas before the Lancastrian marriage. The brief summary about his theory of why it happened more slowly than on the rest of the continent, can be found in Appendix 4.

The general situation in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Portugal before Lancastrians, can best be described with Aguiar's words:

*.../ a period of great transformation in Portuguese society, permitting the slow rise of an ennobled vision of the knight'; as the reason, he pointed out the Reconquest nearing its*

completion, and hence, a reduction in the importance of chivalry, but at the same time hierarchies were established and “the knights had become incorporated into the nobility, either through marriage (Mattoso, 1985; p. 133) or through their own definitive imposition within the local community (Ventura, 1985; pp. 31-71 Viana, 2012; pp. 61-81). Some twelfth-century charters were already beginning to draw a distinction between those who enjoyed this status *per naturam* and those who had been raised to knighthood in a new generation. The thirteenth century should be considered as the period when knights definitively entered the ranks of the nobility”. (Aguiar 2015)

While describing the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Aguiar further indicated that the acceleration of the distribution of chivalric ideals obviously began around 1248, during the reign of King Afonso III, who returned home from exile in France and brought with him

*./.../ the Arthurian literature to Portugal (Castro, 1983: pp. 81-89; Miranda, 1996: pp. 93-99; 1998: pp. 1562-1564). Towards the middle of the of the thirteenth century, such conditions underpinned the triumph of the classical conception of chivalry: this was the thinking that had turned the knight into one of the essential symbols of feudal society, the bearer of a characteristic ideology and a warrior inspired by a particular mythology, although this was not originally a specificity of the Peninsular territory. (Aguiar 2015)*

He further mentioned that the chronicles written in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries described both the increase in reported dubbing ceremonies as well as the use of a specific terminology and epic feats. He referred to the writings of Rui de Pina, Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes that celebrated boldness of the warriors and praised those who behaved honourably enough to earn the right to enter the higher order. Additionally, Aguiar mentioned a new lexicon entering the usage in Portuguese, such as *chivalric estate*, *chivalric order* and *chivalric honour*; the kings began to be included under the umbrella of chivalry, and here Aguiar specifically noted Lopes who had written about King John I in the battle of Aljubarrota, fighting like “a simple knight wishing to gain fame”. (Aguiar 2015)

In conclusion, both Hearnshaw as well as Aguiar pointed out that in Portugal, the chivalric code was already somewhat established but the Portuguese understood and practised it a bit differently from the continental attitudes, and both of them stated that the intercultural marriage clearly influenced the perception of the chivalric ideals in Portugal and changed the way the Portuguese nobility understood and adopted the code.

## **II. THE CHIVALRIC ROLE MODELS AND THE ORDER OF THE GARTER AS THE MAIN KEYSTONES OF THE LANCASTRIAN INFLUENCE AND LEGACY BEHIND THE ADOPTION OF THE CHIVALRIC CODE BY THE ILLUSTRIOUS GENERATION IN PORTUGAL**

### **2.1 Philippa's main role models behind accepting the code of chivalry. The Order of the Garter. The notable scholars in Gaunt's household**

#### **2.1.1 Philippa's main role models**

All the authors who have studied Philippa agree that the piety and chivalric ideals ran in her closest family. The chivalric royal family members, many notable scholars in her father's household and also participation in the Order of the Garter obviously helped Philippa to become the highly influential person during her reign as a queen consort in Portugal, distributing the code of chivalry, as she knew it by the examples running in her family.

As for the chivalric male role models, several different authors pointed out e.g. Edward the Black Prince and other Gaunt's brothers, King Edward III, Henry of Grosmont, and many others. The main chivalric male role model for Philippa was obviously her father John of Gaunt. The quickest overview about the astonishing legacy of John of Gaunt's (1340-99) marriages can be found in Appendix 5; his influence in English and Iberian history is difficult to overlook. Pinto claimed him to have been a politically very smart man, with a remarkable sense of timing and opportunity. (Pinto 2002: 105)

Empson, although describing John of Gaunt's life in detail, fails to mention the birth of Philippa, while writing about year 1360 in his life. About the previous year, though, he described Gaunt marrying Grosmont's daughter Blanche and referred to the big tournament in London where the royal family participated. Next year, after

Blanche's father Henry of Grosmont died, John of Gaunt, as Empson put it, "became the wealthiest landowner in England". (Empson 1874: 17)

About John of Gaunt's upbringing, Empson (1874) claimed to be true that about his early life or education nothing was definitely known, and that his childhood was probably spent after the manner of the age, see Appendix 6.

Another great role model was obviously Philippa's maternal grandfather, the legendary Henry of Grosmont. Cannon referred to Grosmont as a cousin of Edward III and the king's right-hand man; and when the Order of the Garter was instituted, he was next to the Prince of Wales, the Black Prince (Cannon 2002: 472). Armitage-Smith claimed Grosmont to have been the most prominent man in England. In the wars, he had proved himself one of Edward III's ablest generals. His vast wealth and power made him unquestionably the greatest feudatory of the Crown. (Armitage-Smith 1904: 13)

Also Armitage-Smith and Prestwich pointed out Grosmont as a highly influential noble of the royal blood. Armitage-Smith discussed the chivalric qualities and patriotism of Grosmont (Armitage-Smith 1904: 23), and Prestwich threw some further light to Grosmont's cultural background, stating that he was a highly civilized and cultured man. (Prestwich 2003: 139)

The main female role models for Philippa were obviously the high rank women in her closest family: her mother Blanche of Lancaster, the first wife of Gaunt and the daughter of Grosmont. Her paternal grandmother Queen Philippa of Hainault, her cousin Richard II's mother Joan of Kent and her stepmother Katherine Swynford were all very well educated, and also, they all were the Ladies of the Order of the Garter. Richard Barber (BBC History Magazine, n.d.) stressed in his research about Edward III that Philippa of Hainault was very clever, and that there were obvious



hints in historical records that she clearly knew very well about books and learning. Lawne (2015) wrote about Joan of Kent, Richard II's mother and the wife of Philippa's uncle, Edward the Black Prince, that her behaviour as the first Princess of Wales was said to be exemplary. Contemporary accounts, as Lawne pointed out, described Joan as a loving and faithful wife. She resolutely kept out of politics but had good relationship with the Black Prince's other family members, especially with Philippa's father John of Gaunt. Joan's devotion to her husband and her discreet conduct as his wife had won her respect and trust and as such, she was obviously a great role model for Philippa as well, fostering family unity. (Lawne 2015)

### **2.1.2 The Order of the Garter**

As Empson noted, in 1360, Gaunt was made one of the Knight Companions of the Order of the Garter, instead of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, who had died in December 1359. The Order of the Garter was founded by Philippa's paternal grandfather, Edward III. Cannon writes about it:

The Order of the Garter epitomized the glittering chivalric glamour of courtly and military circles. Political stability of a type unknown since the 1280s was achieved in the middle years of the reign. /.../ Edward skilfully manipulated the chivalrous feelings of his followers, patronizing tournaments and founding the Order of the Garter". (Cannon 2002: 330-331)

Almost all the male members of the royal family were the companions of the Order of the Garter. Philippa's both grandfathers, Edward III and Henry of Grosmont, were among the founders of the Order in 1348, also her father John of Gaunt and her uncles Lionel, Edward and Edmund were all appointed in 1360s, her brother Henry Bolingbroke and her nephew Richard were appointed in 1370s.

