

**THE QUEEN AND HER CONSORT: SUCCESSION, POLITICS AND PARTNERSHIP
IN THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE, 1274-1512**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bath Spa University for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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July 2011

Abstract

Although the queens of Navarre form the largest group of female sovereigns ruling in one kingdom during the Middle Ages, they have not been subject to intensive academic study. Outside of works on regional political history and limited biographical study, these important women have been widely overlooked by scholars, particularly those working in English. They have never been subject to comparative analysis nor have they been examined in the context of female rule. This thesis addresses this gap in scholarship by investigating the careers of each of the five ruling queens of Navarre: Juana I (1274-1305), Juana II (1328-1349), Blanca I (1425-1441), Leonor (1479) and Catalina (1482-1512). Particular emphasis is given in three key areas; succession to the throne, matrimonial alliances made for and by the queens and their personal and political partnership with their kings consort.

By surveying all of the female sovereigns of Navarre, from the accession of the first queen in 1274 to the Annexation of the kingdom by neighbouring Castile in 1512, it is possible to evaluate both continuity and change and the overall development of queenship in the realm during this turbulent period. This approach also allows trends in the relative ease or difficulty of female succession, shifts in foreign policy and matrimonial diplomacy and power sharing strategies between monarchical pairs to be thoroughly assessed. Finally, the impact of female rule and the role these sovereigns played in the ultimate loss of sovereignty in 1512 can be evaluated.

This thesis draws attention to an exceptional group of sovereigns and demonstrates the important role that these women and their spouses played in the political history of Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages. It also highlights the particular challenges of female rule and offers new modes of analysis by focusing on unique areas of investigation which have not been previously examined.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all of the many people who have helped me on this long journey. First, I must begin by thanking my supervisors; Dr. Roberta (Bobby) Anderson, who helped me start this massive project and has supported me along the way-particularly by weaning me off the habits of my American youth and ensuring that my spelling and grammatical conventions are thoroughly British. Dr. Alan Marshall has also given me many helpful words of advice and his input has had a massive impact on the overall shape and feel of the thesis. I would also like to thank Félix Segura Urra and all of the staff at the Archivo General de Navarra (AGN) in Pamplona for their help and support while I was doing my research. Many thanks also to Paul Davies and Allison Dagger at the Graduate School for their workshops, advice and friendly support to guide me through the PhD process. I would like to thank all of the conference convenors who gave me the opportunity to present my research to my academic colleagues and gain useful feedback on various elements of my work. Finally, I have to thank my husband Mike for his unflagging support and my two children, Charlotte and William for their patience. Mike and William also need to be thanked for accompanying me around France and Navarre in the summer of 2009-their ability to spot a Navarrese emblem and take effective photographs of castles, crests and cathedrals was invaluable!

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Abbreviations and Notes

Abbreviations used in the text and references

ACP	Archivo Catedral de Pamplona
ADP	Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona
ADPA	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques (formerly Archives des Basse Pyrénées)
AGN	Archivo General de Navarra (Pamplona)
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional Madrid
AME	Archivo Municipal de Estella (Navarra)
AMO	Archivo Municipal de Olite (Navarra)
AMP	Archivo Municipal de Pamplona
AMT	Archivo Municipal de Tafalla (Navarra)
AMSCI	Archivo del Monasterio de Santa Clara (Navarra)
Boissonnade	Boissonnade, P., <i>Histoire de la Réunion de la Navarre a la Castille (Essai sur les Relations de prince de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne)</i> (reprint : Geneva, 1975).
Caj.	Cajón (Box)
Catalogo (+vol.)	Castro Alava, José Ramón, <i>Archivo General de Navarra. Catalogo de la seccion de comptos. Documentos</i> . Vol. Tomo I. Años 842-1331 (Pamplona, 1952). Castro Alava, José Ramón, <i>Archivo General de Navarra. Catalogo de la seccion de comptos. Documentos</i> . Vol. Tomo II (1332-1357) (Pamplona, 1952). Idoate, Florencio, <i>Archivo General de Navarra. Catalogo de la seccion de comptos. Documentos</i> . Vol. Tomo XXXVII (1425-1428) (Pamplona, 1965).
DME	Osés Urricelqui, Merche, <i>Documentación medieval de Estella (siglos XII-XVI)</i> . Vol. Tomo I Colección Historia (Pamplona, 2005).
DMO	Beroiz Lazcano, Marcelino, <i>Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII-XIV)</i> (Pamplona, 2009).
Documentación Real	Barragán Domeño, María Dolores, <i>Archivo General de Navarra: I. Documentación Real (1322-1349)</i> Fuentes Documentales medievales del País Vasco (Donostia, 1997).
Favyn	Favyn, Andre, <i>Histoire de Navarre; contenant l'Origine, les Vies et conquests de ses Rois, depuis leur commencement jusques a present</i> (Paris, 1612).
Leseur	Leseur, Guillaume, <i>Histoire de Gaston IV, Comte de Foix (Chronique Française inédite du XVe siècle)</i> . Vol. 1. 2 vols., ed. by Henri Courteault (Paris, 1893).
Moret (+vol.)	Jose de Moret, <i>Anales del Reino de Navarra</i> , Vols.5-7 (Tolosa, 1891).
Yanguas y Miranda	Yanguas y Miranda, José, <i>Inventario del Archivo del Reyno de Navarra. Tomo II. Seccion de Casamientos y muertes de Reyes, Succesion en la Corona, proclamaciones y juramentos Reales</i> . Copies of original documents made c. 1830. Unpublished, part of the collection at the AGN.

Zurita (+vol.)	Zurita, Jerónimo, <i>Anales de la Corona de Aragon</i> . 9 vols., ed. by Angel Canellas Lopez (Zaragoza, 1980-90).
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Notes

On names: In general, although many of the queens used French or even Italian versions over their names at various points in their lives, the Spanish versions of their names will be employed for consistency. However, Juana II may sometimes be referred to by her French name of Jeanne. This is primarily to avoid confusion with her grandmother Juana I although it is important to acknowledge that, as a native of France and the daughter of the French king, she would have been more likely to use and respond to ‘Jeanne’ than ‘Juana’. Occasionally, variants of names have been used to avoid confusion. For example Philip IV of France but Philip V is referred to as ‘Philippe’ to avoid confusion with his predecessor and his cousins Philip de Valois and Philip d’Evreux.

Regarding translations: It has been decided that for the sake of consistency, all quotes in the text will be in English. The original language is provided in the reference in the accompanying footnotes. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

Introduction

The Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre had the largest group of female sovereigns in any one realm during the Middle Ages, with five women reigning in their own right between 1274-1512. Although many European realms theoretically permitted female succession in the absence of male heirs, the accession of women to the throne was fairly rare. No other European kingdom produced more than two queens regnant during this period, and many had none at all.¹ Moreover, Navarre was under nearly continuous female rule between the period of 1425 to 1512, with the exception of one fourteen year interlude.

Despite the fact that the queens regnant of Navarre form such a uniquely large group, they have attracted little academic study and have never been examined either as a complete group or in the context of female rule. Although each of these women have been subject to some degree of individual study, either as part of a biographical piece or as part of other studies of local or regional history, they have never been examined together and very little has been written about them in English in any context. This thesis will therefore fill a gap in scholarship by investigating the political careers of these important but often overlooked women.

The unusual size of this particular cohort of queens provides an unparalleled opportunity to investigate developments in gynocracy in the Middle Ages. By examining

¹ The other queens regnant during this period are: Margaret of Norway (Queen of Scotland, 1286-90), Beatrix of Portugal (contested queen, 1383-85), Constanza of Aragon (claimant queen, 1369-87), Isabel of Castile (1474-1504), Isabella of Mallorca (claimant queen, 1375), Maria of Sicily (1392-1401), Giovanna I of Naples (1343-82), Giovanna II of Naples (1414-35), Maria of Hungary (1382-95), Elizabeth of Hungary and Bohemia (claimant queen, 1437-42), Jadwiga of Poland (1382-99), Margarethe of Sweden, Norway and Denmark (1375-1412). See Armin Wolf, 'Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: Where, When and Why', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1998) pp.169-188. Outside of Europe, it must be noted that the Kingdom of Jerusalem had a similar number of reigning queens immediately prior to the period of this study: Melisende (1131-1153), Sibylla (1186-90), Isabella (1190-1205), Maria (1205-1212) and Isabella II/Yolande (1212-1228). Although these women will be discussed as comparative examples, many of these women were queens regnant in title only, due to the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and increasing loss of territory during the subsequent years. In addition, despite the fact that most were of French descent, these queens cannot be considered to be truly 'European' and therefore do not challenge Navarre's record of the most female sovereigns in Europe during the Middle Ages.

them as a cohesive group, it is possible to evaluate the overall effect of female rule on the kingdom and gain an increased understanding of how women were able to access and exercise power as monarchs, both individually and in conjunction with their king consort. Moreover, the important familiar and political connections that the Queens of Navarre had in Western Europe and particularly in France and Iberia make their situation incredibly significant to the wider context of medieval queenship.

The study will commence with the accession of the first queen, Juana I, in 1274 and end with the annexation of the realm by Castile in 1512, during the reign of Catalina. The sovereigns who will form the primary focus of this study are:

- Juana I (ruled 1274-1305)
- Juana II (ruled 1328-1349)
- Blanca I (ruled 1425-1441)
- Leonor (1479; ruled as Princess-lieutenant 1455-1479)
- Catalina (ruled 1484-1512)

Although one of the most well known queens of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, reigned after this period, she has been deliberately excluded from this study as the sovereigns who ruled after 1512 were ruling in exile and monarchs of Navarre in name only. However, this survey will examine, where relevant, the situations of two important female members of the dynasty even though they were not technically queens regnant. These women are Blanca (II), the daughter of Blanca I whose claim to the throne was pushed aside in favour of her younger sister and Magdalena of France, regent for her children Francisco Fébo and Catalina between 1479-1494.

In order to conduct an effective assessment of female rule in Navarre, this study will focus on three particular areas of analysis: succession to the throne, marital alliances and the queens' relationship with and rule alongside their kings consort. The first area of investigation will examine the unique set of factors which enabled female succession in

Navarre and allowed such a substantial group of women to rule in the kingdom. The second area of enquiry will evaluate the complex political considerations which informed the choice of the queen's spouse and the role that matrimonial diplomacy played in the realm's sovereignty. The final area of examination will analyse the role that the king consort played in the reign of a female sovereign and how successfully each couple were able to construct an effective political and personal partnership.

This tripartite mode of investigation, focusing on succession, matrimonial diplomacy and the interaction of queens and their consorts is unique. As will be discussed in the chapter on historiography, studies in the field of queenship have tended to focus purely on the exercise of power and influence by women, particularly with regard to representations of sovereignty and patronage. Although these are worthy areas to consider and will form a part of this investigation into Navarrese queenship, focusing on succession, matrimonial politics and the partnership between the queens and their kings consort will provide a more innovative and intensive analysis of not only the power and influence of the queens but the political factors which shaped their reigns.

This study will also analyse the careers of the Navarrese queens as female sovereigns within the wider context of local and regional European developments during the period in question. Navarre is now a semi-autonomous region of Spain, but in the Middle Ages it was an independent, sovereign state until it was annexed by Castile in 1512. Its location, dominating the most accessible passes between the Iberian Peninsula and Continental Europe in the western end of the Pyrenees, made the realm a strategic territory. The history of the kingdom in the Middle Ages is overshadowed by the struggle of the Navarrese to retain their independence and sovereignty in the face of predatory neighbours, both Iberian and French. This political tension can clearly be seen in the careers of Navarre's female sovereigns; from the alliances formed by their marriages to the decisions they made during their reigns.

Ultimately, the realm lost its independence to Castile in 1512 during the reign of a queen, Catalina. Catalina's rule came at the end of a prolonged period of female control, which was also one of the most turbulent episodes in the kingdom's history. This study will explore the effect that female rule had on Navarre and investigate whether there is any direct connection between the reigns of the queens and the Annexation of 1512.

In summary, this study will provide a unique perspective and a deeper analysis of the political careers and partnerships of these significant but previously overlooked sovereigns. It will identify the factors which enabled so many women to rule in one kingdom, demonstrate how the foreign policy of the kingdom was shaped by the marriages of its queens, characterise different modes of partnership between the queens and their consorts and finally evaluate the overall impact of female rule on Navarre in the Middle Ages. The study will highlight significant connections both within the Navarrese group and to other contemporary female sovereigns and trace both continuity and change between the reigns of the queens in order to produce valuable insights on the overall challenges of female rule during this period. It will also emphasise the key role Navarre and its queens played in European politics. Finally, this study will contribute to the field of queenship by drawing attention to a set of female sovereigns who were in need of further examination and by proposing new methods of analysis for areas of female rule which have not yet been thoroughly explored.

CHAPTER ONE: Historiography & Methodology

As this study examines the history of Navarre through an investigation and assessment of the impact of female rule, it is first necessary to discuss the relevant scholarship in the context of both political history and gender studies. This chapter will examine previous historiographical trends in the study of Navarrese history, related research in wider European political history and will conclude with an examination of studies in the field of queenship. Furthermore, there will be a discussion of the primary evidence available and an assessment of the sources used in this investigation.

As the chronological summary in the appendices clearly demonstrates, it is the episodes when the crown passed through the female line which brought great increases in territory but also opened Navarre up to foreign influence and interference. This ever-shifting web of influence and loyalties has not only affected the history of the realm but also the approach of historians.

One of the primary reasons why the queens of Navarre have not previously been the subject of intensive study is a lack of consensus between scholars as to where the history of Navarre 'belongs'. There is considerable confusion over whether Navarrese history should be viewed as an Iberian, French or Basque topic. This has resulted in the sidelining of the subject as well as an omission of these particular monarchs in studies of medieval queenship, as specialists in each of these areas erroneously believe that it should not form part of their work. However, it is arguably the marriages of the queens regnant and the episodes where succession has passed through the female line which has created this sense of ambivalence and confusion.

It is interesting to note that scholars from different areas of historical and cultural studies can have widely varying attitudes in their approach to the topic of Navarrese history. With regard to this particular study, there are several significant groups of scholars whose work is important to examine: general European and/or medieval historians, French historians, Iberian specialists, Basque historians, Navarrese historians, Béarnaise specialists as well as gender historians and specialists in medieval queenship. The final group will be discussed later in this chapter.

Navarre is only mentioned fleetingly in general surveys of medieval European and Iberian history and there has been a tendency to overemphasize the dynastic ties to France; often reducing it to a mere conduit for French influence.² For example, the eminent Iberian historian Bernard Reilly illustrates this attitude towards Navarre by his comment, 'By mid-fourteenth century, it seemed that only geography stood between Navarre and a future as a province of France.'³ This line of argument is reinforced by Peter Linehan who claims that Northern France was 'the usual haunt of fourteenth-century kings of Navarre.'⁴ Although these comments could be justly applied to the period of Capetian rule between 1275-1328, this attitude can no longer be justified after the ascent of Juana II and her consort Philip d'Evreux who were in fact firmly engaged in Iberian politics. Although the demands of administering their French territories meant that they were not permanently resident in Navarre, the couple were active rulers who presided over the *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros* as well as the improvement and construction of cathedrals, monasteries and royal palaces.⁵

² For broader European examples see Malcolm Charles Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe 1050-1320* (London, 1992) and Martin Scott, *Medieval Europe* (London, 1964). Both these works are useful surveys of Medieval Europe but Navarre gets only a passing mention in both of these and their connection to France is the primary point of discussion.

³ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge, 2003), p.172.

⁴ Peter Linehan, 'Castile, Navarre and Portugal' in *The New Cambridge History*, VI c.1300-1415, ed. by Michael Jones (Cambridge, 2000), p.619.

⁵ On the *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros* see Fermín Miranda García, *Felipe III y Juana II de Evreux* (Pamplona, 2003), pp.102-107. For their architectural legacy an excellent source is Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *Arte y Monarquía en Navarra (1328-1425)* (Pamplona, 1987).

While the significant ties of blood, marriage and territory they held north of the Pyrenees ensured that the queens retained close links to France, it is a gross overstatement to claim as Simon Barton does that for the whole of the period between the advent of the Champenois dynasty in 1234 and the annexation by Castile in 1512, Navarre was 'firmly in the French orbit'.⁶ In reality, the end of the Capetian dynasty in 1328 signalled a growing distance from France and an increasing Iberianization which reached its peak during the fifteenth century. Three generations of royal marriages strongly tied the dynasty to the House of Trastámara while the marriage of Blanca I's heir, the Principe de Viana, to a Burgundian princess in 1439 was a distinctly anti-French move which reflected the schemes of alliance between Castile and France in opposition to Aragon, England and Burgundy.⁷

There is a major difference however, in the treatment of Navarrese history in English language works on Iberian history and those by Spanish scholars. English language works often bypass Navarre in favour of an emphasis on Castilian or Aragonese history or reduce it to a French appendage. In contrast, Spanish scholars tend to include Navarre firmly within any discussion of Iberian history. In the classic *Historia de España* series for example, Navarrese history is given a thorough explanation and its connection to the wider context of medieval Iberian history is clearly and consistently established.⁸ Moreover, the eminent historian Jaime Vicens Vives highlighted Navarre's crucial role as a physical and cultural connector between Iberia and the rest of Europe.⁹

⁶ Simon Barton, *A History of Spain* (New York, 2004), p.62.

⁷ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero and Pascual Tamburri, *El Príncipe de Viana* (Pamplona, 2001), p.23.

⁸ Luis Suárez Fernández, Ángel Canella López, and Jaime Vicens Vives. *Los Trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XV. Historia de España*, series ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1964). Luis Suárez Fernández and Juan Reglá Campistol, *España Cristiana, Crisis de la Reconquista, Luchas Civiles* *Historia de España*, series ed. By Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1966). Luis Suárez Fernández and Juan de Mata Carriazo Arroquia (eds.), *La España de los reyes católicos (1474-1516)*, *Historia de España*, series ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1969).

⁹ See chapter 8, 'Return to Europe: Navarre and the Spirit of Castile' in Jaime Vicens Vives, *Approaches to the History of Spain*, trans. by Joan Connolly Ullman 2nd ed. (Berkeley, 1970). Vicens Vives also repeatedly highlights Navarre's vital importance in the European politics of the fifteenth century in *Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479); Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953).

On the other hand, French scholars or specialists tend to focus on Navarre only when it impinges on the wider narrative of Gallic history, focus more on specific figures who were deeply involved in France such as the infamous Charles *le Mauvais* (Carlos II) or Jeanne d'Albret and her son Henri IV, whose claims to the Navarrese throne were strictly nominal. Although Navarre's importance is often minimized in general works on French history, the linkage between the thrones of France and Navarre during the reign of Juana I and her sons as well as the territory held in France by the Navarrese queens means that these works still contain a great deal of relevant information for this study. There are several scholars in particular whose scholarship has made a direct contribution to this investigation. First is the work of the renowned medievalist Elizabeth A.R. Brown, whose in-depth analysis of the reigns of Philip IV and his sons have all been instrumental to the research for this study.¹⁰ Secondly, there are several French and gender specialists who have focused on the debate regarding Salic Law and the succession crisis at the end of the Capetian period which have been crucial to the examination of Juana II's failure to claim the French throne.¹¹

There is also a profound difference in the coverage of Navarrese history by scholars who cover French history as a whole and those specialize in the history of the South West region and the *Midi*. These specialists include the Béarnaise scholar Pierre Tucoo-Chala and Béatrice Leroy. These regional specialists have provided a different perspective to consider by viewing the history of Navarre through the lens of its involvement with its Pyrenean

¹⁰ The most significant pieces written by Brown in connection to my own research on Juana I and II are Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X', *Traditio* 34 (1978), 227-271. 'The Prince is Father to the King: The Character and Childhood of Phillip the Fair', *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 282-334. 'Diplomacy, Adultery and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabelle's mission to France in 1314' in *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History presented to George Paddy Cuttino*, ed. by J.S Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley (Woodbridge, 1989), 53-83.

¹¹ There are many important works on the Capetian succession crisis and Salic Law but the most important to mention here are Sarah Hanley, 'The politics of identity and monarchic government in France: the debate over female exclusion' in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. by Hilda L. Smith, (Cambridge, 1998), 289-304. Craig Taylor, 'The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown', *French History* 15 (2001), 358-377. Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: l'invention de la loi salique (V-XVI siècle)* (Paris, 2006). C.T.Wood, 'Queens, Queens and Kingship: An inquiry into theories of royal legitimacy in late Medieval England and France' in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. by J.R. Strayer, W.C. Jordan, B.McNab and T.F. Ruiz (Princeton, 1976), 385-400.

neighbours. Tucoo-Chala in particular has addressed the history of Navarre through its connection to Béarn, both before and after the dynastic union of the rulers of Navarre and the House of Foix-Béarn.¹² Leroy has addressed the history of Navarre from a variety of perspectives from broad regional surveys to a number of articles specifically focused on the Evreux dynasty.¹³ This Pyrenean perspective provides an interesting contrast to the viewpoint of other Iberian or French specialists, by emphasizing Navarre's involvement on both sides of the Pyrenees and as a regional power. This research is also crucially important for the later queens, including Leonor and Catalina, who were Countesses of Foix as well as the rulers of Béarn and several major territories in this region.¹⁴

Basque historians have a controversial and rather ambivalent relationship with the history of Navarre. Whether or not Navarre is truly a Basque nation is a matter of intensive dispute which is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹⁵ However, the Basque influence in the region is important to examine in this study as the traditional inheritance practices which allowed females to inherit is one of the underlying conditions which in turn supported female succession to the Navarrese throne.¹⁶ Although most Basque specialists cover

¹² Examples include Pierre Tucoo-Chala, 'L'histoire tragique d'un couple au XIVe siècle: Agnès de Navarre et Gaston Fèbus.' *Principe de Viana Anejo* 2-3 (1986), 741-754 and *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620*. (Bordeaux, 1961).

¹³ Béatrice Leroy, 'A propos de la succession de 1328 en Navarre.' *Annales du Midi* 82, no. 97 (1970), 137-146. 'La Navarre au XIVe siècle sous la Dynastie d'Evreux (1328-1387); Un Exemple de Royaume Ibérique Gouverné par des Rois Français' In *Les Communications Dans La Péninsule Ibérique Au Moyen Âge (Actes Du Colloque Tenu À Pau Les 28 Et 29 Mars 1980 Sous La Direction De P. Tucoo-Chala)*, ed. by Pierre Tucoo-Chala, (Paris, 1981), 79-110. 'Les débuts de la dynastie d'Evreux en Navarre' and *La Navarre au Moyen Âge*. Béatrice Leroy and Jean-Pierre Barraqué. *De L'aquitaine à L'ébre; Les Liens Franco-Espagnols À L'époque Médiévale*. (Anglet, 2002).

¹⁴ Three of the most important pieces of analysis on this period from a French perspective are P. Boissonnade, *Histoire de la Réunion de la Navarre à la Castille (Essai sur les Relations de prince de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne)* (reprint : Geneva, 1975), Joseph Calmette, *La question des Pyrénées et la marche d'Espagne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1947) and R. Anthony, 'Un élément de critique chronologique à propos de documents émanant de la reine de Navarre Catherine de Foix', *Le Moyen Âge* 4, no. 1 (1933), 26-32.

¹⁵ As Roger Collins notes, 'With the contradiction of the Basque-speaking area of Navarre, many of the inhabitants of that province are anxious to stress their separateness from the *Vascongadas* in political, cultural and historical terms.' Roger Collins, *The Basques*. 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1990), p.135. An interesting discussion of the situation at the turn of the twentieth century, which also discusses the attitudes toward the past see chapter 23; 'Navarra y el país Vasco 1900-1935' (and the accompanying schematic on page 370) in Luis Landa el Busto, *Historia de Navarra; Una identidad forjada a través de los siglos* (Pamplona, 1999).

¹⁶ Roslyn M. Frank and Shelley Lowenberg, 'The Role of the Basque Woman as *Etxeko-Andrea*, the Mistress of the House' in *Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. by Joyce Duncan Falk, (Reno, 1976), 14-21.

Navarre in some way, many such as Roger Collins do not focus specifically on Navarrese history but instead discuss it within the wider context of Basque studies. Philippe Veyrin takes a similar approach but from a French perspective and expresses regret that Navarre was unable to use its Pyrenean hegemony to unify the Basque provinces and build a true Basque nation-state.¹⁷ Other scholars, such as Rachel Bard, have approached the history of Navarre from an assumption that it is an unequivocally Basque realm.¹⁸ Maria Raquel García Arancón takes a more neutral and well-balanced approach in the excellent article 'Navarra y Iparralde en la Baja Edad Media' which incorporates developments from both sides of the Pyrenees in order to build up a comprehensive picture of the history of the entire region in the later medieval period.¹⁹ While the influences of Basque traditions, particularly regarding female inheritance, will be considered, this study will not focus on the question of Navarre as a Basque state during the period under discussion here.

There is also a difference of perspective on the history of Navarre during the later Middle Ages even between specialists in the area. José Javier López Antón engages in an excellent survey of approaches to the subject and discusses the idea of a '*concepción trágica*' which can often pervade the study of the topic.²⁰ This more negative view of Navarrese history perceives the realm as a victim of the French after the accession of the Champenois and Capetians and later of the Castilians after the Annexation of 1512. This perspective views the queens as either the victims or agents of these events, which ultimately saw the end of the realm's sovereignty. However, some Navarrese specialists, such as Manuel Iribarren, have focused on the positive aspects of outside influence, bringing 'Europeanization', cultural growth, a useful influx of skilled workers and craftsmen and even

¹⁷ Philippe Veyrin, *Les Basques de Labourd, de Soule et de Basse Navarre; leur Histoire et leurs Traditions* (Paris, 1975), p.128.

¹⁸ Rachel Bard, *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom* (Reno, 1982).

¹⁹ Maria Raquel García Arancón, 'Navarra y Iparralde en la Baja Edad Media', *Revista Internacional de los estudios vascos (RIEV)* 45, no. 1 (2000), 123-196.

²⁰ José Javier López Antón, 'La optica fuerista del 'nabarrismo' euskaro sobre la guerra de la Navarrería', *Principe de Viana* 58, no. 210 (1997), p.143.

new varieties of crops and fruit trees.²¹ Finally, the annexation itself is another matter of profound dispute between those who view the event as a tragic end to the independence of the kingdom or as a long overdue unification with its Iberian neighbours.²²

In the last fifty years, there has been a major surge in scholarship on the history of Navarre by specialist scholars, fuelled in part by the sponsorship of the regional government, the *Gobierno de Navarra* and the *Institución Príncipe de Viana*. This support has encouraged the publication of monographs and articles in its namesake journal and set up conference series such as the excellent *Semana de Estudios Medievales* in Estella, which has been running for nearly forty years.²³

While the queens of Navarre have been studied by Navarrese specialists within the wider political context of Navarrese history, they have never been studied comprehensively or particularly in the context of queenship. They have been the subject of biographical study, primarily as part of the multi-volume *Reyes de Navarra* series.²⁴ The most individually studied Navarrese queen regnant remains Blanca I, who was the subject of a special issue of the journal *Príncipe de Viana* in 1999.²⁵ Blanca has attracted more individual study due to her difficult tenure as Viceroy of Sicily following the death of her first husband and the impressive amount of surviving documentation from her prolonged reign as Queen of

²¹ Bard, *The Durable Kingdom*, 40. Manuel Iribarren, *En La Orbita Francesa*, Vol. 170 *Navarra: Temas De Cultura Popular* (Pamplona, 1971).

²² For some contrasting perspectives see José María Jimeno Jurío, 'La guerra de 1512-1522 y su repercusión sobre los territorios de la corona de Navarra', *Vasconia* 11, no. 475th Aniversario de la conquista de Navarra (1989), 11-32. Alfredo Floristán, 'Integración y renovación de un reino: Navarra en la monarquía española (s.XVI-XVII)', *Militaria* 14 (2000), 43-63. Alfredo Floristán, 'Conquista o Restauración? La incorporación de Navarra a la monarquía Española', *Hispania* LIX/2, no. 202 (1999), 457-491. Álvaro Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix o la Defensa del Estado Navarro*. (Pamplona, 2005). Fernando Santamaria Rekarte, 'Intentos de recuperación del reino de Navarra por la dinastía de los Albret (1512-1521)' in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin, Vol.I; *Guerre et violence* (Paris, 1996), 97-107.

²³ For an excellent survey of recent scholarship in the field see, Maria Raquel García Arancón, 'La Historia medieval de Navarra (1983-2003)', *Vasconia*, no. 34 (2005), 139-184.

²⁴ The works in this series which have been most relevant to this particular study are Fermín Miranda García, *Felipe III y Juana II de Evreux* (Pamplona, 2003), Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero. *Leonor de Navarra*, (Pamplona, 2002) and *Blanca y Juan II* (Pamplona, 2003). In addition, Juana I is covered as part of a volume which includes the reigns of her father and her three sons; Javier Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I, Juana I y Felipe I el Hermoso, Luis I el Hutin, Juan I el Postumo, Felipe II el Largo, Carlos I el Calvo, (1270-1328)* (Pamplona, 1994).

²⁵ The issue dedicated to Blanca I was *Príncipe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999).

Navarre has also enabled research. Although her political career has been analysed with regard to her reigns in Sicily and Navarre, Blanca has never been compared to the preceding queens regnant nor has the effect her reign may have had on her daughter and great-granddaughter been examined. Finally, work on her political career has only been published in Spanish or Italian to date. This has produced a lack of awareness of her reign outside of a regional audience.

The two earliest queens, Juana I and her granddaughter Juana II, have been included in examinations of the Capetian succession crisis or with regard to the reigns of Juana I's sons, the *Rois Maudits*, but again both women have rarely been the subject of individual study. There are only a handful of journal articles which focus on them directly; Juana I in particular has been completely overshadowed by the intensive focus on her husband, Philip IV of France.²⁶ Juana II can be found in examinations of Salic Law, in studies of the Capetian succession crisis and in the many works on her reign with her consort Philip d'Evreux which is considered to be a turning point in Navarrese history. However, she is rarely addressed in her own right as an individual and never comparatively with regard to either Navarrese or French queenship.²⁷

Blanca's daughter, the uncrowned Blanca II, has been the subject of several fictional works but in academic terms is only mentioned in the context of her famous divorce or her even more infamous demise.²⁸ Her sister Leonor has fared slightly better in terms of academic attention, however work on her is often undertaken in context to her relationship with her husband's family of Foix or her battles with her father Juan of Aragon and her half-

²⁶ For Juana I, a rare example of individual study is Elisabeth Lalou, 'Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne 1285-1305', *Cahiers Haut-Marnais* 167 (1986), 16-30.

²⁷ The few examples of individual study on Juana II are related to either her patronage or her chancery. For example, Tania Mertzman, 'An Examination of Miniatures of the Office of St. Louis in Jeanne de Navarre's Book of Hours', *Athanas*, no. 12 (1994), 19-25 and María Dolores Barragán Domeño, 'Forma diplomática de la documentación correspondiente al Gobierno en solitario de Juana II (1343-1349)', *Príncipe de Viana Anejo* 8, no. 3; *Comunicaciones Edad Media* (1988), 321-326.

²⁸ One of the few non-fiction items on Blanca II individually is Fernando Videgáin Agós, *Blanca de Navarra; Reina sin Corona*. Vol. 185 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular (Pamplona, 1982).

brother Ferdinand.²⁹ Finally, Catalina has been examined primarily with regard to the Annexation of 1512, which took place during her reign.³⁰ However, none of these women have ever been examined in the context of female rule or on a comparative basis. This is a gap which this thesis aims to fill.

In summary, the ever-shifting alliances and changing 'orbits' of the realm during the medieval period, as reflected in the marriages of its *infantas* and queens, have in turn created a sense of confusion over whether Navarrese history belongs in an Iberian, French or Basque context. This has encouraged many scholars to view Navarre as merely a 'little Basque kingdom with French rulers' which has resulted in its queens being almost completely neglected by academic study.³¹ However, it is precisely this complex mix of influences and political alliances which not only make the realm and its female rulers a fascinating subject for research but demonstrates their importance and involvement in the wider arena of European history in the Middle Ages and beyond.

Primary Sources

Fortunately, there is an ample selection of well preserved primary source material for Navarrese history during the period of this study. The *Gobierno de Navarra* has generously supported the *Archivo General de Navarra* (referred to hereafter as the AGN), in Pamplona, including funding a massive programme of renovation at the turn of the Millennium to the medieval building where the archives are located in order to create a state of the art facility. The Navarrese place a special emphasis on the medieval era as the period when the country was an independent, sovereign nation which has in turn led to a high level of funding for archival work and scholarship in this area.

²⁹ In addition to the volume on Leonor in the *Reyes de Navarra* series there are a few specific articles to mention which examine the difficult political situation during her lieutenancy; N. Coll Julia, 'El dilema franco-español de Doña Leonor de Navarra', *Príncipe de Viana* 13 (1952), 413-418 and Luis Suárez Fernández, 'Fernando el Católico y Leonor de Navarra', *En la España Medieval* 3 (1982), 619-638.

³⁰ The key work on Catalina's reign is Álvaro Adot Lerga, *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix o la defensa del Estado Navarro* (Pamplona, 2005).

³¹ Mark Kurlansky, *The Basque History of the World* (New York, 2001), p.72.

The preservation rate for materials from the medieval realm is excellent and the AGN has not only thoroughly catalogued, but fully digitized its holdings creating an invaluable aid to research. Most of the relevant documentation for royal agency and activity during this period can be found within the records of the *Cámara de Comptos* which was the department which primarily dealt with royal expenditure and mandates. The records of the *Comptos* include registers, including ledgers of expenses and documents such as royal requests and charters. In addition, there are also some relevant records for the queens which can be found in the *Codices*, *Papeles Sueltos* and the general *Registros*. In particular, the *Codices* contain the majority of the records for Philip III of France while he was administering the realm during Juana I's minority. Finally, the AGN holds a collection of early nineteenth century copies of selected archival documents made by José Yanguas y Miranda; some of these are the only surviving versions of important documents, while some of his copies provide more legible versions of damaged originals.³²

The *Gobierno de Navarra* has also funded a publishing programme for collections of primary source material that is an invaluable aid to scholars of Navarrese history. Many of these compilations are available in the UK, primarily in the Bodleian, the British Library and the IHR collection. These include series such as *Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco* which have selected texts reproduced in their entirety and the multi-volume *Catálogo de la sección de comptos*, which provides a summary of royal documentation including the address clause, date, place and signature.³³

In addition to the main archives in Pamplona, there are several other civil and monastic archives, and within the last five years collections have been published from both the

³² José Yanguas y Miranda, *Inventario del Archivo del Reyno de Navarra. Tomo II. Sección de Casamientos y muertes de Reyes, Sucesión en la Corona, proclamaciones y juramentos Reales*. Copies of original documents made circa 1830. Unpublished, part of the collection at the AGN.

³³ Examples include; José Ramón Castro Alava, *Archivo General de Navarra. Catálogo de la sección de comptos. Documentos. Vol. Tomo II (1332-1357)* (Pamplona, 1952) and Maria Itziar Zabalza Aldave, *Archivo General de Navarra (1322-1349). II Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco 81* (Donostia, 1998).

archives in Estella, Tafalla and Olite.³⁴ Religious archives include the substantial collection of the cathedral of Pamplona and the monastery of La Oliva.³⁵ There are also several useful collections of related primary source material, including surveys of medieval Navarrese seals and coinage, which provide useful evidence of the public image of the queens and the power sharing dynamic with their consorts.³⁶ Other interesting collections include compilations of material produced in regional languages, including Occitan and Gascon.³⁷ It is important to note that the primary documentation of the realm reflects its multicultural heritage and the multitude of influences that it was subject to from periods of French rule as well as the combination of languages spoken both within the realm and by its neighbours. Intriguingly, although today most signage in Navarre is produced in both Basque and Castellano, the Basque language does not feature in the official documentation of the realm during the period of this study. However, documents can be found in a wide variety of languages including the predominant *Romance Navarro*, French (in both the *Langue d'oeil* of northern France and the Romance variant), Latin, Castellano, Catalan, Occitan and Gascon.

Due to the involvement of the Navarrese queens in their French territories and the prolonged period when the crowns of France and Navarre were intertwined, some of the documentation for the queens is distributed in the *Archives Nationale* in Paris and various regional archives, particularly the *Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques* in Pau. Some of this material has been published, including a few collections of material from

³⁴ Merche Osés Urricelqui, *Documentación medieval de Estella (siglos XII-XVI). Vol I.* (Pamplona, 2005). Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, *Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII-XIV).* (Pamplona, 2009) and Jose Maria Jimeno Jurio and Roldán Jimeno Aranguren, *Merinidad de Olite II. Documentación del Archivo Municipal de Tafalla (1)* (Pamplona, 2008).

³⁵ Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona. Tomo I (829-1500)* (Pamplona, 1965). José Antonio Munita Loinaz, 'Regesta documental del monasterio de La Oliva (1132-1526)', *Principe de Viana*, vol.56, no.205 (1995), 343-484.

³⁶ F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Mikel Ramos Ramos Aguirre and Esperanza Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos Medievales de Navarra; Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995). Carmen Jusué Simonena and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *La Moneda en Navarra.* 2nd ed. (Pamplona, 2002).

³⁷ Santos Garcia Larragueta, *Documentos Navarros en Lengua Occitana*, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del Pais Vasco 26 (San Sebastián, 1990) and Ricardo Cierbide and Julián Santano, *Colección Diplomática de Documentos Gascones de la baja Navarra (Siglos XIV-XV). Tomo II*, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del Pais Vasco 59 (San Sebastián, 1995).

French archives which is solely relevant to Navarre.³⁸ This material includes letters, treasury documentation, charters, treaties and wills which provide useful evidence for this study.³⁹ In addition to this French material, there is also important evidence regarding the exercise of power and diplomatic relations in Spanish and Italian archives. This is particularly relevant for Blanca I, who spent several years as the Queen of Sicily, ruling the island kingdom alone after the early death of her first husband on behalf of the Aragonese crown.⁴⁰ Fortunately, much of the material from this period has been published which has enabled the study of her political career and her relationship with both of her Aragonese husbands.⁴¹

Beyond the surviving royal documentation, there are a number of important contemporary chronicles which have useful evidence regarding the events of the period and the perceptions of the queens themselves. Many of the most important chronicles have been published; some have been translated while others are available in their original language. In French many of the medieval chronicles have been widely published including several in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. These have been useful sources for the reign of Juana I and the Capetian succession crisis in which Juana II was heavily involved.⁴²

³⁸ Javier Baleztena, *Documentos Navarros en los Archivos Nacionales Franceses de Paris* (Pamplona, 1978) and the unpublished work by Martín Larráyo Zarranz, *Documentos Relativos a Navarra Existenses en los Archivos Franceses*.

³⁹ Important examples include: R. Anthony and Henri Courteault. *Les testaments des derniers rois de Navarre : François Phébus, 1483, Madeleine de France, 1493, Catherine de Foix, 1504, Jean d'Albret, 1516, Anne d'Albret, 1532 : teste béarnais* (Toulouse, 1940). Jean Auguste Brutais, *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384)* (Paris, 1890). M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des rois, reines et autres personages de cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV*. Vol. I; 1162-1300 *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1839). Auguste Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne et Brie 1172-1361*. Vol. I; Les Fiefs (Paris, 1901). Joachim Miret y Sans, 'Lettres Closes des Derniers Capétiens Directs', *Moyen Age* 28 (1915-1916), pp.35-57. G. Servois, 'Documents inédits sur l'avenement de Philippe le Long', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, no. 2 (1864), 44-79.

⁴⁰ Raffaele Strarrabba, *Lettere e Documenti Relativi al Vicario della Regina Bianca in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1993).

⁴¹ D. Prospero Bofarull y Mascaro, *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon* (Barcelona, 1851).

⁴² Some important chronicles for my research include 'E Chronico Sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi' in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France; Contenant la quatrième livraison des monuments des règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis X, de Philippe V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. by H. Welter, XXIII (Paris, 1876. Reprint, Farnborough, 1968). Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à*

Several Spanish chronicles have also been important for this study, particularly with regard to diplomatic alliances and relations between Navarre and its Iberian neighbours.⁴³

The most important of these chronicles is the excellent multi-volume *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, written by Jerónimo Zurita.⁴⁴ Although ostensibly Zurita's work focuses on the history of Aragon, his coverage of wider Iberian events is thorough, balanced and incredibly useful. Zurita was born in 1512, the year of the Navarrese annexation and named as an official chronicler by the Cortes of Aragon in 1548. This means that while he did not observe any of the events during the period of this study first hand, his accounts are well researched and very detailed, which is the reason why Zurita continues to be a key source for any student of medieval and Early Modern Iberian history.

The most important chronicle sources are those based exclusively on Navarre; these can be grouped into two typologies: the medieval chronicles and the works of Early Modern historians. The two major medieval chronicles that are used in this study are those by Garci Lopez de Roncesvalles and the famous chronicle of the Kings of Navarre written by Principe de Viana.⁴⁵ The chronicle of Garci Lopez de Roncesvalles was written primarily during the reign of Carlos III, during the early years of the fifteenth century. Garci Lopez had access to the court as he served as the Treasurer of the realm from 1403 to the late 1420's.⁴⁶ Lopez

1368. Vol. I. 2 vols., ed. H. Geraud (Paris, 1843). Geffroy de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. Armel Diverres (Paris, 1956).

⁴³ Selected examples include *Crónica Anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474 (Crónica Castellana)*. Vol. II; *Cronica*, ed. by María Pilar Sanchez-Parra (Madrid, 1991) and Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Historia de la Guerra de Navarra*. trans. by Jose Lopez de Toro (Madrid, 1953).

⁴⁴ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*. 9 vols., ed. by Angel Canellas Lopez (Zaragoza, 1980-90).

⁴⁵ Garci Lopez de Roncevalles, *Cronica de Garci Lopez de Roncevalles Cuadernos de trabajos de historia*, ed. by Carmen Orcastequi Gros and Ángel J. Martin Duque (Pamplona, 1977). Carlos, Principe de Viana, *Cronica De Los Reyes De Navarra*, ed. by Jose Yanguas y Miranda and Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Pamplona, 1843).

⁴⁶ José Ramón Castro Alava, *Historiografía; Los Cronistas Moret y Aleson*. Vol. 118 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular (Pamplona, 1987), pp.5-6.

expands somewhat on the brief genealogy of the Navarrese kings given by his predecessor Garcia de Eugui, but the chronicle does not contain a massive amount of detail.⁴⁷

However, the chronicle of the Principe de Viana, written during the mid-fifteenth century, has a more extensive coverage of the subject. It is a survey of Navarrese history, beginning in the Classical era and ending with the accession of his grandfather Carlos III, rather than a chronicle of current events. Considering his own pivotal role in Navarrese history, it is unfortunate that he did not document his own experience of the internal crisis sparked by his own struggle to claim his rights from his domineering father. Although the Principe has been widely hailed for his scholarship, given his position as a royal family member, he is bound to be slightly biased towards a favourable representation of his ancestors. Although it has been noted that the chronicle is not free from errors, the strength of the work is the fact that the Principe drew on several earlier medieval chronicles from across Iberia in order to construct a robust narrative which enfolds Navarrese history within the wider Iberian context.⁴⁸

The sixteenth century saw the emergence of several major chronicles of Navarrese history, which may have been inspired by the dramatic events of the recent annexation in 1512. Most of these works were written in Spanish, although Arnaldo Oihenart chose Latin for his work, *Noticia utriusque Vasconiae*.⁴⁹ While Oihenart and his contemporaries Estaban de Garibay, Garcia Gongora y Torreblanca and Avalos de la Piscina have been consulted for this study, the work of Jose de Moret has provided the most important support for this investigation.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Garcia de Eugui was not a major source for this study but for more information on this particular chronicle, see *Historiografia*, pp.6-8 and Aengus Ward, 'Inventing a Tradition: The Cronica d'Espayna de Garcia de Eugui and the Beginnings of Navarrese Historiography' *Medium Aevum* 68, no. 1 (1999), 73-80.

⁴⁸ For a list of the sources used by the Principe, see *Historiografia*, p.9.

⁴⁹ Arnaud d'Oihenart, *Notitia Utriusque Vasconiae*, Reproduced facsimile of the second edition (Paris, 1656). Includes the original Latin text and a translation into Castellano by Javier Gorosterratzu (Vitoria, 1992).

⁵⁰ Garcia Gongora y Torreblanca, *Historia apologetica y descriptio del Reyno de Navarra, de su mucha antigüedad, nobleza y calidades y Reyes que dieron principio a su Real casa* (Pamplona, 1628).

Moret was a Jesuit historian who was working in the mid to late seventeenth century and was named as the first officially appointed chronicler of Navarre in 1654.⁵¹ His multi-volume compendium of Navarrese history, completed by his successor Francisco de Aleson, is an impressive account.⁵² Moret's passion for the history of his country shows throughout his work, especially in his lengthy commentaries in the footnotes. He is aware of his own bias, and although he is opinionated, he also appears to work hard to maintain a balanced narrative of events.

In addition to these Iberian works there were also a few French historians working on Navarrese history in the Early Modern period. These include Pierre Olhagaray's 1609 work *Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre* and Andre Favyn's *Histoire de Navarre*. The latter work was published slightly later in 1612, shortly after the death of Henri IV of France, also known as Henri de Navarre.⁵³ Henri was born in Pau and as the heir of the dynasty of Foix-Béarn he never forgot that he had a claim on Navarre through his great-grandmother, Catalina. Indeed, the Navarrese crest formed part his own heraldic devise and his descendants, the Bourbon dynasty, continued to claim the Navarrese title. Olhagaray's work was dedicated to Henri IV and Favyn's work was also likely to have been inspired by the royal connection to Navarre. These French authors provide a different perspective on events and Favyn's work is also useful as it contains transcripts of key documents within his narrative.

Zurita, Moret and Favyn form the most important Early Modern sources in this study. These three historians have been particularly valuable because of the high level of detail and description that they provide. Moreover, the combination of Aragonese, Navarrese and

⁵¹ *Historiografia*, p.18.

⁵² Jose de Moret, *Anales del Reino de Navarra* (Reprint: Tolosa, 1891). Note: Although there are twelve volumes in the series, the ones which focus on the events during the period of this study are volumes 5-7.

⁵³ Pierre Olhagaray, *Histoire de Foix, Bearn et Navarre, diligemment recueillie tant des precedens historiens, que des archives desdites maisons* (Paris, 1609) and Andre Favyn, *Histoire de Navarre; contenant l'Origine, les Vies et conquests de ses Rois, depuis leur commencement jusques a present* (Paris, 1612).

French historians provides a useful variety of perspectives on events which form an excellent basis for comparison and analysis.

Queenship

The next section will seek to evaluate previous scholarship on female rule, or queenship, which is also central to this study. As this investigation has positioned itself at the intersection of Navarrese history and queenship, it is important to address the historiography of both disciplines as they each form a major element of this survey.

The study of queenship is a field which has developed rapidly as an offshoot of Women's or Gender Studies since its inception in the late 1960's. There have been surges in scholarship as the field has waxed and waned in academic popularity over time. John Carmi Parsons commented on the backlash against the popularity of queenship studies in the 1980's and a subsequent emphasis on social history and studies of non-elite women who were felt to be more obscured in historical records.⁵⁴ However, Theresa Earenfight has made the argument that queens and other elite women can often be equally obscured even though they are 'highly visible' due to the misogynistic bias of contemporary writers who have often minimized their role in chronicles as well as more recent secondary scholarship that has often sidelined these women and their participation in governance.⁵⁵

Several strands of study within the discipline of queenship have developed over time. These various strands include the examination of the roles of queen consorts, queens regnant, queens regent and several pockets of regional or temporal foci. Parsons believes that the origins of queenship study stems from a long standing interest in notable female figures, many of whom such as Isabel of Castile, Elizabeth of England and Eleanor of

⁵⁴ John Carmi Parsons, 'Family, Sex and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1998), p.1.

⁵⁵ Theresa Earenfight, 'Highly Visible, Often Obscured: The Difficulty of Seeing Queens and Noble Women,' *Medieval Feminist Forum* 44, no. 1 (2008), pp.86-90.

Aquitaine were queens.⁵⁶ Certainly queens have always been of interest to historians and novelists; early examples include the eighteenth century historian Enrique Flórez's *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas* and Agnes Strickland's classic nineteenth century twelve volume series *The Lives of the Queens of England*.⁵⁷ Some of the classic twentieth century works on individual queens include Amy Kelly's study of Eleanor of Aquitaine, H.F.M Prescott's work on Mary Tudor and of more relevance to this study, Nancy Roelker's biography of the last Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret.⁵⁸ Biographical studies of various queens continue to be a popular strand of queenship, particularly on the well-known or even 'infamous' queens. Examples of recent monographs include works on Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabeau of Bavaria which assess the difference between their careers and the legends which have developed about them and the more mainstream biography of Mary Tudor by Anna Whitelock.⁵⁹

However, an interesting new development may well signal move away from biographically based monographs on individual queens. Inspired perhaps by the renewed popularity of kingship studies which was in turn triggered by the surge in interest in masculinity, Theresa Earenfight has urged scholars to stop studying specific queens and kings in isolation and examine monarchical pairs instead; 'Kings and queens need to be reunited and not just as the subject of a monograph...Queenship and kingship constitute a relational pair'.⁶⁰ Queenship studies may have begun with the idea that the important role of these elite women had been neglected by medieval and modern historians and needed to be specifically highlighted, but this new approach would allow for the queens to be

⁵⁶ 'Family, Sex and Power', p.1.

⁵⁷ Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas*, 2 vols., vol. II (Madrid, 1761; reprint, Valladolid, 2002); Agnes Strickland, *The Lives of the Queens of England* (London, 1840-1849).

⁵⁸ Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), H.F.M. Prescott, *Spanish Tudor* (London, 1940; reprint, *Mary Tudor; The Spanish Tudor*, 2003) and Nancy L. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret 1528-1572* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

⁵⁹ Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor; England's First Queen* (London, 2010), Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine; Queen of France, Queen of England* (New Haven, 2009) and Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Baltimore, 2010).

⁶⁰ Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007), p.8.

examined not only as notable figures, but as a crucial and integral part of the overall mechanism of monarchy.⁶¹

In addition to studies of individual queens, there have been many excellent collections of papers under the umbrella of queenship studies.⁶² Some of these are papers on specific women while others analyse developments in the role of queens in a particular period or area. There are several which are worthy of note. The first of these is *Medieval Queenship*, edited by John Carmi Parsons, which includes papers on queens of every type over the whole of Continental Europe and the British Isles from Carolingian period to the end of the fifteenth century.⁶³ Another excellent collection of papers was generated by a conference on queenship in 1995 and published two years later in a volume edited by Anne Duggan.⁶⁴ This collection has an earlier temporal focus and includes several papers on queenship in the Byzantine Empire and the Latin East.⁶⁵ A third collection worth mentioning, although it is somewhat narrower in scope and focus, is *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, edited by Theresa M. Vann.⁶⁶

Three more collections were published in 2009; *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* and *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship; Medieval to Early Modern*.⁶⁷ These recent collections have highlighted the interdisciplinary nature of queenship study with contributions from

⁶¹ A rare recent example of a survey of both halves of a monarchal pair is Katie Whitaker, *A Royal Passion; The Turbulent Marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria* (London, 2010).

⁶² An article which reviews several of these studies from the 1990's is Pauline Stafford, 'More than a man, or less than a Woman? Women Rulers in Early Modern Europe', *Gender and History* 7 (1995), pp.486–490.

⁶³ John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1998). The two papers in this collection which have been particularly useful in my research are Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen', pp.189-202 and Armin Wolf, 'Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: Where, When and Why', pp.169-188.

⁶⁴ A.J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe; Proceedings of a Conference held at Kings College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997).

⁶⁵ It is worth noting that there has been some fascinating research on Byzantine Empresses and their exercise of power. In particular see, Judith Herrin, *Women in the Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (Princeton, 2004).

⁶⁶ Theresa M. Vann (ed.), *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁶⁷ Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Sukuki (eds.), *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2009), Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (eds.), *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, 2009) and Liz Oakley-Brown, Louise Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship; Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin, 2009).

specialists in literature, gender studies, art historians and mainstream historians. All three works are valuable contributions to the field, however they all suffer from Anglo-centrism and are particularly dominated by the Tudor queens.⁶⁸ The extreme popularity of Elizabeth I of England has overshadowed the field for some time and the continued hold of Tudor queenship looks set to continue for some time to come.⁶⁹ While this topic has generated some excellent research, it has arguably prevented other, non-British queens from attracting scholarship.

Monographs which survey queenship are fairly rare, however Sharon Jansen produced an excellent study of the Early Modern 'Monstrous Regiment' which includes an excellent chapter on 'Fifteenth Century Foremothers'.⁷⁰ William Monter has also recently brought out *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe; 1300-1800* and Theresa Earenfight is currently working on a textbook on medieval queenship.⁷¹ Papers or articles on queenship can often be found within wider surveys of Women's studies. These include contributions such as Janet L. Nelson's thorough chapter-long survey in *Women in Medieval Europe*, and a similar chapter in Margaret Wade Labarge's *Women in Medieval Life* which both survey queenship in its widest sense, encompassing all of the various types of medieval queens.⁷² Two excellent examples of these types of papers include Kimberley Loprete's 'Gendering Viragos' which examines the perception of powerful women by medieval contemporaries and the chapter 'Never Better Ruled by Any Man' in *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages*

⁶⁸ An excellent article which discusses recent work and trends in Early Modern British queenship is Anne McLaren, 'Queenship in Early Modern England and Scotland', *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006), 935-952.

⁶⁹ A recent example of this trend is Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship; The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 2010).

⁷⁰ Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women; Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002).

⁷¹ William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe; 1300-1800* (New Haven, 2012) and Theresa Earenfight, *Medieval Queenship* (forthcoming).

⁷² Margaret Wade Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life; A small sound of the trumpet* (London, 1986); Janet L. Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship' in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. by Linda E. Mitchell (London, 1999).

which discusses the rule of female sovereigns and regents.⁷³ In addition to papers within collections, some monographs also contain relevant chapters or sections on the specific situation of ruling women. For example, in her wider work on Early Modern attitudes towards women, Margaret Sommerville engages in an excellent discussion of the difficulties of a reigning queen in reconciling the conflicting duties of a wife and a sovereign.⁷⁴

Although most surveys of women's history address the role of queens in some way, queens are frequently discussed in context with elite or noblewomen, with little distinction made for their more complex role. There is much common ground here, for like other elite women, queens functioned as patrons and administrators to a greater or lesser extent. Both queens and noblewomen would share the experience of managing a retinue and would interact within the context of the royal court. However, while the situation of both queens and noblewomen would be similar in managing their own personal retinues and courts, their roles would diverge in the royal context where a noblewoman would be in service to or attending on a queen.

The feudal laws which allowed the female inheritance of fiefs and counties also enabled female succession and this is where the examination of queenship intersects with studies of lordship. This similarity is most applicable in the case of queens regnant, indeed the term 'female sovereign' could equally be applied to women such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Jeanne and Marguerite of Flanders, Matilda of Tuscany and Jacqueline of Hainault who were all heiresses of significant duchies or counties which they ruled (successfully or with great difficulty) in their own right.⁷⁵

⁷³ Kimberly A. Loprete, 'Gendering Viragos: medieval perceptions of powerful women' in *Victims or Viragos?*, ed. by Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (Dublin, 2005), pp.17-38 and Marty Newman Williams and Anne Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1994).

⁷⁴ Margaret R. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection. Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society* (London, 1995).

⁷⁵ On the Flemish Countesses in particular see Erin L. Jordan, *Women, power and patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2006); Karen Nicholas, 'Women as rulers: countesses Jeanne and Marguerite' in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, pp.73-90.

As mentioned previously, British queenship has been a particularly popular area, both in the studies of medieval queen consorts, such as Margaret of Anjou and Eleanor of Castile as well as the Early Modern female sovereigns such as Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots.⁷⁶ An excellent recent addition to this area is Charles Beem's study of English queens regnant, *The Lioness Roared*.⁷⁷ Although Beem explores the challenges which faced all of the women who ruled England, including Matilda, the unsuccessful heiress of Henry I, he makes a deliberate decision not to focus on Elizabeth I. He takes an unusual approach, focusing particularly on specific episodes or elements of the queens' lives, such as the Bedchamber Crisis at the beginning of Victoria's reign, rather than writing an account or evaluation of their entire career. A more mainstream and biographical approach to the queens regnant of England can be found in Maureen Waller's *Sovereign Ladies*.⁷⁸ Finally, a recent addition which has found praise in both the academic and popular press is Helen Castor's *She-Wolves*, which examines three medieval queens consort who wielded considerable power: Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabella of France and Margaret of Anjou.⁷⁹ In addition, Castor explores the situation of Lady Jane Grey and the Empress Matilda who both failed to gain acceptance as a true reigning queen and how Mary Tudor was able to succeed where these two women had been unsuccessful.

French queenship has also been thoroughly examined, although given the refusal of the French to tolerate direct female rule (to be discussed at length in the chapter on succession with regard to Juana II), these studies have been primarily focused on queens consort and

⁷⁶ A few examples of research into Early Modern British queenship; Robert M. Healey, 'Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 2 (1994), pp.371-386. Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women; Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002). Patricia-Ann Lee, 'Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship', *Renaissance Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1986), pp.183-217. Glyn Redworth, "'Matters impertinent to women': Male and Female Monarchy under Phillip & Mary", *The English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (1997). Judith M. Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997), pp.895-924 and "'To Promote a Woman is to Beare Rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (1997), pp 101-121.

⁷⁷ Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared; The Problems of Female Rule in English History, Queenship and Power* (New York, 2008).

⁷⁸ Maureen Waller, *Sovereign Ladies; The Six Reigning Queens of England* (London, 2006).

⁷⁹ Helen Castor, *She-Wolves; the women who ruled England before Elizabeth* (London, 2010).

regent.⁸⁰ One of the strongest contributors to this area is Éliane Viennot who has written both on individual figures such as Anne de Beaujeu and Marguerite de Valois and has also explored the overall landscape of women in power in France.⁸¹ Her work on the 'invention' of Salic Law was particularly useful to the investigation of Juana II's failed attempt to claim the throne of France.⁸²

Scandinavian and Eastern European queenship have also been studied, in the context of individual rulers such as Margaret of Denmark and János M. Bak's contributions on Hungarian queens.⁸³ In addition, William Layher has recently published a work on Scandinavian queenship which highlights their role as literary benefactors, in line with current trends on demonstrating agency through patronage.⁸⁴

One of the most active areas of study within the field of queenship over the last twenty years has been the examination of the situation in the Iberian Peninsula. Iberian queenship has some distinctive features, such as the office of Queen-lieutenant, (a type of regent who rules in her husband's absence) which is found primarily, though not exclusively, in the Kingdom of Aragon. Work on Iberian queenship has attracted academics working both in English and Spanish, with several prominent scholars such as Theresa Earenfight, Cristina Segura Graíño, Miriam Shadis, Peggy Liss and Nuria Silleras-Fernández. Silleras-Fernández discusses the difficulties in translating the ideas of queenship, both etymologically and culturally into an Iberian context in her 2003 article in *La Corónica*. After an extended

⁸⁰ An early example of research into French queenship is Marion Facingier, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968), pp. 3–48. Other notable works include Peggy McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery; Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*, (Philadelphia, 1998) and André Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation', in *Medieval Queenship*, pp.93-116. Simone Bertière has produced two multi-volume series on the queens of France; *Les Reines de France au temps du Valois* and another on the Bourbon queens.

⁸¹ On Marguerite de Valois Viennot has edited several collections of related primary source material and produced a biography which has been reissued several times, original version is *Marguerite de Valois; Histoire d'une femme, histoire d'un mythe* (Paris, 1993). Viennot has also produced several articles which touch on the career of Anne de Beaujeu and co-edited *Anne de France, Enseignements à sa fille, suivis de l'Histoire du siège de Brest* (Saint-Etienne, 2007).

⁸² Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: l'invention de la loi salique (V-XVI siècle)* (Paris, 2006).

⁸³ See two relevant pieces in *Medieval Queenship*, Janos M. Bak, 'Roles and functions of Queens in Arpadian Hungary (1000-1386)', pp.13-24 and Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Queenship in Medieval Denmark', pp.25-42.

⁸⁴ William Layher, *Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe* (London, 2010).

discussion of the word 'queenship' and how it is distinct from such adjectives as 'queenly' or the idea of 'queenhood' and the possible alternatives in Castellano, she ultimately decides that the most applicable equivalent is *reginalidad* (or *reginalitat* in Catalan).⁸⁵ In addition, she points out that the term *reginalidad* due to its Latin root (*reginal-*), translates easily into both French and Italian (*reginalité* and *reginalità*). Although these suggestions are both interesting and helpful, to date her suggested nomenclature has only been adopted in a limited way. However, in time this useful terminology should be more widely used by scholars working in romance languages.

The majority of the work on Iberian queenship has tended to focus on individual queens. This indeed may be part of the reason why Earenfight has suggested a wider context for queenship study. There have been several fascinating queens, consorts, lieutenants and sovereigns who have merited and attracted study. These obviously include Isabel of Castile and her infamous daughter, Juana '*la loca*'.⁸⁶ In addition, there are several earlier queens whose careers have been examined such as Urraca of León-Castile, Teresa and Beatriz of Portugal, Philippa and Catalina of Lancaster and Violante of Bar to name only a few.⁸⁷ Recent monographs of note which combine biographical studies with an analysis of female rule include Nuria Silleras-Fernández's work on Maria de Luna, Miriam Shadis' study of

⁸⁵ Nuria Silleras-Fernández, 'Queenship en la corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media: Estudio y propuesta terminológica', *La corónica* 32, no. 1 (2003), pp.129-132.

⁸⁶ Two well received recent biographies are Barbara F. Weissburger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis, 2004) and Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (Oxford, 1992). Collections on Isabel include David A. Boruchoff ed, *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: critical essays* (London, 2003). Luis Suárez Fernández also wrote a seminal three volume work, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica; Estudio y Documentos* (Valladolid, 1965-69). Work on Isabel's daughter Juana includes Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: sovereignty and dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore, 2005) and a collection of papers entitled *Juana of Castile: history and myth of the mad queen*, ed. by Maria A. Gomez, Santiago Juan-Navarro and Phyllis Zatlin (London, 2008).

⁸⁷ Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez, 'Tres Generaciones de mujeres en el poder: Urraca de Zamora, Urraca de Castilla, Teresa de Portugal y Doña Sancha. Las mujeres en la construcción de las monarquía feudales hispánicas', in *Las mujeres y el poder; Representaciones y Prácticas de vida*, ed. by Ana Isabel Cerrada Jimenez and Cristina Segura Graíño (Madrid, 2000), pp.99-106. Jennifer R. Goodman, 'The Lady with the Sword; Phillipa of Lancaster and the Chivalry of the Infante Dom Henrique (Prince Henry the Navigator)' in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, pp.149-165. César Olivera Serrano, *Beatriz de Portugal; la pugna dinástica Avis-Trastámara*, Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos (Santiago de Compostela, 2005). Bernard F. Reilly, *The kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). Nuria Silleras-Fernández, 'Widowhood and Deception: Ambiguities of Queenship in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon' in *Shell Games: Studies in Scams, Frauds and Deceits (1300-1650)*, ed. by Mark Crane, Richard Raiswell, and Margaret Reeves (Toronto, 2004), pp.185-210.

Berenguela of Castile and Theresa Earenfight's assessment of Maria of Castile.⁸⁸ Cristina Segura Graíño is one of the few scholars in the field whose work has a broader focus. Although her work tends to centre on Castilian queenship, she also engages in wider discussions of women and power in medieval and Early Modern Iberia.⁸⁹

A collection of papers on Spanish queenship in both a medieval and Early Modern context was recently produced, edited by Theresa Earenfight.⁹⁰ While this collection contains some excellent papers, it has one major flaw which keeps it from being a truly authoritative survey of the subject; the complete omission of the queens of Navarre. In the preface, Earenfight acknowledges the inheritance and succession mechanisms which made it possible for women to inherit in most Iberian realms, but then claims that only two Castilian queens ever ruled in their own right; Urraca and Isabel of Castile.⁹¹ The limitation of the collection to the Spanish kingdoms would obviously exclude Teresa and Beatriz of Portugal, but this should in no way exclude the queens of Navarre, who made up the largest group of female sovereigns in medieval Europe and should certainly merit a mention in any survey of Spanish queenship. In fact, only one of the queen consorts of Navarre are mentioned in this collection, the formidable Juana Enríquez, whose position as queen consort of Navarre was disputed and highly controversial in her own time.⁹² This example illustrates the gaping hole in scholarship where the queens of Navarre are concerned. Not only is this important collection missing a selection which focuses on these women but their very existence is negated in the introduction by the editor. Although, scholars of Navarrese history have

⁸⁸ Nuria Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna* (New York, 2008), Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009), Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body; Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010).

⁸⁹ Cristina Segura Graíño, 'Las mujeres y la sucesión a la corona en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media,' *En la España Medieval* 12 (1989), pp.205-214, 'Participación de las mujeres en el poder político,' *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25, no. 2 (1995), pp.449-462, 'Las mujeres y el poder real en Castilla. Finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI,' in *Las mujeres y el poder. Representaciones y Prácticas de vida*, ed. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez and Cristina Segura Graíño (Madrid, 2000), pp.135-146.

⁹⁰ Theresa Earenfight (ed.), *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot, 2005).

⁹¹ *Queenship and Political Power*, p. xiii.

⁹² Theresa Earenfight, 'Absent Kings: Queens as Political Partners in the Medieval Crown of Aragon', in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot, 2005), 33-54.

engaged in studies of the queens as part of their wider work on the political history of the realm, but these important female sovereigns have never been examined in the light of queenship studies.

Methodology

The fundamental basis of queenship studies is to critically assess the role a queen played both within her own realm and on an international level, whether she was a queen consort, regent or regnant. This includes evaluating her agency as well as her access to and exercise of power, which becomes even more important in the case of queens regnant.

Given the fact that the majority of queens form part of a monarchical pair, the power sharing dynamic between the queen and her husband is naturally a crucial element to explore. In any monarchical pair, power and responsibilities must be shared on a number of levels including administrative, domestic, diplomatic, legislative, military and financial duties. The way in which these duties are divided and the way in which power is shared is the key measure of any queen's importance and influence. How effectively a monarchical pair is able to form a strong working partnership with a healthy power sharing dynamic is vital to their ability to govern their realm effectively. Both partners must be content with the power sharing dynamic and must be willing to work together to support one another in order for a monarchical pair to function effectively. This concept of partnership is an area which has not received a great deal of academic attention in the past, particularly with regard to the power sharing dynamic between queens regnant and their consorts. However, an examination of the personal and political relationship between each of the queens of Navarre and their respective consorts will form a core part of this study.

To assess the career of a queen therefore, a number of factors must be examined. First, the evidence of their involvement in the various levels of governance, in the family, in the court, in the realm and in the international arena must be analysed. At the most intimate

level, a queen's relationship with her own family, including her family of origin, the family which she becomes a part of through marriage and the family that she produces are all central to her own influence. Creating and maintaining a strong bond with her own family can enhance a queen's access to power. A queen consort could exercise a great deal of influence as a trusted confidant and councillor while a queen regnant was dependent on familial support to exercise power and effectively maintain her position. Failed family relationships could result in a loss of power and influence which could in the end be extremely costly to both the queen and the realm.

An excellent example of the devastating fallout which could occur due to a collapse in personal relations is the struggle between Urraca of Castile and her former husband, Alfonso I of Aragon. Instead of uniting Castile, León, Navarre and Aragon as Urraca's father intended, the disastrously unhappy match resulted in a devastating war between the two spouses.⁹³ Another twelfth century example is the breakdown in relations between Melisende of Jerusalem and her son Baldwin III. In this case, the failure to negotiate a power sharing dynamic that could be satisfy both parties resulted in a civil war which divided the kingdom and left it vulnerable to attack from external enemies.⁹⁴ Evidence from contemporary chronicles can often highlight familial problems, as personal difficulties between royal family members was often featured in the content, particularly when they resulted in open conflict. The usual cautions apply however when dealing with this type of evidence, particularly political or misogynistic bias.⁹⁵ Other potentially rich primary sources

⁹³ The breakdown of Urraca and Alfonso's marriage is given a thorough treatment in *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*.

⁹⁴ Hans Eberard Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 26 (1972), pp.95-182 and Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., vol. 2; The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187 (London, reprint, 1965). The classic chronicle source is William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea)*, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943).

⁹⁵ An interesting analysis in the imagery of Melisende in William of Tyre's manuscript can be found in Jaroslav Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer: 1250-1300*', *Gesta* 32, no. 2 (1993), pp.97-112.

which can shed light on family relationships can be found in correspondence.⁹⁶ Letters however, can be somewhat problematic depending on their intended audience and whether they were actually personally written or even read by the supposed correspondents.

Beyond the family circle, a great deal of any queen's time was spent in the confines of the court. Studies of documents which detail the personnel, itinerary and expenditure of the queen's court and the court at large can thus illuminate a queen's role and influence. One such study has been undertaken on Leonor de Trastámara, queen consort of Carlos III of Navarre.⁹⁷ Maria Narbona-Cárceles compiled a prosopographic database of the members of the court from the documents of the *Cámara de Comptos* which details the expenditure of the royal household. She notes the influence of the Castilian queen in re-Iberianizing the court, bringing an Iberian influence in fashion and favouring ladies of Navarrese and Castilian origin, rather than the French women who had dominated the court under the earlier Evreux queens.

A further method of analysing the power and influence of queens, which has been increasingly popular in recent years, is exploring their role as patrons of art and architecture. Several studies of this kind have been made including Erin Jordan's recent study of the Countesses of Flanders, *Women, power and patronage in the Middle Ages*.⁹⁸ Therese Martin has brought this approach into the Iberian sphere in her studies of Urraca of Leon-Castile's use of patronage to demonstrate her own power as a reigning queen.⁹⁹ The role of queens in commissioning books has also been thoroughly explored, as a way of demonstrating their power as patrons and as in political propaganda. One particular example of this which will

⁹⁶ The letters of Bernard of Clairvaux which counsel Melisende with regard to her relationship and power sharing dynamic with her son are discussed in 'Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen', 198-201.

⁹⁷ María Narbona-Cárceles, 'Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425),' *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), pp.31-64.

⁹⁸ Erin L. Jordan, *Women, power and patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2006).

⁹⁹ Therese Martin, 'The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth Century Spain,' *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (2005), 1134-1171 and *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006).

be discussed at length later on, is the provocative message contained in an unusual image cycle in the Book of Hours of Juana II of Navarre, which highlights her own Capetian lineage and possibly her failed attempt to claim the throne of France.¹⁰⁰

Other visual imagery which can be analysed in order to assess the authority of a queen can be found in surviving coins and seals. There have been some excellent studies of the imagery of queens and other female lords in coinage and in sigillographic sources.¹⁰¹ The imagery chosen for a coin is can illuminate the public image that the monarchical pair desired to present.¹⁰² Whether or not that image actually reflected the reality of the balance of power between the king and queen is a subject for further examination. Likewise, seals can be an interesting source of public imagery that can be used to examine a queen's power, influence and familial ties.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the power and influence of a queen can be demonstrated by the documents to which her seal was affixed.

Surviving royal documents such as charters and other administrative paperwork can demonstrate the queen's role in governing the realm. How involved the queen was in governance can often be shown by the address clause of the document and whether it bore her signature and seal at the end. Although much of the wording of these documents is naturally formulaic, the frequency with which she appears and her place in the address clause can demonstrate the importance she had in the realm. The address clause can also provide an indication of the power sharing dynamic between the royal pair given whether the document begins with her husband's name, her own or a joint, egalitarian address clause. The Spanish phrase *Los Reyes* or 'The kings' is an excellent example of a monarchical

¹⁰⁰ Tania Mertzman, 'An Examination of Miniatures of the Office of St. Louis in Jeanne de Navarre's Book of Hours', *Athanas*, no. 12 (1994), 19-25.

¹⁰¹ Particularly recommended are Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval Women in French Sigillographic Sources' in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. by Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, Ga., 1990), 1-36 and Alan M. Stahl, 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women' in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, 321-41.

¹⁰² A recent work on coinage in Navarre throughout the realm's history is Carmen Jusué Simonena and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *La Moneda en Navarra* (Pamplona, 2002).

¹⁰³ An excellent study of Navarrese seals can be found in F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Mikel Ramos Ramos Aguirre and Esperanza Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos Medievales de Navarra; Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995).

pair being referred to as a single unit. Documents can also establish whether a queen received homage and petitions directly or if she actively made grants of land and privileges to towns, nobles or ecclesiastic groups; all key aspects of the public exercise of power. Another important part of the queen's role in governing the realm can be shown by her involvement in the administration of justice. Again, this can be assessed by a study of surviving court documentation. In the case of Navarre, two excellent studies on the administration of justice during the High Middle Ages have recently been published which particularly shed light on the reigns of the two earliest queens in this study, Juana I and II.¹⁰⁴

All of these types of evidence and methods of analysis will be used in this study to assess the careers of the Navarrese queens regnant. However, this study will deliberately avoid a strict biographical narrative of these women. Instead it will adopt a unique three-part approach to the examination of the queens in question. As discussed in the introduction, the three areas of focus will be: succession, marital alliances and the partnership and rule with the king consort. None of these specific areas has been particularly well explored within the discipline of queenship. The more popular areas of focus in the study of queenship usually include patronage, representations of royal authority, portrayal or allusions to queens in art, music and literature. The exercise of power has usually been examined solely with regard to the queen herself and has not typically included an analysis of the relationship between the queen and her husband, especially in the case of a queen regnant and a king consort.

The original approach which will be employed in this thesis will incorporate the political history of the realm in connection with an analysis of the rule of its female sovereigns. These particular areas will centre on issues of power and influence. The section on succession will explore how women were able to access power through inheritance and how easy or difficult it was for women to be successful claimants in different geographical and temporal

¹⁰⁴ Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, *Crimen y castigo en Navarra bajo el reinado de los primeros Evreux (1328-1349)*, Colección Historia (Pamplona, 2005) and Félix Segura Urra, *Fazer Justicia. Fuero, poder público y delito en Navarra (siglos XIII-XIV)* (Pamplona, 2005).

contexts. With regard to Navarre, this chapter will examine the particular factors which allowed so many women to become sovereigns in one kingdom during the period and the challenges that each of the queens faced in her path to the throne.

The second section will look at the selection process for a king consort and different possibilities for the marriage of a queen. It will examine how marital diplomacy could be used to improve and extend the influence of the realm and also the potentially negative repercussions of marital alliances. In a Navarrese context, all of the potential matches for each queen will be explored as a means of analysing the changing foreign policy which responded to the ever-shifting political situation. In addition, it will also examine how the queens used matrimonial diplomacy with regard to the marriages of their own children.

The final section will examine the reigns of the queens, particularly with regard to the personal and political relationship with their consort. It will focus on the exercise of power and how effectively the couple were able to work together and form a functional and harmonious power sharing dynamic. This section will not construct a narrative account of each reign, instead it will examine the evidence from each reign to assess the partnership of each monarchical pair.

Throughout the study, all of the threads of discussion will be drawn together in order to create a thorough comparative analysis which incorporates the examples of all of the Navarrese queens and relevant evidence from other female rulers. The thesis will work thematically, looking for connections between the queens and assessing both continuity and change between their reigns. This will illuminate developments in female rule in Navarre and in a wider European context and it will also enable an evaluation of the impact of the queens' reigns on the realm. Finally, this study will not only highlight the careers of these sovereigns and the strategic importance of their realm in the political history of the period, but it will also provide new models of analysis for the overall study of female rule.

CHAPTER TWO: Succession

*To avoid many evils which have happened, and which may occur again, they decreed that those should always inherit the government of the kingdom who traced their lineage in the direct line. Wherefore they ordained that if there were no sons, the eldest daughter should inherit the kingdom.*¹⁰⁵

The kingdom of Navarre had the largest group of female sovereigns in any realm in medieval Europe. This chapter will analyse the combination of factors which made this unusually large group of queens regnant possible. The wider issues surrounding female inheritance and succession will be explored as well as the legal traditions, distinctive regional customs and precedents which created favourable conditions for women to inherit the throne in Navarre. Finally, the chapter will discuss the commonalities and divergent features of their succession experiences, particularly with regard to minority claimants and the effect that sons may have had on the position of a queen regnant.

Inheritance laws generally formed the basis for succession practices, and most of the laws which formed the foundation of medieval and feudal custom allowed for female inheritance if there was a lack of suitable male heirs. Although the Roman *Lex Voconia* of 169 BC did prohibit certain women from being heirs to property, it did not prevent all female inheritance and there is ample evidence for Roman women as both heirs and transmitters of property.¹⁰⁶ Roman laws, together with those promulgated in the Early Middle Ages concerning inheritance became the foundation for later principles of feudal transmission of land. The Ripuarian Law, concerning the inheritance of Allodial land (c.450 AD) dictated 'If the father and mother be not living, let brother and sister succeed'.¹⁰⁷ Although the next clause insinuates a preference for male heirs, it is clear that females are allowed to inherit

¹⁰⁵ Alfonso X, King of Castile, *Las Siete Partidas*. trans. by Samuel Parsons Scott. Vol. Two: Medieval Government, The World of Kings and Warriors, ed. Robert I. (S.I.) Burns (Philadelphia, 2001), Part II, Title XV, Law II, p.367.

¹⁰⁶ Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire* (London, 2002), p.13.

¹⁰⁷ 'The Ripuarian Law: Inheritance of Allodial Land, c.450' in Paul Halsall (ed.), *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, (1998), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/450allods.html> (Original source-From: *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, Legum, ed. by R. Sohm, (Hanover, 1875-1889), Tome V, p. 240; reprinted in Roy C. Cave & Herbert H. Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* (reprint ed., New York, 1965), pp. 334-335).

the family property. The Visigothic Law, which set a precedent in Medieval Iberia, encouraged partible inheritance between male and female heirs; 'If the father or mother should die intestate, the sisters shall have the property equally with their brothers'.¹⁰⁸ Even the Law of the Salian Franks allowed for female inheritance to private property, it is only the 'Salic Land' which was reserved for exclusively male inheritance.¹⁰⁹

There is also a clear precedent for female inheritance in the Bible. In Numbers 27, Moses is called upon to make a judgement in the case of the inheritance of Salphaad, who died leaving five daughters. Moses asks for divine guidance in deciding whether or not his daughters can inherit the land and received the following answer,

And the Lord said to him: The daughters of Salphaad demand a just thing. Give them a possession among their father's kindred and let them succeed him in his inheritance. And to the children of Israel thou shalt speak these things: When a man dieth without a son, his inheritance shall pass to his daughter.¹¹⁰

Basque laws of inheritance, which in turn influenced the drafting of the Navarrese *Fueros* and the customs of the kingdom of Navarre on both sides of the Pyrenees, were even more favourable to the inheritance of women. In these customs, the eldest child would inherit the family property, regardless of their sex.¹¹¹ Maïté Lafourcade argues, 'A woman was not incapable, weak, and inexperienced who needed to be protected as in Roman law, she was, in Basque law, juridically the equal of man, with the same rights as him.'¹¹² The right to inherit property also gave Basque women the opportunity to participate in religious

¹⁰⁸ S.P. Scott (ed.), *The Visigothic Code: (Forum judicum)*, Book IV, Title II, No. I., at LIBRO (The Library of Iberian Resources Online), <http://libro.uca.edu/vcode/vg4-2.htm>.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Law of the Salian Franks' in Paul Halsall (ed.), *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/salic-law.html>, (Original source, 'The Salic Law,' in Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, (London, 1910), pp. 176-189).

¹¹⁰ The Bible, Numbers 27, 1-11. King James version quoted above. Douay-Rheims Latin Vulgate version as follows: '*qui dixit ad eum iustam rem postulant filiae Salaphaad da eis possessionem inter cognatos patris sui et ei in herediate succedant ad filios autem Israhel loqueris haec homo cum mortuus fuerit absque filio ad filiam eius transbit hereditas*'.

¹¹¹ See the discussion of the laws of inheritance in Labourd, Basse-Navarre and Soule (all ruled by the last queens of Navarre) in Roslyn M. Frank and Shelley Lowenberg, 'The role of the Basque Woman as *Etxeko-Andrea*, the Mistress of the House' in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. by Joyce Duncan Falk, (Santa Barbara, 1977), p.14.

¹¹² Maïté Lafourcade, 'La résistance des Basques à la pénétration du Droit romain. L'exemple du Pays basque de France', *Revista Internacional de los estudios vascos (RIEV)* 52, no. 1 (2007), p.86. Original text: '*La femme n'était pas cette incapable, faible et inexpérimentée qui devait être protégée, du droit romain ; elle était, en droit basque, juridiquement l'égale de l'homme, ayant les mêmes droits que lui*'.

and political activities as the representative of the household in local assemblies on both sides of the Pyrenees.¹¹³ In the Bidasoa valley area of the Basque country, evidence of matrilineal inheritance practices and matronymic designation have been discovered, demonstrating the centrality of women in local culture and customs which not only allowed, but sometimes favoured female inheritance.¹¹⁴

Although inheritance practices in Navarre were generally favourable to women, it is also important to examine the overall situation regarding female succession in the medieval period. During the Early Middle Ages, particularly before the twelfth century, succession practices were in a state of flux and development. As Marjorie Chibnall notes, succession practices were still being worked out 'pragmatically' and a mix of law and custom were employed in the development of succession schemes.¹¹⁵ An early preference for election was gradually shifting toward hereditary principles, perhaps influenced as John Carmi Parsons suggests by a desire on the part of the Church for orderly succession practices.¹¹⁶ Although this shift towards hereditary principles tended to favour male heirs, particularly as the practice of primogeniture became more prevalent after the twelfth century, it also enabled female succession as the preference for dynastic continuity often took precedence over the installation of an unrelated male candidate for the throne.¹¹⁷ Primogeniture could also be problematic; Theresa Earenfight claims it 'worked only when nature cooperated with an ample provision of healthy sons who survived to adulthood' and these conditions could

¹¹³ Roslyn M. Frank, Monique Laxalt and Nancy Vosburg, 'Inheritance, Marriage and Dowry Rights in the Navarrese and French Basque Law Codes' in *Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. by Joyce Duncan Falk, (Reno, 1976), pp.27-8.

¹¹⁴ Collins, *The Basques*, p.160.

¹¹⁵ Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda : queen consort, queen mother and lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), p.205.

¹¹⁶ John Carmi Parsons, 'Queens and Empresses: The West' in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe; an encyclopedia*, ed. by Margaret Schaus (London, 2006), p.685.

¹¹⁷ Jack Goody describes this type of dynastic structure as 'the familiar dynasty...with male office holders but a bilateral emphasis that opens up the possibility of female kings'. Jack Goody, *Succession to High Office*, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology (Cambridge, 1966), p.46.

be relatively rare given the fairly hazardous conditions surrounding childbirth, infant mortality, disease and later the potential death of older male heirs in combat.¹¹⁸

As succession practices were developed and became more concrete, specific laws were drafted which reflected the previous customs of different realms. Succession practices also developed in different directions; the Early Modern historian Andre Favyn noted the diversity of succession laws and customs in different European realms,

According to the laws and customs of peoples and states, some only permit the succession of males as the Salic Law retained by the French and others are elective like Poland and other similar states, while others allow male and female succession in default of male heirs. The kingdoms of England, Navarre and Spain are some of the latter type, where sons succeed their father and mother and daughters after them.¹¹⁹

The English case is not completely relevant to this study. Although when Favyn was writing in the seventeenth century, England had experienced female rule, there were no reigning queens in England during the period of this study. The only viable English female claimants prior to 1512, the Empress Matilda and Elizabeth of York, both failed to claim the throne in their own right.¹²⁰ Although their relative situations were incredibly different, the common factor between these women is that their position as heiress both strengthened their sons' claim to the throne and helped to establish a new dynasty.¹²¹

Turning to the more relevant situation in Iberia, it is important to note that not all of the Spanish kingdoms took the same line with regard to female succession. In the law code drafted in the mid-thirteenth century during the reign of Alfonso X of Castile, female

¹¹⁸ Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007), p.7.

¹¹⁹ Favyn, p. 409. Original text is '*Selon les vz & coustumes des peuples, des Etats, les uns sont successifs aux masles seulement de mesme nom & armes selon la loy Salique retenue des François & les autres sont electifs comme ceux de Pologne & semblables & les autres successifs aux masles & aux femmes. Lesquelles y succedent au default des hoirs masles. Les Royaumes d'Angleterre, de Nauarre & d'Espagne sont de ceste espece derniere, esquels les fils succedent à leur pere & mere & les filles après eux.*'

¹²⁰ *The Empress Matilda* and Joanna L. Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses' in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge and Kim M. Phillips (Stroud, 1999), 47-68.

¹²¹ An interesting recent paper which discusses how Elizabeth of York's role as the heiress of York was played down during her husband's reign and later emphasised during the mid-Tudor period; Jacqueline Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York: mother of the Tudor dynasty' in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship; Medieval to Early Modern* ed. by Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise Wilkinson (Dublin, 2009), 47-58.

succession is clearly permitted in order to preserve direct line descent.¹²² Castile had two successful claimants, Urraca and Isabel, while Berenguela was asked to step aside in favour of her son. However, it is important to note that both Urraca and Isabel experienced a contested and difficult succession process before they ultimately attained the crown.

The Kingdom of Aragon, in contrast, was not as amenable to the idea of female succession. Despite the accession of the twelfth century heiress Petronilla, later female claimants such as Constanza and Juana, Countess of Foix were unable to secure the throne due to a tradition which increasingly hardened against the accession of women.¹²³ The seminal work on the succession to the Aragonese throne is Alfonso Garcia Gallo's epic article of 1966. Garcia Gallo discusses both the individual cases of all of the female and female-line claimants and summarizes the eventual Aragonese principles regarding female succession; that women cannot reign but they can transmit their rights to their male descendants.¹²⁴

Intriguingly, Nuria Silleras-Fernández, repeatedly cites Navarrese custom and law as the source of Aragonese tradition which prevented female accession.¹²⁵ Although the Kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon were linked in the Early Middle Ages, and Gallo discusses the impact of '*la dinastía pamplonesa*' on the succession of the Aragonese throne, the barriers to female succession can clearly not be attributed to the laws and practices of the Kingdom of Navarre.¹²⁶

The *Fueros* of Navarre expressly permit the succession of females to the throne in default of male heirs.¹²⁷ The overall preference is for direct, legitimate line inheritors, male

¹²² See the quote at the beginning of the chapter from *Las Siete Partidas* (footnote 102).

¹²³ Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*, 2 vols., vol. 2; 1410-1516 Castillian Hegemony (Oxford, 1978), p.230, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, 1975), p.416, 'Queenship en la corona de Aragón', pp.121-129 and William Clay Stalls, 'Queenship and the royal patrimony in twelfth-century Iberia: the example of Petronilla of Aragon,' in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, pp.49-62. It is interesting to note that Constanza was the granddaughter of Juana II, through the marriage of Maria of Navarre and Pedro IV of Aragon. Pedro attempted to designate Contanza as his heir in 1347 but the Aragonese jurists ruled that she was ineligible to be named as her father's heir; see Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, pp.25-6.

¹²⁴ Alfonso Garcia Gallo, 'El Derecho de Sucesion del Trono en la Corona de Aragon', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 36, no. 5 (1966), pp.123-4.

¹²⁵ 'Queenship en la corona de Aragón', p.121.

¹²⁶ Garcia Gallo, pp.58-66.

¹²⁷ *Los Fueros medivales de Navarra*, Book II, Title IV, Cap. I.

or female, which gives a monarch's daughters precedence over uncles or illegitimate brothers. The specific allowance for female heirs to the throne in the *Fueros* enabled the high density of female succession in the realm during the medieval period.

The *Fueros* were a compilation of ancient customs, rights and privileges which formed the legal foundation of the realm, described by Rachel Bard as the 'Mirror of Medieval Navarra'.¹²⁸ Ironically, it was the advent of two 'foreign' rulers who encouraged the further development of the code; the arrival of Thibault of Champagne in 1234 prompted the largely unwritten laws to be compiled in a written document and the reign of Juana II and her consort Philip d'Evreux saw the renovation and '*amejoramiento*' of the *Fueros*. The *Fueros* were crucial to establishing the powers of the sovereign and the laws of succession to the throne as well as inheritance to land and property at every societal level.¹²⁹ In addition to the clause which permitted female succession, the *Fueros* allowed for women to inherit on a wider scale, either in the absence of male heirs or as a designated heir in her family.¹³⁰

However, laws are only one of the factors which enable female succession. Armin Wolf set out a series of principles for general as well as female succession in his examination of female succession, 'Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: Where, When and Why', which is summarized as follows:

General principles of succession

- A successor needed to be a descendant of the first ruler of the realm
- The closest degree of sanguinity was preferred
- Preference was given to agnates, the eldest, those who were of full age and in good health and lines of descent based on primogeniture

¹²⁸ Bard discusses the development of the *Fueros* in her chapter 'The Foral Base' in *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom*, 41-58.

¹²⁹ The *Gobierno de Navarra* has recently published an excellent study on the history of the *Fueros*; *Navarra, Comunidad Foral Historia y actualidad del Fuero Navarro*, 1999. This can be accessed on-line at http://www.pnte.cfnavarra.es/publicaciones/pdf/fuero_dg.pdf

¹³⁰ I. Sánchez Bella (ed.), *El Fuero Reducido de Navarra (Edición crítica y Estudios)*, 2 vols., vol. II (Pamplona, 1989). On inheritance, royal and otherwise see Título VIII, p. 314-319.

- Preference was also given to legitimate children although natural heirs were preferable to adopted ones
- Natives were given preference over foreigners

Preconditions for Reigning Queens

- If she was nearer in degree of consanguinity than the nearest male or the nearest male was a minor
- If she outlived her husband or got rid of him
- If she was a native while the nearest competitor was a foreigner¹³¹

An earlier examination of the succession of the queens regnant of Jerusalem and other twelfth century female sovereigns, uncovered three additional 'key factors' which were also critical for a female claimant to successfully ascend the throne:

- Solid affirmation of the claimant's position as heir apparent
- A lack of competitors for the throne
- A consort who was supportive of the queen and supported by the nobility¹³²

However, an additional factor which enabled female succession is precedent. Before the succession of the first female sovereign of Navarre, Juana I in 1274, there were several examples of reigning queens which could have formed a precedent for female rule. The twelfth century had several important examples including Urraca of Léon-Castile (1109-26), Petronilla of Aragon (1137-62), Constance of Sicily (1194-98), Melisende of Jerusalem (1131-61) and her granddaughters Sibylla (1186-90) and Isabella (1190-1205). Both Urraca and Melisende were vigorous and active rulers, even though neither reign was without controversy. Both women struggled against rivals who aimed to unseat them; Urraca fought a destructive war against her ex-husband Alfonso of Aragon while Melisende's refusal to

¹³¹ 'Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: Where, When and Why', pp.169-188.

¹³² Elena Crislyn Woodacre, 'The Queens of Jerusalem and Female Succession in the Twelfth Century' (University of Reading, unpublished MA dissertation, 2006).

hand power over to her son also led to a civil war.¹³³ However, the twelfth century also contained a negative precedent in the Empress Matilda's failure to claim the English throne despite being her father's clearly designated heir.¹³⁴

The thirteenth century saw few reigning queens. In the troubled Kingdom of Jerusalem, Maria of Montferrat followed her mother to become the third queen regnant in a row (1205-12) and left an infant daughter, Yolande, to succeed her. Neither woman was able to regain the city of Jerusalem or exercise power effectively in her own right. In Iberia, the right of Berenguela of Castile to succeed her father, Alfonso VIII, was recognized in 1217, but she was forced to step aside in favour of her son.¹³⁵ Sancha and Dulce of León were also unsuccessful claimants despite their father, Alfonso IX's desire to see them succeed at his death in 1230.¹³⁶

Despite the mixed success of the ruling queens who preceded Juana I of Navarre in 1274, there was a significant precedent for women to inherit the throne. In addition, although there had not yet been a queen regnant in Navarre, there was a precedent for the inheritance of the throne through the female line. Teobaldo I successfully claimed the Navarrese throne in 1234 through the right of his mother, Blanca, sister of Sancho *el Fuerte*. If Blanca had not died a few years earlier in 1229, it is possible that she may have inherited the throne herself as the next claimant in the direct line.¹³⁷ This precedent, coupled with the generally favourable laws and customs of female inheritance and succession, particularly in the Basque country, were all enabling factors for the first female sovereign of Navarre.

¹³³ For Urraca, see *The kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126*. An excellent primary source for Melisende's career is William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea)*, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943).

¹³⁴ See Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda* and Charles Beem's chapter on Matilda in *The Lioness Roared*.

¹³⁵ Miriam Shadis discusses her situation in 'Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage and Succession' in *Medieval Motherhood*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, (New York, 1996), pp.335-358 and in 'Women, Gender and Rulership in Romance Europe: The Iberian Case', *History Compass* 4, no. 3 (2006), pp.481-487.

¹³⁶ 'The Iberian Case', pp.485-6.

¹³⁷ Theoretically, the other possibility would have been her sister Berengaria, who died in 1230. However, considering that Berengaria had no issue, the crown would have been left to Teobaldo either way. Of course, it is difficult to speculate whether Blanca would have been compelled, as Berenguela of Castile was, to renounce her rights in favour of her son.

Connections

In spite of these enabling factors of custom, law, tradition and precedent, all of the queens in this study, with the exception of Blanca I, had a difficult path to the throne and a contested succession. The following section will compare the succession experiences of the most and least successful female claimants; Blanca I and her daughter and namesake.

Blanca I was successful as a claimant because so many conditional factors were favourable. By the time Blanca became Queen of Navarre in 1425, she was a fully-grown woman who was an experienced ruler, after years of administering the Kingdom of Sicily after the death of her first husband, Martín of Aragon, in difficult circumstances.¹³⁸ Blanca showed remarkable tenacity to persevere and retain the island kingdom for Aragon despite the challenging political situation and the additional difficulties of distance from her base of support and being short of the funds and soldiers that she needed to reinforce her position.¹³⁹ This key experience of government, both in working in partnership with her first husband and particularly as sole ruler was one of the key factors which not only smoothed her own path to the succession of the Navarrese crown and gave her the practical skills she would need as a queen regnant.

Another important enabling factor for Blanca's succession was that her father, Carlos III, had been extremely careful to make the line of succession clear and had formally confirmed each of his children's place as his rightful heirs. Carlos III had five daughters and two sons with his wife, Leonor de Trastámara as well as several illegitimate children.¹⁴⁰ Carlos may have been keen to clarify the line of succession in order to guarantee a smooth transition of

¹³⁸ Blanca's period of rule in Sicily will be fully explored in the discussion of female lieutenancy in the chapter on Partnership and Rule.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of Blanca's financial difficulties see C. Trasselli, 'Su le finanze siciliana da Bianca ai vicere' In *Mediterraneo e Sicilia all'inizio dell'epoca moderna (Ricerche quattrocentesche)*, ed. by C. Trasselli (Cosenza, 1977), 173-228.

¹⁴⁰ See genealogical chart in the appendices. The Infante Luis appears to have died very young, there are conflicting dates for this death (either 1400, 1402 or even 1405). The confusion over his dates are discussed by Castro, Alava, *Carlos III el Noble; Rey de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1967), pp.183-4. I am inclined to agree with Castro's estimate of 1400; Osés Urricelqui supports argument this with two pieces of documentary evidence from the AGN.

power after his death and to prevent any of his illegitimate children from attempting to seize the throne.

Before the birth of the Infante Carlos in 1398, Carlos III recognised the position of his daughters as his heiresses and drew up documents to affirm their rights to the throne.¹⁴¹

The ability of his daughters to succeed him according to tradition, custom and law is clearly stated:

Due to a lack of legitimate male sons...the succession of the said kingdom according to the laws and customs of Navarre, the said daughters of ours will be held to be the first by law to the land of Navarre.¹⁴²

One of these succession documents pertains directly to Blanca; it is in effect her response to being designated as a potential heiress.¹⁴³ In this document, she swears to uphold the *Fueros*, in accordance with traditional Navarrese law and custom for all heirs and sovereigns.

The birth of a son altered the order of succession; the Infante Carlos was quickly confirmed as the new heir to the throne but his sisters' place in the succession and their general importance was also reconfirmed. The Cortes was summoned to Olite in November 1398 and a ceremony was held to mark the prince's birth and place as heir. However, it is specifically noted that this was done 'with the assistance of his sisters...the illustrious and high' princesses, Juana, Maria, Blanca, Beatriz and Isabel, who were noted as being present at the ceremony.¹⁴⁴

1402 was an important year for the Evreux dynasty which saw major changes to the succession and the family structure. At the beginning of the year, Blanca left Navarre to

¹⁴¹ AGN Comptos, Caj.73, nos. 7, 9 11, 12, 14, 16 are those which are relevant to the succession of the Infantas. It is worth noting that Carlos had an additional motive for ensuring his daughters' succession; he was about to set out on a trip to France and wanted to make certain that the succession of the realm was secure in case anything should befall him on his journey.

¹⁴² DME, Document 154, dated 5th September 1396 at Estella. Original text is: '*...a falta de fijo legitimo ... la succession del dicho regno, et segun fuero, uso et costumbre de Nauarra, las dichas nuestras fijas sean tenidas de fazer primero la jura a eillos et al pueblo de Nauarra*'.

¹⁴³ DME, Document 158, dated 11th September 1396, also at Estella.