As for the women in the Order, almost all given lists all over the Internet indicate that after 1488 until Queen Alexandra in 1901, no women were added as members, but actually, before 1488 they were: Philippa's paternal grandmother Queen Philippa of Hainault, Edward III's wife and Gaunt's mother, was appointed to be the Lady of the Garter in 1358, Gaunt's sister Isabella was appointed in 1376; Joan of Kent, King Richard II's mother, and Gaunt's second wife Constance of Castile, but also Philippa herself and her sister Elizabeth were all appointed in 1378; Queen Anne, Richard II's wife, and also Philippa's half-sister, Catherine of Lancaster, later the Queen of Castile, were appointed in 1384; Philippa's half-sister Joan of Beaufort was appointed in 1399, and Philippa's nieces, King Henry IV's daughters (Philippa, Queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden; and Blanche, Queen of Germany of Romans) were allegedly appointed in 1408, etc. (Wikipedia)

It can be concluded from above that it was a family tradition to be a member of the highest order of chivalry in the British honours system.

Hence, it was quite obvious that the chivalric ideals were important to follow for all of the members of the Lancastrian family and obviously also so for Philippa while later educating her own children in Portugal.

### **2.1.3 The notable scholars in Gaunt's household**

Empson (1874), who listed the general milestones of education and cultural background of the 14<sup>th</sup> century England, also mentioned several notables who might have influenced Gaunt's and later Philippa's education and attitudes:

*.../ a translation of the Bible, that Wickliffe's version was produced. .../ The Norman-French that had been the court language fell into disuse with great rapidity during the French wars of Edward III .../. Robert Langland, John Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer, were the most*

prominent of the poets who inaugurated a new school of poetry and a more elegant form of language. /.../ Chaucer was /.../ a thorough man of the world, a traveller, and a frequenter of the court. (Empson 1874: 11-12)

From the above-mentioned names, at least Chaucer and Gower were allegedly the frequent visitors in Gaunt's household. Bonnie Wheeler, while writing about the medieval mothering and Gaunt's mother, Queen Philippa of Hainault, also referred to Froissart as a former intimate of the English court. (Wheeler 1996: 47)

Similarly, Pinto mentioned several scholars in Gaunt's household, e.g. Gower and Wycliffe, and accentuated that the cultural legacy from Chaucer must have been remarkable because of his broad knowledge, erudition and brightness (Pinto 2002: 105). Also Coleman (2006) wrote in her article that Gaunt's household was swelled by various notables, in residence or passing through, naming such as John Wycliffe, Walter of Peterborough, John Clanvowe, Oton de Granson, Chandos Herald, Chaucer's friend John Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer himself, and Chaucer's wife Philippa, allegedly the sister of Katherine Swynford. (Coleman 2006) The last claim, Gaunt's friend Chaucer being married to Swynford's sister, making Chaucer also a close family member of Gaunt (and hence Philippa), was frequently mentioned in several texts. This fact gives Chaucer's texts an entirely new viewpoint while researching Philippa's and Gaunt's lives.

Empson mentioned following significant people in his 1874 essay about 14<sup>th</sup> century England's cultural background:

But in spite of this [laxity of morals and general licentiousness confined to the clergy], the feelings of loyalty, courtesy, and liberality were not extinct; nor are we at a loss to point out men of this century, who were pre-eminent as mirrors of chivalry. Foremost of their day stand Edward III, the Black Prince, and Bertrand du Guesclin, while round them were gathered a brilliant crowd, scarcely inferior in reputation: Henry, Duke of Lancaster, the Captal de Buche, Lord Chandos, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir Walter Manny, are names that will readily

occur to all. /.../ The senith of chivalry seems over in the past, yet if the code of knighthood had at any time real influence in England, surely it was in the reign of Edward III. (Empson 1874: 8-9)

In conclusion, I would say that there were many influential and notable figures in the closest family and Gaunt's household who may have been the role models for Philippa, being later the Queen consort in Portugal and educating her own children to be the honourable royals who accept and value the code of chivalry and good manners.

## **2.2 The characteristics of Philippa of Lancaster as an ambassador of the English chivalric code in Portugal**

As for the next step, I was interested in how the different authors had described the pious but highly influential Philippa of Lancaster who lived more than 600 years ago but is still valued and honoured in today's Portugal, and the factors that support the depiction of her as an ambassador of the chivalric ideals in Portugal.

Firstly, Prestage, the professor of Portuguese and the historian, described Philippa as a God-fearing and determined woman, imbued with a high sense of duty, enforcing morality at court and bringing up her sons in accordance with her high ideals, so that they deserved the title, bestowed on them by Luis de Camões, of "great Infants". She took care that, in addition to bodily training as was usual with boys, her sons should also receive a clerkly education, with the result that they grew up to be men of action and students. (Prestage 1933: 15)

As for her education, Silva, who has studied in depth Philippa's life as a queen, admitted that it was difficult to be sure whether royal women such as Philippa were specifically educated to exercise power. In general, mothers were the first teachers of most children. Though children of high rank noble families were seldom

educated at home, the royal households often included one or more schoolmasters. Children of high rank families were first taught to read prayers and psalms in Latin liturgical books. Silva refers to French and English as the languages most children in England were able to use in reading and writing. Thus, gently born girls like Philippa learnt to read enough Latin to look at a prayer book and French and English to read romances or works of instructions. (Silva 2009)

The biographical research of Philippa of Lancaster by Joyce Coleman (2006) revealed that the household Philippa grew up in, was unusual and hectic one, containing up to four different sets of Gaunt's offspring: Blanche's children from Gaunt's first marriage, Constanza's daughter Catherine, then also Swynford's children, another half-sister by Gaunt's earlier mistress Marie Saint-Hilaire before his first marriage, along with Swynford's children by her first husband, the duke's wife and current mistress. Coleman also pointed out that if nothing else, such occasions must have fostered diplomatic skills useful for a future queen (Coleman 2006).