¹⁴⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj. 73, no.28 (1), dated 27th November 1398 at Olite.

become the bride of Martín of Sicily.¹⁴⁵ The Infante Carlos died only six months after Blanca's departure, on 12th August 1402. Although Osés Urricelqui claims the Infante's death 'definitively truncated the hopes for a male heir to the Navarrese throne', the Queen did produce another child, Margarita, the following year and Carlos optimistically left a rider in his will of 1412 for any posthumous sons that she might bear.¹⁴⁶

Although the princesses were relegated to the rear of the order of succession during the lifetimes of their brothers, the death of the young princes saw Juana returned to the position of heiress in 1402, with her sisters immediately behind her. In December 1402, the newly married *primogenita* Juana and her husband, Jean of Foix were brought to Olite in order to vow to uphold the *Fueros* once they became the rulers of Navarre.¹⁴⁷ Both spouses individually promised to uphold the *Fueros*, and in Jean of Foix's copy it was noted that although 'the right pertained to her as previously stated' as her husband he would have the right to participate in government, but he agreed not to name foreigners to the high offices of the realm.¹⁴⁸ Juana and her husband remained as the heirs to the throne for over ten years, and Juana shared the governance of the realm with her mother while Carlos III was at the French court, seeking a settlement for their lost French territories.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, Juana died in July of 1413, without issue.¹⁵⁰ Maria, who would have been next in line, had passed away in 1406.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ S. Tramontana, 'Il matrimonio con Martino: il progetto, i capitoli, la festa,' *Principe de Viana*, 60 (1999), p.18.

¹⁴⁶ Original text is; '*troncando definitivamente las esperanzas de un heredero varón para el trono navarro.*' Merche Osés Urricelqui, 'Ceremonias funerarias de la realeza navarra en la baja edad media' in *Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV*, ed. by E. Ramírez Vaquero (Pamplona, 2005), pp.119-120. For Carlos' will see M. Arigita y Lasa, *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1900), p.415.

¹⁴⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.87, no.52, dated 3rd December 1402. Juana and Jean of Foix were married in October of the same year.

¹⁴⁸ Béatrice Leroy, 'Neutralité ou double jeu? Le rôle du royaume de Navarre dans les relations internationales de la fin du XIV^e siècle et du début du XV^e siècle' in *Terres et Hommes du Sud (Hommage à Pierre Tucoo-Chala)*, ed. by Christian Desplat (Biarritz, 1992), p.500. Also another version printed in full in DME, Document 169, dated 3rd December at Olite, pp.455-463 (AME Fondos Especiales, no.65). See also a version of Carlos' will, dated 23rd September 1412 which affirmed Juana's right as '*nuestra heredera general et Uniuersal*' followed by Blanca and Isabel. In Arigita y Lasa, *Colección de Documentos*, p.414.

¹⁴⁹ Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, pp.347-349.

¹⁵⁰ Ironically perhaps, Castro Alava believes that Juana may have died as a result of a difficult pregnancy after an earlier miscarriage, possibly in 1411. See Castro Alava, *Carlos III*, pp.389-392. There is a receipt for a payment to an apothecary for delivering medicine to the Infanta which had been prepared by the king's doctor, Judas

This meant that Blanca was now the heiress, however at the time of Juana's death Blanca was still in Sicily, as Viceroy for Aragon. Blanca's family had been trying to support her and possibly extricate her from the island as early as 1410.¹⁵² However, once she became the heiress of Navarre, it was imperative that she returned to the realm as soon as possible. Documentary evidence shows a flurry of messengers sent between the Navarrese court and Blanca in Sicily, particularly around 1413.¹⁵³ Prominent nobles were sent to assure Blanca's safe conduct back to Navarre.¹⁵⁴ Blanca's return to Navarre in 1415 was heralded with mass celebrations and festivities, as the succession was once again assured.¹⁵⁵ Blanca's position was officially confirmed in a formal ceremony in front of the Cortes on 28th October 1416 at Olite.¹⁵⁶

Yet another enabling factor for Blanca was the fact that at the time of her accession in September 1425 was that she was married with multiple children, including a son who had been designated as her heir, thus providing dynastic continuity. Blanca's first child, Carlos, was born at Peñafiel on 29th May 1421. The birth of a son to the heiress was a cause for great rejoicing in the realm; an heir for the heiress promised continued dynastic stability and for the King was in some way a replacement for the young sons who had died twenty years previously. As soon as the Prince reached a reasonable age to travel, Blanca brought him

Orabuena; AGN Comptos, Caj. 106, no.14, 57, dated 22nd July 1413. The expenses for Juana's funeral can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.103, no.66, 25, 39-42, dated August 1413.

¹⁵¹ AGN Comptos, Caj. 93, no.2, 4 (1-2) dated 16th January and 8th February 1406 regarding the burial of the Infanta Maria at the convent of the *frailes menores* at Olite. For a description of the funerals of the Infantas, as well an excellent discussion of the mourning rituals for all of the royal family, see '*Ceremonias funerarias*'.

¹⁵² See AGN Comptos, Caj. 84, no.9, 20-21 and 30, dated 19th November 1410 and 20th August 1410 both from Pamplona. Both documents concern the expenses of Nicolas de Roncevalles, who was entrusted to a mission to see Pope Benedict XIII in August and a trip to Zaragoza in November, both with regard to Blanca's situation in Sicily. Even Jean de Foix, Blanca's former brother in law received payment for expenses of 1,015 libras for a trip to Barcelona on Blanca's behalf in 1411 (AGN Comptos, Caj.98, no.38,5 dated 19th March 1411).

¹⁵³ These trips to Sicily were costly and time consuming; for example one messenger was paid 170 florins for a trip in April 1413 (AGN Comptos, Caj.102, no.37, 3) while a chamberlain was paid 140 florins for a similar trip later that year (AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.3, 61 dated 28th December 1413).

¹⁵⁴ The head of the powerful de Peralta clan, Pierres, was part of this delegation; AGN Comptos, Caj.113, no.75, 1 dated 29th September 1414. More expenditure for this trip can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.113, no.97, 2 dated 22nd December 1414 at Olite.

¹⁵⁵ AGN Registros, 1st Series, no.339; a series of six documents concerning aid sent by various cities to fund the expenses of Blanca's return to Navarre dated April 1415 and later Registros, 1st Series, no.342, dated 15th September 1415, contains 75 sheets which record expenses spent for the 'fiesta' thrown for Blanca's return.

¹⁵⁶ The only surviving version of this document is Yanguas y Miranda, Leg.1, Carp.13, originally dated 28th October 1416 at Olite.

back to Navarre to be raised in the country that he was one day expected to rule, in accordance with the stipulations of her marriage contract.¹⁵⁷ In June 1422 at Olite, Blanca's son was formally accorded his place in the line of succession, after his mother who was still acknowledged as 'our most dear and most loved eldest daughter and heir'.¹⁵⁸ Just as in the case of the previous queens regnant, Juana I and II, both of whom were mothers of sons, there was no suggestion that Blanca step aside in favour of her son's claim. In keeping with tradition and custom, the child was acknowledged as an heir to the throne, *tutores* were named for him and he formally swore to uphold the *Fueros* once he was king.¹⁵⁹

Blanca's second child, Juana, was born a few months after her son had been formally named as her heir.¹⁶⁰ Although she was third in line to the throne, Carlos III initiated proceedings for another formal ceremony to recognize the new princess' place in the succession. The surviving documents clearly demonstrate the importance of this ceremony as all of the major towns in the realm sent representatives.¹⁶¹ Sadly, the young princess died only two years after the ceremony in late 1425.¹⁶²

In addition to these customary procedures, the King initiated a new tradition for his grandson, the creation of the Principality of Viana.¹⁶³ This was in keeping with other customary titles and territories which were specifically reserved for the heir to the throne in other European kingdoms including the titles of Prince of Wales (created 1283), Dauphin (1346), Duke of Gerona (for the throne of Aragon, created 1350) and the Prince of Asturias (1388). Juan Carrasco Perez believes that the selection of Viana, located on the Castilian

¹⁵⁷ Castro Alava, 'Blanca de Navarra y Juan de Aragón', *Principe de Viana* 27 (1966), pp.47-63. It is also worthy of note that the contract protected Blanca's maternal rights; her children were not to be separated from her unless she expressly wished it.

¹⁵⁸ DME, Document number 187, dated 4th June 1422 at Olite, pp. 521-22 (AME, Fondos Especiales, no.188). Original text is; '*nuestra muy cara e muy amada fija primogenita y heredera*'.

¹⁵⁹ DME, Documents 187 (as above) and 188 of 11th June 1422 also at Olite (AME Fondos Especiales, no.65).

¹⁶⁰ A document in the AGN for expenses incurred for her baptism named her birth date as 14th October 1422; AGN Comptos Caj, 108, no.5, 12 dated 22nd October 1422.

¹⁶¹ See Table 3 in the Appendices, p.348.

¹⁶² A receipt for expenses incurred for the funeral can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.124, no.35, 6 (1-2) dated 29th November 1425 and 16th December 1425. Juana's sarcophagus was originally placed in the Convent of San Francisco de Tudela but came to the Museo de Navarra (Pamplona) in 1956 where it can be seen today.

¹⁶³ Moret Vol.6, pp.247-8. The document for the creation of the principality is dated 20th January 1423, at Tudela and is reprinted in Moret, Vol.6, pp.261-2.

border was a purposeful choice, intended to 'reaffirm and consolidate the border with Castile', particularly given the instability in relations with Castile which had been created by Juan's provocative actions.¹⁶⁴ The fact that he chose not to bestow the title on Blanca, his primary heir, is not particularly significant. Her position as heiress was already assured, but the birth of a grandson, ensuring the continuation of the dynasty after so much tragedy and disappointment, was worthy of commemorating with such a lavish gesture. If the gesture was also a way of protecting the realm's frontiers and demonstrating that it was on a par with its larger and more powerful neighbours, so much the better.

The only difficulties that Blanca encountered in her path to the Navarrese throne were in regard to the coronation itself and were primarily due to the actions of her husband. Blanca's father, Carlos III, died unexpectedly on 8th September 1425. According to Moret, the King woke healthy and happy, but collapsed suddenly. He was only able to call for his daughter but by the time she arrived, he was incapable of speech and died in her arms.¹⁶⁵ Blanca was immediately proclaimed queen in the palace of Olite and dispatched the royal banner and surcoat to her husband who was away on campaign with his brother Alfonso of Aragon, to use as the new king consort.¹⁶⁶ However, Alfonso used these symbolic pieces to proclaim Juan King of Navarre in an improvised ceremony in the Aragonese camp.¹⁶⁷ This event which Narbaitz terms 'an indecent act' was offensive to the Navarrese, both because it had ignored the rightful place of their queen regnant and because the ceremony did not take place in the Cathedral in Pamplona, but in an Aragonese military camp on foreign soil.¹⁶⁸ Moret notes this event as a portent of Juan's destructive reign as king consort

There were no Navarrese knights at this event, because the Navarrese nobility were at Olite with the Queen, Lady Blanca, their natural sovereign, at that time. These were

¹⁶⁴ Juan Carrasco Perez, 'El principado de Viana,' *Príncipe de Viana* 53 (1992), 191-214. Original text is, '*reafirmar y consolidar los límites con Castilla*'.

¹⁶⁵ Moret, Vol.6, p. 260.

¹⁶⁶ Maria Isabel Ostolaza Elizando, 'D.Juan de Aragón y Navarra, un verdadero príncipe Trastámara', *Aragón en la Edad Media*, No.16 (2000), p.595.

¹⁶⁷ Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous; King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford, 1990), p.129.

¹⁶⁸ Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra o cuando los vascos tenían reyes*, trans. by Elena Barberena (Tafalla, 2007), p.389.

separate acclamations and the king's was truly a foreign exercise, outside of Navarre, which could be the start of the divisions, wars and internal conflict which was to come between the king and his son born from the same marriage.¹⁶⁹

Moreover, the continuing turmoil that her husband had caused in Castile prevented the coronation of the couple for four years. Ramírez Vaquero suggests that the eventual coronation was in some way an elaborate face saving exercise for the beleaguered Juan. His wife summoned him back to Navarre in order to hold the coronation at a time when he was experiencing a series of setbacks in Castile. This gave him a reason to leave Castile gracefully, and with honour, before he was forced out.¹⁷⁰ In addition, there is evidence that the couple deliberately excused several important cities from their share of the customary expenses for the coronation, which may have been a way of placating a populace who may have been unhappy with Juan's failures in Castile and his impromptu Aragonese ceremony.¹⁷¹ The delayed coronation took place in May 1429 and included the Navarrese tradition of raising the sovereign on a shield while the crowd cried 'Real, real, real!' The written acclamation of the *Cortes* shows the interesting balance between acknowledging Juan as king while emphasising that Blanca was the true claimant:

'to you our lord Juan, by the grace of God King of Navarre, by the right which pertains to you through the cause of the Queen, Lady Blanca, your wife and our sovereign, queen regnant of this said Kingdom of Navarre and to you, the said Lady Blanca, our queen and rightful sovereign, that we will guard and defend well and loyally your persons and your land and help you to guard, defend and maintain the Fueros for your rule to all our loyal power.'¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Moret, Vol.6, p.268. Original text is; '*No se halló en la función caballero ninguno navarro, porque la nobleza de Navarra de su parte hizo lo mismo en Olite con la reina Doña Blanca, su natural señora. Estas aclamaciones separadas y la del Rey hecha en reales de ejército extranjero, aunque dentro de Navarra, pudieron ser anuacio de las divisiones y guerras, más que civiles, que después hubo entre el Rey y el hijo nacido ya de este matrimonio.*

¹⁷⁰ Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II*, pp.85-86.

¹⁷¹ For example, see two documents which forgive the capital city of Pamplona for a significant portion of their contribution; AGN Comptos, Caj. 126, no.57, 4 dated 15th June 1428 at Olite and a later document Caj.128, no.14, 16 dated 5th May 1429 at Pamplona.

¹⁷² AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.23, 2 (additional copies, nos.24-25) dated 15th May 1429 at Pamplona. Also reprinted in Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra; La Baja Edad Media*, p.82. Original text is: '*a vos nuestro señor don Juan, por la gracia de Dios rey de Navarra, por el derecho que a vos pertenece por causa de la reina doña Blanca, vuestra mujer et nuestra señora, Propietaria del dicho reino de Navarra: y a vos, la dicha doña Blanca, nuestra reina y señora natural, que guardaremos y defenderemos bien y fielmente vuestras personas y vuestra tierra, y vos ayudaremos a guardar, defender y mantener los fueros por vos jurados, a todo nuestro leal poder.*'

Despite the delay to her coronation, Blanca's path to the Navarrese crown was considerably smoother than both of her female predecessors. Her right to the throne was unchallenged and she was able to quickly take up the reins of government and exercise it in her own right as a fully-grown adult. Unfortunately for those who followed, the ease of Blanca's accession proved to be entirely situational, rather than evidence of a trend toward progressively easier routes to the Navarrese throne.

Carlos III had bequeathed his daughter and heiress a stable, prosperous kingdom. Blanca was not only her father's formally designated and publicly acknowledged heir but also a grown woman who could provide proven governmental experience and dynastic continuity. There were virtually no pretexts which an alternative claimant could use to contest her succession. There was ample precedent from the two previous reigning queens, Juana I and II and finally she satisfied all of the principles, preconditions and key factors discussed earlier in the chapter. Blanca's positive example, as well as the difficulties experienced by the other queens in this study, clearly demonstrates that for a female claimant to be successful, it is necessary for all the factors to be favourable; familial, legal and circumstantial.

In contrast, Blanca's daughter and namesake, the would-be Blanca II, was the most unsuccessful of the female claimants. Although acknowledged as queen by her supporters she was never formally crowned nor did she effectively govern Navarre in any sense. Her failure may have been due to the fact that the only enabling factor that the Princess Blanca had was her mother's successful precedent and that of her earlier female forebears.¹⁷³

Instead of the peace and prosperity which her mother had inherited from Carlos III, Navarre was in a period of chaos and civil war when the Princess Blanca was an aspiring claimant. Blanca I's son and heir Carlos, the Principe of Viana, was over twenty years of age when his mother died in 1441. It was a reasonable expectation that he would immediately

¹⁷³ Intriguingly, although there is documentary evidence that all of the Infanta Blanca's siblings were officially confirmed as heirs, there is no surviving evidence that the same ceremony was performed for her. It is possible that the evidence has been lost, indeed this is likely given the general emphasis on the succession, otherwise this would have been a very atypical omission.

succeed her as King Carlos IV. However, Blanca left a clause in her will which asked her son to refrain from taking the title of King in his father's lifetime without his express permission, which realistically he would be unlikely to give.¹⁷⁴ This clause gave Juan all the leverage he needed to remain as King of Navarre indefinitely.¹⁷⁵

Carlos may have initially been content to govern Navarre in Juan's absence, as his mother had done throughout their marriage, and wait for the title to come his way.¹⁷⁶ But tensions between father and son built throughout the 1440's and were especially strained by Juan's remarriage to Juana Enríquez, the daughter of an important Castilian noble and her appointment as joint lieutenant in Navarre with Carlos in 1451.¹⁷⁷ Shortly after, the bad feeling between Juan and Carlos erupted into full-scale civil war which escalated even further when the two rival groups of nobles, the Agramonts and the Beaumonts each chose a side to support. The Princess Blanca decided to support her brother in his struggle against their overbearing father.

With his two eldest children fighting against him, Juan made an astonishing decision. Contrary to normal practices of succession and inheritance, in a move that Bisson termed 'legally preposterous', Juan decided to disinherit his rebellious older children in favour of his youngest daughter Leonor, who was married to Gaston IV, Count of Foix.¹⁷⁸ As a child Leonor's place in the succession had been clearly delineated, in keeping with the stringent

¹⁷⁴ Moret discusses the will including the provenance of the original and the later additions in Vol, 6, pp. 336-339. Blanca's will can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.161, no.4, 1 dated 17th February 1439 at Pamplona. This copy is in poor condition however; a more legible version can be found in Yanguas y Miranda, Leg, 1, Carp.20.

¹⁷⁵ The reasons for this extraordinary clause have been widely discussed. Many scholars have attributed it to either pressure from Juan or believe that it was evidence of Blanca's devotion to her difficult spouse. However, Eloisa Ramírez Vaquero has put forth a different interpretation of Blanca's reasoning. She believes that the passage shows Blanca's acute awareness of the Iberian political situation; that Juan needed the prestige and position that his royal title gave him in order to hold his ground in Castile; Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'La reina Blanca y Navarra', *Príncipe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), pp.336-339.

¹⁷⁶ It is interesting to note a document in the AGN which records a request made by the Principe to the Chancery to view a copy of his parents coronation agreement-he may have been looking for documentary evidence to prove that his father's actions contravened these agreements and support his own right to the throne. AGN Comptos, Caj.151, no.29, 14 dated 15th November 1444 at Olite.

¹⁷⁷ Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, p.138.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas N. Bisson. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon; a Short History* (Oxford, 1986), p.148.

practices of her grandfather, Carlos III.¹⁷⁹ The document from the ceremony clearly stated that Leonor was 'in her rank and place an heir for the lady Queen [i.e. her mother, Blanca I]' in default of male heirs and also specifically 'in default of our very dear and very beloved second born daughter Blanca, her elder sister'.¹⁸⁰ However, as Juan had no compunctions about disregarding the provisions for the succession in his own martial contract, it was unlikely that any other previous agreements on the succession of the realm would prevent him from rearranging matters to suit his own interests.

Juan summoned Gaston and Leonor to Barcelona in October 1455 to discuss his proposed changes to the succession. The couple's ceremonial entry into Barcelona to meet with Juan demonstrated the wealth and power of the couple and their keen desire to impress Juan in hopes of being named the heirs of Navarre. The chronicler Leseur described their party in great detail, noting the large number of the couple's retinue who were all 'sumptuously' dressed in royal colours of violet and cloth of gold.¹⁸¹ He describes Leonor in particular,

With regard to madame, she entered in her beautiful chariot covered in cloth of gold, and before said chariot came several handsome and honest gentlemen and six beautiful white horses who bore six ladies and the other ladies and damsels came on beautiful horses, all...very richly adorned.¹⁸²

The financial ability of the Count and Countess of Foix to spend so lavishly for this ceremonial entry was based on two factors. One factor was their massive territorial holdings including Foix, Béarn, Marsan, Tursan, Garbardan, Nébouzan, Narbonne and Castelbon

¹⁷⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.23, 1 dated 9th August 1427 at Pamplona. Also copied in Yanguas y Miranda, Leg.1, Carp.17.

¹⁸⁰ Original text is '*en su grado, é en su lugar por Seyñora Reyna, é heredera*' and '*à falta de nuestra muy cara é muy amada fija sedo genita la Infanta Doña Blanca su hermana mayor*'.

¹⁸¹ Leseur, p.39. Courteault notes that certain details have been corroborated by the report of Esquerrier.

¹⁸² Leseur, pp.39-40. Original text is '*au regard de madame, elle entra en son beau charyot couvert de drap de d'or, et devant ledit charyot venoyent pleusieurs beaulx et honnestes gentilzhommes et six belle hacquenées blanches qui portoient six dames, et les aultres dames et damoiselles venoient sur belles hacquenées et hobins d'Angleterre, toutes gorgiases et très richement parées et aornées*'.

which generated a high level of income.¹⁸³ Robin Harris noted that ‘from the valleys of Soule to the Western frontiers of Roussillon all the *pays* were in the control of the Comte de Foix’.¹⁸⁴ In addition, Gaston received a sizable pension from his overlord, the King of France. This pension originally ran to 5,000 *livres tournois* a year from 1450-61 but it was increased to 10,000 a year after Louis XI’s accession and in 1468 this was increased to 12,000 a year or 20,000 a year if Gaston was expected to attend court in Paris.¹⁸⁵

The agreement to promote Leonor and her husband in front of her elder siblings was reached on 3rd December 1455 and was described by Zurita as ‘against the order and regulation of all laws, divine, natural and human and a great offence to God’.¹⁸⁶ Zurita termed this an act of ‘great inhumanity’ particularly as the Principe de Viana and the Princess Blanca had been disinherited without any opportunity for negotiation or reconciliation with their father.¹⁸⁷

The new plans for the succession did not put an end to the war between Juan and Carlos which raged intermittently for the next six years and was only truly ended by Carlos’ somewhat suspicious and certainly untimely death in September 1461.¹⁸⁸ The death of Carlos may have ended the conflict between father and son but it did not put an immediate end to the civil war in Navarre. Carlos’ supporters, the Beaumonts, immediately gave their

¹⁸³ It must be noted that Béarn was a sovereign state which prized its independence from the French crown. One of the key political tensions in this period, which continues to be a factor under Catalina’s rule was the desire of the Etats du Béarn to maintain their sovereign status versus the interest of France to finally bring the territory under French rule. The specialist on these matters is Pierre Tucoo-Chala; see *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620, Histoire du Béarn* (Paris, 1962) or *Le Pays de Béarn* (Pau, 1984) for more detail on this situation and the wider history of the county.

¹⁸⁴ Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne; A study of politics, government and society in Late Medieval France* (London, 1994), p.15.

¹⁸⁵ *Valois Guyenne*, p.175.

¹⁸⁶ Zurita, Vol.7, p.147. Original text is ‘*contra la orden y disposición de todo derecho divino, natural y humano y en grande offense de Dios*’. J. Reglá Campistol, ‘La cuestion de los Pirineos a comienzos de la edad moderna: El intento imperialista de Gaston de Foix’ in *Relaciones Internacionales de España con Francia e Italia*, ed. by Jaime Vicens Vives, Estudios de Historia Moderna (Barcelona, 1951), p.13

¹⁸⁷ Zurita, Vol.7, p.149.

¹⁸⁸ Although it is not directly relevant here, it is important to note that as Juan’s eldest son, Carlos should have also been considered as heir apparent to Aragon after Juan assumed the throne in 1458. Perhaps as a means of reconciliation, Carlos was named as lieutenant in Catalonia in 1458. Earenfight notes that he was a very popular lieutenant in contrast to his father who had continual problems with the Catalan *Corts* and nobility, Earenfight, *King’s Other Body*, p.138.

backing to Blanca, who was now in their eyes the rightful Queen of Navarre. Carlos had repaid Blanca's unfailing support by designating her as his heir and by trying to ensure her protection in his final negotiations with Juan.¹⁸⁹ However, even though her claim was upheld by the succession practices set out in the *Fueros*, the original testament of her mother and the designation of her brother, Blanca faced firm opposition to her claim from her father, her ambitious sister and brother-in-law and the Agramont clan.

In addition to these difficulties, the Princess Blanca had another significant disadvantage, she was unmarried and childless after an embarrassing and controversial divorce. Blanca's marriage had been a central part of a peace treaty between Castile and Navarre in 1436. The princess was married to the Infante Enrique of Castile in September 1440 but the marriage foundered when her husband succeeded to the throne as Enrique IV in 1453. Shortly after, Enrique decided to divorce Blanca after thirteen years of marriage, which was reportedly unconsummated, insinuating that his wife had rendered him impotent.¹⁹⁰ Even at the lavish wedding festivities there were signals which portended of the marital difficulties to come. Zurita commented that 'the wedding festivities were very unfortunate as it was made public that the princess remained a virgin, just as she had been (before).'¹⁹¹ Townsend Miller emphasizes this event in his somewhat fanciful description of the wedding, claiming that Juan of Aragon spent most of the wedding night pacing fruitlessly outside the bedroom door; 'after all that he had done-after all the scheming and manoeuvring and waiting...nothing whatsoever happened in the bedroom.'¹⁹²

Enrique maintained that his impotence was limited to his relations with his wife. It is interesting to note the language used to describe Enrique's predicament; Zurita uses the

¹⁸⁹ Vicens Vives, *Juan II*, p.211.

¹⁹⁰ Townsend Miller, *Henry IV of Castile* (London, 1972), 65-70 and Zurita, Vol.7, pp.61-2.

¹⁹¹ Zurita, Vol 6, Book XV, p.242. My translation (above), original text is '*aunque las bodas fueron muy desgraciadas porque fue publico que la princesa quedó doncella como lo estaba*'.

¹⁹² See *Henry IV of Castile*, pp.20-28 for his full depiction of the wedding events.

terms '*hechizados y maleficiados*' which both have a link to witchcraft.¹⁹³ Zurita does not accuse the Princess Blanca of spell casting however; this is vaguely attributed to the 'work and industry of others'. However, the divorce also cast aspersions on the virility of young King of Castile which would continue to plague him and contributed to an extended succession dispute between his sister Isabel and his supposed daughter Juana *la Beltraneja*. Daniel Eisenberg definitely believes that the basis of Enrique's difficulties was medical, but he rejects Gregorio Marañón's diagnosis of acromagalic eunuchodism and suggests instead that the king suffered from acromegaly or a problem in his pituitary gland which he feels would better account for Enrique's noted symptoms and his impotency.¹⁹⁴ Eisenberg also suggests that the difficulty on the bride's side may have been purely psychological and may not have been helped initially by pressure from her father and the stress of the wedding festivities.¹⁹⁵

Blanca was forced to endure the indignities of the trial process, including a medical examination to confirm her continued virginity.¹⁹⁶ The decision to initiate divorce proceedings on such grounds, which was highly embarrassing for both parties is surprising considering that there were ample grounds for an annulment in the non-consummation of the marriage as well as the fact that the couple were close cousins. The trial panel conceded to the need to dissolve the marriage on 2nd June but it was necessary to receive papal confirmation for such an unusual and politically sensitive divorce.¹⁹⁷ Enrique's appeal to the Pope was successful and a divorce was granted on 13th November 1453.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Zurita, Vol.7, 61-2. The verb '*hechizar*' means to cast a spell on or bewitch, while the term '*maleficio*' as in Latin means a curse or spell and was often cited as the basis of an accusation of witchcraft in the period.

¹⁹⁴ Daniel Eisenberg, 'Enrique IV and Gregorio Marañón', *Renaissance Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1976), p.26.

¹⁹⁵ 'Enrique IV and Gregorio Marañón', pp.28-9

¹⁹⁶ Miller discusses the trial at length in *Henry IV*, pp.64-68.

¹⁹⁷ Fernando Videgáin Agós, *Blanca de Navarra; Reina sin Corona*. Vol. 185 Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular. (Pamplona, 1982), p.21.

¹⁹⁸ Zurita, Vol.7, pp.61-2.

Enrique claimed that his sole motivation in initiating divorce proceedings was 'to become a father and sire children' who would secure the Castilian succession.¹⁹⁹ In reality, given Juan of Aragon's repeated aggression towards Castile and interference in Castilian politics, it is hardly surprising that Enrique chose to sever his human tie with Juan. Given the once close relationship which ultimately developed into hostility between the two men, it is even possible that Enrique deliberately chose not to consummate his marriage with Blanca to make it easier to end it if the political need arose. Consequently, instead of maintaining a crucial alliance and protecting the frontiers of Navarre as queen of Castile, Blanca was sent home in disgrace to join her brother in his struggle against their powerful father.

Perhaps the greatest of Blanca's difficulties in her path to the throne was that she had a serious rival claimant, her younger sister Leonor, who had already been designated as Juan's preferred heir. Moreover, Leonor was married to a powerful noble, Gaston IV, Count of Foix and had produced nine children. Even though Leonor possessed considerable advantages over her elder sister, her position was not completely secure. Leonor and her husband Gaston of Foix were concerned by the Beaumonts continued support of Blanca and the possibility that Gaston's long-standing rival the Count of Armagnac might try to press his rights as the nearest male relative and declare himself the new Principe of Viana.²⁰⁰

The previous French king, Charles VII, had approved of Leonor's promotion to heiress, but the new king, Louis XI, who had come to the throne in the summer of 1461, was not yet committed to the scheme. In fact, a letter from Louis in November of 1461 appears to show his support for Blanca who he refers to as 'our very dear and well beloved cousin, the Princess of Navarre'.²⁰¹ Furthermore, Louis appears to have taken up her case with the Catalans, emphasising his blood relationship to the princess and the previous ties between

¹⁹⁹ Zurita, Vol.7, pp.61-2.

²⁰⁰ The Count of Armagnac was the son of Queen Blanca's younger sister Isabel. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra* (Pamplona, 2002), pp.108-109.

²⁰¹ Joseph Vassan and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI, Roi de France*, XI vols., vol. II; 1461-1465 (Paris, 1885), p.22. Original text is: '*nostre très chiere et très amée cosine, la princessa de Navarre*'.

the crowns of France and Navarre as a means of justifying his involvement in the Navarrese succession.²⁰²

In order to counter this alarming show of support for his sister-in-law, Gaston visited Louis XI during the winter of 1461-2 and offered him a matrimonial alliance to ensure his support of Leonor; a marriage between their son and heir, Gaston and the king's sister Magdalena. As the marriage would also ensure French influence in Navarre and closer ties with one of the most powerful nobles in the *Midi*, it is hardly surprising that Louis opted to support Gaston and Leonor. With no reason for delay, the wedding was duly celebrated on 7th March 1462.²⁰³

Juan would not have been pleased to see France increase its influence in Navarre but Leonor would have remained his preferred candidate for two reasons. First, it would have been difficult for Juan to reconcile with Blanca given her previous support of his enemies Carlos and the Beaumont faction. Secondly, it would be foolhardy for Juan to oppose the Count of Foix, his powerful neighbour, who had the added support of the King of France for his wife's claim.

A month after the wedding of Gaston and Magdalena, on 12th April 1462, an accord was signed at Olite which affirmed Leonor's rights as heiress and sealed the fate of her older sister.²⁰⁴ To prevent Blanca from opposing her disinheritance and rallying her Beaumont supporters, the princess was to be sent North on a pretext of marrying Charles, Duke of Berri, brother of Magdalena and Louis XI. Apparently, Blanca was aware of the deception and refused to go, whereupon she was taken by force.²⁰⁵ By 23rd April, she had reached the Pyrenean monastery of Roncevalles, where she protested about be taken against her will and refused to renounce her rights to the throne. Three days later, at St. Jean Pied de Port,

²⁰² Zurita, Vol. 7, p.372.

²⁰³ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra*, Reyes de Navarra; Reyes Pirenaicos. (Pamplona, 2002), p.110. The contract was signed a few weeks earlier on 11 February, 1462.

²⁰⁴ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.23.

²⁰⁵ Moret, Vol.6, pp.453-454.

she appealed in desperation to her former husband, the King of Castile, the Count of Armagnac and the head of the Beaumont clan to help her escape her fate. By the 30th, in a final attempt to thwart the ambition of her sister and brother-in-law, she wrote up a document 'donating' her right to the crown to her ex-husband, Enrique of Castile. Once she reached the northern frontier of Navarre, she was transferred to the custody of the Captal de Buch and imprisoned in the castle of Orthez.

Meanwhile, in Navarre, the succession struggle had left chaos in its wake. Civil war still raged between the Beaumonts, who championed Blanca and their rivals the Agramonts and matters had been made worse by Enrique of Castile's decision to invade Navarre to press the claim to the throne that his ex-wife had bestowed on him. The Bishop of Pamplona attempted to resolve the conflict with the Accord of Tafalla in late November 1464 which called for Blanca's return to Navarre in order to settle the matter of the succession.²⁰⁶ Unfortunately, Blanca was unable to respond to the summons as she died, rather suspiciously, shortly after on 2nd December 1464.²⁰⁷

The eighteenth century historian Enrique Flórez accurately summed up Blanca's desperate position; 'because she did not have the strength to keep her right to the crown, she lost not only the kingdom, but her liberty and her life'.²⁰⁸ The circumstances of her unconsummated marriage, embarrassing divorce and tragic end made Blanca a popular subject for later novelists, particularly Francisco Villoslada's famous mid-nineteenth century work *Doña Blanca de Navarra*.²⁰⁹ However, the Princess Blanca's difficult and disastrous

²⁰⁶ Suárez Fernández, 'Ferdinand y Leonor', p.621.

²⁰⁷ This episode has been widely documented and discussed due to its dramatic content and ramifications for the history of the country. See Joseph Calmette, *La question des Pyrénées et la marche d'Espagne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1947), p.81, Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas*, 2 vols., vol. II (reprint; Valladolid, 2002), pp.743-744, Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor de Navarra*, pp.110-112, Videgáin Agós, *Blanca de Navarra* and Zurita, vol.7, pp.408-410.

²⁰⁸ Flórez, *Memorias*, 743. Original text is 'porque no teniendo fuerzas para mantener el derecho à la Corona, perdió no solo el Reyno, sino la libertad, y la vida.'

²⁰⁹ Franciso Navarro Villoslada, *Dona Blanca de Navarra; Cronica del Siglo XV. 4th ed. Quince dias de Reinado*. (Madrid, 1849). Also available online in full on Google Books. Villoslada lays the blame for Blanca's death with Leonor who clearly had the most to gain from her passing. Even though it is highly suspicious that Blanca died while an unwilling guest in her sister and brother-in-law's castle, there is no conclusive evidence that Gaston and Leonor directly caused Blanca's death.

attempt to claim the Navarrese throne also reaffirms the importance of satisfying the preconditions and factors discussed earlier. The only enabling factors she possessed were the precedent of earlier queens and her position as the eldest surviving child after the death of the Principe de Viana. There is no doubt that this was insufficient ammunition to counter the ambition of her sister, the ill-will of her father, political turmoil and the personal disadvantages that she had from her divorced and barren state.

The two Blancas, mother and daughter, make an interesting study in contrast between success and failure as a female claimant. Blanca I had every possible enabling factor to assist her rise to the throne, while her eldest daughter had familial, legal and circumstantial circumstances which prevented her candidacy from being successful.

Minority Claimants

While both Blanca and her daughter were adults when they pressed their claim to the throne, three of the queens of Navarre were minority claimants; Juana I, Juana II and Catalina. However though Juana II, or Jeanne, was unsuccessful in claiming her rights to either France or Navarre during her minority years she was able to gain the Navarrese crown as a fully-grown, married woman in 1328.

Jack Goody in his thorough exploration of succession processes argued that minority claimants could lead to vulnerability and potential disaster within the realm 'since minorities breed regencies, bring into prominence the wicked uncle and the kingmaker'.²¹⁰ The situation of all three of these queens confirm this argument as their contested succession processes as minority claimants did bring about difficult regencies, dynastic dissention and destabilization within their realm.

The accession of the infant Juana I in 1274, was the result of several tragic incidents which occurred in a short span of time. Juana's uncle, Teobaldo II, died in 1270 while on the doomed second crusade of Louis IX of France. With no heirs to succeed him, the throne

²¹⁰ *Succession to High Office*, pp.10 and 45.

passed to Juana's father, Enrique I. As Enrique was a young man with a wife and children, who had been governing in Teobaldo's absence, the future of the dynasty seemed assured. However, Enrique's young son Teobaldo died in a tragic accident in 1273, falling out of a castle window, which meant that the last surviving heir of the House of Champagne was an infant girl, Juana.²¹¹ Moret notes that after her brother's death Juana was confirmed as heir apparent, by her father the king and by the Estates of the kingdom, unless a male heir was born to replace her.²¹²

However, before Enrique had the chance to sire a male heir to replace Juana, the king himself died, on 22nd July 1274.²¹³ Unsurprisingly, the death of two sovereigns within five years coupled with the accession of an infant girl triggered a political maelstrom. Richard Kincade notes that 'Henry's untimely demise set the stage for a power struggle in Pamplona between three political factions allied variously with Castile, France and Aragon'.²¹⁴ However, Moret argues that the death of Enrique had a much wider impact which 'moved and disturbed not only Navarre but all the kingdoms of Spain and France'.²¹⁵

Juana's mother, Blanche of Artois, initially tried to hold the situation together as regent, but as pressure mounted from Aragon and Castile, she quickly fled to the relative safety of the court of her cousin Philip III of France. Moret insinuates that her departure was somewhat underhand, on the 'pretext' of checking up on the state of her daughter's Champenois territories and affirming their loyalty to the queen, when she was truly intending to parley with Philip of France.²¹⁶ Richard Kincade claims that the regent left in

²¹¹ Moret, Vol.5, p.19. It should be noted however, that although all of Juana's uncles were dead by 1274, she had three surviving aunts who were married to important nobles. However, one of her aunts, Beatrice had already formally renounced her place in the succession in 1273 and due to the customs of the Fueros, Juana's claim as the surviving child of the last king would have been stronger than that of her aunts or cousins. Juana also had an illegitimate brother, Juan Enríquez de Lacarra, but there is no record of any attempt to claim the throne on his behalf. For a full description of the Champenois dynasty's descent, see Charles Cawley, *Foundation for Medieval Genealogy* http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/NAVARRE.htm#_Toc206999133

²¹² Moret, Vol.5, p.19. However, there is no surviving record of this ceremony in the AGN.

²¹³ Richard P. Kincade, 'Alfonso X, Cantiga 235 and the Events of 1269-1278', *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (1992), p. 300.

²¹⁴ Kincade, p.300.

²¹⁵ Moret, Vol.5, p.33. Original text is: '*turbó y conmovió no solo á Navarra sino también á todos los reinos confinantes de España y Francia.*'

²¹⁶ Moret, Vol.5, pp.40-41.

August, however it must have been after the middle of the month as Blanche issued a charter from Pamplona on 14th August while the proclamation of support and loyalty to the queen and her governor who was ruling in her absence was dated at the end of the same month.²¹⁷ The Queen regent must have arrived in France by early November as she issued two charters dated on 14th November from Vincennes which render homage to Philippe III, presumably for Juana's French possessions, which included the rich counties of Champagne and Brie.²¹⁸

However, just because Juana and her mother were safely ensconced in France, did not mean that her throne was secure. Blanche's nearly immediate departure had left the throne unprotected and left a power vacuum in Pamplona. As Béatrice Leroy noted, with the death of Enrique I, the flight of the regent and the absence of the young queen herself, 'Navarre was without a king, and (ripe) for the taking.'²¹⁹

Navarre's predatory Iberian neighbours were keen to advance their own tenuous claims to the Navarrese throne. Indeed, within days of Enrique's death, Jaime I of Aragon issued a proclamation aimed at the nobility of the realm which justified his own candidacy, in attempt to reunite the two realms.²²⁰ This claim had support from a group of clerics and nobles headed by Pedro Sánchez Montegudo who pledged to support Pedro, the son of Jaime of Aragon, when he arrived in Navarre.²²¹

Castile could not afford to ignore the opportunity to capitalize on Navarre's apparent weakness or the possibility that the realm may be reunited with their rival Aragon. Moret

²¹⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.68 dated 14th August 1274 at Pamplona.

²¹⁸ Documents LI and LII in Auguste Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne et Brie 1172-1361. Vol. I; Les Fiefs* (Paris, 1901), p. 483. See Figure 2 in the Appendices for a map of the territory that Juana I inherited in Navarre and France.

²¹⁹ Béatrice Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1984), p.45. Original text: '*La Navarre est sans roi, elle est à prendre.*'

²²⁰ Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra; o cuando los Vascos tenían reyes*. trans. by Elena Barberena (Tafalla, 2007), p.274.

²²¹ AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.73 dated 1st November 1274 at Olite. Note: one of the few documents from Juana's minority which was written under her own authority and seal is her approval of an accord between the French governor and Montegudo's sons over the ownership of six towns and their fortifications-demonstrating their power and influence of this particular family that the queen's personal accord was necessary. See AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.35, dated 25th June, 1281.

claims that King Alfonso of Castile 'hearing of the death of King Enrique and the crown of Navarre coming to the head of a little girl, thought it would be easy to snatch it from her.'²²² Alfonso's desire to wrest the crown from Enrique's daughter may have also been motivated by Enrique's support of a recent rebellion in Castile which had been led by Alfonso's brother.²²³ Consequently, Fernando de la Cerda, the son of the Castilian king was put forward as an alternative claimant and arrived with an army at the walls of Viana in September.²²⁴

However, a sizable and influential group of Navarrese chose to defend the rights of their young female sovereign. Their loyalty to the queen may have been motivated by a desire to prevent the accession of foreigners, an expression of allegiance to the *Fueros*, pure patriotism or all three elements combined. The inhabitants of Viana managed to repulse the Castilian army by making the conditions too inhospitable for the invaders to remain.²²⁵ The queen regent issued a charter which granted special privileges to the inhabitants of Viana in gratitude for their loyalty and defence of the city.²²⁶ The representatives of the *Buenas Villas*, or major towns, of the realm signed a proclamation on 27th August 1274 which declared their support for the widowed Queen Blanche as regent for her young daughter and the governor appointed to rule during her absence.²²⁷

Although Aragon and Castile posed a continued threat, Juana's position improved in 1275. The Pope was not pleased by the aggressive stance that Castile had taken towards

²²² Moret, Vol.5, p.37. Original text is '*oida la muerte del rey D.Enrique, y viendo la Corona de Navarra en la cabeza de una niña, le pareció fácil arrebatarla de ella*'.

²²³ Alfonso's brother Felipe came to Navarre to pledge homage to Enrique and it is noted that Enrique gave him support in his struggle against his royal brother; see AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, nos.58-64, dated 25th January 1274. For more discussion of the situation see O'Callaghan, pp.372-3.

²²⁴ Jose Maria Lacarra, *Historia politica del reino de Navarra desde sus origines hasta su incorporación a Castilla*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1972), p.216. Note: Alfonso X chose to resign his own claim in favor of his son as he was personally preoccupied with his own candidacy for the position of Holy Roman Emperor. Fernando also used economic persuasion on the Navarrese, granting the inhabitants of Mendavia commercial rights with Castile; AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.69, dated 18th November 1274 at Mendavia.

²²⁵ Narbaitz, *Navarra*, p.275. Blanche of Artois granted the city a remission of taxes the following year in recognition of their support and for damages caused during the Castilian attack, see AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.74 dated 9th February 1275 at Sans (Burgundy).

²²⁶ Moret copied the full text of this document in Vol.5, pp.42-44.

²²⁷ DME, Document no. 11, pp. 108-9. (AME, Fondos Especiales, Extraviado). See also Moret, Vol.5, pp35-6.

Navarre and was not well disposed towards Alfonso's request for a papal dispensation so that one of his grandsons could marry the infant queen or his candidacy for the Imperial throne.²²⁸ Moreover, Blanca's appeal to her cousin Philip of France had been successful as 'the most powerful king in Christendom...protected with the affection of blood and the strength of his power the rights of Lady Juana'.²²⁹ The Treaty of Orleans, which provided for the eventual marriage of Juana and one of his sons was signed in 1275 and solidified French support.²³⁰

Unfortunately, events took a turn for the worse in 1276, as a revolt broke out in Pamplona, which was triggered in part by hostility to Juana's betrothal to the French prince.²³¹ The King of France sent an army, headed by Juana's maternal uncle, Robert of Artois, to quell the uprising and defend the realm against the incursions of its Iberian neighbours. The revolt was crushed and the Castilians were driven back and forced to sign a treaty which guaranteed peace during the young queen's minority.²³²

The French party gained control of the realm but the citizens were not pleased about the heavy-handed manner in which they had achieved their aims. The church in particular protested about the damage the French had inflicted when they put down the revolt in the Navarrería.²³³ This led to a formal rebuke from Pope Nicolas III to Philip III of France on the matter.²³⁴

Juana I never had a formal coronation in Navarre. Instead, the French governor and his officials systematically toured the realm to collect oaths of homage to the young queen from the major towns and individual members of the nobility, particularly those who had castles

²²⁸ Kincade, p.301.

²²⁹ Moret, Vol.5, p.46. Original text is '*Principe el más poderoso de la cristiandad...que abrigaría con el cariño de la sangre y fuerzas del poder los derechos de Doña Juana*'.

²³⁰ Translated text of the treaty printed in Theodore Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne' in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. by Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), p.87.

²³¹ This revolt and the queen's marriage will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

²³² See the following chapter and Kincade, p.310-12.

²³³ Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona. Tomo I (829-1500)* (Pamplona, 1965), document nos. 710-13, all dated c.1278, pp.169-70.

²³⁴ *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona*, document no.720, dated c.1279, p.171.

and other fortifications as part of their holdings.²³⁵ The homage of the major towns was collected first, in May 1276. Later, there appears to have been a major session held at Otieza, where nearly twenty documents of homage were written up over a two-day period on 4th-5th November, 1276. Finally, in the spring of 1277, more declarations of homage were collected and some of these appear to be reaffirmations from the castellans of several strategic castles. This strategy appears to have been successful as it effectively cemented Juana's position as sovereign and the position of the French officials to rule as her designated representatives.

There are quite a few similarities between the situations of Juana I and her namesake granddaughter with regard to the succession. Juana II's father also died when she was only a toddler. The two Juanas also both had brothers who died as infants, leaving them as the only surviving child of the previous king. However, Juana II struggled to claim the thrones of France and Navarre, which were ostensibly her birth right from her father, Louis X of France and Luis I of Navarre, due to the interference of two 'wicked uncles'.

Louis' death in 1316 created an unprecedented and problematic situation for the French succession as the king left behind a pregnant wife and a young daughter, Jeanne or Juana, named after her paternal grandmother. Unsure of how to proceed in this unusual situation, an emergency council which included several 'princes of the blood' was formed to deal with the crisis, and for five weeks the kingdom floated in a kind of limbo with no king or regent.²³⁶ Finally it was decided that Louis' brother, Philippe of Poitiers, would serve as regent until the queen gave birth.

An initial agreement regarding the regency and succession to the throne had been drafted on 16th July, while the widowed queen was still pregnant. If the child was a boy, Philippe of Poitiers would serve as regent for the infant King but if the child should prove to be a girl, the half-sisters would at the very least divide the inheritance of their paternal

²³⁵ For a full record of the homage made to Juana in 1276-77, see Table 1 in the Appendices.

²³⁶ Raymond Cazelles, *La Société Politique et la crise de la Royauté sous Philippe de Valois*. (Paris, 1958), p.38.

grandmother between them; the Kingdom of Navarre and the rich counties of Champagne and Brie.²³⁷ The agreement also stipulated that Jeanne was allowed to go to her mother's relatives in Burgundy on the condition that she did not leave France or marry without the agreement of the Princes of the Blood.²³⁸

The queen bore a son, Jean, in mid-November who lived only a handful of days. This event exposed a significant loophole in the aforementioned agreement; there was no proviso for the nearly immediate death of Jeanne's half-brother. The death of her brother left young Juana as the only remaining offspring of the late king and the succession to the thrones of France, Navarre and the counties of Champagne and Brie appeared highly uncertain. Jeanne's maternal uncle Eudes IV of Burgundy was in Paris at the time that the Queen's son died and immediately pushed Philippe for a resolution or renegotiation of their agreement, but Philippe delayed, refusing to respond to Eudes' request until the middle of January.²³⁹ By this time, Philippe had been crowned as King of France at Reims. Eudes refused to attend the ceremony but Jeanne's formidable maternal grandmother Agnes attempted to disrupt the coronation with a protest over the usurpation of the princess' rights.²⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Agnes' protest had no effect and Philippe's position was further bolstered by the assembly on 2nd February which reportedly declared that no woman could succeed to the French throne.²⁴¹ Andrew Lewis has suggested that a sentiment against female succession could be seen earlier and cites a reference to Jeanne's succession rights

²³⁷ G. Servois, 'Documents inédits sur l'avenement de Philippe le Long', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, no. 2 (1864), p.50. Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, Roi de France (1316-1322)*. Vol. I; *Le Règne* (Paris, 1897), p.37. The text of the agreement can be found as prevue CCXXIV in Urbain Plancher, *Histoire Generale et Particuliere de Bourgogne : Avec des Notes, des Dissertations et les Preuves Justificatives : Composée sur les Auteurs, les Titres Originaux, les Régistres Publics, les Cartulaires des Eglises Cathédrales et Collégiales, des Abbaïes, des Monasteres et autres Anciens Monuments ; et enrichie de Vignettes, de Cartres Géographiques, de Divers Plans, de Plusieurs Figures, de Portiques, Tombeaux & Sceaux Tant des Ducs que des Grandes Maisons*. Vol. 2. 4 vols. (Dijon, 1739).