Coleman has included Carolyn Collette's suggestion in her article stating that women played a much larger part in the Gaunt's household than some current theorists have supposed normal for the time. She stated that one important piece of evidence is the fact that Gaunt had his daughters taught to read and write. With poets and other talented people residing in the Savoy, Philippa grew up, as Coleman put it:

*.../ witnessing textuality on the hoof; bright girl, an intellectual herself as well, she would have caught the sense of ideas and stories in free play, a sensibility reflected in her later career of cultural ambassadorship. (Coleman 2006)*

Even if Coleman's intention is to point out Philippa of Lancaster as the ambassador of literature later in Portugal and Spain, we might as well widen her role to be an ambassador of the English chivalric ideals.

As the mother and the queen, Philippa not only produced what the Portuguese poet Camões called a marvellous generation of children, but she was also known for her piety, grace and good government:

She prayed, she read the psalms, she fasted, she read the Bible. She cared for the indigent, donated to the church, and was the faithful wife and devoted mother. /.../ Her conversation was plain, and often helpful without showing any pride in her royal rank; and her way of speaking was sweet, gracious and most pleasing to all who heard her. (Coleman 2006)

As already told, Coleman specifically pointed out Philippa's importance as the cultural ambassador of English culture. The famous monastery of Batalha where Philippa and King John were eventually buried shows allegedly strong English influences; and among other things, Philippa started the fashion of English purses, promoted the English form of prayer, and brought English literature to Portugal (Coleman 2006). Also Bullón-Fernández was convinced that the translation of a major Middle English work by Chaucer's friend John Gower, *The Confessio Amantis*, first translated into Portuguese and then from Portuguese into Castilian, as the first known translation of any English literary work into any continental language, was first of all happening thanks to the fact that Gaunt's two daughters were successfully married into the Iberian royal courts, supporting and developing the relationships between the English and the Iberian kingdoms (Bullón-Fernández 2007 :6)

Based on several descriptions of her upbringing and characteristics, I can hence without doubt also think of Philippa of Lancaster, being the Lady of the Order of Garter already since 1378, as the prominent ambassador of the English chivalric ideals and good manners on the Iberian Peninsula.

### **2.3 The Illustrious Generation and their legacy in distributing the English chivalric code in Portugal**

Both Portuguese as well as English Wikipedia list altogether eight children of Philippa of Lancaster, born from 1388 to 1402. After miscarriage in 1387, mentioned by Goodman (1992) and Rodrigues (2007), the next child Blanche (b 1388) died the following year, the heir to the throne Alphonse (b 1390) died at the age of ten in 1400 and another Blanche (b 1398) died three months after being born. The rest of them survived adulthood. (Wikipedia)

Hence, Philippa of Lancaster was the mother of later well-known Portuguese royal prince and legendary medieval seafarer Henry the Navigator, the Master of the Order of Christ, the patron of education, allegedly also the establisher of the Portuguese school of seafarers on the Sagres peninsula, and certainly the patron of the great Portuguese expeditions to Africa. But Philippa also was a mother of the rest of the so-called Illustrious Generation of Portugal: a writer, a philosopher and the next king Duarte or Edward of Portugal; Pedro or Peter, the regent of Portugal during the minority of his nephew King Afonso V; João or John, the Constable of Portugal; and Fernando, Master of the Order of Avis, a warrior, later known as the popular saintly martyr who died as a prisoner of the Moors. The princes also had the sister called Isabella, a clever diplomat and later the Duchess of Burgundy as a consort of Duke Philip III the Good. Several lists of the Illustrious Generation also include their half-brother Afonso of Braganza, King John's son with his first wife Ines, co-regent with Peter of Coimbra and the first Duke of the later powerful dynasty, and their half-sister Beatriz or Beatrice (who married the English Earl of Arundel in 1405), whom Philippa raised in her own court after their mother had been sent away to a monastery. Several sources point out that Philippa's children were highly cultured, popular and

responsible for the good government and prosperity of their country. (Booker 2014)  
The more detailed overview of Philippa's children and their legacy can be found in Appendix 7.

Birmingham (1993) is convinced that Philippa's sons carried Portugal to the edge of the modern age. He points out that Duarte/Edward as a king won the support of the nobility, Pedro/Peter patronised the towns and encouraged the commercial growth of Lisbon, and Henry the Navigator laid the foundations of the worldwide Portuguese empire; the Portuguese embarked on their own career of imperial expansion and settler colonisation; during one hundred years Portugal had experimented with colonial models that were to dominate world trade over many centuries. (Birmingham 1993: 24-25)

When I studied the next generations of this Anglo-Portuguese dynasty, the results available on the Internet point out the following: Duarte's son Afonso V was the next king of Portugal and his daughter Joan was to be the next Queen of Castile; Pedro's son Peter was the Constable of Portugal, his son James became the Archbishop of Lisbon and his daughter Isabella became the Queen of Portugal and was the mother of King John II of Portugal who was then succeeded by his cousin Manuel I. Almost all of the descendants of Anglo-Portuguese Avis dynasty had their part in accomplishments in further European navigation and conquest history. (Wikipedia)

As for accepting the code of chivalry, Aguiar noted in his article that the ideology and symbols arose gradually to be first just a form of honour and the elitization of the figure of the knight in Portugal, becoming attractive even to the local royalty. It then gained acceptance as a category of the nobility from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, and during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, these processes became stronger and more



evident. (Aguiar 2015) At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century these processes were even more obvious, because of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty and the royal marriage, arranged by Gaunt, and Philippa as an active queen consort of Portugal, still keeping good relationships with English court. Based on the observations of Aguiar, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, or the lifetime of Philippa's children and grandchildren, the advancement of chivalric ideals in Portugal was further growing into the manifestation of the royal court, expressing the values of royals, nobles and some of the town elite, hence uniting them as a 'class'. In addition to the previous, Aguiar also noted that during that later period, the on-going war in Northern Africa also probably defined as the knight's way of life, permanently fuelling the adventurous inspiration. (Aguiar 2015)

The final example from the period that illustrates the development and acceptance of the chivalric ideals is that Philippa provided the swords for her sons to be knighted before she died because of the plague in 1415, considering this tradition to be much more important than her own dying, and her husband knighted their sons after the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta with the same swords, honouring Philippa's wish. As can be seen from the lists of the members of the Order of the Garter, at least Duarte and Henry the Navigator were appointed the Knights of the Garter later in their life, 1435 and 1442 respectively, showing that even after the death of their English mother, they still maintained the contact with England and accepted the ideals of English chivalry.