²³⁸ *Histoire de Philippe le Long*, p.43.

²³⁹ Servois, 'Documents inédits', p.53.

²⁴⁰ This astonishing episode was recorded in the 'Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto', in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Gaules Et De La France ; Contenant la deuxième livraison des monuments des règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis X, de Philippe V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. Martin Bouquet, XXI. (Paris, 1855. Reprint: Farnborough, 1968), p.47.

²⁴¹ Ernest Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne. Vol. VII; Règnes de Hughes V & Eudes IV* (Paris, 1901), p.55. Note: there appears to be no surviving document from this assembly, there is only the statement of contemporaries that the fate of female succession was decided here.

by her grandfather in an early marital negotiation.²⁴² This clause notes that 'she could not come to the succession of the King of France or the King of Navarre' without the king's 'especial' permission.²⁴³ However, this clearly did not bar Jeanne from the succession, it only indicated that special permission was needed, which is not unusual given that a woman had never been the heir to the French throne. In the case of Navarre this statement is meaningless, as it was not for Philip IV to decide, and this statement clearly went against standing tradition and custom in Navarre and the laws of the *Fueros*.

It is important to note that the so-called 'Salic Law' was only cited much later; the first known reference to it in regards to the succession of females was made in 1358.²⁴⁴ By the fifteenth century, the prejudice against female succession was such that 'Salic Law' was considered a fundamental, if not a defining element of the French monarchy.²⁴⁵ Although later writers, such as François Hotman claimed that Salic Law had been invoked in the succession crises of 1316-28, there is no evidence from the period to support this claim.²⁴⁶ As Éliane Viennot argued, 'No law, principle or judicial theory was advanced. Only the rule of force and interests were brought into play.'²⁴⁷

These events appear to have ended Jeanne's hopes of the French crown but Agnes refused to give up on her granddaughter's rights. A letter was sent from Jeanne to her vassals in Champagne, encouraging them to refuse to pay homage to Philippe and asking them to assemble on 8th May with their men-at-arms in order to 'defend' the county. Eudes

²⁴² Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on the Familial Order and the States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp.152-54.

²⁴³ Quoted in *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p.152. Original text is 'elle ne puisse venir a succession dou roy de France ne dou roy de Navarre, se de grace especiaul.'

²⁴⁴ Sarah Hanley, 'The politics of identity and monarchic government in France: the debate over female exclusion' in *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, ed. by Hilda L. Smith (Cambridge, 1998), p.80. Note: This first reference to Salic Law appeared in Richard Lescot's *Genealogia aliquorum regnum Francie*.

²⁴⁵ Philippe Contamine, 'Le royaume de France ne peut tomber en fille'; Fondement, Formulation et implication d'une théorie politique à la fin du Moyen Age', *Perspectives Medievales* 13 (1987), p.72. Contamine suggests that this sentiment was definitely absorbed into the political culture of France between 1409-1413.

²⁴⁶ R.J. Knecht, *The Valois : kings of France, 1328-1589* (London, 2004), p.2. John Milton Potter, 'The Development and Significance of the Salic Law of the French', *The English Historical Review* 52, no. 206 (1937), p.249. François Hotman, *Francogallia*. trans. by J.H.M. Salmon, ed. by Ralph E. Giesey (Cambridge, 1972), pp.268-9.

²⁴⁷ Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir: l'invention de la loi salique (V-XVI siècle)* (Paris, 2006), p.312. Original text; 'Aucune loi, aucun principe, aucune théorie juridique n'ont été avancés. Seuls les rapports de force et les intérêts ont joué.'

IV and his mother Agnes, together with the barons of Champagne and Brie and other nobles who opposed the rise of Philippe de Poitiers, continued to actively oppose the usurpation of Jeanne's rights, appealing to *Parlement* and writing letters to other powerful barons to stir up support for the would-be queen.²⁴⁸ In one of these letters, written in early 1317 to Robert de Béthune, Eudes argued that the circumvention of Jeanne went against 'the divine right of law, by custom, in the usage kept in similar cases in empires, kingdoms, fiefs, in baronies in such a length of time that there is no memory of the contrary.'²⁴⁹

The stakes had been raised and Philippe was forced to renegotiate with Jeanne and her maternal kin. A new agreement was finally reached on 27th March 1318; Eudes would marry Philippe's eldest daughter with a hefty dowry of the counties of Burgundy and Artois while Jeanne would marry her cousin Philip d'Evreux and receive 15,000 *livres tournois* in rents and if Philippe died with no male heir she would inherit Champagne and Brie.²⁵⁰ Jeanne was required to renounce her rights to the thrones of France and Navarre, although crucially this had to be ratified once she reached her majority at 12 years of age and it appears that this ratification never occurred. This agreement brought an end to any protest on Jeanne's behalf; her defenders were placated if not effectively bought off and Jeanne was safely consigned to the care of her new in-laws, away from the court and those who might support her claim.

Ultimately, Jeanne's claim to the French throne failed for several reasons. Almost all of the preconditions and factors discussed earlier did not apply to her situation. The only precondition or factor which Jeanne could satisfy was her connection to the direct line of descent, but this questioned as Jeanne was tainted by rumours of illegitimacy. Jeanne's mother was Louis X's first wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne, who was accused of adultery in

²⁴⁸ Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (London, 1980), p.365.

²⁴⁹ Servois, 'Documents inédits', p.71. Original text is, '(le) droit divin de loy, par costume, quant par usage gardez en sembables cas en empires, en reumes, en parries, en baronies, de tant de temps que il n'est memoire dou contraire.'

²⁵⁰ *La Société Politique*, pp.38-9. C.T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy 1224-1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p.126 and p.130.

1314 during the reign of Philip IV.²⁵¹ Marguerite and her sister Blanche, who was married to Louis' brother Charles, were incarcerated for treasonous adultery and the king's third daughter-in-law, Jeanne (the wife of Philippe de Poitiers) was placed under house arrest for her supposed knowledge of the affairs. The two men in question were summarily executed and Marguerite died under questionable circumstances while imprisoned in the Château Galliard. Elizabeth A.R. Brown claims that the King's behaviour stemmed from 'lofty moralism' and an obsession with the legitimacy of the Capetian line.²⁵² There is some remaining doubt as to the surety of the convictions however, including a plausible suggestion that Queen Isabelle of England fabricated the accusations during her visit in 1314.²⁵³ Whether the allegations were true or false, Jeanne remained the daughter of a woman who had been convicted of having an adulterous relationship around the time of her birth and was therefore heavily tainted by an assumption of illegitimacy. Although Louis did reportedly acknowledge Jeanne as his own on his deathbed, there were many in the French court who believed her to be d'Aunay's child and not the King's.²⁵⁴ This '*soupçon d'indignité*' may have been the primary factor which prevented Jeanne's accession and thus as Lehugeur remarked, the adultery scandal of the King's daughters-in-law may not have been a light court distraction, but an event which radically altered the history of France.²⁵⁵

The fact that Jeanne was also very young was another detrimental factor for her claim.

At the time of her father's death, she would have been about four years old. Although Juana

²⁵¹ There are several accounts of the scandal in contemporary chronicles including; Geffroy de Paris, *La Chronique Métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. by Armel Diverrès (Paris, 1956); '*E Chronico Sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi*' and '*Ex Anonymo Regum Franciae Chronico*' in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France; Contenant la quatrième livraison des monuments des regnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis X, de Philippe V et de Charles IV, depuis MCCCXXVI jusqu'en MCCCXXVIII*, ed. by Victor Palmé (Paris, 1865; reprint, Farnborough, 1968).

²⁵² Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Prince is Father to the King: The Character and Childhood of Phillip the Fair,' *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), p. 283 and pp.315-316.

²⁵³ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'Diplomacy, Adultery and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabelle's mission to France in 1314' in *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History presented to George Paddy Cuttino*, ed. by J.S Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley (Woodbridge, 1989), pp.53-83. Brown discusses the evidence for this, concluding that although Isabelle may have profited from the scandal, it is uncertain that the accusations originated with Isabelle.

²⁵⁴ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X,' *Traditio* 34 (1978), p.235.

²⁵⁵ *Histoire de Philippe le Long*, p.41.

I had successfully claimed the throne at a similar age, she had a difficult time and was arguably only successful due to the intervention of Philip III of France. Moreover Juana I had no surviving uncles who could contest her position whereas Jeanne's uncle Philippe claimed that his right to the throne was stronger than his niece's as he belonged to an earlier generation which meant that he had a closer tie to Saint Louis.²⁵⁶ Had Jeanne been a grown woman with a powerful husband by her side and children of her own, it is highly unlikely that her claim would have been so easily brushed aside. Moreover, if more time had elapsed since her mother's conviction for adultery, her connection with the scandal would have been lessened. However, in 1316 Jeanne as a young, possibly illegitimate orphan with a number of male relatives who could justify their own right to the throne, her claim stood little chance of success.

Although the primary reasons for rejecting Jeanne's claim to the throne had little to do with the fact that she was female, once she had been bypassed, a precedent against female succession was set. In 1322, Philippe V died leaving four daughters and no surviving sons to succeed him. This time however, his younger brother Charles immediately assumed the throne and the possibility of any of Philippe's daughters assuming the throne does not appear to have been seriously raised. The issue of female succession was reopened at the death of Charles IV in 1328. Once again, the king left a pregnant wife and a young daughter and this time there were no surviving brothers to take the throne. Philip de Valois, a grandson of Philip III, was designated as potential regent if the Queen bore a male child. This time however, the Queen gave birth to a daughter. The direct Capetian male line was extinct, leaving only a group of eight royal princesses.

The precedent against female succession which had been established in 1316 had been reinforced in 1322 and seemed unlikely to be overturned. Indeed, overturning the ban on women would be difficult as it was not clear which of the women of the Capetian dynasty

²⁵⁶ Potter, 'Salic Law', p.239.

had the better claim. Isabella, Queen of England since 1308, was the eldest of the group and the last surviving sibling of Louis X, whose death began the crisis. Juana was the only child of the last direct king, but if she was illegitimate, Philippe V's daughter Jeanne, the powerful Countess of Burgundy, would be next in line. There was also a case for Marie or the newborn Blanche who were the only *porphyrogenitas*, born while their father Charles IV was king. Given this complex situation, and the fear that Isabella would transmit her right to her son Edward III of England, it is hardly surprising that there was no move to reinstate the possibility of female succession even though all of these women had a more direct claim to the throne than Philip de Valois.²⁵⁷

A meeting with deputations from all of the claimants, male and female, was held in the spring of 1328 at St. Germain-en Laye to hammer out a complicated agreement of compromise, concessions and compensation to all parties. This time Juana was in a much stronger position to negotiate over her disputed inheritance. She was now a grown woman, married to Philip d'Evreux, who had a strong claim to the French throne himself, certainly on a par with the claim of Philip de Valois. Moreover, although Valois had a right to the French throne he had absolutely no claim to the counties of Champagne, Brie and most importantly to the Iberian Kingdom of Navarre, which had come to the French crown through Juana I.

However, Philip de Valois was determined to keep Champagne for more than purely financial reasons. Adding Champagne to their existing territories in Northern France would allow the Juana and Philip d'Evreux's territory to practically encircle Paris, 'like a pincer grip' on the capital.²⁵⁸ Nor would it be a wise move to allow the counties to be joined up with the adjacent territory of Philippe V's eldest daughter, the Countess of Burgundy. Philip de Valois managed to retain Champagne and Brie for the French crown by offering Jeanne and her husband the territories of Longueville and Mortain near Evreux and the county of

²⁵⁷ *La Société Politique*, p.49.

²⁵⁸ Fermín Miranda García, 'Felipe y Juana de Évreux y la guerra de Cien Años (1337-1349)' in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1996), p.82.

Angoulême in exchange. The Countess of Burgundy and the remaining princesses were offered a package of financial compensation for their share of the royal inheritance.²⁵⁹

The succession to the Kingdom of Navarre was the final area which needed to be resolved. The realm had been unhappily attached to the French crown since Philip III assumed the guardianship of Juana I in 1275. The Navarrese had tolerated French rule because of the indisputable claims of Juana I and her son Louis, but were increasingly uncomfortable under absentee rulers and a series of often repressive French governors. As far as the Navarrese were concerned, Jeanne should have followed her father Louis as Queen of Navarre, regardless of whether or not she was also Queen of France. Moreover, as Moret demonstrates, by 1328, there was ample precedent for female rule and inheritance through the female line,

If the Infanta Blanca, sister of the King Sancho *el Fuerte* had not been prevented by Salic Law from inheriting Navarre nor was her great-granddaughter Lady Juana, daughter of Enrique *el Gordo*, who inherited the realm and put it completely to France by her marriage with Philip the Fair, with what right, with what appearance of justice could they dare to exclude her granddaughter Juana?²⁶⁰

The succession of Juana's uncles Philippe and Charles clearly contravened the succession practices laid out in the *Fueros*. Although Philippe was generally acknowledged as king, many Navarrese refused to pay homage to Charles as they felt he had no right to the throne.²⁶¹ Moret summarizes the attitude of the Navarrese to the usurpation of Jeanne's rights by her uncles,

The other two brothers without any right in Navarre left out the Lady Juana, legitimate daughter of the first-born son Louis...and excluded her with an extension of the Salic Law, unknown in Spain and it would never pass through the Pyrenees without violence...the Cortes declared the right of the succession for the Lady Juana, cauterizing the dangerous

²⁵⁹ Martín Larráyo Zarranz notes a document dated 18th July 1334 from Philip de Valois ratifying this agreement and authorizes a payment of 1,000 *livres tournois* and land promised to Marie and Blanche, daughters of Charles IV in the agreement of 1328. See *Documentos Relativos a Navarra existentes en los Archivos Franceses*, Document no.52 (K.52, no.27 'Resume Tardif, no.1212, p.379a), p.34.

²⁶⁰ Moret, Vol.5, p.234. Original text is; '*que si á la infanta Doña Blanca, hermana del rey D.Sancho el Fuerte, no le habia dañado la Ley Sálica para heredar á Navarra ni á su bizneita Doña Juana, hija de D.Enrique el Gordo, el heredarla é introducir totalmente en Francia por el matrimonio con D. Felipe el Hermoso ¿con qué razón, con qué apariencia de justicia se atrevían en Francia à querer excluir a su nieta Doña Juana?*'

²⁶¹ Manuel Iribarren, *En la Orbita Francesa*, Navarra: Temas de Cultura Popular, vol. 170 (Pamplona, 1971), p.11.

flow of this intrusive and foreign law, called and crowned Lady Juana with her husband Lord Philip, Count of Evreux...²⁶²

The succession of Jeanne and her husband Philip d'Evreux is considered to be an extremely important event in the history of Navarre as the beginning of a new dynasty and a new era, free from Capetian rule. Moret cites a Navarrese saying which illustrates the importance of this event in the popular memory, 'One Juana took the kingdom abroad, the other Juana restored it to us and returned home.'²⁶³ Accordingly, the events of 1328-9, from the death of Juana's uncle Charles in February 1328 to the installation of the new monarchs in the following spring, have been a subject of intensive study and discussion. In addition to the extensive coverage given to this period in general works of Navarrese history, several articles have been published on specifically on this short period. Although many historians have described this period positively, as the kingdom was once again in a position to 'choose' their sovereign or re-establish the direct line of succession, some of these articles have portrayed this period instead as a moment of crisis. Pilar Azcárate Aguilar-Amat in her article 'Navarre in a state of alert' focuses on the possibility that Aragon and Castile intended to use this moment of political uncertainty to force a protectorate on Navarre, just as they had moved in with predatory intent during the succession crisis of Juana I.²⁶⁴ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero describes the events of this period, particularly the hastily assembled meeting in response to the death of Carlos at Puente la Reina on March 13, 1328 as a 'revolutionary blow' or a coup d'état on the part of the nobility, wresting back the control of the country from Paris.²⁶⁵ After the initial meeting in March 1328, the *Cortes* met again in May and

²⁶² Moret, Vol.5, p.132. Original text is '*Los otros dos hermanos sin derecho alguno en cuanto à Navarra por haber quedado Doña Juana, hija legítima del primogenito Luis...procuraron excluir con extension de la Ley Sálica, ignorada de España y que nunca pasó el Pirinéo hasta su violencia....Cortes declaron el derecho de la sucesión por Doña Juana, poniendo cauterio al flujo pernicioso de aquella ley intrusa y forastera, y llamaron y coronaron à Doña Juana con su marido D. Felipe, Conde de Evreux...*'

²⁶³ Moret, Vol.5, p.248. Original text is '*Una Juana llevó el Reino fuera; otra Juana nos le restituye y vuelve à casa.*'

²⁶⁴ Pilar Azcárate Aguilar-Amat, 'Navarra en estado de alerta: Un protecto castellana-aragonés de intervención en 1329?' *Príncipe de Viana* Anejo 8, no. 3; Comunicaciones Edad Media (1988), pp. 313-320.

²⁶⁵ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'Un golpe revolucionario en Navarra: 13 de marzo de 1328' in *Coups d'état à la fin du moyen âge aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale*, ed. by Jean Philippe Genet and José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), pp. 403-432.

drafted a summons to request that Jeanne come to Navarre as soon as possible to claim her birth right as their Queen.²⁶⁶ With the support of the *Cortes*, negotiations with her Capetian relatives complete and even papal backing, Juana was a successful claimant at last.²⁶⁷

Even though Jeanne eventually claimed the Navarrese throne, she certainly never forgot her birthright as the daughter of the king of France and referred to herself as such in her address clause.²⁶⁸ Another reference to her Capetian lineage can be found in the unusual image cycle of Saint Louis in Jeanne's Book of Hours, which stresses the King's coronation and kingship rather than the customary images of his sainthood.²⁶⁹ Tania Mertzman argues in her study of the Book of Hours that the unusual image cycle 'suggests that Jeanne is a worthy and direct descendant of Louis IX who should not be denied her place in the Capetian lineage and succession'.²⁷⁰ Marguerite Keane believes that the book may have been commissioned to mark the birth of Jeanne's first son Louis in 1330 and that the choice of images signals her ambition for her child to succeed to the French throne.²⁷¹ However, Martinez de Aguirre suggests a much later date for this commission, between 1336-1340.²⁷² While this would not negate the previous suggestion regarding the Capetian succession it would conflict with Keane's link to the birth of Jeanne's first son. In addition, Martinez de Aguirre notes the presence of her mother's Burgundian coats of arms, which is intriguing considering the adultery scandal which led to her disgrace and death.

²⁶⁶ It is interesting to note a document from the council of Olite, drafted in preparation for this meeting which gives their representative permission to recognize Jeanne as Queen of Navarre. DMO, Document 155, dated April 24th 1328 at Olite, pp.467-69 (AMO, Pergaminos 56). The official request from the Cortes to Juana II is AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.81 dated May 4, 1328.

²⁶⁷ Pope John XXII issued a papal bull in support of Philip d'Evreux as King of Navarre on August 22, 1328 (AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.80 from Avignon). It is interesting to note that he is confirming Juana's husband as king, not Juana herself, even though she is the actual claimant.

²⁶⁸ Joachim Miret y Sans, 'Lettres closes des derniers Capétiens directs', *Moyen Age* 28 (1915-1916), p.56. Original text is ; '*Jehanne fille de roy de France, par ycelle mesmes grace royne de Navarre, contesse d'Evreux, d'Engolème, de Mortaing et de Longueville...*'.

²⁶⁹ See an illustration from this Book of Hours which depicts Blanche of Castile observing Louis IX's instruction in the Appendices, Figure 20.

²⁷⁰ Tania Mertzman, 'An Examination of Miniatures of the Office of St. Louis in Jeanne de Navarre's Book of Hours', *Athanas*, no. 12 (1994), p.19.

²⁷¹ Marguerite Keane, 'Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Jeanne of Navarre', *Visual Resources* 20, no. 2-3 (2004), p.238.

²⁷² *Arte y Monarquía*, p.338.

Certainly the behaviour of her son Carlos II during the Hundred Years War could be interpreted as the actions of a man who believed that his own claim to the French throne was superior to that of the Valois. Even in death, Jeanne emphasized her claim to the French throne as she chose to be entombed in the traditional burial place of French kings at Saint Denis alongside her brother, Jean I 'the Posthumous' rather than in Navarre.²⁷³ Éliane Viennot viewed this as 'a gesture of expiation from the usurpers to a princess who ought to have been Queen of France'.²⁷⁴ Whether or not it was motivated by a desire on the part of Jeanne to take her rightful place amongst her Capetian ancestors or guilt from the Valois who displaced her, ultimately the tomb serves as a lasting reminder of her thwarted claim to the throne of France.

Catalina's situation was similar to Juana II's as she was also a minority claimant with an uncle who contested her right to succeed. Ironically, Catalina's uncle tried to use the precedent set by Jeanne's case in France which prohibited female succession as a pretext for unseating his niece. However, the laws of Navarre and the precedent set by Juana I and the following queens clearly demonstrated the legality of female rule in the realm and affirmed her claim. Unlike Juana I, Catalina did not have the initial support of the King of France, who favoured the claim of her rivals for a long period.

Catalina's uncle was Jean, the Viscount of Narbonne, the third son of Leonor I. There was no doubt that Jean was a viable claimant, in fact he was the closest male heir to the throne and Catalina's brother Francisco Fébo had named him as next in line after Catalina in his will.²⁷⁵ However, Moret emphatically argues that Jean 'had no right, but he wanted to

²⁷³ See a photograph of Jeanne's tomb at Saint Denis in the Appendices, Figure 22.

²⁷⁴ Viennot, p.324. Original text is '*un geste d'expiation des usurpateurs envers une princesse qui aurait dû être reine de France*'.

²⁷⁵ Anthony, *Les testaments*, p.35.

imagine that the Salic Law was observed in Navarre, which excluded daughters from the inheritance of the kingdom of France'.²⁷⁶

Moreover, this was not the first time Jean de Narbonne had contested the succession. On the death of his brother, Gaston, the Principe de Viana, Jean had appealed to Paris, claiming that as the eldest surviving child of Gaston IV, he should succeed to his father's substantial Pyrenean territories. Jean predicated his rights on the fact that his brother had died before he had actually ruled in Foix-Béarn and therefore the governance of the French territories should come to him instead of Francisco Fébo.²⁷⁷

Although Louis XI may have indeed have been sympathetic to Jean's case, as Suárez Fernández has argued, in the end it was impossible that the French king would undermine the position of his sister and nephew.²⁷⁸ Louis had already affirmed his support of his sister's regency with a series of missives to the *États du Béarn*, including one early letter dated 7th August 1472 which entreated the *États* to maintain their loyalty to his 'very dear and beloved' sister and both of her children.²⁷⁹ Despite his initial lack of success, Jean decided to try again to unseat his brother's progeny when Catalina succeeded to the throne. This time the situation was different; Charles VIII was on the throne and Jean's rival was now a young girl. The other crucial difference was that the throne of Navarre was now at stake as well as the Foix-Béarn possessions.

Catalina's situation was complicated by the fact that the union of the Navarrese kingdom with the collection of French territories which belonged to the House of Foix-Béarn meant that she had to be confirmed as her brother's rightful heir by both the *Cortes* in Pamplona and the *États du Béarn* in Pau. Catalina had the weight of law and custom on her side in Pamplona as the clearly designated heiress of the direct line and although her Iberian

²⁷⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.91. Original text is '*no tenía para esto razón ninguna, sino la imaginaria de quere que en Navarra se observase la ley sálica que excluye á las hembras de la herencia del Reino en Francia*'.

²⁷⁷ Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, pp.102-3.

²⁷⁸ Suárez Fernández, 'Fernando y Leonor', p.637.

²⁷⁹ Letter dated 7th August 1472, from La Guierche, number MMLVI in Joseph Vassan and Étienne Charavay. *Lettres de Louis XI, Roi de France*. Vol. X; 1482-1483 et supplément. XI vols. (Paris, 1908), pp.333-4. Original text is '*trés chere et amée*'.

subjects may not have approved of her French mother as regent, they could hardly reject Catalina's right to be their next sovereign. Moret notes the Navarrese were quick to issue a letter of condolence to Magdalena and Catalina on Francisco Fébo's death which offered to serve the new queen with 'the most keen loyalty'.²⁸⁰ Catalina needed this public expression of support and Moret comments that 'this expression of condolence and love was good and was returned with plentiful appreciation and satisfaction on the part of both princesses'.²⁸¹ However, as Zurita comments, the on-going civil unrest in Navarre made it challenging for the young queen to press her rights and the succession quarrel with her uncle would make it even more difficult for her to assert her authority.²⁸² Indeed the *Cortes* repeatedly protested at Catalina's delayed arrival in Navarre; the queen's response in 1489 made it clear that the threat of her uncle's potential usurpation made it imperative to remain north of the Pyrenees, in order to defend her territories there.²⁸³

The situation on the French side of the Pyrenees was less clear with regard to Catalina's inheritance. Officially, Catalina was quickly confirmed as her brother's successor; the *États du Béarn* confirmed her as '*Dame Souveraine*' in February 1483 and the *États* of Bigorre and Foix issued similar confirmations the following month.²⁸⁴ However, the nobility of Catalina's French territories were divided; some supported her claim, while others backed her uncle. Many of the nobles, such as the Viscount of Lautrec, were loyal to Catalina but her uncle had a great deal of support in Foix, where the seneschal and several key lords espoused his cause.²⁸⁵ The conflict became increasingly violent between 1485-88 as Jean

²⁸⁰ Moret, vol. 7, p.90. Original text is '*con la más fina lealtad*'.

²⁸¹ Moret, vol. 7, p.90. Original text is '*esta expression de condolencia y amor fué bien correspondida con las del agradecimiento y satisfacción muy cumplida de parte de ambas Princesas*'.

²⁸² Zurita, Vol. 8, p.467.

²⁸³ AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.30 dated 29th March 1489 at Orthez.

²⁸⁴ Léon Cadier, *Les États du Béarn depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1886), p.183.

²⁸⁵ Christian Bourret, *Un royaume transpyrénéen? La tentative de la maison de Foix-Béarn-Albret à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Estadens, 1998), p.87.

attempted to seize territory with force of arms and Magdalena had to call on Catalina's vassals to help her defend her lands.²⁸⁶

Louis XI had protected Francisco Fébo's rights, but Charles VIII was less willing to throw his weight behind Catalina. The French king called a council at Montargis in the autumn of 1484 in an attempt to arbitrate between the two claimants. However, rather than decide between his two cousins, Charles issued a letter to the *États du Béarn* confirming their right to select their ruler.²⁸⁷ The language is deliberately neutral and significantly the French king does not accord Catalina any of her titles, French or Iberian, merely referring to her as Magdalena's daughter.

The succession dispute between Catalina and Jean de Narbonne was only formally resolved with the Treaty of Tarbes, which was signed on 7th September 1497.²⁸⁸ This document was intended to 'put an end to all debates' and confirmed Catalina's rights as well as the rights of Jean and his son Gaston to the territories specifically bequeathed to him by Gaston IV. At the end of the document it specifically noted that

the said lord Jean has promised, admitted, agreed and made a pact that...he and his heirs will not make or cause a debate, question the rights for himself or for another, will not bring a trial against the queen or her successors in regard or not in regard to this judgement concerning these said lands and lordships...²⁸⁹

However, Jean did not easily relinquish his ambition, nor did the French king forget that he had an alternative candidate to support if Catalina failed to please him. After Jean's death in 1500, his children carried on his quest to claim the rights of Foix and Navarre which continued to create difficulties for Catalina. Moret cites Louis XII's personal affection for Jean's son Gaston and the French king's preference for Gaston's candidacy for the Navarrese throne as one of the major factors which made Louis 'the greatest enemy' of Catalina and

²⁸⁶ Moret details the conflict during this period in Vol.7, pp.103-6.

²⁸⁷ The letter dated from Montargis on 2nd October 1484 is printed in Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux, 1961), pp.175-6.

²⁸⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.20, dated 7th September 1497 at Tarbes. The treaty is also reprinted in full Boissonade, pp.590-95 (ADPA E547) which is helpful as the AGN copy is damaged and partially illegible.

²⁸⁹ Boissonade, p.595. Original text is '*ledit messier Jehan a promis, convenu et accordé et fait pacte pour cause...que luy, sondit fils, hoirs et successeurs ne fairoin ne mouvront débat, question de droit ny de faict, pour soy ni par autre, ne fairoin procès ni demande à l'encontre de ladite royne et ses hoirs ou successeurs en jugement ou hors jugement, touchant lesdites terres et seigneuries*'.

Jean in the tense decade before the Annexation of 1512.²⁹⁰ Louis XII added weight to Gaston's claim by creating him Duke of Nemours, a title formerly held by Kings and Queens of Navarre in 1507. Bourret describes Gaston as

nephew of Louis XII, brother-in-law of Ferdinand the Catholic, basking in the glow of his victory (as a French captain in the Italian Wars), Gaston of Foix constituted a redoubtable competitor for Catalina of Navarre and Jean d'Albret.²⁹¹

Finally, Jean's daughter Germana pressed her own claim to the lands of Foix-Béarn and the Navarrese throne after the death of her brother in early 1512. Ironically, this actually forced Louis XII to break his allegiance to Catalina's rivals as he feared the incursion of Germana's husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, if his wife was able to press her claim to Foix and Béarn.²⁹² Moret notes that 'if she became Princess of Béarn and had children with Ferdinand, the Spanish would establish themselves in France. This had to be prevented at all costs'.²⁹³ However, even though the French signed a treaty of alliance with Catalina and Jean d'Albret, the danger from Germana's claim was not eliminated.²⁹⁴ Ferdinand used the rights of his wife as part of his justification for the annexation of the Iberian kingdom in 1512.²⁹⁵

Regencies

Minority rule necessitated some form of regency government and in the case of both Catalina and Juana I, their mothers administered some or all of their inheritance on their behalf during the queens' childhood. In both situations, the realm was governed on behalf of the young queens by a combination of a mother as regent and a father-in-law who was formally designated as a governor during the queens' minority years. Again, in both cases,

²⁹⁰ Moret, Vol.7, p.214.

²⁹¹ *Un royaume transpyrénéen*, p.95

²⁹² Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.105.

²⁹³ Moret, Vol.7, p.282. Original text is '*si ella venia á ser Princesa de Bearne y tener hijos del Rey Católico, los españoles se establecerían en Francia. Lo cual convenia impedir de todas maneras.*'

²⁹⁴ The Treaty of Blois, signed on 17th July 1512 is reprinted in Álvaro Adot Lerga, *Juan d'Albret y Catalina de Foix o la Defensa del Estado Navarro* (Pamplona, 2005). pp.361-2 (Original provenance ADPA E.554). Catalina and Jean dispatched their ambassadors to treat with the French king in May; Balaztena, *Documentos Navarros*, no.510, p.239.

²⁹⁵ A recent work on Germana which discusses her claim is Marqués de Cruïlles, *Noticias y Documentos relativos a Doña Germana de Foix, última Reina de Aragon* (Valencia, 2007). For a letter from the King of France to Germana on the subject of her rights to Foix and the Duchy of Nemours, see Boissonade, document XXXIV, dated June 1512, pp.635-6 (AGS Patronato Real, leg.2).

these familial 'stand-ins' were French which created distrust and sometimes outright antipathy from the Navarrese.

As discussed earlier, Juana I's mother, Blanche of Artois, received support from the Navarrese initially as regent, but subsequently felt that it was necessary to flee to the court of France. Almost immediately after her arrival to France, in November 1274, Blanche issued formal declarations of homage to the French king from Vincennes. The first was on behalf of her daughter as Countess of Champagne and the second was for herself personally.²⁹⁶ Once she signed the Treaty of Orleans in 1275, Philip III of France effectively took over Blanche's duties as regent in Navarre as Juana's guardian and future father-in-law. However, Blanche of Artois took up the management of Juana's French inheritance, the rich counties of Champagne and Brie, on her daughter's behalf.

Shortly after her return to France, Blanche of Artois married Edmund of Lancaster, the recently widowed brother of Edward I of England.²⁹⁷ Walter Rhodes suggests that Margaret of Provence, the French Queen mother, ensured that her English nephew secured the wealthy Navarrese widow.²⁹⁸ Trokelowe's *Annales* contains a different and slightly gossipy account of the marriage which describes Blanche's desirability and insinuates that the couple were keen to marry.²⁹⁹

Once married, Edmund administered Champagne and Brie with his new wife. However, it appears that both the Champenois and Edmund of Lancaster were loath to let the French kings claim the county through Juana's impending marriage. Walter Rhodes claims that

²⁹⁶ Both documents are reproduced in full as Nos. LI and LII in *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne et Brie*, p.483.

²⁹⁷ The exact date of their wedding is unclear; Walter Rhodes suggests that it took place between December 1275 and the end of January 1276. Walter E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Continued)' *English Historical Review* 10, no. 38 (1895), p.214

²⁹⁸ 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (Continued)', p.214.

²⁹⁹ Henry Thomas Riley (ed.), *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde, Monachorum S.Albani Necnon Quorundam Anonymorum Chronica et Annales, Regantibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo et Henrico Quarto*. Vol. 3. (London, 1866), pp.70-71. The author's description of Blanche: '*Fama igitur nobilitatis et pulchritudinis istius dominae ubique volabat.*'

Edmund opposed the age at which Juana was supposed to have attained her majority.³⁰⁰

Indeed it may have been Edmund's defiance which provoked an inquest instigated by Philip III, in order to establish Juana's majority and position as the true Countess beyond any doubt.

Philip III had many incentives to ensure that Juana retained the county and to dislodge the queen mother and her English husband as its governors. This important territory was the likely source of Philip III's motivation to secure the young heiress for his son, as J.R. Strayer notes,

Navarre had some strategic importance but produced little income; Champagne was even more important strategically and was immensely wealthy...A potential threat to the old royal domain was removed, a potential opening to the east was acquired, and royal revenues were substantially increased.³⁰¹

The Champenois counts had long been difficult vassals for the Kings of France due to their power, wealth and close connections to the thrones of England and Jerusalem as well as their assumption of the Navarrese crown.³⁰² Elizabeth Hallam described the Counts of Champagne as 'dangerous rivals' for the Kings of France, due in part to their vast territory which 'almost encircled the royal principality' of the Ile de France.³⁰³ Bringing the county of Champagne into the royal domain through marriage was a huge achievement for the Capetian kings and they were understandably keen to gain control of the territory.

To affirm and secure Juana's place as Countess of Champagne, an inquest was initiated in order to ascertain 'the age of the heiress of Champagne and the custom of Champagne as to the age when a young woman (*domicella*) may do homage.'³⁰⁴ Champenois custom did allow for female inheritance; this had been codified in the thirteenth century, following a series of decrees on the subject of inheritance. Indeed a statute regarding female

³⁰⁰ 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster', p.224.

³⁰¹ *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p.9.

³⁰² The English connection came with the accession of Stephen of Blois in 1135 while they were linked to the Kingdom of Jerusalem when Henry of Champagne married Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem in 1192.

³⁰³ Hallam, *Capetian France*, p.43.

³⁰⁴ A translation of the inquest can be found in Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France; Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp.54-56 (Doc. 38).

inheritance was issued in 1212 by Blanche of Navarre, the Countess regent of Champagne, the ancestor through whom Juana's claim to the Navarrese throne derived. This document clearly states not only that females were eligible to inherit their father's estates in the absence of male heirs, but also decrees how the property should be divided if the heiress has sisters.³⁰⁵ Evergates' collection of Champenois documents also contains further decrees on inheritance which date more closely to Juana's lifetime, including a statement of feudal inheritance customs and a decree on the age of feudal majority from 1278.³⁰⁶ The latter document was issued after Juana's arrival in France and betrothal to Philip and it specifically mentions that while a male heir was required to do homage for the lands he inherited at fifteen years of age, a female heiress would do homage at eleven, 'for a man is out of wardship at fifteen years and a woman at eleven years.'³⁰⁷

It would certainly appear that this statue, coupled with the inquest on Juana's age, would show an eagerness on the part of the French king to ensure that his daughter-in-law to be would have full control of her inheritance so that all of her titles and revenue would fall under Capetian control through her marriage to Philip.

The inquest compiled an impressive array of 'witnesses' to testify to the birth of Juana, including the archdeacon of Blois, the marshal of Champagne and several lesser nobles. Interestingly, they all seem to agree about the year (1273) and the location (Bar-sur-Seine) but the date itself varies from 2nd January up to a month later.³⁰⁸ However the key part of the inquest follows:

They were asked whether it was the custom of Champagne that a woman who completes her eleventh year and begins her twelfth may do homage and receive homage from her vassals (vassalis). Monsieur Gilo of Bricon, knight, speaking for all the sworn and in their presence, said that it is the custom of the region of Champagne, and for the county itself, that a woman who has completed her eleventh year and begins her twelfth may do homage to her lords (seigneurs) and may receive homage [from her vassals]. So it has been in many

³⁰⁵ Evergates, *Documents*, pp.50-1 (Doc.35).

³⁰⁶ Evergates, *Documents*, pp.52-4 (Docs 36 and 37).

³⁰⁷ Evergates, *Documents*, p.54 (Doc. 37).

³⁰⁸ Evergates, *Documents*, p.55 (Doc. 38).

cases without challenge, even though the woman has not completed her twelfth year. All who were sworn testified to this and agreed to it by their oaths.³⁰⁹

Once the inquest validated Juana's right to fully come into her inheritance, she was married to Philip, four months later in August 1284. Edmund and Blanche had to give up the administration of the counties but in compensation, they received a hefty settlement including various dower properties, 60,000 *livres tournois* and the continued use of the palace of the Kings of Navarre in Paris.³¹⁰

Just as in the case of Champagne, the kingdom of Navarre was administered on Juana's behalf during her minority. However, it was not her mother who looked after her interests in Navarre after the Treaty of Orleans was signed in 1275, instead it was her prospective father-in-law, Philip III and the governors that he sent from Paris. Documentary evidence from 1276-1280 show a flurry of documents from Philip III with instructions for his governor in Pamplona, in some cases the dispatches were sent on a nearly daily basis.³¹¹ These documents, though issued by the French king, carefully and consistently refer to the rightful sovereign, Juana as a basis for their authority, naming the 'young lady' as 'queen and heir of the kingdom of Navarre'.³¹² Very few acts were issued directly in her own name, however given her very young age, this is not surprising. Even if she had remained in Navarre, either her mother or a council would have been ruling on her behalf during her minority. There are a few examples which are worded as if Juana herself were issuing a mandate, including one from 1277 and another from 1281, though given the fact that she would have been under the age of ten, it is extremely unlikely that she had anything to do with the production of these documents.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Evergates, *Documents*, p.56 (Doc. 38).

³¹⁰ 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster', p. 225.

³¹¹ These documents can be found in the Codices section of the AGN, specifically Codices C.3 which is made up of 23 folios of material from 1276-1279 and Codices C.7 which spans 1274-1285.

³¹² One example: '*pro domicella Iohanna regina et herede regni Navarre et nomine ipsius*' or 'on behalf of the young lady Juana, queen and heir of the kingdom of Navarre and in her own name': AGN Codices, C.3, 3r (2) dated 6th July 1277 at Nemours.

³¹³ AGN Codices, C.3, 5v-6r dated 22nd October 1277 from Paris and AGN Comptos Caj.4, 35 dated 25th June 1281.

Juana I transitioned smoothly into her majority due to the decision of the inquest coupled with her marriage in 1284 and her father-in-law's death the year after, which established her as the Queen of France and Navarre as well as Countess of Champagne and Brie. However, Catalina's situation was more difficult as her mother proved much more difficult to dislodge from her position as regent. The final twenty years of the fifteenth century in Navarre were dominated by the regency of Magdalena, the Princess of Viana and the sister of Louis XI as she served as regent for her son Francisco Fébo and later her daughter Catalina. Although Francisco Fébo's will named his sister Catalina as his 'universal' heir, there were some who opposed her accession because it signalled the continued regency of her mother.³¹⁴ Zurita claims that 'many of the principal citizens of this Kingdom, especially the Beaumonts, wanted to be free from the subjection of the French'.³¹⁵

Catalina's marriage came within eighteen months of her accession to the throne in June 1484; Jean and Catalina were nearly the same age, having been born in 1469 and 1468 respectively. Juana I's marriage had signalled the end of her minority years but even though Catalina and Jean d'Albret were teenagers and acknowledged as sovereigns, they remained under the regency of Magdalena and to some extent of Jean's formidable father, Alain d'Albret. Indeed, the fact that Jean was still in his teens may have made him more attractive to both mother and daughter. Catalina would have appreciated a husband of a similar age and who according to several chroniclers was handsome, well mannered and well educated.³¹⁶ Magdalena for her part may have preferred a teenaged king consort who would be less likely to contest her rule than a fully grown adult.

³¹⁴ R. Anthony and Henri Courteault, *Les testaments des derniers rois de Navarre : François Phébus, 1483, Madeleine de France, 1493, Catherine de Foix, 1504, Jean d'Albret, 1516, Anne d'Albret, 1532 : teste béarnais* (Toulouse, 1940), p.35.

³¹⁵ Zurita, Vol.8, p. 424. Original text is: '*muchos de los principales de aquel reino-señaladamente los de Beaumonte-deseaban salir de la sujeción de franceses*'.

³¹⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.109. Moret's description is very similar to the reports of several other contemporary accounts of Jean d'Albret which were collected and reproduced by Adot Lerga on pp.335-6. In addition Favyn comments on his affable personality, scholarly interests and excellent libraries on p.677. These accounts, both Spanish and French, portray Jean as a handsome, elegant, learned and refined gentleman. All were written roughly within a

The age at which a dependent child attained their majority is somewhat unclear. Previous examples that have been examined in this study vary; the Champenois enquiry on the age of a female heiress to perform and receive homage for the case of Juana I decreed that eleven years of age was sufficient. However, the agreements on succession signed after the coronation of Jeanne and Philip d'Evreux stipulated that a regency would end when the heir, male or female, was twenty-one.³¹⁷ In the county of Foix, Gaston IV succeeded to the title in 1436 when he was only thirteen and was released from the regency of his uncle, Mathieu de Comminges in 1440 when he was only seventeen.³¹⁸ Any of these examples could have served as a possible precedent in the case of Catalina's minority.

It is important to note that although Catalina and Jean married in 1484, their marriage was not consummated until 1491, when both spouses were in their early twenties.³¹⁹ It is plausible that the couple was still considered to be of minority age until 1491 and thus both Magdalena and Alain d'Albret may have felt it was still appropriate to be governing on the couple's behalf. However, it is surprising that the consummation of their marriage was delayed for so long, especially given Magdalena's insistence to the Castilian ambassadors that Catalina was of marriageable age in 1484.³²⁰ It is certainly possible that the consummation was deliberately delayed so that Magdalena could continue to exercise the regency on the couple's behalf.³²¹

Catalina's position as Queen of Navarre had been formally acknowledged since her brother's death in 1483 but due to the contested claim of her uncle Jean of Narbonne, the on-going crisis in Navarre and the continued regency of her mother, Catalina had never been

century of the annexation in 1512, which means they may be fairly accurate, but there is also a danger that they are tinged with sympathy for the exiled Albret monarchs.

³¹⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated 15th May 15, 1329 at Olite. See also the discussion of the coronation agreements on p.237.

³¹⁸ Pierre Tucóo-Chala, *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux, 1961), pp.98-99.

³¹⁹ *Les testaments*, p.17.

³²⁰ Favyn, p.604.

³²¹ It is worth noting that Anthony suggests that Jean d'Albret was born in 1477 (*Les testaments*, p.19), although he is the only source which suggests this date. If this were the case, it would explain the delayed consummation of the marriage but it would severely undermine Magdalena's previous refusal of Juan of Castile on the grounds of his age.

formally invested as queen, nor had she truly exercised her royal authority in Navarre.

Catalina's father-in-law and two of Catalina's uncles, Jaime and Cardinal Pedro of Foix, had served as viceroys for the young sovereigns in Navarre in their continued absence.³²²

Even after Catalina and Jean received a formal coronation in Pamplona in 1494 Magdalena continued to sign charters jointly with the ruling couple and significantly she often came first in the address clause.³²³ This clearly demonstrates that although the young couple had reached the age of majority and been formally crowned, Magdalena continued to be closely involved with the rule of the kingdom. It appears that only Magdalena's death in January 1495 truly solidified Catalina and Jean's position as ruling sovereigns.³²⁴

Catalina's father-in-law Alain d'Albret also made his presence felt, involving himself in matters foreign and domestic. Adot Lerga asserts that 'from the moment of their marriage, Alain de Albret directed the greater part of Navarrese politics, involving the young sovereigns in his own political projects'.³²⁵ Zurita commented that 'in the affairs of Navarre, the king Jean d'Albret went for the good governance of his father' who advised his son that they needed to get the Beaumont faction on their side.³²⁶ The Beaumont clan had been Leonor's fiercest opponents as they favoured France and opposed Juan of Aragon's rule, and the installation of Leonor as his lieutenant. However, now that the crown was held by French magnates, the Beaumonts were much more amenable to their authority.

Accordingly, the young sovereigns drafted an accord with the Beaumonts in 1485, although

³²² See AGN Comptos, Caj.176, no.13 dated 24th September 1486 at San Juan Pie del Puerto which names Alain d'Albret as the young couple's governor. Cardinal Pierre (Pedro) of Foix was reconfirmed as viceroy during one of their periods of absence in 1498; AGN Comptos, Caj.164, no.1 dated 18th August 1498.

³²³ See the agreements with Ferdinand and Isabel of January 1494 and the Treaty of Medina del Campo, 19th April 1494. Reprinted in full in Adot Lerga, pp. 339-40 and 340-41. (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.58 and AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.17)

³²⁴ It is interesting to note that Favyn remarks on Magdalena's good governance and insinuates that her death marks the start of a disastrous chain of events leading to the annexation. (p.623). Moret also lauds Magdalena's character declaring 'She was a strong woman from the proverbs of Solomon, which is rarely seen in the world' (p.132). Like Favyn, Moret also claims that Magdalena's death was the first of many 'bitter sorrows' for the young couple. Moret also hails Magdalena as a 'royal matron' and praises her constancy in widowhood, remaining faithful to the memory of her husband and focusing on the needs of her children.

³²⁵ Adot Lerga, p.102. Original text is '*Desde el momento del matrimonio, Alain de Albret dirigió en gran medida la política de Navarra, involucrando a los jóvenes reyes en sus proyectos políticos*'.

³²⁶ Zurita, Vol.8, p.491. Original text is '*en las cosas de Navarra, iba el rey don Juan de Labrit por el buen gobierno de su padre*'. Moret also comments that the move to reconcile with the Beaumonts was made 'according to the direction and counsel of his father Señor d'Albret'. (Vol.7, p.113).

this turned out to be only a temporary alliance and the couple continued to have troubled relations with the Beaumonts over the entirety of their reign.³²⁷

Alain became more directly involved with the affairs of Navarre when he was named governor and viceroy on behalf of the young couple, supplanting Catalina's uncle Jaime, on 24th September 1486.³²⁸ Alain governed on the young couple's behalf, citing himself as 'Governor of the Kingdom of Navarre for our most beloved children Lord Jean and Lady Catalina'.³²⁹ However, he did consult with the young sovereigns; one example is a document from 1489 addressed to the couple as 'most high and excellent princes and most powerful kings and lords' which asked for permission to compensate clerical staff with royal possessions as they were having difficulty paying their salaries.³³⁰

Alain was also involved in brokering an alliance for his son and daughter-in-law with Isabel and Ferdinand in Valencia in March 1488.³³¹ Relations with Isabel and Ferdinand had been cool since the suit of their son was rejected in 1484 and they had been taking any Navarrese territory that would easily fall into their grasp including the town and fortress of Lumbier which the Ayanz family gave over to the *Reyes Católicos* for 4,000 *doublas* and some jewellery including a 'large ruby, in a box' in 1486.³³² The address clause of the Treaty of Valencia placed Alain and Magdalena in front of their children and demonstrates the continued dominance of Catalina and Jean's parents,

Alain, lord of Albret, count of Dreux, of Gaura, of Pontievre and Perigord, viscount of Limoges and of Tartas and Captal de Buch and lord of Danuenas in Hainault. For the illustrious lady

³²⁷ Idoate, Florencio, *Archivo General de Navarra; Catálogo de la Sección de Guerra, Documentos años 1259-1800* (Pamplona, 1978), Documents 17 & 18, dated 8th and 9th February 1485 at Pau, p.8. Document 17 is the peace agreement between the sovereigns and the Count of Lerin and Document 18 is a record of his homage to Catalina and Jean.

³²⁸ See AGN Comptos, Caj.176, no.13 dated 24th September 1486 at San Juan Pie del Puerto and Moret, Vol.7, p.114.

³²⁹ Moret, Vol.7, p.115. Original text is '*Gobernador del Reino de Navarra por nuestros muy amados hijos D.Juan y Doña Catalina*'. However, Alain's ambitions and projects in Brittany meant that he sometimes deputized his brother to govern the realm in his absence.

³³⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.31, 2 dated 1st October 1489 from Olite. Original text is '*muy altos muy excellent principes & muy poderosos Reyes e senores*'.

³³¹ Moret describes Alain's visit to Valencia in detail in Vol.7, pp.119-120.

³³² See the full text of this agreement in the original and in translation in Frances G. Davenport, 'Agreement by Ferdinand and Isabella Respecting the Town and Fortress of Lumbier in Navarre,' *The Hispanic American History Review* 3, no. 1 (1920), pp.43-46.

Magdalena, Princess of Viana and the most illustrious lords Jean and lady Catalina king and queen of Navarra their children...³³³

This treaty set up a mutual defensive alliance between the two realms which had a benefit to both parties; it allowed Ferdinand and Isabel to continue their 'protectorate' of Navarre and gave the Catalina and her husband the support that they needed to stabilize the continuing unrest in Navarre and facilitate their delayed coronation.³³⁴

However, Alain was not in Valencia purely to help improve the Navarrese situation. Alain was keen to enlist the support of Isabel and Ferdinand for his own ambitions and was in need of their political and financial support for the Breton faction against the French regent. Moret suggests that Alain's primary motive was in fact the situation in Brittany and that while visiting the Spanish monarchs he would also seek their help with regard to Navarre.³³⁵ Ferdinand and Isabel's support would also help Alain's pursuit of the Breton heiress, Anne, who was Catalina's first cousin.³³⁶

Alain's visit to Valencia was successful in procuring support from the Spanish sovereigns, moreover documentary evidence shows their continuing interest in the Breton affair.³³⁷ One letter from Alain to Isabel and Ferdinand demonstrates how he continued to mix his own political goals with those of Navarre. The letter begins with an update on the current situation in Brittany and ends with a plea to help his son and daughter in law,

Very high, powerful and excellent princes, I know that the king and queen of Navarre have sent their Procurator General to your highnesses on the affairs of the said kingdom, I beg that it pleases you to hold them always in your hand to the end that the said kingdom may live in peace...³³⁸

³³³ The text of the agreement is reprinted in Adot Lerga, Document 1, p.337 and Zurita, Vol.8, pp.543-44. Original text is '*Alam señor de Labrit conde de Dreux, de Gaura, de Pontievre y de Peyregorz, vizconde de Limoges e de Tartas e capdal de Buch e señor de Danuenas en Henaut. Por quanto la ilustre señora doña Madalena princesa de Viana e los muy ilustres señores don Juan e doña Catalina rey e reina de Navarra sus hijos*'.

³³⁴ See Adot Lerga's extensive analysis of the treaty; Adot Lerga, pp. 92-97.

³³⁵ Moret, Vol. 7, p.118.

³³⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.117 and pp.122-24.

³³⁷ Suárez Fernández claims that preventing French control of Brittany was one of Ferdinand and Isabel's key policy aims; Luis Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos. Vol. II (1489-1493)* (Valladolid, 1966), pp.71-2.

³³⁸ The letter, dated 11th October 1490 is reprinted in Luis Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos. Vol. III (1489-1493)* (Valladolid, 1969), Document 53, pp.228-9. Original text is '*tres haults, tres puissans et tres excellens princes, j'ay sceu que le roy et reyne de Navarre ont envoye leur*

However, Alain's actions could also damage Navarrese relations with France and Spain, particularly in the years after Catalina and Jean reached age of majority and independent governance. By 1503, Alain was once again firmly allied to the French crown and relations between France and Spain had become decidedly hostile. On hearing that Alain was leading a French army to Spain, Ferdinand issued instructions to his ambassador to Navarre, asking him to convey to Catalina and Jean that

the French have advertised that the Lord of Albret is coming with men and as he is attributed to be their father, they will not refuse him and the men of the King of France entry into Navarre; even though I know for certain that the king and queen, my cousins, will keep entirely to that which we have agreed...³³⁹

Later on, as the crisis point approached in early 1512, Alain's interests and actions were once again in conflict with the Navarrese monarchs. Moret comments that

at this point our King was too good a son just as Alain was too poor a father as usual...he saw mainly his own interests which should have been inseparable from those of his son, although they were often very contrary.³⁴⁰

The situations of both Juana I and Catalina highlight the difficulties in regencies, both in having the realm administered by foreigners and in the struggle to disengage parental influence once the queens had reached their majority age. Even after both women were established as fully-grown adults, the legacy of their regency periods hindered their ability to fully and effectively exercise power. In Juana's case, she was never able to truly exercise her royal authority in Navarre as the realm was administered primarily by governors who were working under her future father-in-law's and later her husband's instructions. Catalina only was able to exercise authority in tandem with her husband after her mother's death, but her

procureur general devers voz altezes pour les affaires du dit royaume, je vous supplie qui vous plaise y tenir tousiours la main a fin que le dit royaume demeure en paix'. Note: it is possible that Alain's information was slightly out of date as Isabel and Ferdinand had issued a document on 3rd July 1490 from Cordoba concerning a peace agreement with and within Navarre. Reprinted in *Politica de Isabel III*, document 41, pp.192-199 (AGS Registro del Sello, 1490-VII, fol.20).

³³⁹ Reprinted in Boissonade, document XVIII, pp.39-40 (ADPA E559). Original text is '*los Franceses publican que viene Mossen de Labrit con gente y que so atchaque de ser su padre, no le han de negar con gente del rey de Francia la entrada en Navarra; y aunque yo tengo por cierto que el Rey y la Reina, mis sobrinos, guardan enteramente lo que con nos tienen capitulado*'. Moret also discusses this episode in Vol.7, pp.165-66.

³⁴⁰ Moret, Vol.7, p.281. Original text is '*nuestro rey pecó de buen hijo en esta ocasión, como Aman pecó siempre de mal padre...mira principalmente en sus propias conveniencias, que debiendo ser inseparables de las de su hijo, muchas veces fueron muy contrarias*'.

reign was hindered by wider political circumstances and the internal unrest that she inherited from her predecessors' rule as well as the decisions made and actions taken by her mother and father-in-law. Therefore, in both cases it can be argued that minority rule had an ultimately negative effect on the ability of the queens to rule effectively and most importantly a negative impact on the realm itself.

Sons

It is significant that all of the queens in this study had sons to succeed them. None of these queens passed the throne directly to a daughter. It has been argued that female successors were only viable as placeholders if as Karl Werner describes 'she passed the power given to her by her father either to her husband or to her son'.³⁴¹ The existence of a son provided dynastic continuity and it is possible that a queen's subjects were more willing to tolerate female rule if it was clear that it was only a temporary prospect.

This line of argument, reducing queens regnant to placeholders, is not fully supported by the evidence in this study. The majority of the queens in this study bore their sons after they came to the throne. In their case, whereas a son may not have helped them succeed to the throne it may have secured their rule over time, particularly when there was a contested succession as in the cases of Juana I and Catalina. None of the queens in this study abdicated in favour of their son's claim however. Furthermore, as the next chapter will demonstrate, these female sovereigns did not simply pass their power to their husband either.

Only two of the queens in this study, Blanca I and Leonor, had sons at the time of their accession. In Blanca's case, as discussed previously, the existence of her son and his designation as her heir was one of the key factors that smoothed her own path to the throne. When Leonor was initially designated as heir apparent and lieutenant of Navarre in 1455, she had five children, including three sons. The fact that both of her elder siblings had

³⁴¹ Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Les Femmes, le pouvoir et la transmission de pouvoir' in *La Femme au moyen-âge*, ed. by Jean Heuclin and Michel Ruche (Maubeuge, 1990), p.366. Original text is '*la fille héritière passé le pouvoir paternel, soit à son mari, soit à son fils.*'

failed to produce legitimate children may possibly have been part of the reason why Juan decided to put her claim first.

It is important to stress the fact that none of the queens were asked to step aside in favour of their son's rule. There was an Iberian precedent for this situation in the case of Berenguela of Castile. On the death of her brother Enrique I in 1217, Berenguela was recognized at the rightful heir as the eldest surviving child of Alfonso VIII. However, she was encouraged by her own supporters to abdicate in favour of her teenage son, Fernando.³⁴² Although Miriam Shadis has argued that Berenguela's decision to abdicate 'in fact framed and defined her grasp on political power' and affirmed the ability of women to succeed to the Castilian throne, the fact that Berenguela was forced to move aside in favour of her son was a potentially dangerous precedent for female rule.³⁴³

A son could also be a potential rival for power, which is demonstrated by the civil war between Melisende of Jerusalem and her son Baldwin III. Baldwin and his supporters felt that his mother was a regent who needed to step aside once he reached his late teens. However, Melisende saw herself as a co-ruler rather than a regent and as the designated heir of her father Baldwin II she felt no need to abdicate power to her son.³⁴⁴ The lack of consensus regarding whether or not Melisende was co-ruler or merely the queen dowager of Jerusalem can clearly be seen in the illustrations of Baldwin's coronation in contemporary chronicles. Jaroslav Folda compares Melisende's portrayal in several illustrations which range from her inclusion as an onlooker in the crowd, being crowned alongside him or even placing the crown on her son's head.³⁴⁵ The resulting civil war between the supporters of

³⁴² Bethany Aram, 'Authority and Maternity in Late Medieval Castile: Four Queens Regnant' in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), p.122-3 and Miriam Shadis, 'Women, Gender and Rulership in Romance Europe: The Iberian Case', *History Compass* 4, no. 3 (2006), p.483-5.

³⁴³ Miriam Shadis, 'Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage and Succession' in *Medieval Motherhood*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), p.336.

³⁴⁴ For extensive coverage of Melisende's rule and conflict with her son see Hans Eberard Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 26 (1972), pp.110-11 and 114-182.

³⁴⁵ Jaroslav Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*: 1250-1300', *Gesta* 32, no. 2 (1993), pp.101-104.

Melisende and those of her son, did considerable damage to the kingdom of Jerusalem and ended with Melisende's almost complete withdrawal from public life and governance.

Only one of the queens in this study actually faced a direct challenge from her son. Leonor was briefly stripped of the lieutenancy of Navarre and the office was given over to her son Gaston. Leonor fought vociferously for her right to rule and challenged her father's decision to promote her son to the lieutenancy over her. This caused a great deal of anguish within the family, particularly for young Gaston who felt unable to reject the position that his formidable grandfather had given him, even if that meant angering his parents. Leonor only regained her position due to her son's untimely death a short time later. If her son had survived, it is likely that he would have retained the lieutenancy and ultimately succeeded to the throne of Navarre in her place, ousting her completely from the succession.

The difficulties began in the late 1460's when the formidable ambition of Leonor and her husband began to erode their patience and the couple had decided that they 'were not content with the role of lieutenant, but that they wanted to stick to (or be girded with) the royal crown'.³⁴⁶ However, Leonor's scheming attempts to ally with the French and remove Juan of Aragon completely from the government of Navarre brought her into conflict with her father. His response was to take the lieutenancy of Navarre from Leonor and her husband and gave it to their son Gaston and his wife Magdalena of France instead on 11th December 1469.³⁴⁷ Gaston and Leonor could not hope that the French king would support them in their quest to regain their position, as that would mean displacing his own sister.

Once again, Leonor had a family rival who she had to overcome in order to achieve her ambitions, however this time it was neither a sibling or her father, but her own son. Leonor and Gaston reacted strongly to their son's promotion and listed out grievances in a letter signed by both parents which begins with 'The reasons why the Prince and Princess of

³⁴⁶ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.26. Original text is '*no se contenta con el cargo de lugarteniente, sino que quiere ceñir la corona real*'.

³⁴⁷ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.28.

Navarre are unhappy with the Prince of Viana, their son'.³⁴⁸ In the letter they castigate their ungrateful son for usurping their place and working with their enemy Juan 'who has disinherited them of that which by right belongs to them'.³⁴⁹ A letter was issued in response on behalf of the young prince which attempted to defend his alliance with his grandfather and his 'desire to serve him as a son should do to his grandfather',

The truth is that the King of Aragon sent him there and those of the kingdom of Navarre requested him many times to accept [Juan's orders]. All the time, the prince, for the honour and reverence of my lord and lady, his father and mother, [said] that he did not want to listen to them...³⁵⁰

Louis XI attempted to intervene to reconcile Gaston and Leonor to their son, sending an envoy to the couple to tell them that the son was 'their good, loyal and obedient son and serves them in all and by that he would please them'.³⁵¹ Gaston responded with an angry letter to Louis, upset by the king's lack of support in spite of Gaston's loyal service.³⁵² Gaston said that he wanted to please Louis but 'regarding the pardoning of my son, Sire, you know all of the dishonours that my said son has done to me'.³⁵³ Regarding Navarre, Gaston argued,

Sire, you want me to give the lieutenancy of Navarre to my said son, Sire you know that the right I have in Navarre, is because of the princess my wife and is a good reason that as long as we live, we will have the honour and the profit [of it]...and for this Sire, it is not our intention of my said wife nor of myself to do it, for it would not be for our good. But if it seems to you that it would be so good for our said son to have the government and lieutenancy, you have such great forces that you can give him...³⁵⁴

³⁴⁸ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXIV, pp. 373-376 dated May or June 1470. Original text is '*Las causas dont monsieur le prince et madama la princessa de Navarra son mal contentz de monsieur lo prince de Viane lor filh*'.

³⁴⁹ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXIV, p.373. Original text is '*los desheredar de lo que de dret los apparthiey*'.

³⁵⁰ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXV, dated August 1470, p.379. Original text is '*desire de le servir comme filz doit faire à son grant pere*' and '*La verité est telle que le roy d'Aragon, la lui a envoyée, et ceulx du royaume de Navarre l'ont requis par plusieurs foiz qu'il la vouseist accepter. Toutesfoiz, monsieur le prince, pour l'onneur et reverence de monsieur et dame, ses pere et mere, oncques n'y a voulu entendre*'.

³⁵¹ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVI, dated 4th August 1470 at Saint Martin de Candes, pp.383-4. Original text is '*leur ester bon, loyal et obeissant filz et de les servir en tout et par tout ainsi qu'il leur plaira*'.

³⁵² *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVII, pp. 384-6, dated 27th September 1470 from Corella.

³⁵³ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVII, p.385. Original text is '*qui touché la pardonnance de mon fils, Sire, vous sçavez que tous les deshonneurs que mondit fils m'a faits*'.

³⁵⁴ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, Pieces Justificatives XXXVII, pp.385-6. Original text is '*Sire, que voulez que je fasse lieutenant en Navarre au susdit mon fils, Sire vous sçavez que le droit que j'ay en Navarre, c'est à cause de la princesse ma femme, et est bien raison que, tant que nous vivons, nous ayons et l'honneur et le profit...et pour ce, Sire n'est point l'intention nostre de madite femme ne de moy de le faire; car il ne seroit nostre bien. Mais s'il vous semble que nostredit filz soit si bon pour avoir gouvernement et lieutenances, vous avez de si grandes forces que luy pouvez donner...*'

The lieutenancy soon returned to Leonor's hands after her son died while participating in a tournament on 23rd November 1470.³⁵⁵ According to the chronicler Leseur, the death of their son and heir plunged the couple into deep grief and mourning, spending 'more than fifteen days entirely in their blackened rooms'.³⁵⁶ It was a double tragedy; first that he had died so young, in the prime of his youth and the father of two very young children and second that there had been so much unresolved conflict between them. The chronicler Andre Favyn suggests that their son's tragic death was recompense for the couple's involvement in the death of Leonor's sister Blanca.³⁵⁷

Juan was willing to return the lieutenancy of Navarre to Leonor after she signed the Convention of Olite on 30th May 1471, in which she had to acknowledge him as King of Navarre until his death and agree to Juan's right to name the keepers of Navarre's castles and fortress as well as the right to occupy the strongholds of the realm.³⁵⁸ It was Leonor's last attempt to dislodge her father from the Navarrese throne. She had to remain content with her hard-won position as heiress apparent and rule as lieutenant until his death.

Overall, the evidence from the queens of Navarre and their sons negate the suggestion of Werner, that a woman might be forced to step aside if she produced a male heir to the throne. It could be argued that none of these queens did so because it would have also meant that their husbands, as king consorts, might also have needed to relinquish their hold on the throne. The only case which could support Werner's argument is the clause in the succession agreements for Juana II, which stipulated that both queen and consort would have to step aside when their heir reached the age of twenty-one.³⁵⁹ However, she was not asked to step aside in favour of her son or rule as his regent after the death of her husband left her in sole command of the kingdom in 1343, which is a clear indication that a son need

³⁵⁵ Zurita, Vol.7, p.645.

³⁵⁶ *Histoire de Gaston IV*, p.256. Courteault does note however, that Leseur's account is somewhat melodramatic and may not entirely accurate.

³⁵⁷ Favyn, p.507.

³⁵⁸ Boissonnade, p.11. A transcription of the Conventions can be found in Moret, Vol.7, pp.10-11.

³⁵⁹ This agreement is AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated 15th May 1329 at Olite. For more detailed discussion of the contents and context of this agreement, see the following chapter.

not usurp a mother's place. Indeed it could be argued that the minority clause demonstrated the Cortes' fear of another difficult king consort, more than the rule of a woman. Although Leonor was unseated briefly by her son, this was clearly due to her father's agency rather than her son's ambition or a demotion due to the fact that she was a female claimant. The very fact that none of the queens of Navarre were forced or even asked to step aside in favour of their sons' claim clearly demonstrates solid support for female rule in Navarre.

CHAPTER THREE: Matrimonial Politics

*...the heiress was special; she magnifies for us all the problems and the consequences of marriage.*³⁶⁰

This chapter will investigate the uses of matrimonial politics to build alliances and protect the sovereignty of the realm. It will examine both the marriages which were contracted for the queens of Navarre and the alliances that the queens built through the marriages of their children. This chapter will also consider the impact of these political alliances and how the marriages of the queens in particular shaped the direction of foreign policy during their reign and for successive generations. It will draw connections between the queens of Navarre and their contemporary female rulers through marriage. Finally, this chapter will evaluate the matrimonial strategies of the queens in the context of the ever changing political developments of the period.

Matrimonial alliances always played a vital role in the political strategy of the period; Edith Ennen argued that they were an important 'feature of monarchic rule'.³⁶¹ The reign of Carlos III is widely hailed as a 'Golden Age' for Navarre and the credit for much of the peace and prosperity of his rule is due to his effective use of his female relatives, including his sisters and both his legitimate and illegitimate daughters to guarantee good relations with his neighbours and nobles through marital bonds.³⁶²

Carlos strategically married his sister Maria to Alfonso of Aragon, Count of Denia and the Pyrenean county of Ribagorza.³⁶³ His sister Juana, the widow of Jean V of Brittany, was married in 1403 to Henry IV of England which gave Navarre important connections to the

³⁶⁰ J.C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Modern England: IV. The Heiress and the Alien', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35, Fifth Series (1985), p.1.

³⁶¹ Edith Ennen, *The Medieval Woman*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1984), p.270.

³⁶² See genealogical chart in the appendices.

³⁶³ The negotiations for this marriage can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.73, no.17, 1-5 dated 10th October 1395 to 12th October 1396.

North.³⁶⁴ Carlos' legitimate daughters were married to powerful neighbours, both Iberian and French. Carlos was careful to balance his matrimonial alliances, for example marrying Juana to the Count of Foix in 1402 and Isabel to Foix's rival the Count of Armagnac in 1419.³⁶⁵ Carlos had previously supported Foix in their battles with Armagnac and Isabel's marriage served as a key way to mend relations with the Count who was a powerful figure in the Midi.³⁶⁶ This marriage may also have signalled a change in his stance in the Orleans-Armagnac-Burgundy dispute. His daughter Beatriz was married Jacques de Bourbon, who was a supporter of the Dukes of Burgundy from 1406 until her death in 1412. However, the decision to shift support to the Armagnac party who supported the Dauphin at this crucial moment shortly after the Burgundian alliance with England and their seizure of Paris could indicate that Carlos was also withdrawing his allegiance to the English cause. This may possibly be connected to his sister's reduced position in England; in 1419 she was the Dowager Queen and was imprisoned at Pevensey Castle on a charge of witchcraft.³⁶⁷ All of these marriages clearly demonstrate Carlos' skilful use of matrimonial diplomacy as a way of forging key alliances and signalling his allegiances in a highly charged political climate.

Carlos sought a similar balance of alliances in Spain; his wife came from Castile, but Blanca was married into Aragon. Carlos' illegitimate offspring were married to key nobles within the realm to ensure their support and loyalty.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ The marriage capitulations for Juana's first marriage to the Duke of Brittany are AGN Comptos Caj.60, no.7 dated 2nd September 1386 at Bayonne. It is worth noting that this marriage was so important that both Carlos II and his heir travelled to Bayonne to attend.

³⁶⁵ The marriage capitulations for Juana and Jean of Foix were signed on 24th October 1402 at Orthez (AGN Comptos, Caj.87, no.50). Negotiations for the Armagnac marriage began in 1418 (AGN Comptos, Caj.117, no.19 dated 17th March 1418 at Riche) and the marriage capitulations were signed on 10th May 1419 at Tudela (AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.13). Intriguingly, a papal bull was issued to allow Isabel to marry an unspecified bridegroom between the 2nd and 4th degrees of continuity in January 1418; it is possible this was applied for in anticipation of the Armagnac negotiations (AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.13 dated 18th January 1418 at Peñíscola).

³⁶⁶ In 1415 records indicate that Carlos gave Jean of Foix financial and military aid to fight the Count of Armagnac; AGN Comptos, Caj.115, no.24, 1 dated 1st May 1415 at Pamplona.

³⁶⁷ Whether Henry V did this out of genuine fear of witchcraft, in retaliation for Juana's pro-French stance or to get at her dowry funds is still a matter of discussion, see Alec Reginald Meyers, *Crown, household, and Parliament in fifteenth century England* (London, 1985), pp.xiv-v.

³⁶⁸ Carlos' illegitimate daughters were married as follows: Juana (mother unknown) was married to Iñigo Ortiz de Zuniga, Margarita (de Esparza) to Gracian d'Agramonte, Blanca (de Esparza) to González Hurtado de Mendoza,

Further support for the importance of the marriages of the *infantas* or princesses can be seen in documentary evidence from this period. All of the cities of the realm were required to contribute to the expenses of coronations and the marriages of the *infantas*. A common reward for services would be an exemption from taxes and tributes, although it was specifically noted that this would not include the marriages of princesses.³⁶⁹ The five marriages of Carlos' legitimate daughters created a considerable expense, which he struggled to fund.³⁷⁰ These strategic marital connections required the payments of expensive dowries and lavish festivities but they were worth investing in for the diplomatic benefits that the realm would gain.

However, the marriage of a sovereign, male or female, was an especially significant diplomatic opportunity. In the case of a female sovereign, the selection of her martial partner was imbued with additional significance, as there was an expectation that the queen's husband would wield power and influence in his wife's realm. As Charles Beem noted, 'a man would naturally enjoy a position of strength in the royal marriage, in accordance with contemporary understandings of the relations of power between man and wife'.³⁷¹ In addition, although a queen was an atypical heiress, standard practice for female inheritance during the Middle Ages meant that the wife 'brought to her husband title to office, all the legal and quasi-legal claims which came to be concentrated in her from her lineage'.³⁷² This is reinforced by the fact that Navarrese historians use the marriages of reigning queens to define dynastic change, using the name of the husband's family or territory of origin to establish dynastic nomenclature.

another Juana was married to Luis de Beaumont, 1st Count of Lerin. His sons by Maria Miguel de Esparza also did well; Godofre was married to Teresa Ramirez de Arellano and Lancelot became the Bishop of Pamplona.

³⁶⁹ Examples of this particular clause can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.102, no.30, 1 (2) dated 13th October 1413 at Olite during the reign of Carlos III and a later example under the reign of Blanca I is AGN Comptos, Caj.140, no.28, 1 (2) dated 1440 at Tafalla.

³⁷⁰ See the discussion of dowry disputes later in this chapter.

³⁷¹ *The Lioness Roared*, p. 85. See also Margaret R.Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection* (London, 1995), for an excellent discussion of the balance of power between a queen regnant and her consort.

³⁷² Holt, 'The Heiress', p.1.

Another related issue, which will be discussed at length below, is the potential territorial merger which could result from the marriage of an heiress to a man who was heir to a kingdom or fief. The selection of the queen's husband therefore, could result not only in a change of leadership but a redefinition of the realm itself. All of these factors, from external politics and foreign relations, to internal dynamics and regime change, made the choice of a bridegroom for a queen regnant an incredibly important decision which could have significant positive or negative consequences for the realm.

The first aspect to consider with regard to a queen's, or indeed any royal marriage, was whether to choose an internal or external candidate. Jean Bodin highlights the potential difficulty of an internal marriage,

Should the sovereign princess marry, as she must do to secure the succession, she must marry either a subject or a foreigner. If a subject, it is a great abasement for a princess to marry one other servants, seeing that the greatest sovereign princes in the world have found all sorts of difficulties follow marriage to a subject. There is besides the risk of the envy and jealousy of great and powerful nobles, in the contempt they always feel for men of inferior station, if she insists on marrying the man of her preference³⁷³

However, one potentially advantageous type of internal marriage was between a queen or heiress and a member of a collateral branch of the ruling dynasty. This strategy could be used to attempt to prevent usurpation by a rival claimant and strengthen the sometimes tenuous position of a queen regnant. This strategy was deployed successfully during the period of this study in cases where there were both a male and female claimant for a throne as in the case of Katherine of Lancaster and Henry III of Castile as well as the situation of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.³⁷⁴ Both of these marriages combined rival claims and ended a period of civil war in their respective realms. Unfortunately, this strategy was not universally successful. Giovanna I of Naples was betrothed to her cousin Andrew of Hungary

³⁷³ Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth (Les Six livres de la République)*, Abridged and trans. by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), Book VI, Chapter V.

³⁷⁴ For the case of Elizabeth of York see, Joanna L. Chamberlayne. 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses' in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. by Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge and Kim M. Phillips, (Stroud, 1999), pp.50-1. Regarding Katherine of Lancaster see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*. (Ithaca, NY, 1975), p.534.

in an attempt to unite two branches of the House of Anjou, but the marriage ended in Andrew's murder in 1345, which Giovanna was widely believed to be involved in.³⁷⁵

One of the marriages of the Navarrese queens could be seen as a variation of this strategy. Juana II was married young, at the tender age of seven on 18th June 1318, during the reign of her uncle Philippe V.³⁷⁶ At this point, she was a nominally a Princess of France and more importantly a bypassed claimant to the French and Navarrese thrones. Her husband, Philip, Count of Evreux, was one of the primary claimants for the French throne after the extinction of the direct Capetian male line. Martin Scott notes the strength of Philip d'Evreux's claim as he 'had direct male descent from Philip III' but then claims that 'Joanna and Philip of Evreux, for different reasons, were unfit to exercise power.'³⁷⁷ While Juana's shortcomings were fairly obvious with regard to her age, gender and disputed parentage, Scott does not elaborate on what made Philip d'Evreux 'unfit'. However, Scott does argue that as Philip de Valois was already regent, it would have been difficult for a rival claimant to dislodge him. Jules Viard offers a more reasonable explanation, that Philip d'Evreux was younger than his Valois cousin and had to let the elder cousin take precedence, pointing to a similar statement from the *Chronographia regum Francorum* to substantiate his argument.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ Émile G. Léonard, *Les Angevins De Naples* (Paris, 1954), pp.316-20. Although the chronicles vary somewhat in terms of the details of the murder and the suspects involved, many chronicles either blatantly accuse or at least allude to Giovanna's involvement in the crime. Machiavelli is perhaps the most direct in his accusation, stating simply that 'she caused him to be murdered', while the generally hostile Chronicon Estense repeatedly calls her 'Regina meretrix'. The chronicler Domenico da Gravina bewailed the 'mournful plight' of Naples as 'one woman's crime shook the whole wretched kingdom'. See Niccolo Machiavelli, *History of Florence and the affairs of Italy from the earliest times to the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent*. Electronic edition (Adelaide, 2010), Printed version (New York, 1901). <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/machiavelli/niccolo/m149h/>, Book I, Chapter VI and *Chronicon Estense*, ed. by Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicum Scriptores* (Città de Castello, 1903), p.132. Domenico da Gravina, *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis ab anno MCCCXXXIII usque ad annum MCCCCL*, ed. by Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicum Scriptores* (Città de Castello, 1903), p.16.

³⁷⁶ Leroy, 'Les Débuts', p.17. Eloisa Ramirez Vaquero emphasizes the age and helplessness of the bride in her description of the marriage, calling the bride '*pequeña*' and by her use of the word '*entregada*' for the marriage which can mean simply 'given' but can also have the more negative sense of being 'handed over'. See Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia De Navarra*, p.41. The original text is '*la pequeña Juana fue entregada en matrimonio al heredero del condado de Evreux*'. However, Miranda Garcia notes that a dispensation was sought due to the bride's tender age and that the marriage was not consummated until 1324 (Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.23).

³⁷⁷ Martin Scott, *Medieval Europe* (London, 1964), pp.322-3.

³⁷⁸ Jules Viard, 'Philippe VI de Valois; La Succession au Trône', *Moyen Age* 32 (1921), p.219.

Juana's marriage to a Prince of the Blood strengthened her own position in the line of succession and significantly increased the claim of their children to the French throne. In a way this was an example, as discussed previously, of a marriage with a collateral branch of the family which unified two claimants. It is surprising however, that Philip V would seek or even sanction a marriage that might create a couple capable of dislodging him, or his children, with their own very strong claim to the French and Navarrese thrones. This is even more striking considering that the marriage was being orchestrated in 1317, just at the point where Philip was trying to quell support for Jeanne's claim and get her to renounce her rights. While Juana and Philip did not aggressively press their respective claims to the French throne after their marriage, their son, Carlos II (or Charles *le Mauvais*), did not forget the strength of his parents' claim to the French throne.

An internal marriage could also be an effective way for a female ruler to consolidate power and support within the realm by forging a marital alliance with another powerful family. However, the disadvantage of this strategy was the potential of inciting jealousy in other noble houses from the elevation of one family over the rest. This could create factions which might destabilize the realm and potentially lead to civil war. Another difficulty with this type of match in particular, and indeed in all 'internal' marriages, is that the queen must marry beneath her and as Margaret Sommerville notes, give 'excessive influence to a man not born to be king'.³⁷⁹ For a reigning queen, hypergamy is virtually impossible, and to marry a man of an equal rank an external match was the only possible option.

The advantages of an external marriage derived from the resulting foreign alliance which could bring desirable prestige, strength, security and possibly territorial expansion. The negative aspect was that the Queen's husband would be a foreigner, who might be treated with suspicion or outright hostility by the nobility of her realm. The common fear, which was often realized, was that a foreign husband might put the needs of his own realm or

³⁷⁹ *Sex and Subjection*, p.58.

homeland above those of his wife and her country. Claude de Seyssel discusses this possible danger at length and uses it as a means to argue against female rule:

...for by falling into the feminine line it can come into the power of a foreigner, a pernicious and dangerous thing, since a ruler from a foreign nation is of a different rearing and condition, of difference customs, different language, and a different way of life from the man of the lands he comes to rule. He ordinarily, therefore, wishes to advance those of his nation...he always has more love for and faith in them and so conforms more to their customs and ways than to the customs of the land to which he has newly come, whence there always follows envy and dissension between the natives and the foreigners and indignation against the princes...³⁸⁰

All of the queens in this study were married to external candidates. The major ramification of this strategy was that these foreign marriages opened Navarre up to external influence and interference. This could bring positive influences and Jimeno Jurio argues that the French marriages of the first two queens, Juana I and II, brought important cultural benefits. In particular, he cites the importation of French schools of art and Gothic style of architecture which can be particularly seen in the improvements made by the Evreux dynasty to the Cathedral of Pamplona.³⁸¹ He also notes that these marriages opened up educational opportunities for Navarrese scholars at the universities of Toulouse, Montpellier and especially at the University of Paris, where one of the queens regnant, Juana I, founded the Collège de Navarre.³⁸²

One of the most negative impacts of these marriages stemmed from the fact that their husbands were not only foreign, they all had territorial possessions of their own. Each consort brought increased territory to the small Pyrenean kingdom but the price to pay was divided loyalties and an often unwieldy territorial amalgamation. Ultimately, the difficulty stemmed from the question of whose lands would receive the bulk of the attention and hands-on administration of the ruling pair. There was no guarantee that a female sovereign

³⁸⁰ Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. by J.H. Hexter and Michael Sherman, ed. by Donald R. Kelley (New Haven, 1981), p.48-9.

³⁸¹ José María Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval, Obras Completas* (Pamplona, 2006), p.89.

³⁸² See the discussion of Juana's role in the foundation of the college in the following chapter.

and her realm could take precedence over the lands of her husband, even if her title and rank were superior.

The most prestigious alliance for a queen was to marry another king in a marriage of relative equals. However, this type of match usually resulted in the effective merger of two realms which could compromise their sovereignty. The advantage of union with a neighbour was the potential creation of powerful super state as in the case of the marriage of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. Their marriage united Spain and although it was initially controversial, their partnership was successful on a personal as well as a political level as they were able to negotiate a clear balance of power as reflected in their motto '*Tanto monta, monta tanto-Isabel como Fernando*'.³⁸³ However, the same strategy had been employed unsuccessfully in Iberia almost four hundred years earlier, with the marriage of Urraca of Castile-Leon and Alfonso of Aragon and Navarre in 1109. This strategic marital alliance was also intended to unite the Christian kingdoms of Spain but instead resulted in a brutal civil war between the two spouses. Their marriage was unpopular with the Pope, the Castilian nobility and the Queen herself. After a few difficult years together, punctuated by marital disputes, allegations of spousal abuse and homosexuality, the couple separated by 1112 after a last-ditch reconciliation attempt failed. The former spouses then spent most of the next five years in a war to decide who would control the kingdoms they once ruled together.³⁸⁴

The first female sovereign of Navarre, Juana I, was married to Philip IV of France, who was the king of one of the most important realms in Europe. Although there were several possible options for Juana's marriage, most of them would have resulted in a merger of the

³⁸³ See Barbara F. Weissberger, '*Tanto monta*: The Catholic Monarchs' Nuptial Fiction and the Power of Isabel I of Castile', in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* ed. by Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Sukuki (Chicago, 2009), pp. 43-62 for an in-depth analysis of the use of this motto and the official symbolism of the *Reyes Católicos*. Weissberger argues in this piece that the motto, '*Tanto monta*' did not reflect the reality of the couple's power-sharing dynamic as Isabel clearly had the upper hand as the ruler of the stronger nation, Castile. The negotiations prior to their marriage which defined their power sharing dynamic and set the foundation for their successful partnership will be examined in the following chapter.

³⁸⁴ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); see chapters two and three for a thorough coverage of the disastrous marriage and the war which followed.

realm with another kingdom. Documentary evidence shows that an early betrothal was contracted between the infant Juana of Navarre and Henry, the son of Edward I of England in December 1273.³⁸⁵ At this point, both children were the heirs to their parents' respective kingdoms, and their position is clearly laid out in the opening paragraphs. Henry is described as the eldest son and heir, while the King of Navarre confirmed Juana as the heir to his throne and his French counties of Champagne and Brie.³⁸⁶ Moreover, the contract contained a provision for an alternative monetary dowry for Juana if her father sired a son who would replace her in the line of succession. Finally, to ensure that the young heiress was firmly bound, an alternative groom, the infant Alfonso was named as a substitute if his older brother died before the marriage could take place. In addition, the contract stipulated the necessary assent of the King of France, as he was the overlord of both Edward of England and Enrique of Navarre for their French territorial possessions.³⁸⁷ Given the fact that this marriage would have given the young couple a sizeable amount of territory in France, besides combining their respective crowns, the assent of the French monarch could not be assumed.

It is not surprising that Edward sought the young heiress for his son as an Iberian connection was potentially useful and Edward himself was married to Eleanor of Castile. More importantly, Navarre's strategic position adjacent to England's continental possessions in Gascony meant that it would be a useful and important ally. The need to cement this connection by marriage had already resulted in the match between Edward's great-uncle Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre. Should Juana remain the heiress, Navarre and her important French counties of Champagne and Brie would be a major boost to England's

³⁸⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.65 dated 30th November 1273 at Bonloc. Also printed in Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae, Et Alios ...* Vol. II. (London, 1705), 'Conventio Cyrographata inter Regem Angliae, & H. Regem Navarrrae, Super matrimonio contrabendo inter Henr. Filium Regis Angliae, & Johannam filiam Regis Navarrrae', p.18

³⁸⁶ *Foedera*, p.18; original titles are listed as 'Henrico, filio primogenito & hæredi præfati Edwardi Regis Angliæ' and 'Johanna, filia nostra nobis succedat, & fit hæres in Regno Navarrræ, Comitatibus Campaniæ & Briæ, & in aliis bonis nobis'.

³⁸⁷ *Foedera*, p.19. The phrase used to refer to the French king is 'Serenissimum Principem Dominum nostrum Regem Franciæ'.

territorial possessions and would greatly increase the pressure on their long-time rival the King of France. F. Darwin Swift also notes Edward's desire to thwart the French king's campaign to secure the overlordship from Aragon of several key counties in the south of France, including Navarre's neighbour, Foix.³⁸⁸

Intriguingly, this marriage contract was connected to another proposed Anglo-Iberian match. Only two months previously, on 9th October, Edward signed an agreement with Pedro of Aragon to marry two of their children.³⁸⁹ In contrast to the detailed agreement with Navarre, the Aragonese document was somewhat vague and did not name a specific child on either side although it did stipulate that it would be for a son of Edward's and one of Pedro's daughters. Considering that Edward's first son John had died in 1271, it is reasonable to assume that the intended bridegroom was his only surviving son, Henry. However, Eleanor of Castile bore another son, Alfonso in November 1273. It is possible that Alfonso's birth offered a way to commit Henry to a marriage with Juana of Navarre while still honouring the vague terms of the Aragonese contract. Sadly, Alfonso died in 1284 but his sister Eleanor was committed to a marriage with Pedro's son, Alfonso III of Aragon. Ironically, the Aragonese prince died during the marriage celebrations and the proposed marital connection between England and Aragon failed to materialize.

Nor did the marriage between Navarre and England come to fruition. This can be attributed to two major factors: the political maelstrom which greeted the young queen's accession and the death of the intended bridegroom, Henry, on 16th October 1274. As discussed in the previous chapter, Juana's mother, Blanche of Artois, struggled to secure the realm for her daughter as her Iberian neighbours moved in with predatory intent. Both Castile and Aragon were keen to annex the Pyrenean kingdom, through force or by marriage. France and England were just as keen to prevent this from happening. As Jose

³⁸⁸ F. Darwin Swift, 'Marriage Alliance of the Infanta Pedro of Aragon and Edward I of England, 9 Oct. 1273', *The English Historical Review* 5, no. 18 (1890), p.327.

³⁸⁹ The full text of this document (in Latin) is printed in Swift, 'Marriage Alliance', p. 329. The document's provenance is listed as 'Royal Archives of Aragon, Parchments of Jaime I, No. 1173'.

Maria Lacarra rightly noted, 'The key piece in this game was the marriage of Queen Juana.'³⁹⁰ Therefore it is necessary to revisit the beginning of Juana I's reign in order to understand the crucial role the matrimonial politics played in this turbulent period.

Within days of Enrique's death, Jaime I of Aragon issued a proclamation aimed at the nobility of the realm which attempted to justify his own candidacy for the throne, in attempt to unite the two realms.³⁹¹ Shortly afterwards a marriage between Juana and the Infante Alfonso was also proposed. Although the Aragonese had strong pretensions to the throne and a history of union with Navarre during the late eleventh and early twelfth century, marriage was the key element which would solidify their claim and make a union truly valid.³⁹² The Aragonese annalist Zurita describes numerous matrimonial possibilities that were put forth to bind Aragon and Navarre if the proposed marriage to the infant queen was refused. The alternative Navarrese brides for don Alfonso included

one of the daughters of the sisters of (king) Enrique, or the daughter of Jean de Bretagne, nephew of the same king Enrique-whose mother was dona Blanca daughter of king Teobaldo I and his second wife who was the daughter of Guiscard de Beljoc and Sibilla daughter of Philip count of Flanders; if Alfonso should die one of those (women) could marry don Jaime the second son of the Infante who would succeed to the throne if his brother died before marriage.³⁹³

As discussed in the previous chapter, Castile was also aggressively pursuing their own claim to Navarre and Fernando de la Cerda led an army to the walls of Viana to support their pretensions.³⁹⁴ In addition, the King of Castile sought papal approval for a marriage between one of his grandsons and the infant queen of Navarre.³⁹⁵ Juana's elder brother, Teobaldo had been intended for the Infanta Violante of Castile, but these plans had been destroyed by his

³⁹⁰ Jose Maria Lacarra, *Historia Politica del Reino de Navarra desde sus Origenes hasta su Incorporación a Castilla*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. (Pamplona, 1973), p.205. Original text is '*Pieza fundamental de este juego era el matrimonio de la reina doña Juana.*'

³⁹¹ Narbaitz, *Navarra*, p.274.

³⁹² Zurita, Vol. 1, pp.720-1.

³⁹³ Zurita, Vol. 1, p.724.

³⁹⁴ *Historia politica del reino de Navarra*, p.216. Note: Alfonso X chose to resign his own claim in favour of his son as he was personally preoccupied with his own candidacy for the position of Holy Roman Emperor.

³⁹⁵ Narbaitz, *Navarra*, p.276.

early death.³⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, given the deterioration in relations between Enrique of Navarre and Alfonso X of Castile, Enrique had not arranged a Castilian marriage for his daughter.

There was also the possibility that Edward of England would press the Queen mother to honour the terms of the English betrothal with the designated substitute, Alfonso. With matrimonial offers from England, Castile and Aragon on the table and Castilian armies threatening the frontiers, the Queen mother Blanche looked for an alternative option and help from her cousin, Philip III of France. The Principe de Viana paints a romantic picture of the arrival of Blanche and Juana in his chronicle, claiming that the French king received the young Juana 'graciously and willingly'.³⁹⁷ The Principe claims that Philip knew that she was looking for a marriage to a 'great man' and 'considering the excellence of her lineage' decided to marry his heir to the young queen. The reality was likely to have been less courtly and more of a practical exchange. Philip was willing to protect the interests of the infant Queen if she became his daughter-in-law. This would give the French king a strategic base in Iberia and access to the rich counties of Champagne and Brie, while it ensured that Juana would receive the military and political support that she needed in order to retain her throne.

The Treaty of Orleans, in May 1275, provided a marriage agreement between one of his sons (Louis or Philip) and the young Queen which would eventually unite the crowns of France and Navarre. However, this was not necessarily the original intent. The marital agreement noted that if Juana married the son who did not inherit the French throne, she would be assigned additional revenues of 4000 livres as compensation.³⁹⁸ Pope Gregory X

³⁹⁶ The marriage agreements for Teobaldo and Violante of Castile were signed on 25th September 1272 at Munilla; AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.30. See also Richard P. Kincade, 'Alfonso X, Cantiga 235 and the Events of 1269-1278', *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (1992), p.294.

³⁹⁷ Carlos, Principe de Viana, *Cronica de los Reyes de Navarra*, ed. by Jose Yanguas y Miranda and Antonio Ubieta Arteta (Pamplona, 1843), Capitulo 7, p. 136.

³⁹⁸ A translated version of the original agreement is printed in Theodore Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne' in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. by Theodore Evergates, (Philadelphia, 1999), p.87.

specifically indicated a preference for Philip, the younger son, perhaps to avoid the merger of the thrones of France and Navarre.³⁹⁹ However, the elder son, Louis, died in 1276 leaving Philip as the heir to the throne and the only possible bridegroom which paved the way for the union of the French and Navarrese crowns.

Significantly, this marriage also meant that the Pyrenean kingdom would now be administered from Paris, through a series of governors appointed initially by the Queen mother Blanche and later by Philip III on behalf of his infant daughter-in-law. Naturally, this was hardly an ideal state of affairs and contrary to the wishes and interests of most of the nobility and leading residents of the cities who were pressed to sign public statements of loyalty to the new regime.⁴⁰⁰ One such document, from May 1276 by Juan Pérez and Salvador de la Renta as representatives of the municipal council of Olite swears obedience to new regime. In summary the document emphasizes that the council's loyalty is to the young queen, 'the much honoured lady Juana, our natural sovereign, Queen of Navarre' and their support for those appointed to rule in her name.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, the council's representatives not only lent their support to the new governor but also specifically gave their approval to Juana's betrothal to the French prince.⁴⁰²

Looking at this document alone, however would give a skewed sense of exactly how loyal the Navarrese were to the new French regime and how much they actually approved of the French marriage. Concurrent with the date of this document was a revolt, centred on the neighbourhood of the Navarrería in Pamplona. The revolt of 1276 and the brutal French response the following year are significant as one of the most important issues underlying the conflict was divided opinion over who the young queen should marry, or more

³⁹⁹ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)* (London, 1960), p.128.

⁴⁰⁰ The frustration of the nobility with regard to the French marriage is discussed in Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.37.

⁴⁰¹ DMO, document No. 46 (AMO, Pergaminos, 22), dated May 1276, pp.294-296. Original text is '*de la mucho honrrada dona Johanna, nuestra natural seynnora, reyna de Nauarra*'.

⁴⁰² DMO, document No. 46 (AMO, Pergaminos, 22), dated May 1276, p.294. '*E que todos tiempos seamos plazenteros del casamiento que sea entre el fijo del rey de França et la dicha dona Johana, nuestra seynnora, et que non uengamos en otra por nos ni por otra en ninguna manera que pueda seer dicha ni pensada.*'

importantly, which neighbour Navarre should be most closely aligned to.⁴⁰³ A powerful leader headed each faction; Sánchez de Montegudo favoured the Aragonese candidacy while his rival García Almoravid championed the Castilian cause.⁴⁰⁴ It is important to note that the French had no powerful champion bar the governor himself. Juana, even though or perhaps because she was far away in Paris, suffered a hit in popularity as the Pamplonese rebelled against the men who governed in her name. Manuel Iribarren notes the ‘insults and curses against the innocent sovereign and her representative the French governor’.⁴⁰⁵ However, in his chronicle Carlos, the Principe de Viana, was keen to stress, perhaps because she was his ancestor, that ‘no one moved against the queen’.⁴⁰⁶

With regard to external politics, Juana’s betrothal to Philip III’s son would not have pleased her jilted Iberian and English suitors. The faction in Navarre that preferred an Aragonese betrothal and merger had suffered a crucial blow with the death of Jaime I shortly after the Treaty of Orleans was signed.⁴⁰⁷ Castilian troops were mustered under Simón Ruiz de los Cameros to meet the French invasion by Juana’s uncle Robert of Artois, but the Castilians stopped at Monreal and a truce was eventually declared until Juana’s majority in the Treaty of Vitoria, signed on 7th November 1276.⁴⁰⁸ The truce did not necessarily improve Navarre’s position with regard to its Iberian neighbours who ‘repeatedly

⁴⁰³ One of the best primary sources for the revolt is contemporary poet Guilhem Anelier’s version in verse. Published as *Histoire De La Guerre De Navarre en 1276 et 1277, Collection des documents inedits sur l’histoire de France*, ed. by Francisque Michel (Paris, 1856). The Principe de Viana also has extended coverage of this event in his chronicle (see Capítulos 7-10). Intriguingly, even though he himself was of the House of Aragon, the Principe portrays the conflict as between supporters of the Castile and France, omitting to mention the Aragonese faction, claim or potential betrothal. The chronicler Garci Lopez de Roncevalles takes a similar line; *Cronica de Garci Lopez de Roncevalles*, Cuadernos de Trabajos de Historia, ed. by Carmen Orcastequi Gros and Ángel J. Martín Duque (Pamplona, 1977), p.72.

⁴⁰⁴ Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, p.43.

⁴⁰⁵ *En La Orbita Francesa*, p.9. Original text is ‘...denuestos y maldiciones contra la inocente soberana y su representante el gobernador frances.’

⁴⁰⁶ Principe de Viana, *Cronica*, p.146. Original text is ‘por que nenguno non se moviese contra la dicha Reina.’

⁴⁰⁷ Kincade, ‘Alfonso X’, p.310.