The education and upbringing of the Illustrious Generation, influenced by their English mother's and maternal grandfather's acceptance of the code of chivalry, had clearly a strong educational and cultural effect on the strategic development of the late medieval empire of Portugal, whose territories reached both Africa as well as Asia.

## CONCLUSION

The main aim of the present thesis was to refer to the Lancastrian influences behind adopting the code of chivalry by the Illustrious Generation of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries Portugal, and gather more information about the Anglo-Portuguese relationships in general and the Lancastrian influence in Portugal in particular after the intercultural marriage of Philippa of Lancaster and King John I of Portugal. In order to do so, I studied several texts in English from the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, by different authors with English as well as Portuguese background, and compiled the case study with the secondary aim to give an overview of the role of Philippa of Lancaster, the Queen consort of Portugal, as the most influential ambassador of the English code of chivalry in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries Portugal.

Examining the Lancastrian influences in different texts, I concluded the following: firstly, there are still too few works and researchers who have concentrated their attention on the Anglo-Portuguese relations, and even if they have done so, the Lancastrian influence has been observed and written about by still very few researchers and quite vaguely. It is difficult to find the material describing exactly when and how Gaunt went to Portugal or why exactly Philippa is still so popular in Portugal, all the information available is fragmentized in very different books and articles, with the main attention elsewhere. Even if the authors have noticed the importance of the Anglo-Portuguese relations, the Treaty of Windsor or the intercultural marriage, the most of them have failed to recognize Gaunt's role in arranging both the treaty and the marriage, and their understanding about Philippa's role in educating their children and distributing the English code of chivalry is either not noticed at all, or they have done it cursorily. Those authors who had studied the

biographies of Gaunt or Philippa in depth, were convinced in the connection between the treaty, the marriage, and the Lancastrians' legacy. The authors with Portuguese or Brazilian background knew Philippa of Lancaster much better. English authors usually may mention Gaunt as an able negotiator, but they often fail to see his role and legacy on the Iberian Peninsula, or his descendants to be linked to the Iberian thrones as a powerful family network.

Secondly, based on the above-mentioned examples in the different modern English texts, I could conclude that there were already several historical connections and intercultural marriages existing between England and the Iberian kingdoms, including Portugal, long before the Windsor Treaty, or before Gaunt's daughter Philippa was married to the Portuguese king. Several authors pointed out that the Windsor Treaty as well as the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in general was very important for Gaunt for various reasons, and Philippa, as Gaunt's favourite child, obviously knew it, and it might have been the main reason why she agreed to marry John I of Portugal, a somewhat exotic choice for an English princess. Whereas some of the authors have clearly pointed out that it was Gaunt who designed and sealed the Treaty of Windsor as the basis of further Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the marriage of Philippa as the follow-up of the treaty, there are other authors and sources that still fail to provide the fact and omit to mention it.

Thirdly, as for the distribution of the chivalric code in Portugal, both Hearnshaw as well as Aguiar pointed out that the chivalric code was already somewhat established in Portugal already earlier, before the intercultural marriage, but the Portuguese understood and practised it a bit differently from the continental attitudes. Both authors stated that the intercultural marriage clearly influenced the perception of the chivalric ideals in Portugal and changed the way the Portuguese

nobility understood and adopted the code. The Lancastrians were considered to be the exemplary role models, Gaunt was well known among the nobility on the Iberian Peninsula and Philippa of Lancaster is still honoured and loved by the Portuguese people today.

I also noticed that there were many influential and notable figures in Philippa's closest family and in Gaunt's household who may have been the main chivalric role models for Philippa, being later the Queen consort in Portugal and educating her own children to be the honourable royals who would accept and value the code of chivalry and good manners. It appeared to be an important family tradition to be a member of the highest order of chivalry in the British honours system, the Order of the Garter, for both male as well as female family members, and as such, it was hence quite easy to conclude that the chivalric ideals were important to follow for all of the members of the Lancastrian family, and obviously also so for Philippa's descendants in Portugal.

Based on several descriptions of her upbringing and characteristics, I could conclude that Philippa, as a mother and a queen, being herself the Lady of the Order of Garter from since 1378, was indeed the prominent Lancastrian ambassador of the English chivalric ideals and good manners on the Iberian Peninsula. The education and upbringing of the Illustrious Generation, influenced by their English mother's acceptance of the code of chivalry, had clearly a strong educational and cultural effect on the strategic development of the late medieval empire of Portugal.

The topic certainly needs further research, as there are still many aspects uncovered in the lives of both John of Gaunt, as well as his daughter Philippa of Lancaster, and additionally, about the Anglo-Norman influence on the Iberian Peninsula in general.

## THE LIST OF REFERENCES

### Primary sources:

- Aguiar, Miguel. 2015. *Chivalry in Medieval Portugal*. Porto: University of Porto.
- Armitage-Smith, Sir Sydney. 1904. *John of Gaunt*. New York: Barnes & Noble.
- Empson, C. W. 1874. *John of Gaunt, His Life and Character* (Members Prize Essay 1872). London: Trinity College, Cambridge. Available at <https://archive.org/details/johngaunthislif00empgoog>.
- Hearnshaw, F. J. C. 1928. Chivalry and Its Place in History. In Prestage, Edgar. 2013. *Chivalry. Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence*, 1-36. New York: Routledge (First printed in 1933).
- Pinto, Luiz Fernando da Silva. 2002. *Sagres: A Strategic Revolution*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.
- Prestage, Edgar. 1933. *The Portuguese Pioneers*. London: A&C. Black Ltd.
- Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. 2007. The Queen Consort in Late-Medieval Portugal. In Bolton, Brenda and Christine Meek (eds). 2007. *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, 131-145. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.
- Silva, Manuela Santos. 2009. Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal: educator and reformer. In Oakley-Brown, Liz and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds). 2009. *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship. Medieval to Early Modern*, 37-46. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

### Secondary sources:

- Birmingham, David. 2003. *A Concise History of Portugal*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Bullón-Fernández, Maria (ed). 2007. *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century: Cultural, Literary and Political Exchanges*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cannon, John (ed). 2002. *The Oxford Companion to British History*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, Joyce. 2006. The Flower, the Leaf, and Philippa of Lancaster. In Collette, Carolyn P. (ed). 2006. *The Legend of Good Women: Context and Reception*, Chaucer Studies XXXVI. New York: D. S. Brewer.
- Coleman, Joyce. 2007. Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal - and Patron of the Gower Translations. In Bullón-Fernández, Maria (editor). 2007. *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century: Cultural, Literary and Political Exchanges*, 135-165. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goodman, Anthony. 1992. *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Morgan, Kenneth O (ed). 2001. *The Oxford History of Britain*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Parsons, John Carmi and Bonnie Wheeler (eds). 1996. *Medieval Mothering*. New York: Routledge.
- Prestwich, Michael. 2003. *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377*. New York: Routledge.

- Robertson, Ian. 2002. *A Traveller's History of Portugal*. London: Armchair Traveller at the BookHaus.
- Shillington, Violet Mary and Annie Beatrice Wallis Chapman. 1907. *The Commercial Relations of England & Portugal*, London: B. Franklin.
- Weir, Alison. 2008. *Katherine Swynford: The Story of John of Gaunt and his Scandalous Duchess*. London: Vintage Books.
- Will, Elizabeth H. 2008. John of Gaunt's Household: Attendance Rolls in the Glynde Archive, MS 3469. In Saul, Nigel (ed). 2008. *Fourteenth Century England*, 13-30. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

#### **Internet sources:**

- BBC History Magazine. Fresh Look at Edward III. Podcast discussion with Richard Barber. Available at <http://www.historyextra.com/podcast/fresh-look-edward-iii>, accessed August 5, 2017.
- Booker, Lynne. 2014. The 'Illustrious Generation', the Children of Philippa of Lancaster. Homepage of Algarve History Association (AHA). Available at <http://www.algarvehistoryassociation.com/en/portugal/124-the-illustrious-generation-the-children-of-phillipa-of-lancaster>, accessed July 31, 2017.
- Lawne, Penny. 2015. Joan of Kent: a Perfect Princess? Available at [http://www.historyextra.com/article/people-history/joan-kent-perfect-princess?utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=twitter%20referral&utm\\_campaign=bitly](http://www.historyextra.com/article/people-history/joan-kent-perfect-princess?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=twitter%20referral&utm_campaign=bitly), accessed August 3, 2017.
- Rebelo, Luis de Sousa, William C. Atkinson, Norman Jones Lamb and K. David Jackson. Portuguese Literature. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Online). Available at <https://www.britannica.com/art/Portuguese-literature>, accessed August 7, 2017.
- The British Historical Society of Portugal. Timeline of Anglo-Portuguese Relations. Available at <http://www.bhsportugal.org/time-line>, accessed March 3, 2017.
- Wikipedia. Filipa de Lencastre (in Portuguese). Available at [https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filipa\\_de\\_Lencastre](https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filipa_de_Lencastre), accessed February 28, 2018.
- Wikipedia. John of Gaunt. Available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_of\\_Gaunt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_of_Gaunt), accessed August 5, 2017.
- Wikipedia. List of Ladies of the Garter. Available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Ladies\\_of\\_the\\_Garter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Ladies_of_the_Garter), accessed August 2, 2017.
- Wikipedia. Philippa of Lancaster. Available at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippa\\_of\\_Lancaster](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippa_of_Lancaster), accessed February 28, 2018.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### EARLY INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND PORTUGAL

The British Historical Society of Portugal (2018) lists the earliest date of the Anglo-Portuguese relations as 1147 on their timeline, indicating the event when English crusaders were asked to give some help to young Portuguese king Afonso Henriques in the conquest of Lisbon.

As for earliest Portuguese-English relations in different texts, Birmingham and Bullón-Fernández also reached back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Birmingham (2003: 23) writing that the relations between Portugal and England had fluctuated ever since an English crusader had become the first bishop of Lisbon. The above-mentioned English crusader was obviously Gilberto of Hastings (died in 1166) who became indeed the first Catholic bishop of Lisbon (Wikipedia).

Bullón-Fernández (2007: 5) stressed the importance of the English pilgrimage to the Iberian Peninsula, namely Santiago de Compostela north of Portugal, which became a popular destination for English from the 12<sup>th</sup> century on; she also stated that the 12<sup>th</sup> century in general saw an increasing Anglo-Norman interest in Iberian Peninsula, particularly Castile (Bullón-Fernández, *Ibid.*). By Anthony Goodman (1992), the main reason for such interest was the Angevin rule over Aquitaine, which bordered with Aragon and Navarre and which was a major source of tension between France and England.

Prestage (1933) mentioned the Portuguese pioneers of the early maritime history of the Kingdom of Portugal, claiming that even if very few facts have been recorded, in addition to the coastal navigation, trade was carried on not only with England, but also with the Northern Europe and the Mediterranean countries, mainly from the Portuguese cities of Lisbon and Oporto; he particularly referred to year 1226 in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when more than 100 safe-conducts were granted to Portuguese in England, sending (as to other countries) hides, skins, many types of dried fruit, oil, cork and wine from Portugal to England. (Prestage 1933: 3)

In Shillington and Chapman's book about the early medieval commercial relations between England and Portugal, some hints can be found about the correspondence of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century poet king Denis (Diniz) of Portugal with the English King Edward I, also about the English king Henry III dealing with the Portuguese merchants in Bordeaux, and about the favourable policy of Edward III and Richard II towards Portuguese merchants (Shillington, Chapman 1907: 3-74). Both these reigns were closely linked to Gaunt. Bullón-Fernández (2007: 6) stated that even Edward II, otherwise not interested in Iberian business, still used his Castilian connections. Robertson (2002: 54-55) writes about the mutual relations between Portugal and England, stating that the maritime trade flourished, and already in 1353, a treaty had been signed between corporations of merchants of Lisbon and Oporto and Edward III of England, confirming the reciprocal safe-conducts and protection offered to them during Portuguese king Denis's reign.

## Appendix 2

### ENGLISH ROYAL PRINCES INVOLVED IN THE IBERIAN CONFLICT IN 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Gaunt married the daughter of the Castilian king Pedro I, princess Constanza in 1372, and Gaunt's brother Langley married Constanza's sister princess Isabella next year, in 1373.