⁴⁰⁸ Kincade, ‘Alfonso X’, pp.311-312.

showed their animosity to the French presence in Navarre.’⁴⁰⁹ Aragon was also forced to renounce their matrimonial interest in the Navarrese queen in 1277.⁴¹⁰

With opposition to the French betrothal quelled and Castile and Aragon forced to renounce their pretensions to the Navarrese throne and their matrimonial plans, there was nothing to prevent Juana’s eventual marriage to Philip of France in 1284. It is interesting to note the continuing divide in opinion over the marriage Juana I. Many historians, operating with the benefit of hindsight and taking into account the negative effects that Capetian rule had on Navarre, have taken a somewhat dim view of the marriage, or more precisely the period of Capetian rule which followed.⁴¹¹ José Javier López Antón has discussed the lasting impact of the Navarrería revolt and the way that the event has been used in Navarrese historiography to indicate either the beginning of a period of French enslavement or a successful attempt to retain their independence from their aggressive Iberian neighbours.⁴¹²

However, not all historians have criticized Blanche of Artois’ decision to marry her daughter to a French prince. Pierre Narbaitz believes that her decision to opt for a French marriage was the best option, which ultimately preserved the sovereignty of the realm in the long term.⁴¹³ Even though the marriage resulted in dynastic union with France for nearly forty years, a marriage with either Castile or Aragon would have likely resulted in a more permanent merger. Juana’s marriage definitely locked the realm in the French orbit, but another succession crisis and the marriages of later generations were able to return the realm to a more Iberian sphere.

⁴⁰⁹ Alfonso Espinet and Juan Manuel Gouzález-Cremona, *Diccionario de los Reyes de España* (Barcelona, 1989), p.222. Original text is ‘Castilla y Aragon muestran repetidamente su animosidad ante la presencia francesa en Navarra.’

⁴¹⁰ Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe Occidentale de 1270 à 1380 Histoire du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1940), p.268.

⁴¹¹ For example see Ramírez Vaquero’s negative description of the period of Capetian rule, ‘*Régimen Capeto: Navarra, ‘reino satélite’*’ in Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia De Navarra*, pp.38-9. Another similar portrayal of events can be found in Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, pp.43-44.

⁴¹² José Javier López Antón, ‘La optica fuerista del ‘nabarrismo’ euskaro sobre la guerra de la Navarrería’, *Príncipe de Viana* 58, no. 210 (1997), pp.119-144.

⁴¹³ Narbaitz, *Navarra*, p.276. Original text was ‘la más correcta’.

Just as in the case of Juana I, the marriages of Juana II, Leonor and Catalina to French magnates resulted in a territorial merger. However, Juana I's marriage to the King of France united two kingdoms and as Navarre was clearly the smaller, it was forced to play a subordinate role. This meant that the concerns of France drove foreign and domestic policy and the sovereigns remained in Paris rather than Pamplona.

The marriage of a queen to a lord effectively resulted in territorial expansion for Navarre, rather than becoming subsumed by a larger entity. These marriages brought an increase in revenue and territory to the Navarrese crown, but it also divided the attention of the sovereigns. This resulted in the royal couple being on near permanent progress between their various territorial holdings in an attempt to administer them all personally and effectively, particularly in the cases of Juana II and Catalina.

This difficulty was magnified in the situation of Juana II as her husband's territorial holdings were concentrated in Northern France, which meant that travelling between the two areas took a considerable amount of time and effort and required passage across the lands of the French and English kings. During Juana's period of sole rule as a widow this became nearly impossible due to the outbreak of hostilities between France and England which heralded the start of the Hundred Years War.⁴¹⁴ The result was that Juana was unable to physically return to Navarre and had to govern the kingdom through messengers and governors from her husband's domains in Evreux.

It could be argued that the Navarrese learned from the difficulties resulting from the marriages of both Juana I and II. None of the later queens were married to reigning monarchs or to men who had territorial holdings which were not adjacent to the Navarre's borders. The next queen who was married to a territorial lord was Leonor, who became the wife of Gaston IV, Count of Foix in 1434.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ This situation will be discussed further in the examination of Juana's widowhood in the following chapter.

⁴¹⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.41 dated 12th October 1434 at Olite. See also 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.12. The original text of the martial contract is reprinted in Leseur, Pièces Justificatives I, p.274. The document

This marriage was one of many nuptial alliances made between Navarre and Foix, to cement their trading links and protect their mutual borders.⁴¹⁶ Perhaps the most famous of these marriages was between Agnes, daughter of Juana II and Gaston Phébus of Foix in 1349.⁴¹⁷ However, this marriage unravelled in later years to due a conflict between the Count of Foix and the bride's brother, Carlos II of Navarre over her dowry.⁴¹⁸ This resulted in an estrangement between the couple and the two realms. Fortunately, Carlos II sought a rapprochement with the Count of Foix shortly before his death in 1387 which helped to improve relations.

The marriage of the Princess Juana, the eldest daughter and original heiress of Carlos III with Jean I of Foix in 1402 helped to further rebuild relations between the two neighbours. Carlos appears to have deliberately chosen to marry Juana to the Count of Foix with the intention of uniting the two realms.⁴¹⁹ However, he reversed his decision after Juana's untimely death and refused Jean's suit for his younger daughter Blanca in spite of the support for the match with Foix from Navarrese barons and prelates.⁴²⁰ To placate Jean and keep the important relationship with Foix, Carlos III set up a strategic alliance in the Treaty of Olite in 1414.⁴²¹ Further evidence of Carlos' desire to maintain positive relations with Jean of Foix can be found in the sizable expenditure for a kitchen in the Tower of Pamplona to provide suitable accommodation for Jean during his visit for Blanca's wedding in 1420.⁴²²

provided for the exchange of several small territories and a dowry of 50,000 gold florins of Aragon. However, it must be noted that the Aragonese annalist Zurita claims that the marriage was finalized on 22nd December 1434 and that Juan gave his confirmation much later on 30th July 1436 (Zurita, *Anales*, Vol 6, Book XIV, p. 79). The Count of Foix gave his approval before the match took place on 22nd September 1434, AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.32 at Bagnères de Bigorre.

⁴¹⁶ Pierre Tucó-Chala, 'Béarn-Navarre' in *Medieval Iberia; an Encyclopedia*, ed. by E. Michael Gerli, (London, 2003), p.154.

⁴¹⁷ Béatrice Leroy commented that this marriage saw the 'rejoining' of paths of the Navarrese and the Béarnais; Béatrice Leroy and Jean-Pierre Barraqué, *De L'Aquitaine à L'Ébre; Les Liens Franco-Espagnols à L'époque Médiévale*. (Anglet, 2002), p.92. The marriage contract for the couple was signed on 4th July 1349 at Pontigny; AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.19-20.

⁴¹⁸ See the discussion of the dowry dispute later in this chapter.

⁴¹⁹ Leroy, 'Neutralité ou Double Jeu?', p.490.

⁴²⁰ J.R. Castro Alava, 'Blanca de Navarra y Juan de Aragón,' *Principe de Viana*, 27 (1966), 47-63.

⁴²¹ 'La cuestion', p.12.

⁴²² The expenditure for the kitchen amounted to 154 libros, 10 sueldos and 10 dineros and there are 81 folios of records for this particular project; AGN Comptos, Caj.120, no.9 dated 7th March 1421.

Gaston and Leonor's marriage shows the continued importance of the alliance with Foix and Leonor's substantial dowry was a further indication of the value of the match.⁴²³ Moreover, the marriage encouraged strong links between the courts of Navarre and Foix, with the exchange of letters and gifts.⁴²⁴ However, the intentional choice of Leonor, the youngest child, to contract this new alliance with Foix would seem to indicate that Blanca did not intend for Gaston of Foix to become king consort or for the two realms to be united as her father may have once planned. Indeed, with two older siblings, the possibility of Leonor succeeding to the throne was fairly remote although it was specifically mentioned in the marital agreements that the young couple would be legitimate successors to the Navarrese throne.⁴²⁵ It is worth noting that the earlier marriage contract between Agnes and Gaston Phébus had required the bride to renounce her place in the Navarrese succession, thus eliminating the possibility of an earlier union between Foix and Navarre.⁴²⁶ However through Leonor's marriage her descendants of the House of Foix-Béarn assumed the Navarrese throne.

Gaston and Leonor's marriage eventually provided for the union of the Kingdom of Navarre with Foix, Béarn, Bigorre, Nébouzan, Couserans, Tursan, Marsan, Gavardan, Andorra, the Vicomté of Castelbon in Aragon and a part of the territory of Comminges.⁴²⁷ Although Gaston's impressive collection of territory was powerful, wealthy and had a larger population than the Iberian kingdom, Navarre still retained an important place in the new coalition, far greater than in its previous union with France. On 26th March 1472, Gaston

⁴²³ The negotiations for Gaston and Leonor's marriage included a renewal of the 1414 treaty with Navarre; AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.32, dated 22nd September 1434. Leonor's dowry was valued at 50,000 libras. For further discussion of a dispute over the payment of her dowry, see p.157.

⁴²⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj.138 contains 11 letters written just between 1435-6 while Blanca sent jewellery to her daughter around the time of her wedding, AGN Comptos, Caj.133, no.22, 22 dated 19th October 1434.

⁴²⁵ See contract in Leseur, *Pièces Justificatives I*, pp.278-9. Also discussed in Zurita, *Anales*, Vol 6, p.79 and 'La cuestión', p.12.

⁴²⁶ Agnes' reunciation can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.128 dated December 9, 1349 at Orthez.

⁴²⁷ For an illustration of this territorial merger see Figure 4 in the Maps section of the Appendices.

addressed the *États du Béarn* and told them that the crown of Navarre would give the necessarily political strength to safeguard the new Pyrenean bloc.⁴²⁸

This territorial amalgamation built through the marriage of Leonor and Gaston, described by Christian Bourret as a *royaume transpyrénéen* or trans-Pyrenean kingdom, was eventually inherited by the couple's granddaughter Catalina in 1483.⁴²⁹ However, the creation of this impressive territorial bloc that Gaston IV and his father before him had worked so hard to build was a potentially dangerous strategy which upset the delicate equilibrium in the region.⁴³⁰ The realm's expanded size and precedence made it even more important to tie down in alliance and both France and Spain tried to use the prospective marriage of the young queen to their own ends.

The *Reyes Católicos* 'resorted systematically to marriage alliances as a way of pursuing policy aims' and bringing Navarre, the kingdom that Ferdinand's father had ruled for so long, under his own dominion was definitely one of his ambitions.⁴³¹ Ferdinand and Isabel had already offered the hand of their daughter, Juana, in marriage to Catalina's brother Francisco Fébo, while Louis XI wanted to see the king marry Juana *la Beltraneja* the disputed daughter of Enrique IV who was Isabel's rival for the throne of Castile.⁴³² Sadly, the teenaged king died before either of these marriage plans could be seen to fruition, at the end of January 1483.⁴³³

⁴²⁸ Luis Suárez Fernández, 'Fernando el Católico y Leonor de Navarra', *En la España Medieval* 3 (1982), p.626.

⁴²⁹ Christian Bourret, *Un royaume transpyrénéen? La tentative de la maison de Foix-Béarn-Albret à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Aspet, 1998).

⁴³⁰ Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, pp.82-3.

⁴³¹ Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire; The Making of a World Power 1492-1793* (London, 2002), p.37.

⁴³² F. Santamaria Rekarte, 'Intentos de recuperación del reino de Navarra por la dinastía de los Albret (1512-1521)' in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, ed. by P. Contamine and O. Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1996), pp.97-107.

⁴³³ There is some dispute about the exact date and cause of the young king's death. See an extended discussion of this in F.M. Pidal de Navascués, 'La muerte de Francisco Febo, Rey de Navarra,' *Príncipe de Viana*, 16 (1955), pp.36-8.

This time Ferdinand and Isabel offered a possible marriage to their son and heir Juan to bind the two realms together, which would have greatly bolstered the Catalina's tenuous and contested position.⁴³⁴ Favyn remarks on the support they offered Catalina,

Good God, what charity the Princes of Castile [showed]...and what tracts of friendship they sent to the orphaned Queen Catherine, in which they wanted to embrace the quarrel, to maintain and defend her against all who would work against her rule...⁴³⁵

However, Magdalena informed the Castilian ambassadors that she was rejecting the match as the prince was only five years of age while 'the Princess Catherine, her daughter, had already reached the age to be married'.⁴³⁶ The prince's age may have been the source of Magdalena's rejection of the Castilian suit for another critical reason. According to Moret, the Castilian monarchs were expecting to govern Catalina's territories if she married Juan as 'legitimate administrators of the prince, their son, in his minority'.⁴³⁷ This would obviously be extremely undesirable for Magdalena personally and for the citizens of Catalina's French territories. However, Catalina was in need of assistance to affirm her position against the challenge of her uncle and the rebellious factions in Navarre and turning down the support of Isabel and Ferdinand was potentially risky. Moret shows disbelief at Magdalena's refusal of the Castilian suit,

Who in Navarre would dare to say a word against the great power of the kings of Castile and Aragon? And they [the Navarrese] had not subjected themselves sincerely to obey their legitimate queen! And it would be so obviously useful to enjoy the honour of being the greatest and most respectable queen in Christendom, as Prince Juan was the heir of the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and many others, all of these would give and increase the splendour of her majesty.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ The texts of these negotiations can be found in Boissonade, pp.568-78.

⁴³⁵ Favyn, p.605. Original text is '*Bon Dieu, quelle charité...et quels traicts d'amitié enuers la Royne Catherine, orpheline, de laquelle ils deuoient embrassé la querelle, la maintenir et defender contre tous ceux qui eussent attenté contre son Estat*'. Note that the use of the term 'orphan' refers to the death of her father as her mother was still very much alive.

⁴³⁶ Favyn, p.604. Original text is '*la Princesse Catherine sa fille, laquelle avoit atteint l'age d'estre mariee*'.

⁴³⁷ Moret, Vol.7, p.98. Original text is '*legitimos administradores del Principe, su hijo, en su menor edad*'.

⁴³⁸ Moret, Vol.7, p.92. Original text is '*quién en Navarra se podía atrever á chistar contra la grande potencia de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón? Y quién no se había de sujetar sinceramente á la obediencia de su legitima Reina? La cual sobre esta tan patente y suma utilidad vendría a gozar el honor de ser la mayor y más respetable Reina de la cristiandad; pues el príncipe D.Juan, primogénito y heredero de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón y de Sicilia y otros muchos, daría todo este aumento y esplendor á la majestad*'.

Another strong candidate for the queen's hand was Jean d'Albret, the son and heir of Alain d'Albret, whose territories would bolster the realm's Pyrenean bloc. The Albrets had already gained impressive benefits through matrimonial politics, as Béatrice Leroy notes, 'Their power came from their matrimonial alliances which brought them dowries and the love of princes'.⁴³⁹ Although Jean was not yet a full-grown man, he was roughly the same age as Catalina and certainly of an age to marry unlike her young Castilian suitor. Perhaps more importantly, Robin Harris suggests the Albret marriage was strongly supported by Magdalena's relatives at the French court as a means to 'keep the South-West firm in its loyalty to the (French) king'.⁴⁴⁰ Leroy goes even further with this line of argument, suggesting the regent of France, Anne de Beaujeu, brought the marriage between Catalina and Jean together, 'following the politics of her father'.⁴⁴¹

However, Álvaro Adot Lerga counters this view, noting that Magdalena assumed the consent of the French regent Anne de Beaujeu which was not necessarily guaranteed given Alain d'Albret's rebellious past.⁴⁴² He also notes the pact of alliance between Magdalena, Alain, the Count of Armagnac, the Count of Comminges and the Viscount of Lautrec which declared their mutual 'alliance, amity and confederation' as well as their support for the young French king. This important agreement was signed a few days before Catalina's marital contract on 10th June 1484.⁴⁴³ This pact may have been intended to ensure that the French regent reacted favourably to the Albret marriage, but it also reflected Magdalena's motivation to ensure the support of her neighbours, especially Alain d'Albret, to get the help she needed to keep Catalina on the throne. Moret summarized Magdalena's reasoning for her preference for the Albret marriage,

⁴³⁹ *De l'Aquitaine à l'Ébre*, p.123. Original text is '*Leur force reside dans leurs alliances matrimoniales, qui leur apportent des dots et des amities princières*'.

⁴⁴⁰ *Valois Guyenne*, p.189.

⁴⁴¹ *De l'Aquitaine à l'Ébre*, p.140. Original text is '*qui suit si bien la politique de son père*'.

⁴⁴² Adot Lerga, p.101.

⁴⁴³ The full text of this document is reprinted in Boissonade, Document V, pp.580-1.

It seemed to be a good idea to marry near to the kingdom inside France and with a confident and powerful prince who brought great estates with which the Kingdom of Navarre could collaborate and increase itself, and at the same time it could coexist without submitting itself to another more powerful. In this she followed the ideas of former kings, who always obtained the same thing to mediate similar alliances.⁴⁴⁴

From this perspective, Magdalena's choice seems entirely reasonable. Although Magdalena has often been portrayed as blindly loyal to France, Pierre Narbaitz argues that her decision regarding Catalina's marriage marks her as a 'worthy woman and a shrewd politician'.⁴⁴⁵ Rejecting Ferdinand and Isabel's son was a great risk but it also meant that Navarre would remain independent and the Albret marriage would bring new territory and strong support for Catalina's rule in the *Midi*.

However solid Magdalena's reasoning may have been, there was a lack of consensus between Catalina's French and Iberian subjects over which candidate would provide a better alliance. Both possibilities offered a territorial merger once the bridegroom came into his inheritance. However, these two mergers were very different prospects with different political and territorial ramifications. If Catalina married the Infante of Castile, Navarre would eventually become part of the Spanish kingdom and be united with Castile, Aragon and all of their subsidiary realms. It would also be tied firmly into the Iberian orbit and be closely aligned with the policies and goals of the *Reyes Católicos* resulting in Navarre being once again the minority partner in a union of kingdoms. This would grant them security on their southern borders but could antagonize the King of France, to whom Catalina owed homage for her French territories. On the other hand, the marriage with Jean d'Albret would strengthen Navarre's long-standing connection to France, and the kingdom would retain supremacy or at least maintain an equal position in the territorial partnership. It would also

⁴⁴⁴ Moret, Vol. 7, p.109. Original text is '*Parecía que convenía casar luego á la Reino dentro de Francia y con príncipe confinante y poderoso que trajese grandes Estados, con que de tal manera se aumentase y corroborase el reino de Navarra, que en todo tiempo pudiese subsistir por sí mismo sin hundirse en otro más poderoso. En esto seguían las ideas de los reyes pasados, que siempre procuraron lo mismo por medio de semejantes alianzas.*'

⁴⁴⁵ Narbaitz, *Navarra*, p.483. Original text is '*una mujer cabal y politica sagaz*'.

expand the frontiers of the realm, increasing the size and importance of the Pyrenean bloc.

The question was which territorial merger was more beneficial and viable.

The *États du Béarn* naturally favoured the Albret match which they found much more palatable than the Castilian suitor. Favyn noted the hostile reaction of the Béarnaise citizens to the Castilian proposal as they felt the Castilians were the 'murderers of their last king' and they registered their disapproval of the match in a petition signed at Pau on 20th May 1484.⁴⁴⁶

However, the queen's Iberian subjects objected to the French marriage proposal and the *Cortes* of Navarre sent repeated missives in 1483 to plead for a Spanish betrothal for Catalina.⁴⁴⁷ Catalina's uncle, the powerful Cardinal Pierre (or Pedro) of Foix added his support to the Castilian match.⁴⁴⁸ The *Cortes* also sent a missive directly to the *États du Béarn* in hopes of persuading them of the 'peace and benefits' of the marriage.⁴⁴⁹ The city of Tudela went so far as to appeal directly to Ferdinand and Isabel over the regent's intention to marry Catalina to Jean d'Albret and declared their wish to 'elect' the Infante Juan as Catalina's husband and *rey consorte* of Navarre.⁴⁵⁰ Even when it became clear that Magdalena was going ahead with the Albret match, the *Cortes* made a last ditch effort to stall the marriage by stressing that the King of France must be consulted about the Albret marriage due to his close relationship to the bride and also reiterated their continued preference for the Castilian match.⁴⁵¹ In spite of the protests of her Iberian subjects, Catalina and Jean d'Albret signed a marriage contract on 14th June 1484.⁴⁵²

Catalina's marriage to Jean d'Albret, thought unpopular with her Spanish subjects and Iberian neighbours, would at least increase the frontiers of Navarre. The Albret holdings,

⁴⁴⁶ Favyn, p.604. Original text is '*meurriers de leur dernier Roy*'.

⁴⁴⁷ Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 27 dated 30th July 1483. See also Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Histoire du Béarn* (Paris, 1962), p.19.

⁴⁴⁸ Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 26, dated 1483.

⁴⁴⁹ Yanguas y Miranda, Leg 1. Carp. 28, dated 30th July 1483. Original text is '*la paz e benefificio*'.

⁴⁵⁰ Zurita, Vol.8, pp.468-9.

⁴⁵¹ Yanguas y Miranda, Leg 1, Carp. 29, dated March 5, 1484 at Tafalla.

⁴⁵² *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté*, p.104.

including Albret itself, the comté de Gaure and several important lordships across Bordelais, Perigord and the Limousin swelled the frontiers of the kingdom to approximately 55,000 kilometres squared.⁴⁵³ But although all these disparate territories were eventually united under one crown, each of these territories prized its own regional traditions and independence. Catalina's subjects spoke several different languages and even used completely different dating system on either side of the Pyrenees. To cope, the queen had to employ several secretaries who could translate edicts and letters into all the required languages and date them as appropriate to their destination.⁴⁵⁴ In addition, to effectively govern their large collection of territories, Catalina and Jean were forced to spend a substantial amount of time travelling around their lands. In response to the demands of administering a diverse and widespread estate, they also developed a mode of political partnership to share out duties, which often entailed the couple having to split up to govern in different provincial capitals.⁴⁵⁵

The final marriage to consider, Blanca I's second marriage to Juan of Aragon, also highlights the potential dangers of a bridegroom's territorial contribution in a very different way.⁴⁵⁶ After she returned from Sicily as a widow in 1415 and the *primogenita*, or heiress, it was imperative for Blanca to remarry as soon as possible to ensure an heir for Navarre and dynastic continuity. It was a decision of great consequence as the marriage was a significant diplomatic opportunity which Carlos wanted to use in order to build a profitable alliance to secure the borders of the realm. It appears that Carlos attempted to find a new husband for Blanca almost immediately after she was widowed, undoubtedly using contacts made while he was at the French court from 1408 to 1411. A betrothal was contracted with great ceremony at the Louvre in Paris in November of 1409 to Ludwig of Bavaria, brother-in-law of

⁴⁵³ Boissonade, p.17. See a map of the couple's united domains in the Appendices, Figure 4.

⁴⁵⁴ The difficulties of the situation are highlighted in R. Anthony, 'Un élément de critique chronologique à propos de documents émanant de la reine de Navarre Catherine de Foix,' *Le Moyen Age*, 4 (1933), 26-32.

⁴⁵⁵ This will be explored at length in the following chapter.

⁴⁵⁶ Blanca's first marriage, to the King of Sicily in 1402, will be discussed later in this chapter.

the King of France.⁴⁵⁷ Unfortunately, this prestigious engagement appears to have been broken by 1410. A second betrothal, this time to Edouard, heir of the Duc de Bar was made in 1410 but failed to come to fruition, possibly due to Blanca's continuing duties in Sicily.⁴⁵⁸ Carlos appears to have reconsidered his earlier attempts to marry Blanca to the east and began to look for an alliance with his neighbours.

There was also a strong proposal from Carlos' widowed son-in-law the Count of Foix for Blanca's hand. However it appears that an alliance with Aragon was Carlos' preferred option. In fact, Blanca's elder sister Juana had been originally intended for Jaime of Aragon, who was set to rule Navarre alongside Juana if Carlos had died without male heirs. Jaime's early death ended that possibility and Carlos appears to have changed his mind about the Aragonese alliance, marrying Juana to the Count of Foix in 1402. Blanca's first husband, Martín the Younger, was not only the King of Sicily but was the heir to the throne of Aragon as well. When Carlos arranged Blanca's first marriage he would have expected her to eventually become the Queen of Aragon and Sicily while Juana would have been Countess of Foix, securing his borders on two sides. With the death of Juana and Blanca's first husband, Carlos was forced to choose which alliance he valued most, and Aragon as the more powerful neighbour took precedence.

In the summer of 1414, Carlos made a tentative proposal to marry Blanca to Alfonso, the heir of the new King of Aragon, Ferdinand de Antequera. This would have resulted in the merger of Navarre with Aragon, repeating the union of the two realms during a large part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, Alfonso was already contracted to marry Maria of Castile; a younger *Infante*, Enrique, was offered but Carlos refused the substitute.⁴⁵⁹ Although Enrique was initially rejected, the Aragonese were still keen to

⁴⁵⁷ Castro Alava, *Carlos III el Noble*, p.347.

⁴⁵⁸ The marriage capitulations for this engagement appear to have been lost although there is a reference to them in a request from Carlos III to view the document, AGN Comptos, Caj.101, no.59, 37 dated 28th October 1410 at Olite.

⁴⁵⁹ A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous; King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford, 1990), pp.47-8.

pursue a possible marriage to prevent Blanca from marrying Jean of Foix or Pedro, the son of the Portuguese king. Leonor de Albuquerque, the wife of Ferdinand de Antequera who was a powerful Castilian heiress in her own right, pushed for a marriage between Blanca and her second son, Juan.⁴⁶⁰

Carlos obtained a papal bull that allowed Blanca to marry any relative within the second to fourth degrees of consanguinity at the end of 1418 and the intensive negotiations for the marriage took place in 1419.⁴⁶¹ Juan named Diego Gómez de Sandoval as his negotiator and requested him to obtain reassurance that Blanca was confirmed as Carlos III's heir.⁴⁶² This request was not unusual for the marriage of a potential heiress. In the twelfth century, Fulk of Anjou made a specific demand during the negotiations for his marriage to Melisende of Jerusalem that she be officially recognized as her father's heir.⁴⁶³ Accordingly, Melisende of Jerusalem began to appear prominently in the charters of the kingdom as the king's designated heir, listing her as 'the king's daughter and the heir to Jerusalem'.⁴⁶⁴ The accord between Carlos III and Juan's representative took several months to negotiate and was finally concluded in November.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰ J.Á. Sesma Muñoz, 'La reina doña Blanca y Aragón,' *Príncipe de Viana*, 60 (1999), 35-48. See also J. Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479); Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953). Vicens Vives discusses the embassy that Leonor sent to the Navarrese court to promote a marriage between Blanca and Juan on page 24.

⁴⁶¹ AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.16 dated 30th December 1418 at Mantua. It is worth noting that Carlos had obtained a bull for Isabel's marriage at the beginning of the same year from the anti-pope Benedict XIII and this bull came from Martin V, which reflects the end of the papal schism. There are records of two men given money (470 florins) for a trip to see Martin V as the king's representatives in September; presumably this was related to the bull, AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.12, 56 dated 20th September 1418.

⁴⁶² Juan named de Sandoval as his representative in AGN Comptos, Caj. 104, no.14, 1 dated 23rd May 1419 and the document regarding Blanca's place in the succession is Caj.104, no.14, 2 of the same date.

⁴⁶³ Hans Eberard Mayer, 'The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), pp.143-44.

⁴⁶⁴ R.Rohricht, (ed.), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani MXCVII-MCCXCI* (Vols. I & II), (New York, reprinted edition, 1960-originally published 1893-1904), No.137a. Also cited in Mayer, 'Succession', p.144. Mayer also argues that Fulk's insistence that Melisende was officially recognized as heiress was tied to the similar recognition of the Empress Matilda as Henry I of England's heir (146). Original text is '*filia regis et regni Ierosolimitani haeres.*'

⁴⁶⁵ The accord can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.15, 1-2 dated 5th November 1419 at Olite. These comprise two versions; the original is 1 which is badly damaged and partially illegible while 2 is a certified copy from 1713 which includes their coronation agreements.

The importance of this marriage for the heiress of the realm to their powerful Aragonese neighbour can be seen in the extremely high level of expenditure for the wedding.⁴⁶⁶ To meet this expenditure, as usual, the major towns and citizens of the realm were expected to contribute.⁴⁶⁷ However, some of these contributions were 'forgiven'; it is difficult to say whether this was because the full amount was not required or it was done as a gesture of goodwill to the populace.⁴⁶⁸

By marrying Blanca I to a younger son, the intention may have been, as in the later example of George of Denmark, that a younger son could be more focused on the needs of his wife's realm. However, unlike George of Denmark, Juan was heavily distracted by the Castilian territories bequeathed to him by his mother and later by acting as lieutenant for his brother, the King of Aragon. Juan was keen to preserve the substantial Castilian territories that his mother had bequeathed to him. These vast Castilian territories included the Dukedoms of Peñafiel and Montblanch as well as the *Condes* of Haro and Briones which were situated close to the frontier with Navarre.⁴⁶⁹ Juan interfered continually in Castilian politics and ultimately drew Navarre into a costly war with Castile. Juan was also his brother's heir to the throne of Aragon and frequently served as a lieutenant during his brother's lengthy absences in Italy. Although Juan was a younger son, his position as an important Castilian noble and as the heir and later King of Aragon meant that he was often

⁴⁶⁶ Examples of expenditure include a receipt for 14,088 libras plus 1,830 libras and 8 sueldos (AGN Comptos, Caj.118, no.63, 4 dated 18th April 1420 at Pamplona), another receipt for 6,934 libras and 6 dineros (AGN Comptos, Caj.118, no.5 of the same date) and even a receipt for 13 libras and 12 sueldos spent on cheese '*queso de vaca*' (AGN Comptos, Caj.186, no.9, 50 dated 28th October 1420. Another unusual expenditure is 1,400 libras to the chief Rabbi of the Jewish community for services rendered during the wedding (AGN Comptos, Caj.84, no.2, 34).

⁴⁶⁷ Examples of personal contributions include one receipt for 9 libras from Garcia de Sesse and Catalina Biota, 20 sueldos from a widow named Elvira de Urdániz and 200 sueldos from Juan Casado (AGN Comptos, Caj.118, no.67,3 dated 22nd May 1420 at Pamplona. The powerful Peralta clan is recorded as contributing to the weddings of Isabel in 1419 and Blanca in 1420 in AGN Comptos, Caj.122, no.41, 4 dated 14th September 1423.

⁴⁶⁸ See Table 2 in the Appendices, p.348. Another possible explanation is that enough money had been collected from Isabel's wedding the year previous, one document records instructions that excess funds given by Pamplona for Isabel's wedding be transferred to Blanca's (AGN Comptos, Caj.186, no.6, 63 dated 31st December 1419).

⁴⁶⁹ M. Diago Hernando, 'Política y guerra en la frontera castellano-navarra durante la época Trastámara,' *Príncipe de Viana*, 55 (1994), 527-50.

occupied outside of Navarre and that his personal political goals were not always in line with Navarrese interests.

The marriages of the Navarrese queens have a clear connection as they were each married to an external, landed candidate. Each queen avoided the potential complications of an internal marriage to a subject, but their decision to build alliances through external marriages came with both positive and negative consequences. The political ramifications and the effect on foreign policy during their realm will be explored below. However, the preceding discussion of the marriages of the Navarrese queens highlights the benefits and pitfalls of territorial merger or expansion in connection with a marital alliance. All of these nuptial connections increased the frontiers of Navarre and the overall revenue of the realm. However, the increased size and income may not have been worth the difficulties of managing an unwieldy territorial amalgamation or subordinating the best interests of Navarre for the benefit of their partners. These marriages effectively resulted in an inability for Navarre to control its own destiny. This was true to a certain degree during periods when it was part of a coalition of territories under the rule of the queen and her consort, as in the case of Juana II, Leonor, Catalina and to some extent under Blanca I. It was certainly the case under the reign of Juana I and the sole rule of Juan of Aragon, when the kingdom was completely absorbed by the husband's realm. While the loss of sovereignty during these periods proved to be temporary, the lack of complete independence during the queens' rule may have contributed, and certainly prepared the realm for the permanent loss of sovereignty after it was annexed by Castile in 1512.

Connections

Connections to contemporary queens

Although female rule was a fairly uncommon occurrence, there was at least one other woman on a European throne during the reigns of each of the queens regnant of Navarre. The examples of many queens regnant have been used for discussion and comparison throughout this study, and the previous chapter examined the ways in which the Navarrese queens and other female sovereigns served as precedent for one another with regard to succession practices. However, this section will look at more direct connections between the Navarrese queens and contemporary female sovereigns which were frequently associated with marital alliances.

The connections for the first two Navarrese queens, Juana I and II are somewhat tenuous. The only female who was technically a sovereign during Juana I's reign was Margaret 'the Maid' of Norway, who ruled Scotland briefly as a child between 1286-90. However, given Margaret's short life and reign, there was little opportunity for direct contact between them. The only connection that can be made is through marital alliances. One of the most likely suitors for Margaret's hand was Edward of Carnarvon, Prince of Wales and son of Edward I of England. Margaret's early death opened up the possibility of for the Prince of Wales to marry Juana's daughter Isabelle instead. Although the wedding itself took place in 1308, after the deaths of both Margaret and Juana, the Queen of Navarre was involved to some extent in the marital negotiations.⁴⁷⁰ In addition to the requisite mentions of her as Philip IV's spouse and Isabella's mother, there is an independent letter from Juana

⁴⁷⁰ Juana's presence is specifically noted in a betrothal ceremony in Paris in '*Sponsalia inter Edvardum filium Regis & Isabellam Regis Franciae filiam*' dated 20th May 1303 in Rymer, *Foedera*, p.928.

to the English king, dated 3rd August 1299 which gives her specific consent to the marriage as Queen of France and Navarre.⁴⁷¹

The connection between Juana II and Giovanna I of Naples is equally tenuous and also centres on succession and marriage. Giovanna was born in 1328, the year in which Juana was finally summoned by the *Cortes* to take her place as the rightful queen of Navarre. Giovanna came to the throne in 1343, the same year that Juana's husband died and she assumed the sole rule of Navarre and their French territories. There is no evidence of any direct contact between the two queens but after Juana's death her son Luis married Giovanna's niece Jeanne of Durazzo who was at that time the presumed heiress to the kingdom of Naples.⁴⁷²

However, the later queens regnant of Navarre had more direct relationships with other ruling queens. Blanca I of Navarre and Giovanna II of Naples in particular had a much closer connection than their earlier predecessors. Their first linkage came before either woman was a sovereign queen, when both were under consideration as potential brides for Martín of Sicily and Aragon. In addition to Blanca and Giovanna, there were several other possibilities including the daughters of the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France and the King of England. In many ways Giovanna would have seemed a likely choice as her position as the presumptive heir of her brother could have ultimately paved the way to the Aragonese consolidation of Naples and Sicily. According to the annalist Zurita, Martín intended to marry Giovanna, but was persuaded by his father not to go ahead with a betrothal as she was already contracted to wed William, Duke of Austria.⁴⁷³ However, Tramontana cites several reasons why the match was rejected by the King of Aragon,

⁴⁷¹ Listed as letter CCCXXIV in M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres des rois, reines et autres personages de cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV. Vol. I; 1162-1300*, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1839), pp.431-432.

⁴⁷² For more information on this marriage, see Nancy Goldstone, *The Lady Queen; The notorious reign of Joanna I, Queen of Naples, Jerusalem and Sicily* (New York, 2009), pp.228-9 and p.233. The marriage of Luis de Navarre and Jeanne of Durazzo took place in 1366.

⁴⁷³ J. Zurita, *Indices de las Gestas de los Reyes de Aragon desde comienzos del reinado al año 1410* (Zaragoza, 1984), p.267.

primarily because it would create tension not only within the ranks of the Sicilian and Neapolitan nobility, but most significantly with the Pope and several powerful neighbours.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, Fodale claims that the choice of an Iberian princess over the other candidates demonstrates the importance of Aragon's interests over those of their Sicilian realm.⁴⁷⁵

Both Carlos of Navarre and the King of Aragon were keen to proceed with a marital alliance and a series of meetings were held at the Navarro-Aragonese frontier in the winter of 1401-2. Blanca, the third daughter, was the suggested bride, leaving her elder sister Juana free to contract a marriage with the heir of the Count of Foix.⁴⁷⁶ There have been somewhat romantic suggestions that Blanca was chosen ahead of the second daughter, Maria, due to her 'legendary' beauty.⁴⁷⁷ Blanca's famous beauty has been the subject of several Early Modern and Modern works, including those of Lorenzo Valla, Tommaso Fazello and Giuseppe Patania's *La Fuga della regina Bianca*.⁴⁷⁸ The 'legend' appears to have some roots in primary source material from the period, including a letter sent from the King of Aragon to his son in Sicily concerning his Navarrese bride, describing her as 'most beautiful...and endowed with all virtues'.⁴⁷⁹ Although Tramontana rightly cautions an assumption of beauty based on solely on biased evidence it should be noted that Blanca's new husband confirmed her beauty in a letter to the King of Aragon, thanking him for his excellent choice of bride.⁴⁸⁰ Blanca was also celebrated as the 'glory of the Sicilian realm' by contemporary poets, such

⁴⁷⁴ S. Tramontana, 'Il matrimonio con Martino: il progetto, i capitoli, la festa,' *Principe de Viana*, 60 (1999), p.17.

⁴⁷⁵ Salvatore Fodale, 'Blanca de Navarra y el Gobierno de Sicilia', *Principe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), p.314.

⁴⁷⁶ There is a very open ended papal bull which was issued in 1402 which allowed for any of Carlos III's children to marry relations within the third or fourth degree. This may have been left open ended to cover all marital negotiations for Carlos; certainly this would be applicable for the ongoing negotiations with Foix and Aragon. AGN Papeles Suelos (PS), 1st series, Leg. 32, no.3 dated 6th August 1402 at Vaucluse.

⁴⁷⁷ However it is also possible that Maria was not chosen for health reasons; Maria remained at home with her parents for her short life and passed away in May 1406. If she was known to have delicate health, that may have precluded her selection as the Aragonese were effectively looking for a brood mare.

⁴⁷⁸ There is a very interesting discussion of Blanca's supposed beauty in Laura Sciascia, 'Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra: ancora l'eros come metafora del potere,' *Quaderni Medievali* 43 (1997), 120-34.

⁴⁷⁹ Tramontana, 'Il matrimonio con Martino', p.18. Original text is '*molt bella et molt savia e endreçata et dotata de totes virtuts*'.

⁴⁸⁰ Tramontana, 'Il matrimonio con Martino', p.19.

as Andria di Anfusu who praised not only her noted beauty but also 'her piety, nobility, her extreme magnificence, her generosity, fairness, her renown, energy and steadiness'.⁴⁸¹

Blanca was winding up her period of rule in Sicily on behalf of the Aragonese crown at nearly the same time as Giovanna II came to the Neapolitan throne in 1414. However, their destinies were more directly intertwined with regard to a fresh set of Aragonese marital negotiations which took place between 1414-1415.

Blanca's younger sister Isabel was originally betrothed to Juan, younger son of the King of Aragon and the wedding had been set for September 1414.⁴⁸² However, with a little more than a month left before their wedding, Juan jilted Isabel in order to pursue an opportunistic marriage to the much older Giovanna II of Naples. A proxy marriage between Juan and Giovanna was celebrated on 4th January 1415 in Valencia.⁴⁸³ However, this time Juan was jilted by Giovanna who married Jacques de Bourbon, the widower of Blanca's sister Beatriz.⁴⁸⁴ It appears that the marriage to Juan of Aragon was unpopular in Naples, forcing Giovanna to make alternative arrangements.⁴⁸⁵ Ironically, Giovanna appears to have used Juan's previous engagement to Isabel as a means of nullifying their proxy marriage.⁴⁸⁶ Ultimately, the break with Isabel and the failure of the Neapolitan marriage left Juan free to negotiate a marriage with Blanca, now the heiress of Navarre, in 1419.

This situation clearly demonstrates the desirability of a queen regnant as a marital partner. As a younger son, marriage to a queen regnant was a key opportunity to become a ruler, if only as a king consort. Although Juan did eventually succeed to the throne of Aragon because his brother died childless, at the time of his marriage, this looked to be unlikely and

⁴⁸¹ The poem by Anfusu is reprinted in 'Blanca de Navarra y el gobierno de Sicilia,' pp.320-1. See also Laura Sciascia, 'Bianca de Navarra, l'ultima regina: Storia al femminile della monarchia siciliana,' *Principe de Viana*, 60 (1999), p.306. Original text is '*gloria di lu regnu Sichilia*'.

⁴⁸² Jaime Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon (1398-1479); Monarquia y revolución en la España del siglo XV*. (Barcelona, 1953), p.16 and Zurita, Vol.5, pp.405-6, 409. The marriage capitulations do not appear to have survived in the Navarrese archives, however there is a reference to them in AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.13 dated 10th June 1403 at Medina del Campo.

⁴⁸³ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, p.17.

⁴⁸⁴ Eloisa Ramírez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II* (Pamplona, 2003), p.62.

⁴⁸⁵ T.N.Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon; A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), p.138.

⁴⁸⁶ Zurita, Vol.5, p.420-1.

marriage to a ruling queen was a more certain way to gain power and a throne. It is hardly surprising that he was willing to break his engagement to Isabel of Navarre, even if it meant a diplomatic rupture between Aragon and their Iberian neighbours. The Aragonese would have been willing to sacrifice good relations with Navarre in order to obtain the Neapolitan crown for their son and draw Naples into their orbit. Eventually, relations with Navarre were repaired after the Neapolitan marriage failed to come to fruition and Juan was betrothed to Blanca instead. However, given Juan's destructive behaviour as king consort and the damaging legacy he left in Navarre, it would have been better for the Navarrese if Juan's marriage to the Queen of Naples had gone ahead.

In addition, both women were on the thrones of their respective realms between 1425-35 and both women had close political relationships with Alfonso V of Aragon. Blanca had two important ties to Alfonso; she was the sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom and she was his sister-in-law. Both of these connections can be seen in their joint efforts to make peace in Iberia following Juan's disastrous conflict with Castile. Blanca attempted to mitigate the damage of these losses by sending peace envoys to the Castilian court.⁴⁸⁷ She also sent an embassy to Juan's brother, Alfonso of Aragon, to try to get his backing for peace negotiations with Castile.⁴⁸⁸ Alfonso's influence made the Truce of Majano possible in 1430 which finally gave Navarre a much needed respite from the draining war with Castile and led to the Treaty of Toledo in 1436.⁴⁸⁹

Although Giovanna II could have become Alfonso's sister-in-law if her proxy marriage to Juan of Aragon had gone ahead, Alfonso was still a neighbouring sovereign to Giovanna with regard to the Aragonese possession of Sicily. This was also a source of contention as

⁴⁸⁷ Simón de Leoz, Blanca's secretary was compensated for trips to Castile in August and December 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,4 dated 17th August 1430 and Caj.111, no.12, 36 dated 22nd December 1430. Blanca's confessor Pedro Beraiz, Archbishop of Tiro was compensated for similar trips in February and August of 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3, 33 dated 8th February 1430 and Caj.111, no.3, 5 dated 22nd August 1430. There is also a messenger compensated for delivering 'secret letters' to the King of Castile; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,2 dated 8th September 1430.

⁴⁸⁸ *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, p.168.

⁴⁸⁹ Further discussion of the war with Castile and Blanca's peacemaking efforts can be found in the following chapter.

Giovanna's Angevin family had long sought to repossess the island kingdom while Alfonso was ambitious to add the Kingdom of Naples to his own empire. A potential solution came when the childless Queen of Naples offered to make Alfonso her heir in return for his assistance in 1420.⁴⁹⁰ However, despite being confirmed as the Queen's heir, Alfonso had competition for the succession from Louis of Anjou and resorted to keeping Giovanna as a virtual prisoner in an attempt to keep his position in Naples intact. Giovanna eventually managed to escape to her fortress in Castelcapuano and revoked her adoption of Alfonso as her heir, in favour of Louis of Anjou.⁴⁹¹ Eventually however, Giovanna and Alfonso were able to come to a compromise solution; she would reinstate him as her heir as long as he agreed to not to enter the Kingdom of Naples during the Queen's lifetime without her express permission.⁴⁹² Despite this agreement, when the Queen finally died in 1435, she named René of Anjou as her heir. However, Alfonso was able to successfully claim the kingdom, in spite of his prolonged struggle with Giovanna over the Aragonese possession of Naples.

The next two Queens of Navarre, Leonor and Catalina, were both contemporaries of one of the most famous medieval queens regnant, Isabel of Castile. The connection between these queens was very close on two accounts; Isabel was the sovereign of the neighbouring realm of Castile and she was also a close relative of both of the Navarrese queens through blood and marriage.

Isabel came to the throne of Castile in 1474, when Leonor was serving as lieutenant for her father as the heir apparent of Navarre. Although both women were cousins through the house of Trastámara, their familial relationship became even closer when Isabel married Leonor's half brother, Ferdinand of Aragon. Their marriage ultimately united Castile and Aragon, increasing the pressure on Navarre as one of the few areas in Iberia that were not subject to the rule of Isabel and Ferdinand. They used their familial connection as a pretext

⁴⁹⁰ *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, pp. 77-80.

⁴⁹¹ *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, p.107.

⁴⁹² *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, p.190.

to interfere in Navarre, setting up the infamous 'protectorate' during Leonor's lieutenancy which endured until the Pyrenean realm was finally annexed by Castile in 1512.⁴⁹³

Isabel and Ferdinand also attempted to strengthen the political and familial connections between themselves and Navarre through marital alliances. Luis Suárez Fernández has argued that a marriage with Navarre was a key part of Isabel and Ferdinand's overall foreign policy plan-to build a triple alliance between England, Spain and Flanders and deny France the opportunity to gain control of Brittany and Navarre.⁴⁹⁴ Overall, they made five major attempts to forge a marital bond with Navarre, although none of them came to fruition. As discussed earlier, the negotiations for a marriage between Francisco Fébo and their daughter Juana were unsuccessful as was their attempt to procure Catalina for their son Juan in 1484. Isabel and Ferdinand tried again with Catalina's children and signed three different marital pacts in 1494, 1500 and 1504 but none of these matches ultimately came to fruition.

The first of these marital agreements was for a betrothal between Catalina's eldest child and current heiress, Ana and the Infante Juan or one of his cousins which was signed shortly after the Albrechts arrived for their Navarrese coronation in 1494.⁴⁹⁵ In the agreement it was firmly stipulated that Ana's parents could not consent to any other betrothal without the express consent of the *Reyes Católicos*.⁴⁹⁶ The Navarrese monarchs were dependent on the support of their Spanish neighbours in order to maintain the peace and security of their realm and were willing risk incurring the wrath of their French overlord by pledging their eldest daughter and heiress in a marital agreement with his Iberian rivals. Ferdinand and Isabel's desire to build a binding martial alliance stemmed from their own need to ensure

⁴⁹³ For further discussion of the Castilian protectorate, see the discussion of Leonor's lieutenancy in the following chapter.

⁴⁹⁴ Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel*, Vol II, p.72.

⁴⁹⁵ This treaty was signed at Medina del Campo on 19th April 1494. The full text of the treaty is reproduced in Adot Lerga, pp.340-41. (AGS, Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.58).

⁴⁹⁶ Adot Lerga, p.122. The full text of the agreement is reproduced on pp.338-9 (AGS, *Patronato Real*, leg.12, fol.60).

that as much of the Pyrenees were closed to the French as possible given the on-going dispute on over the Franco-Aragonese frontier at Perpignan and the constant threat of outright war with France.⁴⁹⁷

The alliance between the Spanish monarchs and the Navarrese was reinforced by another treaty signed 4th March 1495 at Pamplona. While this treaty did not contain a proposed marriage, it did contain a significant clause which required Catalina and Jean to 'hand over the lady Infanta Magdalena, their daughter, to the power of the said King and Queen of Castile...for their highnesses to hold in their power for five years...for the security of what it is contained in this writing [treaty]'.⁴⁹⁸ Although it was not unusual to require hostages for the surety of treaties, this particular clause appears to be quite severe when the age of the princess, who was barely a year old, is taken into consideration.⁴⁹⁹ However, this also reinforced the family bonds between the two royal couples, as Isabel and Ferdinand would be serving as surrogate parents for Catalina's young daughter.⁵⁰⁰ Tragically, the princess was never returned to her parents in Navarre and died in Castile in 1504, although it is unclear whether the princess remained in Castile due to a need to ensure that the Navarrese adhered to the terms of their mutual treaties or whether it was agreed that she should remain with the *Reyes Católicos* for other reasons.⁵⁰¹ Given that Magdalena had grown up in the Castilian court and that the Queen of Navarre had given birth to several

⁴⁹⁷ Ladero Galán remarks that '*Todo debía hacerse con tal de evitar un acercamiento de Navarra a los franceses.*' A. Ladero Galán, 'La Frontera de Perpiñan. Nuevos datos sobre la primera guerra del Rosellón,' *En la España Medieval* 27 (2004), pp.225-83.

⁴⁹⁸ The full text of the treaty is printed in Adot Lerga on pp.343-44 (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.24). The original text is '*ayan de entregar a la sennora ynfante donna Magdalena, su hija, en poder de los dichos rey e reyna de Castilla....la qual sus altezas an de tener en su poder por termino de çinco annos...por seguridad de lo contenido en esta escritura.*'

⁴⁹⁹ Lopez de Meneses includes a quote from the *Extracto del Libro de Olite* which marked the birth and baptismal celebrations for Magdalena's birth, which is recorded as 'the 29th of March between two and three o'clock' in 1494. Amada Lopez de Meneses, 'Magdalena y Catalina de Albret-Foix, Infantas de Navarra', *Hispania* 97 (1965), p.5. It is worth noting that this suggests that Catalina would have been heavily pregnant during her coronation on 12th January 1494.

⁵⁰⁰ Lopez de Meneses notes expenditure for the princess during her stay in Castile, including clothing, shoes and even jewelry which seem to indicate that she was treated according to her rank. 'Infantas de Navarra', pp.7-8.

⁵⁰¹ Moret, Vol.7, p.169 and 'Infantas de Navarra', p.11.

other children over the decade, it may have been decided that it was better for the princess to remain in Castile as a living bond between the two royal families.

However, the projected marriage for the Infanta Ana failed to come to fruition. In 1496, Catalina gave birth to a son, Jean. Even though he died in infancy, the fact that Ana had lost her place as heiress may have encouraged Ferdinand and Isabel to look elsewhere for a wife for their son. The *Infante* Juan eventually married Margaret of Austria in 1497 but died shortly thereafter. Ana was then promised to Gaston, the son of Jean of Narbonne who had contested Catalina's accession to the throne.⁵⁰² Although this might have served to unite two rival claimants and end the dispute regarding the Navarrese succession, this match failed to materialize probably due to a lack of consent from the Spanish sovereigns. It also appears to have been unpopular with the Navarrese, particularly the citizens of Tudela, who had also preferred a Castilian match for the queen in 1483.⁵⁰³ The failure of this marriage cost Catalina both the opportunity to permanently resolve the succession dispute with her uncle and possibly a financial penalty of 1,000 marks which was stipulated in the marriage agreement if Ana married elsewhere.⁵⁰⁴

However, Ferdinand and Isabel were still determined to persevere with a Navarrese marital alliance in order to bind the realms closer together. The Princess Ana was the subject of yet another marital treaty, signed on 14th May 1500.⁵⁰⁵ This treaty was very open ended; stipulating a marriage between her and one of Ferdinand and Isabel's grandsons. This flexibility was necessary as Catalina was in her childbearing years and continuing to give birth to children who may or may not survive to adulthood. Between 1496 and 1503,

⁵⁰² *Les testaments des derniers rois de Navarre*, p.21. Catalina also mentions this marriage in a letter to the Prior of Roncevalles written on 15th December 1496 at Pau; AGN Comptos, caj,166, no.25.

⁵⁰³ Jean d'Albret appears to have issued a reprimand to the city of Tudela for its opposition to Ana's marriage to the son of Jean de Narbonne, see Yanguas y Miranda, Leg.1, Carp.30 dated 1st November 1496 at Pamplona.

⁵⁰⁴ Adot Lerga, p.163.

⁵⁰⁵ The treaty is reprinted in Boissonade, Document XV, pp.605-7. (AGS, Patronato Real, Leg.2, fol.14).

Catalina gave birth to three sons, although only one of these boys survived infancy.⁵⁰⁶ Given this fluid situation, the treaty recognized the possibility that Ana may or may not have become the heir to the Navarrese throne. In addition, the treaty alluded to a possible match between any heir of Navarre with any of Ferdinand and Isabel's grandchildren who could in turn be their eventual heir.⁵⁰⁷

Catalina gave birth to another son, Enrique, on 25th April 1503 at Sangüesa. Isabel of Castile promptly sent a warm letter of congratulations to Jean d'Albret which ended with 'most illustrious king, our very dear and much loved cousin, may Our Lord be with you always and keep you in his special protection and favour'.⁵⁰⁸ The arrival of a new heir corresponded with a new treaty to firm up the vague terms of the previous marital agreement. On 17th March 1504, a treaty of alliance was signed at Medina del Campo which featured a marriage contract between Enrique of Navarre and their granddaughter Isabel, daughter of Juana of Castile and Philip of Flanders.⁵⁰⁹ At this point both of the proposed spouses were infants, as Enrique was born in 1503 and Isabel in 1501. Although Enrique was listed as the 'legitimate first-born son and heir', this marriage was unlikely to lead to the union of Navarre with Castile and Aragon as Juana's heir was her son Charles, but it would still serve to bind the two kingdoms closer together and met with the approval of the *Cortes*.⁵¹⁰ The marriage was meant to be celebrated when the prince reached the age of fourteen, in 1518. However, the marriage did not take place, probably as it became both

⁵⁰⁶ See genealogical chart in the appendices; the sons noted here are Jean (b/d.1496), Andres Febo (b.1501/d.1503) and Enrique (b.1503/d.1555). In addition, there is the possibility that she gave birth to another two sons, an unnamed son (b/d. 1498), another unnamed son (b/d/1500) but these are unconfirmed and seem unlikely.

⁵⁰⁷ The treaty contains many allusions to the will of God, noting the continual fluctuation of the succession of Navarre, Castile and Aragon due to the births and deaths of royal children.

⁵⁰⁸ The letter is printed in Boissonade, Document XVII, dated July 2, 1503, p.608 (ADPA E 549). Original text is '*muy ilustre Rey, nuestro muy caro y muy amado sobrino, Nuestro Señor todos tiempos vos aya en su especial guarda y recomendando*'.

⁵⁰⁹ The full text of the treaty is reprinted in Adot Lerga, pp.346-51 and also in Boissonade, Doc. XIX, pp.610-618. (ADPA E 550).

⁵¹⁰ The marriage must have been under discussion within six months of the Infante's birth, see Yanguas y Miranda Leg. 1, Carp. 31, dated 23rd December 1503 at Pamplona. Also noted in Yanguas y Miranda, Leg. 1, Carp. 31, dated 1504 at Pamplona. Original text is '*primogenito legitimo y heredero*'.

redundant to Ferdinand and unpalatable to the Navarrese monarchs after the annexation in 1512. Moret notes that part of the agreements made when the Navarrese monarchs allied with France in 1512 was a proposed marriage between Enrique and the younger daughter of Louis XII, Renée of France.⁵¹¹ However, this marriage also failed to come to fruition, although Enrique later married another French princess, Marguerite, the sister of François I.⁵¹²

It is important to note that no further attempts to build a marital alliance with Navarre were made after Isabel's death in 1504. This may be because the proposed match between Enrique of Navarre and their granddaughter Isabel was still considered valid at least until 1510. However, it can be seen that the death of Isabel negatively effected relations with Navarre and altered the diplomatic strategy of her widower Ferdinand. Many historians have argued that Ferdinand had a long standing ambition to rule Navarre, both because it was a vulnerable access point for French troops into Iberia but also because it had previously been under the rule of his father, Juan II of Aragon.⁵¹³ It appears that Isabel restrained Ferdinand's ambition to annex the realm, preferring the notion of a 'protectorate' combined with a marital alliance which would either bind the Pyrenean realm closer or provide for an eventual merger. After her death, Ferdinand married Germana of Foix, a rival claimant for Catalina's throne and relations between Navarre and Spain rapidly worsened, leading to the Annexation of 1512.

Moreover, Isabel had been keen to stress the family bond which already existed between the two queens regnant. As previously discussed, Isabel sent an effusive letter of congratulations on the birth of Catalina's son and acted as a surrogate mother to one of Catalina's daughters. In addition, unlike the rest of the queens discussed here, there is evidence that Catalina and Isabel met face to face. The chronicler Moret recounted a

⁵¹¹ Moret, Vol.7, p.282.

⁵¹² Ultimately, Renée of France married Ercole d'Este and Isabel of Flanders married Christian II of Denmark.

⁵¹³ For examples of this argument see Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States 1494-1660* (Oxford, 1991), pp.90-91, John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York, 1964), pp.140-41 and Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*. Vol. 2; 1410-1516 Castillian Hegemony. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), pp.564-69.

'chance' meeting in the town of Alfaro between Catalina and the *Reyes Católicos* in 1494.

According to Moret, it was merely a pleasant family reunion,

It is not known whether in this meeting they discussed anything other than personal matters concerning congratulations and reciprocal affection, as very close relatives. And that would suit our Queen because to involve herself in the business of State, that game would be very unequal for her.⁵¹⁴

The insinuation here is that Catalina was not up to the task of negotiating with Isabel and Ferdinand. However, there are two alternative ways of analysing this particular anecdote. One is to assume that Moret's comments are reflective of the era that he was writing in, when women would be naturally assumed to be reluctant to put themselves forward in diplomatic negotiations. Another possibility is to focus on the last sentence; Catalina would be literally unequal to her Spanish cousins in negotiations as there were two of them and they were experienced sovereigns, whereas she had only just reached the age of majority and had recently begun to effectively exercise authority after the death of her mother. Taken this way, it could almost be seen as a smart move on Catalina's part to keep the meeting to a comfortable family reunion. It is also important to note as Moret does, that diplomatic negotiations may have taken place, even if there is no surviving evidence from this particular meeting.

However, it is conceivable that this meeting may have influenced the treaty of 1495 which called for the surrender of the young princess Magdalena. Catalina had recently given birth to her daughter, and this would have been the subject of the 'congratulations' discussed by Moret. It is even possible, if the infant was travelling with her mother, that Isabel may have even seen the baby and formed some attachment to her. Certainly it may have been the reason that they asked for Magdalena and not Ana as security. It would have been more logical to ask for Ana, as it was a fairly common practice for a fiancée to live in

⁵¹⁴ Moret, Vol.7, p.133. Original text is '*congratulación y amor reciproco, como parientes tan estrechos*'. Note: the congratulatory remarks may have been on the recent birth of Catalina's daughter Magdalena.

the court of her betrothed, although Catalina may have hesitated to give up her eldest daughter, who was also her heiress.⁵¹⁵

As contemporary female sovereigns, it was inevitable that comparisons be drawn between Isabel and Catalina. Moret held Isabel up as an exemplar of effective female rule and insinuated that if Catalina had been able to rule as strongly as Isabel did, the fate of Navarre may have been different,

If the Queen was the reigning sovereign of all her dominions and could have ruled all of them with all authority, as at other times she did, in imitation of the Catholic Queen Lady Isabel, who with another king consort of a very different condition [or status], behaved as one knows in her kingdom of Castile.⁵¹⁶

It appears that Moret is criticizing Catalina here for not exercising her authority fully in all of her domains at all times. However, it also appears that Moret is equally blaming her consort. The question is how you translate the word *condición*, which can mean condition or can be alluding to status. If you choose the former possibility, it appears that Moret is suggesting that Jean lacked the qualities needed to be an effective king consort. However, the alternate translation of status might mean that Moret was suggesting that Catalina would have been better off married to another sovereign, as Isabel was. Either way, the comparison between Catalina and Jean and their cousins, rivals and peers Isabel and Ferdinand is compelling.

Both women had to overcome a contested succession to order to gain their crown, but there is no doubt that Isabel was in a far stronger position in every other aspect. Although Isabel faced a myriad of internal and external political challenges, she was in a far stronger position than Catalina territorially. Finally, there is no doubt that Isabel's marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon was a major factor in her success as a monarch. Ferdinand was a crucial ally, bringing with him the Aragonese empire, his military skills and his political ability to

⁵¹⁵ This medieval tradition is discussed at length in Fiona Harris Stoertz, 'Young Women in France and England 1050-1300' *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (2001), 23-46.

⁵¹⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.293. Original text is '*Fuera de que la Reina era la propietaria de todos sus dominios y podia mandar en todos ellos con toda autoridad, como otras veces lo hizo, imitando á la Reina Católica Doña Isabel, que con tener rey marido de otra muy diferente condición, se portó como se sabe en sus reinos de Castilla.*'

strengthen her own position. In contrast, Jean d'Albret was not as strong as a marital ally for Catalina as Ferdinand was for Isabel, both in terms of the size of Jean's territorial contribution but also with regards to his personality, experience and ability.⁵¹⁷

In summary, the connections between most of the queens regnant discussed here, with the possible exception of Catalina and Isabel of Castile, were indirect and often the result of negotiations for marital alliances. However, the relations of Isabel of Castile with Leonor and Catalina of Navarre show a more direct involvement and strong familial and political connections. This case clearly demonstrates the ways in which queens regnant can work together or in opposition to one another. Although much of their relationship was driven by political factors which might have been the same regardless of the gender of the monarchs, it is possible that the methods of negotiation reflect female influence. Isabel was not generally adverse to aggressive, military efforts as her conquest of Grenada clearly demonstrates. However, in the case of a kingdom which was ruled by her young cousin Catalina, Isabel appears to have chosen a strategy which emphasized familial affection and marital alliances appears and this ultimately offered some protection to Navarre from outright annexation. Isabel's death was the tipping point when this strategy was effectively abandoned and relations between Navarre and its Iberian neighbours grew decidedly worse.

⁵¹⁷ This will be explored further in the following chapter.

Continuity and Change

Politics-International and Matrimonial

One area which was obviously subject to change and was beyond the direct control of the queens themselves was international politics.



This chart shows the transitions in international politics over the period of this study and the reactionary events and actions taken by Navarrese sovereigns which reflect the wider political climate. Ultimately Navarre was drawn into the political climate that surrounded it and the realm was highly influenced by the interests and ambitions of its larger and more powerful neighbours.

At the beginning of the period of this study, the focus of tension was between France and England. The remnants of the Angevin empire in Southern France meant that England was in effect a nearer neighbour to Navarre than the King of France as during this period the

bulk of the French royal domains centred around the Ile de France. However, the Champenois dynasty brought familial connections to the French royals and important territories cited near Paris.

During this period, although the Navarrese were arguably more attached to France, through their tenancy of Champagne and later through the Capetian and Evreux marriages, it was still important to maintain decent relations with England. They endeavoured to do this primarily through marital alliances. Juana I had been originally intended for an English marriage and her daughter later became the Queen of England. Another Navarrese princess became the Queen of England at the end of this period; Juana, the sister of Carlos III, who became the wife of Henry IV in 1403.

It can be argued that the Hundred Years War was triggered, indirectly, by the failure of Juana II to claim the throne of her father, Louis X. As a sovereign, Juana II responded to the deepening crisis between France and England by turning south to Navarre's Pyrenean and Iberian neighbours for marital alliances.

By the time Blanca I became queen in 1425, Henry VI of England was also theoretically ruling France, but the tide would soon turn in France's favour. The conflict of the Hundred Years War was winding down but the traditional schemes of alliance between France, Castile and possibly Scotland against England, Aragon and Burgundy were still viable. The marriages Blanca contracted with her own children, which will be discussed in the following section, show a desire to carry on the balanced alliances that her father made.

Leonor also governed Navarre in a period of transition, but by the second half of the fifteenth century, the centre of international tension had begun to shift. France emerged from the end of the Hundred Years War as a powerful force, keen to solidify its hold on the areas which had been held by the English or only loosely affiliated to the French crown, such as the semi-independent lords of the South West. Leonor and her husband Gaston of Foix responded to this development by forging marital links with the French crown and crucial

alliances with the strongest lords on the western side of France including Brittany and Armagnac.

The Iberian situation was undergoing massive change as well. The fifteenth century is often referred to as a period of crisis in Iberia which can be seen in the internal struggles of Castile, dynastic change in Aragon and the civil war in Navarre which was triggered by the conflict between Juan of Aragon and his son the Principe de Viana. Juan of Aragon had also come into conflict with Louis XI of France, initiating a rivalry between France and Spain which became increasingly hostile. By the end of Leonor's lieutenancy, her half-brother Ferdinand had married Isabel of Castile and their marriage brought about the union of Castile and Aragon.

These developments left Navarre in a precarious position. It was now a buffer state caught in between two rival monarchies which had both greatly increased their own dominion and power. As a smaller strategically positioned realm between larger nations, Navarre's situation could be conceivably compared to that of Burgundy or possibly Savoy. It is certainly worth noting the similarity between the situation of Catalina of Navarre and her contemporary Mary of Burgundy. As the heiress of Burgundy, Mary was under pressure to submit to a French marriage upon her father's death in 1477. However, she had multiple options and did not desire a marriage which would reduce Burgundy to a French province. She opted to marry Maximilian of Austria instead, aligning herself with the Holy Roman Empire and gaining the support of the powerful Hapsburg dynasty. Although Burgundy lost its independence and became a smaller, but important part of a wider familial empire, through her choice of marriage partner, Mary was able to at least choose the direction of her realm's destiny. Her marriage and the demise of Burgundy as an independent power also marks the end of the transitional period described above and the beginning of the great rivalry of France and Spain.

Leonor's heirs, her two grandchildren and their mother, the regent Magdalena of France, attempted to retain their sovereignty by maintaining some form of neutrality and by increasing their own territory through marriage in the Pyrenean region. Ferdinand and Isabel already enjoyed a protectorate of Navarre and sought to tighten their hold on the realm through a matrimonial alliance. Catalina signed repeated treaties with the Spanish monarchs which included prospective marriages for her children.

However, the final shift came at just after the turn of the sixteenth century. Isabel of Castile died in 1504, giving Ferdinand free reign for his political ambitions, which appeared to include the annexation of Navarre. The Italian Wars were becoming a major focus for Franco-Spanish rivalry and the increasing importance of Italian affairs had a devastating impact on the fate of Navarre. Navarre's attempt to maintain their neutrality in this conflict made them the enemies of the *Santa Liga*. However, the King of France abandoned his previously hostile stance towards Navarre as he was concerned that Ferdinand might use the pretext of his second wife's claim to the realm as a means to take Navarre and its French appendages and thus gain entry to France. Catalina and Jean's late alliance to France in the summer of 1512 ultimately came too late to save the country from Castilian annexation.

The changes in the international political scene required the Navarrese monarchs to respond by contracting strategic matrimonial alliances. All of the marriages of the queens themselves have already been discussed; this next section will focus on the alliances that they made for their children. It will also examine developing trends in the direction of foreign policy and look for connections to their husband's country of origin and how this may have affected the choices that they made with regard to matrimonial diplomacy.

The Early Middle Ages saw an almost entirely Iberian focus for dynastic marriages, with the exception of a few royal brides who came from their French neighbours. However, the marriages of the children of Sancho the Wise at the beginning of the thirteenth century saw an expanding diplomatic focus. His daughters, Berengaria and Blanche, were betrothed to

men whose lands lay far north of the Pyrenees. Berengaria was married to Richard I of England. Although the union produced no issue, during its duration Berengaria's marriage provided the Navarrese kings with an important ally not only in England but in nearby Aquitaine, which Richard held from his mother.

The marriage of her sister Blanche however had more far reaching impact. She married Thibault of Champagne, a powerful French count, whose family was connected to the French crown and to the throne of Jerusalem. Blanche's son, Thibault eventually became Teobaldo I of Navarra, after the death of his uncle Sancho the Strong without issue. This bought the Champenois connection which greatly increased the size of the royal domains and their overall wealth. This connection also radically changed the diplomatic outlook of the realm, forcing it to look north, beyond the Pyrenees in order to protect the interests of Champagne. Consequently, the kings from this dynasty chose almost exclusively French brides; in fact from 1234-1375, none of the rulers of Navarra had an Iberian spouse.

The marriages contracted for Juana I's children were made more for the benefit of France than Navarre, which reflects the fact that her husband, the King of France was the dominant partner in their union. Juana's sons were all married to Burgundian princesses, but these weddings took place after her death and it is unclear whether Juana was involved in the negotiations.⁵¹⁸ On balance, the marriages of her sons to Burgundian princesses may have secured Champagne's frontiers to some extent, while her daughter Isabelle's marriage could be said to have a positive effect for Navarre by ensuring that their Gascon neighbours remained favourably aligned.⁵¹⁹ Isabella's marriage was initiated by Pope Boniface VIII in 1298 as a means of promoting peace between France and England but it was ultimately

⁵¹⁸ Juana I's sons, Louis, Philip and Charles were married to Marguerite, Jeanne and Blanche of Burgundy in 1305, 1307 and 1308 respectively.

⁵¹⁹ Isabelle's brother Louis X signed a peace accord with her husband Edward II of England in 1309, which demonstrates at least a limited success in promoting peace between England, France and Navarre; AGN Comptos, Caj.5, no.39, 3 dated 12th March 1309.

unsuccessful in achieving this aim, due to political tensions and perhaps the personal incompatibility of the spouses.⁵²⁰

The accession of Juana II and the Evreux dynasty severed the direct linkage between the crowns of Navarre and France, although it did not entirely remove the entanglement in French politics. However, the Evreux dynasty did involve itself much more fully in Iberian politics and the running of the realm than their Capetian predecessors and they built a balanced web of alliances through the marriages of their children. Although the heir to the throne, Carlos II, married a French princess, Jeanne and her husband attempted to contract marriages with Navarre's neighbouring states with their daughters. Significantly, most of these matches were orchestrated by Jeanne, especially as Philip died in 1343 while their children were still fairly young. Juan Carrasco Perez claims that Juana spent the bulk of her widowhood 'braiding, with more or less success, the matrimonial alliances of her daughters.'⁵²¹

Jeanne and Philip were keen to reverse the trend of their predecessors and build closer ties with their Iberian neighbours; this desire can be most clearly seen in their initiation of talks for a marriage between their eldest daughter, Juana and Pedro, the heir of Aragon shortly after their arrival in Navarre. Miranda Garcia suggests that a secondary motive was to prevent the heir of Aragon from marrying a Plantagenet princess in accordance with the French foreign policy objectives.⁵²² However, the negotiations were quite protracted and an agreement was not signed until April 1333.⁵²³ One of the major points of negotiation was the various possible outcomes of the succession to the Navarrese throne. Pedro was already

⁵²⁰ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France' *Speculum* 63, no. 3 (1988), p.574.

⁵²¹ Juan Carrasco Perez, Julio Valdeón Baroque, Josep Maria Salrach and Maria Jesus Viguera (eds.), *Historia de las Espanas Medievales* (Barcelona, 2002), p.349. Original text is 'ocupó su tiempo trenzando, con más o menos éxito, las alianzas matrimoniales de sus hijas.'

⁵²² Miranda Garcia, *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.70.

⁵²³ AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no. 35. Other related documents are AGN Comptos, Caj.7, nos.36-7 and 47 dated between 28th April 1332 and 29th April 1333. The text of the agreement is also printed in full in José Ramón Castro Alava, 'El Matrimonio de Pedro IV de Aragon y María de Navarra' in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon III* (Zaragoza, 1947), pp.121-144.

heir presumptive of Aragon but during the period of negotiation (1329-33), the Queen of Navarre gave birth to two sons, Luis and Carlos, who displaced their sister in the line of succession. Nevertheless, the possibility that Juana might become the heiress was thoroughly explored and planned for. However, before the marriage could take place, there was a twist in the negotiations; the bride changed from Juana to the second daughter, Maria. Apparently, Juana professed a desire for the religious life and left Navarre to join the Franciscan convent at Longchamp, renouncing all claims to the throne. This somewhat bizarre turn of events have led to some confusion amongst historians and chroniclers and a tendency to mix up the elder Juana with a younger daughter named Juana, born in 1339 who later married Jean, the Viscount of Rohan.⁵²⁴

Maria and Pedro were finally wed on 25th July 1338 and although there was some residual tension over the late payment of dowry instalments, the marriage did serve to draw the two realms closer together.⁵²⁵ The involvement of Juana II in the negotiations with Aragon, both before and after the marriage can be seen in a series of documents initiated by the queen culminating in a formal declaration of alliance between the two realms issued shortly before her death in August 1349.⁵²⁶

The Navarrese monarchs attempted to secure a similar marital alliance with Castile with their daughter Blanche.⁵²⁷ Again, in addition to protecting their own frontiers, Jose Maria Lacarra suggests that a marriage between the House of Evreux and Castile would assist their

⁵²⁴ Castro Alava discusses the confusion between the fates of the two Juanas in 'El Matrimonio', pp.61-62. He notes Zurita's suggestion that Maria pleased Pedro better and cites the stories of the Early Modern chroniclers Moret and Arnaldo de Oyenhart who confirm Juana's decision to take the veil with evidence of her burial at Longchamps.

⁵²⁵ The marriage capitulations for the couple can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no.58, 1 dated 6th January 1337 at Castillo de Cineto and Pedro's approval of the agreement is in Caj.7, no.58, 12 dated 22nd April 1337 at Zaragoza. Attached to Castro Alava, 'El Matrimonio' is a document issued by Maria as Queen of Aragon, only days after her marriage, confirming the terms of her marital contract. Original provenance, AGN Comptos, Caj. 7, No.107. The dowry dispute will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁵²⁶ See AGN Comptos, Caj.9, nos.14, 86 and 101.

⁵²⁷ It is worth noting that the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy suggests that an earlier betrothal was made for Blanche in 1335 with Andre de Viennois, heir to Humbert, Dauphin of Viennois. However, there appears to be no surviving documentary evidence of this match in the AGN to support this claim. Andre also died in 1335, so even if the betrothal was made this would account for Blanche's freedom to contract another marriage.

goal to improve Franco-Castilian relations and cause the King of Castile's friendship with the English to wither.⁵²⁸ The betrothal was also warmly welcomed by the Pope who wrote to the King of Castile and the Archbishop of Toledo about the match.⁵²⁹ An accord was signed on 1st July 1345 which set the dowry at 300,000 florins.⁵³⁰ However, the match failed to come to fruition. The next matrimonial possibility for Blanche of Navarre was a marriage to Jean (later Jean II 'le Bon') of France but instead she married his father, Philip VI de Valois in January 1350, about six months after her mother's death.⁵³¹

Juana's daughter Agnes made a strategic marriage to their Pyrenean neighbour Gaston Phébus of Foix.⁵³² Phébus' biographer, Richard Vernier comments on the perception of the match,

To all appearances it was a marriage made in heaven: not only did it serve the political and economic interests of two neighbouring states, but it also sanctioned the ties of friendship between two families...Moreover, France applauded a match that would make the Count of Foix a member of the extended royal family.⁵³³

Béatrice Leroy notes that the match was orchestrated by two widows; Juana and Aliénor, the Countess Dowager of Foix.⁵³⁴ The Countess of Foix and her son travelled to the Ile de France in the spring of 1349 and the details of the marital agreements were hammered out. Juana issued a document on 5th May 1349 which lists Agnes' dowry; 20,000 livres tournois and another 20,000 livres which would come from the rents of territories to

⁵²⁸ *Historia Politica del Reino de Navarra*, p.46.

⁵²⁹ Georges Daumet, 'Etude sur les relations d'Innocent VI avec Don Pedro 1er Roi de Castille au sujet de Blanche de Bourbon', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 17, no. 17 (1897), pp.153-198. For an interesting discussion of an attempt of Clement VI to reinvigorate the betrothal between Blanche and Pedro after the death of Philip de Valois, see G. Mollat, 'Clement VI et Blanche de Navarre, reine de France', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 71, no. 1 (1959), pp.377-80.

⁵³⁰ *Historia Politica del Reino de Navarra*, p.46. Lacarra lists the original document's provenance as Arch. Nat de Paris, J602, no.43.

⁵³¹ More background on Blanche's period as Queen and Queen dowager of France can be found in Brigitte Buettner, 'Le Système des Objets dans le Testament de Blanche de Navarre', *Clio* 19 (2004), pp.37-62.

⁵³² The marriage contract for the couple was signed at Pontigny on 4th July 1349; AGN Comptos, Caj.3, no.119-20.

⁵³³ Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees. Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.26.

Jose Maria Lacarra also notes the reasons for the French king's approval and his preference for the Navarrese match over Phebus' previous engagement to Isabel of Mallorca; Lacarra, *Historia*, Vol.3, p.46.

⁵³⁴ Béatrice Leroy, 'La Navarre au XIVe siècle sous la dynastie d'Evreux (1328-1387); Un exemple de royaume Ibérique gouverné par des rois français' in *Les Communications dans la peninsule Ibérique au moyen age (Actes du Colloque tenu à Pau les 28 et 29 mars 1980 sous la direction de P. Tucoo-Chala)*, ed. by Pierre Tucoo-Chala, (Paris, 1981), p.86.

be assigned to the couple.⁵³⁵ The territories in question were provided by Philip VI of France in July 1349 and included several territories in the *sénéchausée* of Toulouse and Gaston of Foix added another 5,000 livres in rents to his bride's settlement.⁵³⁶ Sadly, Juana's death from the Plague in October of the same year meant that the dowry was not fully paid, which caused an underlying tension that led to later disastrous problems in the couple's marriage as will be discussed later.⁵³⁷

Jeanne's sons all married after her death. Her eldest son and heir married Jeanne de Valois, Princess of France in 1352. In addition, two of Jeanne's sons made marriages with wider political reach; Philip married Yolande of Flanders and Luis married Jeanne of Durazzo, as discussed earlier.⁵³⁸ In summary, the marital alliances of Jeanne's children show a balanced scheme; building bonds with their immediate neighbours, serving the political needs of their cousin and overlord, the King of France and making wider connections beyond their immediate frontiers.

The marriage of Jeanne's grandson, Carlos III, to Leonor de Trastámara, the daughter of Enrique II of Castile was intended to ensure stability on the Castilian frontier and serve as 'the fundamental pillar of a new peninsular understanding'.⁵³⁹ Their marriage was fairly successful in preserving harmony between the two countries despite a major marital breakdown. Leonor took her four daughters with her to Castile in 1388 and refused to

⁵³⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj. 9, no. 116 dated 5th May 1349 at Saint Germain de Evreux.

⁵³⁶ Pierre Tucoo-Chala, 'L'histoire tragique d'un couple au XIV^e siècle: Agnès de Navarre et Gaston Fèbus.' *Principe de Viana Anejo* 2-3 (1986), p.743. Tucoo-Chala notes that all of the documentary evidence for the marriage can be found in Samaran, *La Gascogne dans les registres du Trésor des Chartres, Collection of Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1966, nos. 715, 718, 724, 735, 739. Several of the documents which testify to Philip VI's involvement in the negotiations are reprinted in Brutais, Jean Auguste. *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384)*, (Paris, 1890); documents XXXVI, XXXVIII and XXXIX.

⁵³⁷ One of the early documents in this dispute notes the groom's receipt of only 1,000 livres of the 20,000 promised; AGN Comptos, Caj.9, 122-3 dated 12th August 1349 at Conflans. Another 1,000 appeared to arrive via the executors of Juana's will later that year; AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.126 dated 2nd December 1349.

⁵³⁸ For the Neopolitan marriage see The Lady Queen, pp.228-9 and p.233. See also a discussion of how this marriage enabled Juana's son to organize an expedition to Greece; Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.71.

⁵³⁹ Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.75. Original text is 'el pilar básico de un nuevo entendimiento peninsular'.

return to Navarre for seven years.⁵⁴⁰ Fortunately, the royal couple were able to repair their marriage and the following years saw the birth of four additional children, the formal coronation of the Queen and several periods when Carlos entrusted the kingdom to her as regent while he was away from Navarre.

Like her father, Blanca I used the marriages of her children to build a balanced web of alliances. Her eldest child was her only son and heir, Carlos, the Principe de Viana. His marriage was highly significant as the future king of Navarre, however it did not have the same import as the marriage of a potential queen regnant, as there was no assumption or expectation that Carlos' consort would have a great deal of direct involvement in the rule of the realm. However, it was an excellent opportunity to contract a beneficial political alliance. This time they looked beyond Iberia, to a marriage with Agnes of Cleves, niece of the powerful Duke of Burgundy in September 1439.⁵⁴¹ Ramírez Vaquero claims that this alliance suited Aragon's *antifrancesa* political stance, reflecting the traditional schemes of alliance between Castile and France in opposition to Aragon, England and Burgundy.⁵⁴² This also demonstrates a change from her father's anti-Burgundian policy and a change to the marriages of the early members of the House of Evreux, such as the children of Juana II, whose marriages furthered French foreign policy as much as Navarrese interests. The match with Cleves was also an advantageous marriage for Navarre, bringing not only Agnes' sizable dowry but also the pledge that Agnes and Carlos would succeed to the Duchy of Burgundy if Philippe le Bon died without heirs.⁵⁴³ Carlos was also considered to be in line for the throne

⁵⁴⁰ According to the Crónica of Juan I, Leonor accused her husband of maltreatment, including a thinly veiled accusation of attempting to poison her. There is an extended analysis of this episode and a thorough treatment of Leonor's life in M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Leonor de Trastámara, reina de Navarra,' *Príncipe de Viana*, 8 (1947), 35-70. An excellent study on the Court of Navarre during the reign of Carlos III which discusses the 'Iberianising' influence of the Queen despite (or perhaps because of) her Castilian absence can be found in M. Narbona-Cárceles, 'Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425),' *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31-64.

⁵⁴¹ Expenditure for the wedding includes AGN Comptos, Caj.142, no.13, 21-22/no.21, 4 and 40/Caj.144, no.4, 15 all dated between 17th August 1439 and 18th February 1440.

⁵⁴² Eloisa Ramírez Vaquero and Pascual Tamburri, *El Príncipe de Viana* (Pamplona, 2001), p.23.

⁵⁴³ C.A.J. Armstrong, 'La politique matrimoniale des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois' in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by C.A.J. Armstrong (London, 1983), p.252. Armstrong does

of Aragon, due to his uncle Alfonso's childless marriage, making him an even more desirable match for the Duke of Burgundy's niece. Unfortunately, Agnes did not become Duchess of Burgundy, Queen of Aragon or even the Queen of Navarre. The political events which followed the death of Blanca I meant that the Burgundian bride had to be content to be merely the Princess de Viana.

On Agnes' death in 1448, the Principe did not remarry. However, the prospect of his marriage continued to be a difficult issue with his father. Juan vetoed a potential marriage with Isabel of Castile, as he preferred a marriage between the Principe and Catalina of Portugal.⁵⁴⁴ His failure to remarry meant that the Principe left no legitimate heirs, although he did have several illegitimate children.⁵⁴⁵

As mentioned previously, Juan of Aragon's provocative interference in Castilian politics drew Navarre into a destructive war with its neighbours. The Treaty of Toledo in 1436 allowed Navarre to finally recoup some of the territory which had been lost along the Castilian frontier but the key feature of this peace agreement was a projected marriage between the Castilian heir to Blanca and Juan's eldest daughter, who was also named Blanca.⁵⁴⁶ The bride's dowry was made up of Juan's confiscated lands in Castile; although Juan was named the administrator of these lands until the marriage took place, the Castilians had the satisfaction of knowing these significant territories would be eventually absorbed by the crown.⁵⁴⁷ Furthermore a clause in the marital contract stipulated that the territory would remain as crown property even if the princess died without heirs or the

note however, that this pledge of succession went against the Treaty of Arras of 1435, which limited the succession to male heirs. Agnes' dowry is listed as 200,000 francs, 32 *gros monnaie de Flandre* (331).

⁵⁴⁴ Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, p.97.

⁵⁴⁵ There is documentary evidence regarding the marriage of Maria, Carlos' illegitimate daughter with his mistress Maria de Armendáriz. This marriage, to Francesco de Barbastro was acknowledged by Juan of Aragon and the couple were given the palace of Berbinzana and the accompanying rents as Maria's dowry. See AGN Comptos, Caj.158, no.7 dated 10th October 1455 from Pamplona Caj. 158, no.8 dated 27th May 1457 from Naples and Juan's confirmation dated 18th October 1461 from Calatayud.

⁵⁴⁶ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, pp.82-3.

⁵⁴⁷ Additional detail on the marital arrangements can be found in Zurita, Vol 6, pp. 134-5.

marriage was dissolved; this clause later proved to be a shrewd pre-nuptial stipulation.⁵⁴⁸

Although Juan would eventually be losing the Castilian territory that he had fought so hard to retain, his daughter 'provided her father with a potential weapon for use against the Castilian monarchy' as the eventual Queen of Castile who could provide Juan with a grandson as a future Castilian monarch.⁵⁴⁹

The wedding itself took place at Valladolid on the 15th September 1440 after a series of lavish events to welcome the Navarrese bride which one chronicler described as 'the greatest, most original and strangest festivities that had been seen in Spain in our time'.⁵⁵⁰ Enrique Flórez's account emphasizes the wealth of the Castilian crown, repeatedly noting that the bride and several prominent members of the wedding party were given 'many exquisite gems'.⁵⁵¹ The Navarrese also contributed to the costs of the wedding and the bride's parents presented the couple with expensive gifts including a dinner set which cost 267 libros and 13 sueldos.⁵⁵² However, as discussed earlier, her marriage to Enrique of Castile was childless and ended in an embarrassing divorce in 1453.⁵⁵³

Blanca's youngest child, Leonor, was ironically was the first child to be contracted in marriage to Gaston heir of Count of Foix. Queen Blanca entertained a group of ambassadors from Foix before sending her own team of negotiators to Foix with full powers to contract a marriage for Leonor on 5th September 1434.⁵⁵⁴ The negotiations proceeded smoothly and a marital contract for the young princess was signed at Bagnères-de-Bigorre on 22nd

⁵⁴⁸ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, p.82.

⁵⁴⁹ W.D.J. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p.35.

⁵⁵⁰ O.R. Constable, *Medieval Iberia; Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp.317-19.

⁵⁵¹ Enrique Flórez, *Memorias de las Reinas Católicas*. Vol. II. (Madrid, 1761. Reprint, Valladolid, 2002), pp.738-41.

⁵⁵² The expenses for this wedding can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.144. The examples cited above include the city of Tafalla's contribution to the wedding expenses (Caj.144, no.10, 2-3 dated 20th April 1440 at Olite) and the dinner set expenses (Caj.144, no.19, 4 dated 1st July 1440 at Olite).

⁵⁵³ See the discussion of Blanca's divorce in the previous chapter.

⁵⁵⁴ The expenses for hosting the ambassadors from Foix can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.134, no.20, folio 19 dated 1434. See also 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.12.

September 1434.⁵⁵⁵ This marriage was more successful than her sister's Castilian alliance; Leonor and Gaston were blessed with ten children, an ample selection to use in order to contract beneficial alliances. These alliances were decidedly skewed towards the political needs of the House of Foix; unlike the balanced marital alliances made by Carlos III and Blanca, these matches were almost exclusively French. Only three of Leonor's children did not contract a French betrothal; Pierre who became a Cardinal, a daughter who died in infancy and Leonor's youngest son, Jacques (or Jaime) who married into the Navarrese nobility.⁵⁵⁶ All of the marital arrangements for their children were made in order for Gaston and Leonor to achieve their primary goals, the acquisition of the throne of Navarre and the consolidation of their power and influence in the Pyrenean region.⁵⁵⁷

As discussed in the previous chapter, Louis XI of France had shown an initial interest in and support for the Infanta Blanca's claim to the throne after the death of the Principe de Viana. In an effort to neutralize Louis of France's backing of Blanca, Gaston visited the French court in the winter of 1461-2 and offered the king a matrimonial alliance between Gaston's son and heir and the king's sister Magdalena. Luckily for Gaston, an earlier betrothal for the French princess to Ladislas of Hungary had gone awry.⁵⁵⁸ The French king accepted Gaston's proposal and the wedding was duly celebrated on 7th March 1462.⁵⁵⁹ The bride received a dowry of 100,000 *escudos de oro* and the groom was formally designated as his father's heir to the Foix-Béarn holdings as well as the heir to Navarre after his mother; a

⁵⁵⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.32, dated 22nd September 1434 and Caj.104, no.41 dated 12th October 1434 at Olite. The original text of the martial contract is also reprinted in Leseur, *Pièces Justificatives* I, p.274. The document provided for the exchange of several small territories and a dowry of 50,000 gold florins of Aragon. However, it must be noted that the Aragonese annalist Zurita claims that the marriage was finalized on 22nd December 1434 and that Juan gave his confirmation much later on 30th July 1436 (Zurita, *Anales*, Vol 6, Book XIV, p. 79).

⁵⁵⁶ The matrimonial contract for Jaime and Ana de Peralta can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.25, 2 dated 28th March 1485 at Tafalla. Intriguingly, Catalina and Jean d'Albret only gave their assent to Jaime's marriage several years later on 11th October 1493; AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.25, 1 at Tarbes.

⁵⁵⁷ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', the entire article is directed at Gaston's ambitions, but in particular see pp.10-11.

⁵⁵⁸ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.15.

⁵⁵⁹ Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, p.110. The contract was signed a few weeks earlier on 11th February 1462.

controversial designation given the fact that Leonor was still fighting for her inheritance.⁵⁶⁰

However, this marriage served to strengthen Leonor's position; after Juan II received a missive outlining the marriage contract between the young Gaston and Magdalena of France in February 1462, he reconfirmed Leonor as his successor in Navarre.⁵⁶¹ The February missive also contained an overture from Louis XI to Juan of Aragon for a Franco-Aragonese alliance, a reversal of France's traditional allegiance to Castile.⁵⁶² The treaty was signed at Olite on 4th April 1462, bringing together all the important threads to bind France, Aragon, Navarre and Foix together; a dynastic marriage, a treaty of alliance and the settlement of a contentious succession struggle.⁵⁶³

The marriage of Leonor's eldest son Gaston to the French princess Magdalena in 1462, proved to be the first in a succession of impressive marital alliances.⁵⁶⁴ Their son, Jean, later the Viscount of Narbonne, married Marie d'Orleans in 1476. Leonor's daughters made particularly impressive matches, eventually becoming the Marquessa of Montferrat, Countess of Armagnac, Duchess of Brittany and Countess of Candale. The most far-flung of these matches, Maria's marriage to the Marquis of Montferrat in 1465, appears to have been made in order to further French policy objectives in Northern Italy.⁵⁶⁵

However, not all of the matches for the children of Foix-Navarre were made to further French objectives, or even with French approval. Their daughter Jeanne's marriage to the Count of Armagnac, the erstwhile rival of the House of Foix, was not the expected result when the marriage negotiations began. Initially, when Juan II sent an embassy to negotiate a marriage with Armagnac in August 1466, the proposed bride was Leonor's half sister, Juan II's daughter by his second wife Juana Enríquez. Reglá Campistol insinuates that Gaston IV,

⁵⁶⁰ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.22.

⁵⁶¹ Joseph Calmette, *La question des Pyrénées et la marche d'Espagne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1947),p.75.

⁵⁶² Calmette, *Pyrenees*, p.75.

⁵⁶³ Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, p.111.

⁵⁶⁴ See genealogical chart in the appendices.

⁵⁶⁵ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.26.

who was involved in these negotiations, may have deliberately scuppered the talks to enable his own daughter to marry the Count three years later and possibly weaken Franco-Aragonese relations, reflecting his own deteriorating relationship with his French overlord and his father-in-law.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, this match did not meet with the approval of the King of France who specifically prohibited it, fearing the alliance of two of the most powerful houses of the *Midi*.⁵⁶⁷ The match went ahead regardless and was celebrated in August 1469 at Lectoure.

Another match which was made without the approval of the French king was Marguerite's marriage to Francis II of Brittany in April 1471.⁵⁶⁸ In Gaston's letter of May 1471 to his ambassadors to the Duke of Brittany, he notes the 'ancient alliances which were made by marriages between the houses of Navarre and Brittany' which alludes to the marriage of Carlos III's sister Juana to Duke Jean V of Brittany from 1386-99.⁵⁶⁹ However, Marguerite's marriage ultimately served to bring long-independent Brittany into the royal French possessions as the sole surviving child of this marriage, Anne of Brittany, ultimately married two kings of France, Charles VIII and Louis XII.⁵⁷⁰

Their daughter Catherine's marriage was part of a complex series of negotiations which were intended to resolve a long standing inheritance dispute over the county of Candale between the most powerful lords of the *Midi* which had been on-going since 1451. Her aunt, Isabelle d'Albret, married the Comte de Candale in January 1494 and Catherine was

⁵⁶⁶ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.27-8.

⁵⁶⁷ 'La cuestion de los Pirineos', p.29. Also Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne; A study of politics, government and society in Late Medieval France* (London, 1994), pp.14-15.

⁵⁶⁸ For Gaston's detailed instructions to his ambassadors to the Duke of Brittany, see Leseur, *Pieces Justificatives*, XXXIX, pp. 387-391 (dated 26th May 1471 at Pau). Note: at the end of the letter, there is a postscript noting that these instructions should be given to their daughter, the new duchess, after the ambassadors have read them. A response on the same subjects from the Duke in July is included as piece XL (p.391).

⁵⁶⁹ Leseur, *Pieces Justificatives*, XXXIX, p.388. Original text is '*regart aux anciennes alliances qui ont esté de pieça par mariages entre les maisons de Navarre et de Bretagne*'. As mentioned previously, Juana's second marriage (in 1403) was to Henry IV of England.

⁵⁷⁰ For more on Anne of Brittany, see Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate; Three women of power in France on the eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2001), pp.51-75.

contracted to marry the Comte's heir, the Viscount de Castillon.⁵⁷¹ It is worth noting that one of Catherine's daughters, Anne, made a match of wide-ranging importance to Ladislas VII Jagellon, King of Hungary in 1502.⁵⁷²

Finally, the youngest of Gaston and Leonor's daughters was the focus of a projected marriage to the Duke of Guyenne.⁵⁷³ Unfortunately, this alliance foundered due to the apparent reluctance of the bridegroom. Louis XI discussed the match at length in a letter to the Seigneur du Bouchage, dated 18th August 1471; the king seems to have had an alternative alliance in mind for Guyenne and was therefore tolerant of Guyenne's reluctance for the match with Foix.⁵⁷⁴ The young lady in question sadly appears to have died young and no alternative match was arranged for her.

Overall, the marriages made by Leonor and Gaston for their many children reflect their two major goals; to obtain the Navarrese crown and to dominate the *Midi* and Pyrenean region. In order to achieve their aims, they had to work with both Gaston's French overlord and Leonor's powerful father. Initially the couple worked to bring about peace between France and Aragon as a way of achieving their own ends, later as their relationship with both parties worsened, they ceased to promote a Franco-Aragonese accord. A marriage with Castile was not pursued and this may have been primarily due to a lack of suitable partners on the Castilian side or because an alliance with Castile would have been counterproductive to the aforementioned interests and ambitions. Finally it is worth noting that their decision to put one son into the church was a valuable use of a potential marital asset, as Pierre ultimately became a powerful and influential Cardinal whose influence was beneficial for the family at large. Moret noted one 'admirable' result of the marital alliances that Leonor and Gaston forged for their children which demonstrates their reach and success,

⁵⁷¹ *Valois Guyenne*, p.105. The marriage treaty also involved compensation for the Count of Foix's repurchase of the caplatat de Buch.

⁵⁷² *Un royaume 'transpyreneen'?*, p.84, note 4.

⁵⁷³ The name of the daughter in question is unclear, it could have been either Isabel, Ana or Leonor.

⁵⁷⁴ Joseph Vassan and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI, Roi de France. Vol. IV; 1469-1472*. XI vols. (Paris, 1890). Letter DLXXXIX, pp.256-262.

It could be seen at the same time in Christendom four queens, who were all first cousins and Leonor's grandchildren, that is: Lady Catalina, Queen of Navarre, Lady Germana of Aragon, Anne repeatedly (twice) of France and another Anne of Bohemia and Hungary. What a great oddity and rarely seen in the world, and without doubt a great honour and glory for Navarre!⁵⁷⁵

Catalina and Jean also had a large family to potentially use in marital negotiations. In total, Catalina gave birth to thirteen children and the majority of these children survived until adulthood. The negotiations for marriages between Catalina's eldest children and the relatives of Isabel and Ferdinand have already been discussed. Most of the marital negotiations for Catalina's children came after the annexation of 1512 and as such are not of direct relevance to this study. However, a few points are worth discussing.

Negotiations for Catalina's daughters were somewhat difficult, especially as their relative worth on the marriage market had taken a blow with the loss of their Iberian kingdom. There was a projected marriage for one of Catalina's daughters with Lorenzo de Medici, grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, which was discussed in a number of letters of Cardinal Julio de Medici (later Pope Clement VII).⁵⁷⁶ However this marriage failed to come to fruition and Lorenzo later married Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne and sired Catherine de Medici. Other Italian matches that failed to come to fruition include potential connections with Hercules d'Este and Francisco Sforza, Duke of Milan.⁵⁷⁷ These Italian marriages reflect the wider political struggle between France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire to control and dominate the Italian peninsula.⁵⁷⁸ Once again, as in the case of Juana II and Gaston and Leonor, these matches are a case of marital diplomacy being employed in order to help their French overlords achieve their own political goals. However, just as in the earlier cases,

⁵⁷⁵ Moret, Vol. 7, p.49. Original text is '*haberse visto á un mismo tiempo en la cristiandad cuatro reinas, todas primas hermanas y nietas suyas, es á saber: Doña Catalina, Reina de Navarra, Doña Germana de Aragon, Ana, repetidamente de Francia, y otra Ana de Boemia y Hungría. Cosa bien singular y pocas veces vista en el mundo; y sin duda de grande honor y gloria de Navarra!*'

⁵⁷⁶ 'Infantas de Navarra', p.22.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Infantas de Navarra', pp.25 and 29.

⁵⁷⁸ Catalina's sons were also drawn into the Italian Wars. Her youngest son Charles was imprisoned at Pavia and later died in Naples in 1528. *Les testaments*, p.94.

these marriages would also further Navarre's influence and possibly bring influential supporters who might have helped the queen regain her lost throne.