Froissart wrote that when Henry II of Castile (otherwise known as Enrique of Trastámara) died in 1379, his eldest son Juan was crowned king as John I of Castile, and he disinherited both princesses who had been married to England. The Portuguese king at that time, Fernando of Portugal as the closest relative of the above mentioned Castilian princesses, and, as also Armitage-Smith (1904: xxii) pointed out, Gaunt's ally from already 1372 protested loudly on account of two ladies and declared the war against Juan I of Castile. (Online Froissart, folios 67 r - 68 r)

As Juan's ally was France, Fernando of Portugal summoned one of his knights as the Portuguese ambassador and sent him to the English king Richard II in order to get some support in open war against the Castilian ruler and his French ally. (Online Froissart, folios 67 r - 68 r) Richard II's regent at a time was John of Gaunt.



### Appendix 3

#### HEARNSHAW'S EXPLANATION ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE OF THE ANGLLO-SAXON KNIGHT AND THE CONTINENTAL KNIGHT

Hearnshaw, a professor of Medieval History in London University, indicated already in 1928 that the term of chivalry could be used in different senses and for historical purposes, and that the many different meanings given in various different sources could be reduced to four of them: first, as a body of knights or horsemen equipped for battle; secondly, knighthood as a rank or order, the position and quality of a knight; thirdly, in a technical or feudal sense to signify tenure by knight service whereby the tenant is bound to perform some noble or military office unto the lord, and finally, chivalry as used in a broader sense to “include the whole knightly system of the later middle ages, with its peculiar religious, moral, and social codes and customs”. He added that perhaps Chaucer had had this wide meaning in mind when he said of his “perfight gentil knight” that he “lovede chyvalrie” with its concomitant “trouthe and honour, freedom and curteisie”. Hearnshaw also mentioned Professor H. W. C. Davis’s definition of chivalry as “that peculiar and often fantastic code of etiquette and morals, which was grafted upon feudalism in the eleventh and succeeding centuries”. (Hearnshaw 1928)

Hearnshaw (1928) explained that the word *knight* occurs in all definitions of chivalry mentioned in the main text earlier. The English word *knight* is the equivalent of the French word *chevalier*; and the English term *knighthood* stands as a synonym for the French *chevalerie*, as for the Spanish *caballeria*, and the Italian *cavalleria*. He continues explaining that before the Norman Conquest there was no such equivalence, for the Continental *cavalier* was a horseman, and the Anglo-Saxon *knight* was not. The Anglo-Saxon *knight* or *cniht* was merely any young man, and later the name was applied more particularly to a young man who acted as *servant* or *attendant* to a lord; next it was still further specialized to denote one who rendered *military service*, and it was translated into Latin by the word *miles* which had similarly become specialized in the meaning of *soldier*; and then finally, at the time of the Norman Conquest, it had come to signalize peculiarly those subordinate fighting men of the *minor landholding class* who had commended themselves to some lord and so fought under his banner.

In general, the term connoted the military tenants of earls and thegns, bishops and abbots, and other eminent local potentates. But still the *cnihtas* fought on foot. It was the Normans who brought the war-horse with them; all their minor landholders were cavaliers, the English equivalent of which was not knights but riders. Thus, by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in 1085, “King William dubbed his son Henry a rider”. That expression, however, was not used again, for that same Henry, as Prestage pointed out, married an English wife, and under his influence the two peoples, Norman and Saxon, were intermingled and fused. The Saxon *cnihtas* learned to ride, and the Norman *chevaliers* became knights.” (Hearnshaw 1928)

## Appendix 4

### **AGUIAR'S THEORY ON WHY IT TOOK SUCH A LONG TIME FOR CHIVALRY TO BECOME ESTABLISHED AS A SUPERIOR HONOUR AND IDEAL IN PORTUGAL**

Aguiar (2015) explained in his work that

*.../ the early rise of the knighthood in the 12<sup>th</sup> up to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries depended on the role that equestrian warriors played in the governance of communities; the attribution of a superior status was due to their possession of weapons and a horse to ride upon /.../ the functional dimension of chivalry was highly important. (Aguiar 2015)*

Aguiar pointed out that the generally similar concept of knighthood in Europe was perceived a bit differently in Portugal, comparing to the continental ideas; the greater social fluidity made possible by the Reconquest may have prevented such quick crystallization of the knight's noble status, since not all of them hailed from the environment of a socially superior family. (Aguiar 2015) He admitted that the dynamic of the social ascension through war continued to prevail in the border regions of Portugal until the conquest of the southern region called Algarve was finally concluded in 1249; the charters that were granted to townships probably confirmed this, since they continued to give privileges to men who possessed their own horses and weapons, while also maintaining a permanent incentive for a warlike facet of these communities. Since such knights owed their whole status to the fact that they fought upon horseback, it would be natural for them to use this image to prove their superior condition. Therefore the nobles should resort to other symbols and arguments to establish their own identity, even if they fought in a similar way and had a similarly violent mentality. In this way, Aguiar pointed out, it can be understood why it took such a long time for chivalry to become established as a superior honour and ideal, materialized in the form of a culture that was endowed with its own concepts, practices and mythology. (Aguiar 2015)

## Appendix 5

### THE LEGACY OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S MARRIAGES

Gaunt's first marriage with Blanche of Lancaster, his third cousin (both were descendants of King Henry III), the daughter and after the death of her older sister, the only heiress of powerful and overwhelmingly rich nobleman Henry of Grosmont, the cousin of the King Edward III, produced seven children (before her death in 1369), of whom three survived to adulthood: Philippa of Lancaster, the later Queen of Portugal; Elizabeth of Lancaster or the Duchess of Exeter (she married Richard II's half-brother John Holland, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Exeter, and later Sir John Cornwall); and Henry of Bolingbroke who later became Henry IV, King of England and Lord of Ireland.

Gaunt's second marriage in 1371 with Constance of Castile (1354-1394), the daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon and hence the claimant of the Castilian throne, produced the daughter Catherine of Lancaster, later Queen of Castile.

John of Gaunt's legitimate male heirs also include future English kings Henry V and Henry VI, Philippa's sons as Portuguese royal princes, Catherine's children including King John II of Castile and Maria, Queen of Aragon, to name just a few of them.

In addition to that, John had four children with his long-term mistress and third wife Katherine Swynford (de Roet, she was raised and educated together with her sister Philippa de Roet, Chaucer's wife, in the royal household of Gaunt's mother Queen Philippa of Hainault, the ambassador of education); their children were the cousins of Chaucer's children, legitimised by Richard II after their parents' marriage (Gaunt's third marriage), and surnamed Beaufort.

Descendants of this last marriage include Joan Beaufort as the grandmother of future English kings Edward IV and Richard III; John Beaufort as the great-grandfather of King Henry VII; and Gaunt's granddaughter Joan Beaufort, Queen of Scotland, from whom all subsequent monarchs of Scotland are descended beginning with her son James II, and all sovereigns of England, Great Britain and the United Kingdom from 1603 to the present day.

Through John II of Castile's great-granddaughter Joanna the Mad, John of Gaunt is also the ancestor of the Habsburg rulers who would reign in Spain and much of central Europe. (Wikipedia)

## Appendix 6

### **EMPSON'S DESCRIPTION ABOUT HOW THE BOYS OF NOBLE HOUSES WERE BROUGHT UP**

Empson (1874) wrote that it was a custom back then for all scions of noble houses to be brought up with a view to adopting either the military or the clerical profession. If, as in the present case, the former was selected, the boy became a page at the age of seven, and was sent to the castle of some baron famous for his bravery and wisdom. In the case of wealthy parents, though, the boy would usually remain at home. He was to learn modesty, obedience, courtesy to ladies, and address in arms and horsemanship. He was taught to regard knighthood as the greatest aim of his life, and to reverence it as a sacred institution, sanctified by the rites and ordinances of the Church.

This period of probation lasted until the boy was fourteen, when he was considered qualified to discharge the duties of a squire. He then became the personal attendant of his lord in battle, accoutring him for the fight, and the ties between a knight and his squires were so close and intimate that they often lasted long after they had by right been dissolved.

Supposing that Gaunt was page and squire to Edward III's cousin Henry of Grosmont, Earl of Lancaster, having the highest military reputation, also being of royal blood himself, it was highly probable that the training of the King's sons would be entrusted to him, and as Empson pointed out, the princes indeed were continually accompanying Grosmont on his foreign expeditions, and that is how Gaunt may have singled out his cousin Blanche, Henry's daughter and Gaunt's future wife. (Empson 1874: 14)

But Empson himself later admitted: "All this, however, is but conjecture, without legitimate proof, and must be taken as such". (Empson 1874: 14)

## Appendix 7

### PHILIPPA'S CHILDREN, THE ILLUSTRIOUS GENERATION, AND THEIR LEGACY

The best known of her children is probably Henry the Navigator, even if people usually tend not to link him with the Lancastrians. Robertson (2002) described him as the obsessional driving force behind the exploratory voyages, bringing the Majorcan cartographer Cresques to Portugal already as early as 1421; discovering Madeira, the Canaries, some islands of the Azores, the Cape Verdes archipelago, the estuaries of the Gulf of Guinea and the West African coast under his aegis, receiving his brother Pedro, the regent, the monopoly of trade in whatever lands he might discover. By the year of his death (1460), his captains had reached Sierra Leone in Western Africa. (Robertson 2002: 64, 65) Thanks to his activities, encouraging the seafaring exploration in Northern and Western Africa, the next king, Henry's nephew Afonso V of Portugal was able to possess a number of territories and fortresses along the northern and north-western coasts of Africa. (Robertson 2002: 65, 66)

Philippa's son Duarte or Edward, the next Portuguese king, was an intellectual, who governed his realm through a well-structured bureaucracy; proficient in both Latin and Portuguese, he edited collection of laws and asked for written opinions from counsellors before taking decisions. (Silva 2009) Still, it was obviously not an easy task to be a good king for a whole nation, as Prestage (1933) mentions in his book:

Duarte, though physically robust like his brothers, was more highly strung, and when he reached manhood he suffered from crises of melancholy, over-scrupulous in conscience and hesitating in action. The superintendence of the affairs of justice and finance bestowed on him by his father meant a serious burden, but it was bravely borne /.../"; the detailed description of Duarte's day is taken from his compositions of *Loyal Counsellor* and *Art of Riding*. (Prestage 1933: 15-16)

Prestage then continues with describing Pedro, Philippa's son, stating that he was a practical and ambitious man, "more English than Portuguese in character and appearance", who later wrote a philosophical treatise, *the Book of Virtuous Well-Doing*, and spent some years (1425-1429) travelling, fighting against the Turks in the service of Emperor Sigismund, receiving the Mark of Treviso as a reward. He visited England and was appointed the companion of the Order of Garter like his father and his brothers. After that Pedro passed Flanders and Italy, and at Venice the Doge presented him with a copy of Marco Polo's Travels and Mappa Mundi (world map); the nature of gift indicated that the Doge knew that Pedro shared Henry the Navigator's interests. (Prestage 1933: 16)

Philippa's son Fernando was a good Latin scholar, deeply religious; he

refused a Cardinal's hat from fear that the dignity would be beyond his powers. In virtue he followed Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Holy Constable, for he had the same cult of virginity, the same horror of impurity, which he considered the worst of sins, and the same love of the poor. (Prestage 1933: 16-17)

Silva referred to an interesting aspect linked to Philippa's daughter Isabella. Silva is tempted to see Philippa's intellectual legacy in Isabella. (Silva 2009) Silva points out that Philip the Good probably married Isabella because of her connections and because "she was a Lancaster". Silva writes about Isabella:

Like her mother, Isabella proved to be model consort. Though over 30 at the time of the marriage, she provided her husband with an heir. Isabella also managed to maintain the same family-oriented policy, which her mother and grandfather had both followed. Isabella gave her children a good education and became a well-known patroness of the arts, but she was mainly Philip's procurator in his negotiations with England, during which Isabella and her uncle Henry Beaufort (one of John of Gaunt's sons by Katherine Swynford) tried to bring an end to the almost eternal conflict between England and France. Letters written by Isabella to her eldest brother - King Duarte of Portugal - relating and passing comment upon international affairs, indicate that she was an observant woman who influenced her husband's and her son's policies. After the assassination of her cousin Henry VI, she was one of the candidates for the English throne and passed these rights on to her son, Charles the Bold. (Silva 2009)

## RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL

ANGLISTIKA OSAKOND

**Maaris Aas**

### **The Lancastrian influences during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries behind adopting the code of chivalry by the Illustrious Generation in Portugal**

(Lancasteri dünastiaharu mõjutused 14. ja 15. sajandi Portugali õukonnas rüütelliku käitumismudeli juurutamisel Hiilgava Generatsiooni näitel)

Bakalaureusetöö

2018

Lehekülgede arv: 30 (koos lisadega 42)

#### **Annotatsioon:**

Käesoleva bakalaureusetöö eesmärk oli uurida, kas ja kuidas on erinevates ingliskeelsetes tekstides kajastatud rüütellikust igati propageerinud kuningas Edward III poja Gaunti Johni<sup>1</sup> ja tema lemmiktütre, Lancasteri Philippa mõjutusi inglispärase rüütelliku käitumiskoodeksi juurutamisel 14. ja 15. sajandi Portugali aadli käitumismallidesse ja hoiakutesse. Kastiiilia trooni taotlev Gaunti John korraldas Portugali kuninga ja oma tütre vahel esialgu poliitilist liitlasliitu kinnistava, kuid hiljem õnnelikuks kujunenud abielu; kooselust sündinud lapsi kutsuvad Portugali ajaloolased Portugali “hiilgavaks põlvkonnaks”, mille all mõistetakse Lancasteri Philippa kuut täiskasvanuks saanud last, kes kõik eelkõige tänu Inglise õukonnas üles kasvanud ema kultuuri- ja haridustaustale, vagadusele, rangele kasvatusel ning isiklikele ja perekondlikele hoiakutele said kodust kaasa silmapaistvalt hea hariduse ja rüütellikud käitumispõhimõtted, valitsedes Portugali järgneval sajandil nii, et kontinentaalsel skaalal väikesest ääremaastunud kuningriigist hiliskeskaja lõpus kasvas välja võimas impeerium, mille mõjualad ulatusid nii Aafrikasse kui ka Aasiasse.

Bakalaureusetöö koosneb kahest osast. Esimeses osas uuritakse ingliskeelsetes tekstides kajastatud Inglise-Portugali suhete ajaloolist tausta ja eeltingimusi, mis sundisid Gaunti Johni oma vanima tütre abielu korraldama Pürenee poolsaarel, ning ka seda, kas ja kuidas on erinevates tekstides kirjeldatud rüütelliku käitumiskoodeksi arengut Portugali-siseselt ja välismõjusid arvestades nii enne kui ka pärast Lancasterite saabumist. Töö teises osas antakse lühiülevaade olulisematest eeskujudest Inglise kuninglikus perekonnas ja tolle aja nimekamatest tegelaskujudest, kes Gaunti Johni lähikonnas liikusid ja võisid seega mõjutada Philippa valikuid hiljem Portugali õukonnas omaenda lapsi riigijuhtideks kasvatades ja Portugali õukonnas rüütellike käitumispõhimõtteid juurutades. Töö teises osas uuritakse ühtlasi ka seda, kas ja kuidas on erinevate tekstide autorid kajastanud Lancasteri Philippa

---

<sup>1</sup> Kirjapilt ka *Genti John*.

isikuomadusi inglisepärase rüütelliku käitumise põhimõtete juurutajana Portugali õukonnas ning tema otseste järglaste panust Portugali arengusse.

Uurimus näitas, et informatsioon Lancasteri dünastiaharu perekonnaliikmete panusest Pürenee poolsaare kuningriikide ajaloo mõjutajatena on endiselt pigem lünklik ja laiali pillutatud eri allikate vahel, seda teemat uurivaid autoreid on vähe ning Lancasteri dünastiaharu perekonnaliikmete mainimine on valikuline, sageli ei mainita üldse seost Windsori leppe, seda kinnistava abielu ega Lancasterite vahel. Portugali kuningannaks saanud Lancasteri Philippa ja tema rolli olulisust Portugali õukonnas rüütelliku käitumiskoodeksi modelleerimisel Pürenee poolsaarel ja Portugali edasise tuleviku kujundamisel mainivad üksnes need autorid, kes on süvitsi uurinud kas Lancasteri Philippa või siis Gaunti Johni elulugu. Uurimus näitas, et kõigil Lancasteri Philippa ellujäänud lastel oli perevõrgustikule toetudes hiljem oluline osa Portugali ja osaliselt ka Kastilia kuningriigi edasises kujunemisloos, Inglismaa ja kontinentaalse poliitika toetamisel ning Portugali väikese, kuid võimsa maadeavastuste-aegse impeeriumi loomisel. Selgelt võib kõiki asjaolusid arvesse võttes siinkohal oluliseks mõjuallikaks nimetada Lancasteri Philippa rolli oma laste kasvatamisel ning Portugali õukonna ümberkasvatamisel, võttes eeskujuks Inglise õukonnas valitsevad rüütelliku käitumise põhimõtted.

Gaunti Johni ja Lancasteri Philippa märkimisväärne osa Portugali kõrgeadli rüütellike käitumishoiakute kujunemisloos ning ka laiemalt kontinentaalse poliitika arengu (näiteks Portugali, Hispaania ja Inglismaa vaheliste suhete) ja rahuläbirääkimiste toetajatena vääraks edasist uurimist, sest ingliskeelses kirjanduses on Lancasteri Philippiat käsitletud suhteliselt vähe ja üksnes Gaunti Johni vanima tütre võtmes, kui sedagi; portugali keelses keskkonnas on talle tähelepanu pööratud veidi rohkem ja põhjalikumalt, kuid neid materjale pole kõiki inglise keelde tõlgitud ning need pole seetõttu portugali keelt mittevaldavatele uurijatele kättesaadavad.

### **Märksõnad:**

Lancaster, Plantagenet, Gaunti John, Lancasteri Philippa, rüütellikkus, rüütellik käitumismudel, aadel, õukond, Portugal, interkultuuralsed mõjutused, kontinentaalsed arengud, haridus, käitumismallid, hoiakud.



**Lihtlitsents****lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks**

Mina, Maaris Aas,

1. annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) enda loodud teose

**The Lancastrian influence during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries behind adopting the code of chivalry by the Illustrious Generation in Portugal**

mille juhendaja on Pilvi Rajamäe,

- 1.1 reprodutseerimiseks säilitamise ja üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemise eesmärgil, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace'i lisamise eesmärgil kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni;
- 1.2 üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks Tartu Ülikooli veebikeskkonna kaudu, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace'i kaudu kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni.
2. Olen teadlik, et punktis 1 nimetatud õigused jäävad alles ka autorile.
3. Kinnitan, et lihtlitsentsi andmisega ei rikuta teiste isikute intellektuaalomandi ega isikuandmete kaitse seadusest tulenevaid õigusi.

Maaris Aas

Tartus, 07.05.2018

### **Autorsuse kinnitus**

Kinnitan, et olen koostanud käesoleva bakalaureusetöö ise ning toonud korrektselt välja teiste autorite panuse. Töö on koostatud lähtudes Tartu Ülikooli maailma keelte ja kultuuride kolledži anglistika osakonna bakalaureusetöö nõuetest ning on kooskõlas heade akadeemiliste tavadega.

Maaris Aas

Tartus, 07.05.2018

**Lõputöö on lubatud kaitsmisele.**

Juhendaja: Pilvi Rajamäe

Tartus, 07.05.2018