A marital contract was signed for the Princess Catalina with Ernest of Brunswick on 7th March 1521 but the betrothal was broken on 1st August 1527 and Ernest later married a German bride in 1533.⁵⁷⁹ Catalina eventually became an abbess at the Abbey of the Trinity in Caen and her sister Quiteria also became an abbess at Montvilliers. Another betrothal for Catalina's eldest daughter Ana with the Viscount of Candale was formally revoked on 7th February 1531, possibly on the grounds of the bride's ill health.⁵⁸⁰ Anthony describes Ana as

afflicted by miserable health...scrawny, hunchbacked and of a ridiculously small size, however she was an intelligent woman who valiantly took on the weight of administration during her brother's prolonged visits to the French court.⁵⁸¹

However, some of Catalina's children contracted beneficial marriages. Catalina's heir, Enrique II married Marguerite, sister of Francis I of France in 1527. This marriage gave Enrique a powerful supporter for his quest to regain the lost Iberian kingdom, although this support did not ultimately help Enrique achieve his goal. The youngest daughter, Isabel married Rene I, Viscount of Rohan in 1534. It is possible that Enrique's prestigious marriage gave his youngest sister more value as a potential bride and allowed her to successfully contract a marriage when her elder sisters had failed to do so.

In addition to the marriages of Catalina's children, the marriages of two of Catalina's relatives had an impact on the queen's situation and on the wider political scene. Catalina's sister-in-law, Charlotte d'Albret married Cesar Borgia, son of the infamous Borgia Pope in

⁵⁷⁹ 'Infantas de Navarra', pp. 26-8. The full text of this agreement is reproduced in full on pages 35-38. The original provenance of the document is ADPA E 562. Moret incorrectly lists both Catalina as the Duke of Brunswick's wife and her sister Ana as the wife of the Count of Candale. (Vol.7, p.113).

⁵⁸⁰ *Les testments*, p.21. Anthony gives the documents provenance as ADPA E571. It is also worth noting at this time Ana also renounced her rights to her parents' territories. Ana had frequently served as a lieutenant or governor for her mother, grandfather and brother.

⁵⁸¹ *Les testments*, p.22. Original text is '*affigée d'une santé miserable, cette princesse était rachitique, bossue, d'une taille ridiculement petite; ce fut cependant une femme intelligente qui supporta vaillamment les poids des affaires pendant les séjours prolongés de son frère à la cour de France*'.

May 1499.⁵⁸² This marriage made Charlotte the Duchess of Valentinois and one of the most important women at the French court.⁵⁸³ It also gave the Navarrese queen a familial connection to the Pope and the Albret family gained third Cardinal in Amanieu d'Albret, Catalina's brother-in-law.⁵⁸⁴ When the Pope died, Cesar came to Navarre in 1506 and lent his formidable military prowess to help Catalina and her husband against the rebellious Beaumont faction.⁵⁸⁵ Tragically, Cesar died during this campaign, killed outside the walls of Viana in 1507.⁵⁸⁶

The last marriage which needs to be considered is the marriage of Catalina's cousin Germana, daughter of Catalina's former rival Jean de Narbonne. Germana's marriage formed part of a Franco-Aragonese accord, the Treaty of Blois, between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1505. The widowed Ferdinand took the 'extremely beautiful' eighteen year old Germana as his second wife on 18th March 1506.⁵⁸⁷ This marriage was disastrous for Catalina. Not only had she lost the potential marriage of her daughter Ana to the Infante Juan which would have guaranteed Ferdinand's support, now Ferdinand himself was married into the branch of her family who most strongly opposed her own claim to the Navarrese throne. Her uncle and erstwhile rival Jean de Narbonne had passed away in 1500, but his claims were being aggressively pursued by his son and heir, Gaston. The marriage of his sister to Ferdinand gave him a powerful supporter and Louis XII added weight to his claim by creating him Duke of Nemours, a title formerly held by sovereigns of Navarre in 1507.⁵⁸⁸

However, on Gaston's death in 1512, his sister Germana, now Queen of Aragon, took up his

⁵⁸² Although it is not strictly relevant here, it should be noted that Cesar Borgia had been nominally appointed as the Bishop of Pamplona in 1492, when he was only fifteen. His appointment was controversial and there is little evidence that he had any concrete dealings with his bishopric. For more on Cesar as Bishop, see Catalina and Jean's letter to Ferdinand and Isabel on the subject in Adot Lerga, p.338, dated 6th September 1492 (BNM *Manuscriptos*, 18.691/84). See also Moret, Vol.7, pp. 130-31 and 148-53, Favyn, pp.660-61 and Bard, *Navarra*, p.81.

⁵⁸³ *Un royaume 'transpyreneen'*, p.241. The Borgia marriage and its ramifications are discussed in Michel Levasseur, *Histoire des d'Albrets et des rois de Navarre* (Biarritz, 2006), pp.239-243.

⁵⁸⁴ *Un royaume 'transpyreneen'*, p.242.

⁵⁸⁵ Moret, Vol.7, pp.189-95.

⁵⁸⁶ Juan Pedro Iturralde. 'La muerte de Cesar Borgia', *Pliegos de Rebotica* 90, pp.24-27.

⁵⁸⁷ Moret, Vol.7, pp.173-5.

⁵⁸⁸ *Un royaume 'transpyreneen'*, p.92.

claim which gave Ferdinand even more pretext for his ambition to add Navarre to his possessions. Germana's firm belief in her claim as Leonor's direct successor can be seen in the document she drafted to formally cede her rights to Navarre to the Emperor Charles V.⁵⁸⁹

Dowry Disputes

All of the benefits of matrimonial alliances and the effort put into matrimonial diplomacy could potentially be undone if there were grounds for dispute later. The most likely area for difficulty came when there was a failure of one party to meet the terms of the matrimonial agreement. This often entailed incomplete payments for dowries and there are several cases of this type of dispute between the Navarrese monarchs and their matrimonial allies during the period of this study. This demonstrates the importance of the marriages of female dynasty members; while the alliances their marriages create are crucially important, they can also create political problems if the financial promises made in their matrimonial contracts were not fully honoured. Some of these disputes were amicably resolved while others led to a period of political tension with their neighbours.

An example of a dispute which was amicably resolved concerns the dowry of Leonor in her marriage to Gaston of Foix. Leonor's dowry was such a substantial amount that it appears that the Navarrese had some difficulty in paying it. After Blanca's death, a dispute opened up about the Princess' dowry. Both Juan and the Principe de Viana asked for a copy of the marriage contract to verify the contents.⁵⁹⁰ The Principe authorized the payment of 5,000 florins in 1442 and Gaston confirmed his receipt of the payment a few weeks later and promised to release several Aragonese castles which he held as surety for payment.⁵⁹¹ However, there was additional money owed and Gaston acknowledged the receipt of

⁵⁸⁹ The full text of this document from the Simancas archives is reprinted in Marqués de Cruïlles, *Noticias y Documentos relativos a Doña Germana de Foix, última Reina de Aragón*. (Valencia, 2007), pp.235-239.

⁵⁹⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.149, no.28 dated 22nd November 1441 at Briones and AGN Papeles Sueltos, 2nd Series, Anexo, Leg.1, no.36,2 dated 21st October 1445.

⁵⁹¹ AGN Comptos, Caj.150, no.15, 4 dated November 8, 1442 at Sangüesa and AGN Comptos, Caj. 150, no.22, 1 dated 1st December 1442 at Orthez.

another 15,000 florins six weeks later.⁵⁹² Finally, another 5,000 florins were paid by the Principe later that same year and this appears to have resolved the dispute as there were no further requests for payment.⁵⁹³

However, not all disputes were resolved as smoothly. Intriguingly, some of the most successful matrimonial diplomats were also the ones who ran into difficulties with the ability to meet the terms of the agreements that they made. The first situation to examine concerns the marriages of two daughters of Juana II, Maria and Agnes. As discussed previously, both daughters were contracted to create important alliances with Aragon and Foix, during a period of rebuilding bonds with their neighbours. However, in both cases the Navarrese were unable to fully meet the terms of their matrimonial contracts which caused varying degrees of difficulty with their allies. This may have been due to their financial difficulties, including their inability to produce coinage which will be discussed later.

Juana II's daughter Maria made an important strategic marriage Pedro IV of Aragon in 1338, but the Navarrese found it difficult to fund the amount agreed to in the marital capitulations for the bride's dowry.⁵⁹⁴ In addition to several castles which were ceded in the original marital agreement, Juana was forced to cede six more in 1340 until she could make the full payment of the dowry.⁵⁹⁵ One example of the on-going nature of the dispute of the late payment is an authorization by Juana II for the payment of 5,000 livres still owed six years after the marriage had taken place.⁵⁹⁶ However, Juana worked hard to maintain the alliance with Aragon, in spite of the disagreements over the dowry and the early death of her daughter Maria. In the summer of 1349, shortly before Juana's death, she signed two documents which reaffirmed her alliance with the King of Aragon and promised that Navarre

⁵⁹² AGN Comptos, Caj.150, no.22, 2 dated 14th January 1443 at Orthez

⁵⁹³ AGN Comptos, Caj.150, no.53, 3 dated 10th December 1443 at Tafalla.

⁵⁹⁴ The matrimonial contract is AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no.58, 1 dated 6th January 1337 at the Castle of Cineto.

⁵⁹⁵ These castles were Arguedas, Lestaca, Murillo el Fruto, Santacara, Gallipienzo and Burgui; AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.14, 1-2 dated 30th July 30, 1340 at Breval.

⁵⁹⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.86 dated 2nd May 1344 at Eymet.

would help both Pedro and his successors, in an attempt to create a long term peace with their neighbours.⁵⁹⁷

The situation with Juana's younger daughter Agnes' marriage to the Count of Foix in 1349 created a much longer running dispute. In fact, the trouble with her dowry appears to have contributed significantly to the breakdown of the marriage. One of the early documents in this dispute notes the groom's receipt of only 1,000 livres of the 20,000 promised.⁵⁹⁸ Another 1,000 appeared to arrive via the executors of Juana's will later that year.⁵⁹⁹ Although Gaston did receive additional payment from Agnes' brother, Carlos II, the full amount does not appear to have been paid.⁶⁰⁰

Moreover, there is evidence that Gaston of Foix did not honour his side of the marital accords either. Froissart chronicled the breakdown of their marriage and the relationship between Foix and Navarre in his famous work.⁶⁰¹ In his version of the tale, Agnes is sent back to Navarre in order to obtain payment from her brother for the ransom money for the Lord of Albret, which was set at 50,000 francs. When Agnes arrived in Navarre, Froissart imagined that the following conversation took place between the King and his sister:

My dear sister, the money is yours since the Count of Foix owes it to you as your marriage settlement, but it shall never leave the Kingdom of Navarre as long as I am in control of it.

Ah my lord, that is a certain way of stirring up hatred between my husband and us. If you persist in what you have just said, I shall never dare to return to Foix, for my husband would say that I had deceived him and would kill me.⁶⁰²

Tucoc-Chala notes that Froissart's version of the story is not entirely accurate and notes that the breakdown of the marriage may not have fully hinged on this disagreement, as there is evidence that the couple was effectively estranged for some period before Agnes

⁵⁹⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.9, 121 dated 22nd July 1349 at Pacy-sur-Eure and AGN Comptos, Caj.11, no.35 dated August 27, 1349 at Conflans.

⁵⁹⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.9, 122-3 dated 12th August 1349 at Conflans.

⁵⁹⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.126 dated 2nd December 1349.

⁶⁰⁰ Tucoc-Chala, 'Histoire Tragique', p.744.

⁶⁰¹ Froissart's account of the destructive end of their marriage in 'At the Court of the Count of Foix (1388)' in Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey Brereton, (London, 1978), pp.263-274.

⁶⁰² Froissart, *Chronicles*, p.267.

left Foix.⁶⁰³ However, there is no doubt that the failure of both parties to meet the terms of the marital agreement was a significant part of the couple's problems. Moreover, the dispute continued to escalate as Agnes demanded not only the payments originally due to her but a huge inventory of items belonging to her which she had left behind in Foix.⁶⁰⁴

This dispute eventually involved the Pope and the King of France, who both felt it necessary to intervene in an attempt to resolve the situation.⁶⁰⁵ However, the resolution did not occur until after the death of Gaston Phébus in 1391. The following year there was a push to resolve the issue; the Navarrese claimed that Agnes must have her items returned or be paid compensation of 20,000 livres.⁶⁰⁶ Charles VI of France recommended that her goods be restored to her and an annual rent of 2,000 livres paid but the final outcome was a settlement of 15,000 gold florins.⁶⁰⁷

Only ten years after the 1392 negotiations, Agnes' nephew, Carlos III was forging another marriage with Foix for his daughter Juana. While this marriage helped to restore harmonious relations between Foix and Navarre, there was another minor dispute over the restoration of jewellery which had formed part of Juana's dowry after her death.⁶⁰⁸ The list of jewellery entailed in the dispute is incredibly detailed and comprises over 50 pieces including a rosary of pearls, emeralds and sapphires 'weighing twenty six ounces'. Despite this dispute, Carlos and Jean of Foix signed a treaty the same year which reaffirmed their alliance even though they were no longer bound by marital ties.

However, this was not the only dowry dispute that Carlos was involved in. As discussed previously, Carlos was a master of matrimonial politics and used his female relatives to

⁶⁰³ Tucoo-Chala, 'Histoire Tragique', p. 746-7.

⁶⁰⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj.173, no.23, dated between 1362-1396; this includes six pages worth of items.

⁶⁰⁵ Urban V wrote to Gaston of Foix in December 1364 and asked him to not only resolve the dispute but to take back his wife; Tucoo-Chala, 'Histoire Tragique', p.748.

⁶⁰⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj.63, no.43, 5, 11 dated May 1392.

⁶⁰⁷ Tucoo-Chala, 'Histoire Tragique' pp.752-3. However, Tucoo-Chala notes that this final settlement was adapted as part of a dowry arrangement for Matthew of Foix in 1396, where it appears he intended to use the dowry money of his new Aragonese bride to repay Agnes (AGN Comptos, Caj.60, no.45).

⁶⁰⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.6, dated 26th May 1414 at Orthez. Also reprinted in Cierbide and Santano, *Colección Diplomática*, pp.138-45.

contract beneficial alliances. All of these marriages came at a cost, both for the weddings themselves and to supply the necessary dowries; with four daughters, two sisters and illegitimate offspring to provide for, this was an expensive undertaking and it is unsurprising that he was unable to meet the financial obligations from these matrimonial agreements, especially considering the close proximity of several of these events.

During 1401 and 1402 Carlos was simultaneously arranging Juana's marriage with Jean of Foix and conducting negotiations with the Aragonese for Blanca's first marriage.⁶⁰⁹ Despite their eventual agreement on terms, it appears that neither side was able to meet their financial arrangements. Carlos did not make the payment deadlines for the dowry; the first failure to meet an instalment payment came in 1403, when he could only come up with jewellery worth 12,100 florins towards an expected payment of 36,300 florins.⁶¹⁰ Carlos was forced to sell or provide as surety several major pieces of jewellery in order to pay the dowry, including a necklace of gold leaf covered in thirty pearls with a heart-shaped pendant enhanced by a huge pearl and a ruby.⁶¹¹ The King of Aragon was sorely in need of the dowry payment, as he was forced to borrow 15,000 florins from the merchants of Barcelona in order to pay for the wedding festivities. The loan was used to fund a lavish wedding and coronation ceremony for the new Queen.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Castro discusses the marriage capitulations in great detail; the dowry was made up primarily of 100,000 *florines de Aragon*. In return, Blanca was assigned the rents of certain castles and territories that were customarily assigned to the Queens of Sicily. Castro Alava, *Carlos III el Noble*, pp.257-261. The text of the matrimonial capitulations is also printed here; note that it predates the selection of Blanca (*una de las Illas infantas de Nauarra*).

⁶¹⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.1 dated 4th April 1403 at Olite.

⁶¹¹ A very thorough treatment of the contents of Blanca's dowry and the tensions created by Carlos' difficulties in payment can be found in M.R. Lo Forte Scirpo, 'La questione dotale nelle nozze siciliane di Bianca,' pp.277-92. The description of the collar (above) as well as some of the other pieces of magnificent jewellery can be found on p.283. See also AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.3 dated 27th April 1403 at Valencia, which promised not to sell some of the pieces held by the King of Aragon as surety for further payment. However the jewels appear to have been sold in 1405 when Martín of Sicily demanded payment; AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.25 dated 27th June 1405 at Barcelona.

⁶¹² These wedding festivities were an important investment however, to bolster Martín's position and distract people from his somewhat ambiguous right to the Sicilian throne. S. Tramontana, 'Il matrimonio con Martino: il progetto, i capitoli, la festa,' p.23. However the date and location of the event is disputed; Tramontana claims they took place on the 26th November, 1402 at the Cathedral in Palermo while documentary evidence from the AGN places the event on the 21st May, 1402 at Catania (AGN Comptos, Caj.73, no.30).

Later that same year, the King of Aragon notified Carlos III that he had until the following Christmas to pay the next instalment of 36,300 florins.⁶¹³ The following summer the Aragonese received a payment of 8,000 and the annual agreements were reduced to 15,000 florins annually over the next four years.⁶¹⁴ Carlos must have failed to make any additional payments by the Christmas deadline but the King of Aragon issued an extension.⁶¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, in the new year, Carlos paid an additional 10,000 which completed the 15,000 instalment due at Christmas and provided another 3,000 towards the next payment due.⁶¹⁶

With sufficient payments made, the King of Aragon made good on his side of the bargain, releasing the Castle of Sos to Carlos III as stipulated in the marital agreement.⁶¹⁷ Blanca was given several castles as part of the marriage capitulations, including the castles of San Felipe, Teruel, Tarazona, Jaca and the town of Cervera.⁶¹⁸ Some of these strategic castles were signed over to her parents for safekeeping after she became a widow.⁶¹⁹

The lack of resolution over the dowry appears to have carried over into the negotiations for Blanca's second Aragonese marriage. Although this was negotiated with a new dynasty and a new king, Ferdinand de Antequera, it appears that there was a desire to resolve the dispute and ensure that any money from her original dowry which was due to Blanca was repaid in order to ensure that they did not jeopardize the new marital negotiations.⁶²⁰

At the same time as Carlos was struggling to pay Blanca's first Aragonese dowry, he also needed to fund his daughter Beatriz's dowry of 60,000 florins and wedding expenses for her marriage to Jacques de Bourbon.⁶²¹ Bourbon only appears to have received 13,701 florins in

⁶¹³ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.4 dated 7th August 1403 at the Monastery of Val de Cristo.

⁶¹⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.6 dated 20th August 1404 at Mallén.

⁶¹⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.8, dated 12th December 1404 at Barcelona.

⁶¹⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj. 90, no.9, dated 9th January 1405 at Mallén.

⁶¹⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.26, dated 14th May 1406 at Barcelona. Carlos' responding document is AGN Comptos, Caj.93, no.44, 4 dated 8th August, 1406 at Pamplona.

⁶¹⁸ Martín signed over the Castle of San Felipe in AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.21 at the Castle of Catania.

⁶¹⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj.90, no.32 dated 18th September 1409 at Catania.

⁶²⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj. 118, no.66, 1 dated 18th May 1420 at Valladolid.

⁶²¹ An example of the expenditure for Beatriz's wedding can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj.82, no.3, 51 dated 18th October 1406.

1407 and after Beatriz's death Jacques wrote to demand the rest of the money due.⁶²² There may have been a prolonged dispute over the missing money as there were later requests to view the marriage capitulations of the couple. The Prior of Roncesvalles claimed to have a copy in 1436 while the Principe de Viana asked to view the agreement in 1448.⁶²³

This dispute may have been another factor which encouraged Carlos to marry his next daughter, Isabel to Bourbon's enemy, the Count of Armagnac. This marriage which occurred a year before Blanca's second wedding meant that Carlos was pressed to fund both affairs; he requested outstanding payments be made to him in 1419 as he needed the money for his daughters' impending weddings.⁶²⁴

These situations all reveal the difficulties of marital diplomacy. Having multiple daughters to marry increases the amount of alliances which can be contracted but it also increases the financial obligations necessary in order to fund the terms of the agreements and provide for suitably spectacular wedding festivities. Both Carlos III and Juana II used the marriages of their daughters to build beneficial alliances but both also ran into disputes over their inability to pay their daughters' dowries. In Carlos' case, most of these disputes were resolved and none caused lasting political damage. However, in Juana's case, the failure of her daughter Agnes' marriage and the resulting enmity between Navarre and Foix was rooted in a disagreement over the payment of the bride's dowry.

As this chapter has clearly demonstrated, it is the episodes when the crown has passed through the female line which have brought great increases in territory but also opened Navarre up to foreign influence and interference. The marriage of the Infanta Blanche into the House of Champagne pulled the kingdom towards France and the marriage of Juana I cemented this alliance, turning it into a dynastic union whose effects continued to be felt

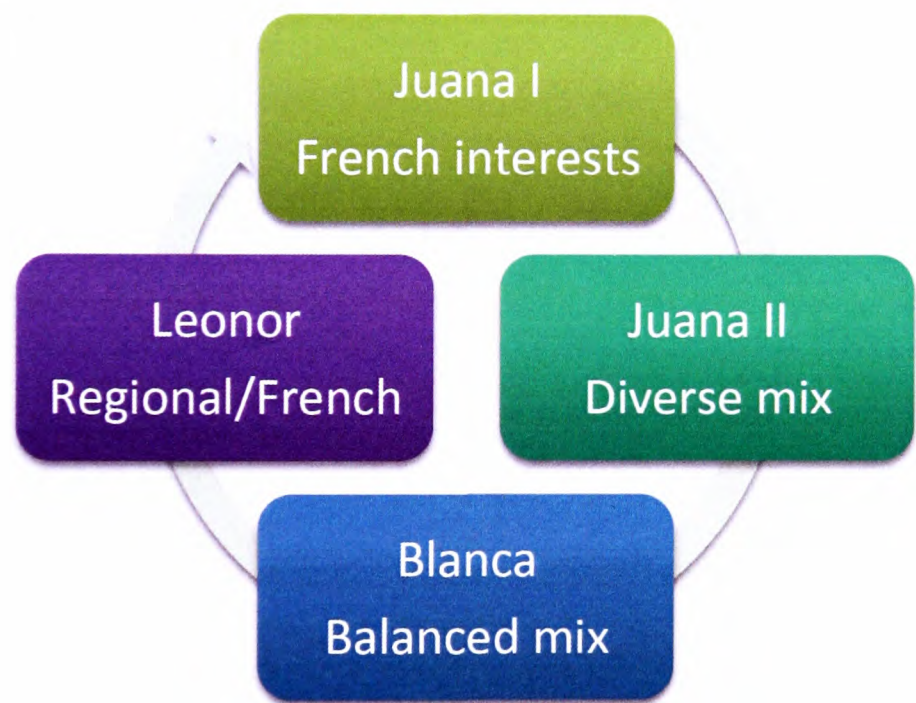
⁶²² AGN Comptos, Caj.94, no.12 dated 7th April 1407 and AGN Comptos, Caj. 103, no.40 dated 17th October 1413 at Paris.

⁶²³ AGN Comptos, Caj.138, no.15, 31 dated 12th May 1436 at Pamplona and AGN Comptos, Caj.154, no.62, 6 dated 12th October 1448 at Olite.

⁶²⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj.118, no.17, 1-3 dated 26th May 1419 at Tudela.

long after the end of the Capetian line. It is interesting to speculate what may have happened if one of Juana’s English, Castilian or Aragonese suitors had been successful instead. Similarly, Blanca’s two Aragonese marriages signalled a return to the Iberian sphere but also ushered in a destructive influence in the form of Juan of Aragon. Leonor’s marriage to the Count of Foix began a project to bind the realm more closely with its French Pyrenean neighbours and build a more sizable entity as a means of protecting itself from French and Spanish expansion. Catalina’s marriage to a French magnate rather than the heir of Ferdinand and Isabel may have sealed the realm’s eventual fate and the breakup of the Pyrenean super state which had been carefully crafted through matrimonial alliances.

The marriages contracted for and by the queens, when taken together show an interesting pattern in the chart below



The obvious omission here is Catalina. The reason for this is although many betrothals were made for Catalina’s children, few of those proposals came to fruition. However, the cycle in the chart demonstrates the overall trend; beginning with a French based, concentrated focus, moving into a more diverse and balanced mix under Juana II and Blanca

I and finally returning to a more French but regional focus with the matches for Leonor's children.

The marriages of Juana I's children were geographically concentrated and reflected the interests of France in building a closer alliance with Burgundy and improving relations with England. Although these goals did not run counter to the needs to Navarre and Juana's county of Champagne, both of which shared borders with the realms in question, there was no attempt to make a marriage which might have improved the strained relationship with Navarre's Iberian neighbours.

In contrast, both Juana II and Blanca used the marriages of their children to build better relations with their immediate neighbours, in Iberia and in the Pyrenees. Blanca personally made two Aragonese marriages, and Juana II worked hard to set up an Aragonese marriage with her daughters. Both queens also attempted to marry a daughter into Castile, although both of these marriages were ultimately unsuccessful. The negotiations for Juana's daughter Blanche failed and she ended up as the Queen of France instead, while Blanca's daughter married a Castilian prince but was later divorced. Both Juana and Blanca married a daughter to a Count of Foix. This time Juana's daughter Agnes ended up with an estranged husband and a failed marriage while Blanca's daughter Leonor had a productive and successful partnership which changed the course of Navarrese history when her descendants of the House of Foix took the throne of Navarre. Finally, Juana and Blanca had children who contracted marriages with wider influence. Blanca's heir Carlos made a strategic marriage to Agnes of Cleves while Juana's sons married into the houses of Flanders and Naples. However, it must be noted that while Carlos' marriage was part of Blanca's foreign policy decisions, Juana's sons were married after her untimely death so she cannot be credited with the strategy.

In contrast, the marriages made by Leonor and Magdalena for their children both show an emphasis on the interests of Foix and a decidedly French influence. They chose alliances

which supported the policy, begun by Leonor and Gaston and continued by Magdalena of constructing a Pyrenean bloc. At times, they were keen to please their French overlords, while at other times they made the marriages which may have angered the monarchs of France but served their own policy goals. However, their failure to build a marital alliance with their Iberian neighbours created an atmosphere of tension with their Spanish counterparts. Moreover, the strategy of creating a Pyrenean bloc through the Foix and Albret marriages failed to guarantee their security as this development only increased the desire of their powerful neighbours to control the new 'super-state' themselves.⁶²⁵ Moreover, the Pyrenean coalition was extremely unwieldy as the interests, customs, traditions and languages of the territories of the Foix and Albret consorts had little in common with the Iberian kingdom that they were joined to. In addition, the increasing preference of the later sovereigns for French matches coupled with a tendency to remain on the French side of the Pyrenees added to a growing sense of alienation with their Navarrese subjects.

It could be argued that the annexation of the realm was inevitable, no matter which suitor Magdalena chose, as a marriage to Isabel and Ferdinand's son would have also resulted in a merger with the rest of the Spanish kingdoms. However, the terms of that union would have been significantly different as Catalina would have in theory become not only Queen of Navarre but the Queen of Castile and Aragon as well and would have brought her sizable French possessions into the merger. Instead, the Annexation of 1512 resulted in a split between the Iberian kingdom and its French appendages and the loss of Catalina's throne, although her descendants continued to claim the empty title.

The marriages which Catalina made, or attempted to make for her own children, reflect her own changing foreign policy direction. In the early years of her reign, when she was dependant on the goodwill of Isabel and Ferdinand to stabilize the internal situation in

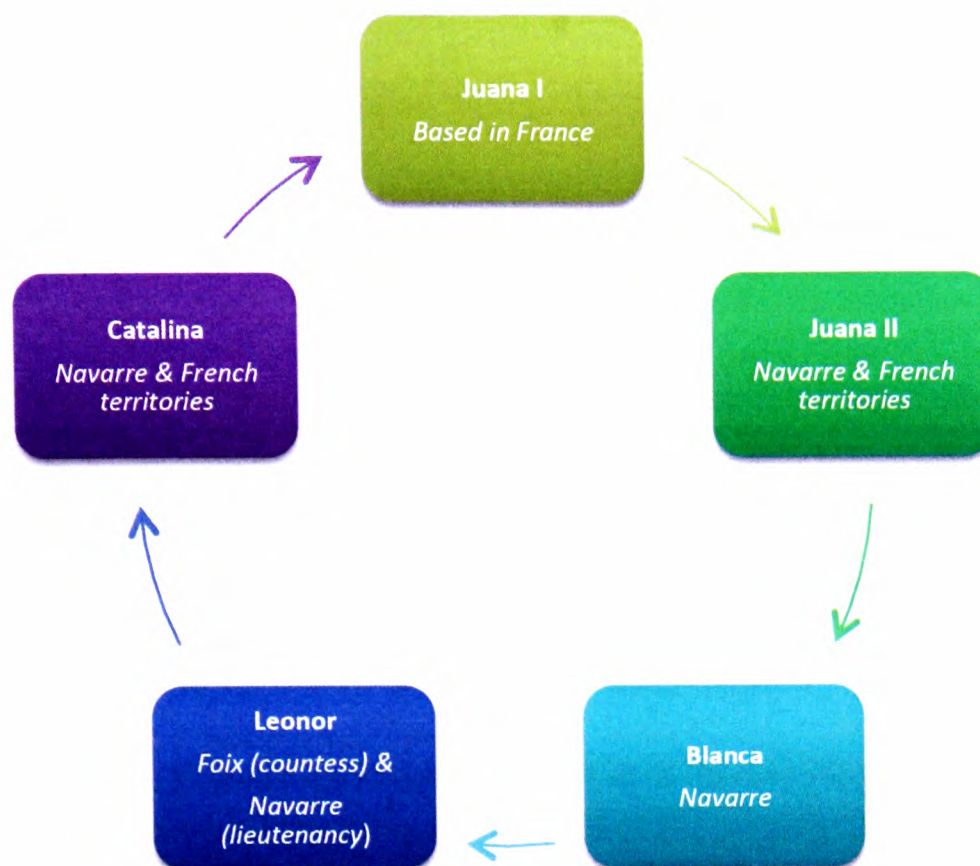
⁶²⁵ Boissonade, p.17.

Navarre, she was willing to contract Spanish marriages for her children. Later, the death of Isabel began a deterioration of relations with Spain and Catalina eventually turned to the King of France for protection. At that point, most of the marital negotiations were connected to solidifying French support. Even the attempted Italian marriages were intended to support France in their on-going struggle with Spain for dominion in Italy. Catalina's heir, Enrique, was contracted to marry more than one French princess before he married Marguerite, the famous sister of François I. Unfortunately, due to untimely deaths and the reluctance of some marital candidates to get involved in the complicated political situation surrounding Navarre after the Annexation of 1512, many of Catalina's children struggled to marry at all.

Overall, the sovereigns who used matrimonial politics to contract the widest net of alliances fared better and were able to have more widespread influence, despite the geographically small size of the realm. On the other hand, the rulers who took a narrower focus for their dynastic marriages suffered, both in the political crises at the end of the Champenois and Capetian dynasties and in the short lived rule of the house of Foix-Bearn.

Centres of Power

Another important development which mirrors the trend of the marital alliances is the physical centrality of Navarre to the queens and the extent to which Pamplona functioned as their own personal capital.



Juana I was firmly based in Paris after her betrothal and marriage to Philip of France and may never have even visited Pamplona. Juana was born at Bar-sur-Seine, in Champagne in January 1273.⁶²⁶ There is considerable doubt as to whether or not Juana visited Navarre as a child, or indeed ever set foot in the realm that she ruled for most of her life. A telling piece of evidence for this comes from Anelier's *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre* which claims that Blanche of Artois' pretext for fleeing Navarre after the death of her husband was 'that she wanted to go one day to Champagne, because she very much wanted to see the queen her daughter, who was being brought up at Provins.'⁶²⁷

Juana II made several extended visits to Navarre, but spent the bulk of her years in her husband's territories in Northern France and the distance between the Evreux holdings and Navarre made it difficult to make Pamplona their sole capital. After her return from Sicily,

⁶²⁶ See documents testifying to Juana's birth date and place from the inquest in Champagne on her inheritance in Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France; Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp.54-6.

⁶²⁷ Guilhem Anelier, *Histoire de la guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277* (Paris, 1856), pp.44-45. Original text is 'Et adones la reina vo[l]e s'en anar .i. dia/En Campainna, per so que molt veder volia/La reina sa filla, que a Proi[n]s se nuiria'.

Blanca was based nearly permanently in Navarre, although she did make trips of pilgrimage and diplomatic visits to Castile and Aragon. Pamplona was definitely Blanca's capital, although she also favoured the nearby castle of Olite, which her father had turned into a magnificent palace, as a primary residence. She also spent a considerable amount of time in Sangüesa and Tafalla.⁶²⁸

Leonor spent the early years of her marriage in Foix as its countess. However, once she gained the lieutenancy, she remained consistently in Navarre, although she was based more often in Sangüesa, as Pamplona was held by the opposing faction.⁶²⁹ Catalina's capital was the Béarnaise city of Pau, and she had been on the throne for over ten years before she came to Navarre and visited Pamplona. The itinerary compiled by Adot Lerga demonstrates that the queen travelled widely within and around her Navarrese and French territories.⁶³⁰ She did not make Pamplona her permanent capital, but she did make prolonged stays there. Ultimately, Catalina was forced to retreat permanently to her French possessions after the annexation of 1512 and the trend came full circle with the queen permanently based in France once more.

It is possible to draw a connection to the king consort's point of origin to both of these trends. Many of the marriages made for the queens' children reflect the policy goals of the queen's spouse and his homeland as much as or more than the needs of Navarre. This is particularly true in the marriages made for the children of Juana I but it can also be seen in marriages of Leonor's children. The majority of these marriages were made to strengthen bonds with Gaston's French overlord or with Foix's neighbours in the *Midi*, including the Counts of Armagnac and Candale. These marriages were all aimed at furthering Gaston's ambition to create a Pyrenean bloc and win French support for Leonor's claim to the

⁶²⁸ Luis Javier Fortún, *Sedes Reales de Navarra* (Pamplona, 1991), p.230, 242 and 250.

⁶²⁹ Leonor established her court in Sangüesa between 1459-71; *Sedes Reales*, p.242.

⁶³⁰ Álvaro Adot Lerga, 'Itinerario de los reyes privativos de Navarra: Juan III de Albret-Catalina I de Foix', *Príncipe de Viana* 60, no. 217 (1999), 401-458. There will be a further discussion of the couple's movements in the following chapter.

Navarrese throne. However, with regard to centres of power Juana I and Leonor's situation was very different. Juana was forced to remain in Paris while French governors ruled Navarre, while Leonor left Foix to base herself in Navarre and personally administer the realm as heiress and lieutenant. This divergence comes primarily from the different forms of personal and above all political partnership that the two couples formed, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

This connection to the homeland of the king consort can also be seen in the situation of Blanca I. The marriages made for her children suited the policy goals of Navarre but they were also very much in line with the ambitions of her husband, Juan. As mentioned earlier, Carlos' marriage reflected the traditional alliance between Burgundy and Aragon, while their daughter Blanca's marriage was made to settle the war with Castile and preserve Juan's Castilian inheritance. Leonor's marriage to the Count of Foix also suited both Navarre and Aragon as the county bordered both kingdoms. In the early days of their marriage Blanca followed her husband around Castile but after her accession, she generally remained in Navarre to govern, which again reflected the couple's power sharing dynamic which will be discussed later.

The weakest connection to the interests of the king consorts or conversely the strongest connections to Navarre's needs can be seen in the marriages made for the children of Catalina and Juana II. This may be due to the fact that both husbands, Jean d'Albret and Philip d'Evreux, held less powerful titles and territory than their wives. Therefore, the interests of the Pyrenean kingdom would necessarily be paramount. Both queens made marriages for their children which reflected Navarre's foreign policy goals. Under Juana II, this meant improving relations with their Iberian and Pyrenean neighbours and strengthening their position with their French cousins. Catalina's foreign policy underwent a dramatic change from being dependent on the goodwill of the Spanish sovereigns to looking for support from France in order to regain their kingdom.

However, both women travelled extensively through their domains and those of their husband, in order to administer their joint holdings. In Juana II's case, the distance between Pamplona and her husband's territories in Northern France was considerable, which resulted in lengthy absences from Navarre. Catalina and Jean's territories were grouped closer together but they formed a much larger group and it was very difficult to spend a reasonable amount of time in each regional capital. Both couples were forced to spend periods of time apart in order to personally govern in as many places as possible. Their response to this challenging situation will be explored further in the following chapter.

Taken as a whole, this chapter has highlighted the impact of matrimonial alliances on the reigns of the queens and the ultimate fate of Navarre. The greatest common factor was the consistent choice of the Navarrese for external, landed spouses for their female sovereigns. While this brought the undeniable benefits of territorial expansion, increased revenue, prestige and political allies, it also changed the foreign policy outlook of the realm and had a major impact on how the realm was governed.

In order to tend to the needs of the king consort's territory, Navarre's interests were often sacrificed or at least compromised in order to satisfy the overall needs of the territorial coalition. In addition the sovereigns were often required to travel to their husband's territory, which meant that the queen herself would be absent for an extended period and the kingdom would be ruled by governors. The most extreme case of absence was during the rule of Juana I, who may have never set foot in her own kingdom, or at the very least left as a toddler never to return. Juana II and Catalina were forced to have a semi-nomadic existence in order to personally administer their large collection of territories.

On the other hand, Leonor and Blanca I were both able to spend the majority of their time in Navarre, although it is worth noting that neither woman made the capital their primary residence. Leonor was forcibly prevented from doing so as the city was held by the Beaumonts, the faction which opposed her rule in the civil war. Her mother, Blanca I,

favoured the splendour of the palace of Olite and also patronized the smaller cities of Sangüesa and Tafalla although she was sometimes resident in the capital, Pamplona.

The marriages made for their children also reflect changing foreign policy goals which were driven by a combination of external political factors and the interests and ambitions of the king consorts. The more powerful the king consort, the more clearly his influence on foreign policy and marital alliances can be seen. Even before the advent of the first queen regnant, Navarre as a small state on the liminal edge of the Iberian peninsula was always subject to influence from both north and south, swinging back and forth between the French and Iberian orbits during the Early Middle Ages. This tendency merely continued during the era of the queens; during this period there is a clear trend from French domination, back to Iberian influence and then back to France again. The major difference between the beginning and ending of this trajectory is that the French influence at the beginning was centred on Northern France and the Ile de France itself due to the Champenois and Evreux holdings and the Capetian connection. However, at the end the trajectory had not quite come full circle; there was still a strong connection to the French monarchy, but the centre of influence switched to the *Midi*.

Therefore the marital alliances made for and by the queens during the period of this study show definite signs of both continuity and change. The decisions made in this area were definitely driven by external political forces and shaped the ultimate fate of Navarre. The Annexation of 1512 created a permanent loss of sovereignty, however Navarre had already experienced several temporary periods of union or merger with another kingdom and had already been involved in several large territorial amalgamations due to the marriages of the queens. All of these decisions to merge, or potentially merge with another group of territories or realm were consciously taken. The only difference between the Annexation and the marriage proposal between Catalina and Juan of Castile, which would have had exactly the same effect, is that the sovereigns were given no choice about the

annexation. With this wider perspective, the annexation itself seems less devastating.

Between 1234 when the first Champenois count became King of Navarre and 1512, Navarre spent more time as part of a territorial union than fully independent. Whether the Annexation was definitely caused by the actions or marriages of the queens regnant is difficult to prove. It is clear however, that rule through the female line, including the Champenois descendants of the Infanta Blanche thoroughly prepared Navarre for its eventual fate; to be a semi-autonomous kingdom in a wider territorial union.

CHAPTER FOUR: Partnership and Rule

*Lady, you are a woman; it is fitting that you should have a man by you who can help you govern your kingdom. You see that crown there. Now take it and give it to such a man as can govern your kingdom.*⁶³¹

Now that the succession process of the queens of Navarre has been investigated and the developments in matrimonial diplomacy have been considered, this chapter will examine their reigns. However, this examination will have a particular emphasis on the queens' relationship with their consort and how this relationship affected their ability to exercise power and rule effectively. This chapter will assess the personal and political partnership of each monarchical pair, drawing connections between similar modes of power sharing in order to illuminate the working relationship of queens and their male consorts. In addition to the investigation of monarchical pairs, this chapter will also investigate the individual careers of women ruling as lieutenants and during their widowhood. Next, examples of continuity and change between the reigns of the queens will be surveyed including the use of marital and coronation agreements, the public image of the queens and their consorts in surviving textual sources and material culture and the patronage activity of the queens. Finally this chapter will end with an examination of the impact of the rule of each monarchical pair, with a particular accent on the effect that the ambitions and actions of each king consort had on his wife's kingdom.

As discussed in the survey of queenship historiography, many studies of queens regnant and indeed many kings and queens in general, have focused exclusively on one individual. However, that individual is only one half of a ruling pair. It is impossible to conduct an effective investigation into a sovereign, male or female, without taking into account their

⁶³¹ The Patriarch of Jerusalem to Sibylla at her coronation in 1186 in *The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre in The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade; Sources in Translation* ed. by Peter W. Edbury (London, 1996), p.26.

relationship with their personal and political partner. Theresa Earenfight argues for the wisdom of this joint approach,

To examine both kingship and queenship together is to discern not only their distinct shape, but also the shape that they take on together. It exposes more clearly the dynamic relationship of kingship and queenship and permits a better understanding of how theory and agency-coupled with economy, geography or demography-affect rulership.⁶³²

During the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, the advent of a queen regnant and a king consort created a challenging situation that confounded normal gender roles and created confusion and even controversy over whose prerogative it was to actually rule the realm. A medieval ruling pair was normally composed of a king who was the rightful heir to the throne and his wife, who was the queen consort. When a woman was the rightful heir to the throne, the position of her husband was often unclear. A man was unsuited to the normal role of a queen consort, while it was possible for him to assist with administration and function as the monarch's spouse and helpmeet, the likelihood of a man confining himself largely to the domestic and childrearing sphere was highly implausible.

Even though the woman may have inherited the right to the throne, the expectation may have been that her husband, as the head of their family should rule instead. Jean Bodin argues that

...gynecocracy is directly contrary to the laws of nature...Moreover the law of God explicitly enjoins that the woman should be subject, not only in matters concerning law and government, but within each particular family... If natural law is violated by gynecocracy, so are the civil law and the law of nations, and to an even greater degree. By them the woman is required to follow her husband though he have neither lands nor possessions. In this opinion canonists, doctors of civil law, and theologians are all agreed. The woman is bound in obedience to her husband, her dowry is his by right, as are likewise all properties accruing to her.⁶³³

⁶³² Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007), p.10.

⁶³³ Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth (Les Six livres de la République)*, Abridged and trans. by M. J. Tooley, (Oxford, 1955), Book VI, Chapter V.

Although Bodin published this work in 1576, he would have considered the examples of reigning queens from Middle Ages as well as those of the 'Monstrous Regiment' of his own period. His views were also clearly based in Biblical verse as the sentiment 'let wives be subject to their husbands' can be found not only in I Peter but also in Paul's letters to the Colossians and Ephesians as well.⁶³⁴ As Margaret Sommerville noted, 'Saints Peter and Paul had not inserted exemption clauses for the case of married queens'.⁶³⁵ However, just as in Kantorwicz's notion of the king's two bodies, a queen regnant could also function simultaneously as a sovereign who all were subject to and a wife who was supposed to be subject to her husband.⁶³⁶ Sommerville suggests that 'A queen regnant's consort had to obey her in political matters even as he ruled her in domestic ones'.⁶³⁷ However, defenders of female rule could also cite Biblical precedent for a married woman who could also rule as in the case of the Judge Deborah who as the Early Modern writer Thomas Craig noted 'tho'a married woman and subject to a husband, reign'd over the Lord's people notwithstanding'.⁶³⁸

The sixteenth century annalist Jeronimo Zurita claimed that 'in the old days whenever the succession of the realm fell to a woman, the government was always done by the husband'.⁶³⁹ Zurita drew on several Iberian examples to justify his remark; the case of Urraca of Leon-Castile and Alfonso of Aragon (which even he admits ended in 'dissent and divorce'), Berenguela of Castile who passed the title to her son and finally that of Petronilla of Aragon.

⁶³⁴ The Bible (Latin Vulgate version), I Peter 3:1. For Paul see Colossians 3:18, '*mulieres subditae estote viris sicut oportet in Domino*' or 'wives be subject to your husbands as it behoveth in the Lord'. Also Ephesians 5:22-23 '*mulieres viris suis subditae sint sicut Domino quoniam vir caput est mulieris sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae ipse salvator corporis*' or 'let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord because the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church. He is the saviour of the body'.

⁶³⁵ Margaret R. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection. Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society* (London, 1995), p.57.

⁶³⁶ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies; A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

⁶³⁷ *Sex and Subjection*, p.59.

⁶³⁸ Thomas Craig, *The right of succession to the kingdom of England: in two books : against the sophisms of Parsons the Jesuite, who assum'd the counterfeit name of Doleman : by which he endeavours to overthrow not only the rights of succession in kingdoms, but also the sacred authority of kings themselves.* trans. by James Gatherer (London, 1703), p.83.

⁶³⁹ Zurita, Vol. 8, p.74. Original text is '*aunque la sucesión del reino recayese en mujer, el gobierno siempre fue del marido*'.

Interestingly, out of these three examples, the only one which directly supports his argument is the final one. However, Petronilla was a unique example, as her parents' unorthodox marital arrangements and her infant marriage were all arranged in order to facilitate a difficult dynastic transition after her uncle Alfonso I had died without heirs.⁶⁴⁰ Keen to return to his monastery, Petronilla's father handed over his infant daughter to her new husband, Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona stating 'I give to you Ramon, with my daughter, my kingdom of Aragon'.⁶⁴¹ Although Ramon had to agree to remain prince-consort while his young bride was officially Queen of Aragon, Zurita stresses that 'Queen Petronilla never put her hand on the governance of her realm', leaving the administration to her husband.⁶⁴² In contrast, William Clay Stalls argued that Petronilla 'clearly proclaimed her royal authority' through the documents that she issued to ensure the transfer of power directly from herself to her son. However, Stalls also noted that documentary evidence fails to demonstrate Petronilla's active governance. However, he believed that this practice derived from her husband's designation as 'the chief administrator of the royal patrimony' during her early marriage and still argued that 'Petronilla had an authority that had to be consulted and recognized'.⁶⁴³

Some modern historians have also argued that women had limited access to power during the medieval period, even if they had the hereditary right to a crown or fiefdom. Georges Duby claimed that even when a woman had inherited lands and titles, 'the fact remains that it was he who exercised power, not she. She was merely at his side when he

⁶⁴⁰ Petronilla's father, Ramiro was a monk who abandoned his monastery and married Agnes of Poitiers in 1136, despite papal disapproval. in order to assure the continuation of his family's hold on the Aragonese throne. Joseph F O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, 1975), p.224. For more in depth analysis of the situation see Elena Lourie, 'The Will of Alfonso I, "El Batallador", King of Aragon and Navarre: A Reassessment', *Speculum* 50, no. 4 (1975), pp.635-651.

⁶⁴¹ William Clay Stalls, 'Queenship and the royal patrimony in twelfth-century Iberia: the example of Petronilla of Aragon' in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. by Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge, 1993), p.52. Stalls cites the original document as Documentos de Ramiro II, no.113 (August 1137).

⁶⁴² Zurita, *Anales*, Vol.8, p.74. Original text is '*la reina doña Petronilla nunca puso la mano en el gobierno de su reino*'.

⁶⁴³ Stalls, 'Petronilla of Aragon', pp.60-61.

exercised it. She had to be there, in token of assent, of association.’⁶⁴⁴ However, the evidence in this study contradicts this argument. All of the Navarrese queens were involved in the exercise of power and the administration of the lands that they inherited. The extent to which they were involved was predicated on their power sharing dynamic with their consort and the way in which they divided up duties and functioned as a personal and political partnership. The dynamic of each monarchical pair in this study will be examined at length later.

However, if the king, or even prince consort ruled as ‘king’, this made him a fairly unusual medieval monarch, for he owed his position to those who selected him as a worthy consort for their heiress. Instead of being chosen by God and having the throne as his birthright, his appointment was often the result of discussion, dispute and diplomatic negotiation. His authority therefore was somewhat weakened by his indebtedness to others for his position and the fact that he was usually a foreigner, and therefore somewhat suspect, as discussed earlier.

Even the title itself is fraught with difficulty. Again, in a traditional ruling pair, the authority of the king outranks that of his wife, the queen. However, if the right to the throne is hers, it is not always clear whose authority is paramount. Giving her husband the title of king automatically appears to devalue the role of a queen regnant. In more recent history, the husbands of English queens regnant such as Queen Anne and Queen Victoria have taken the title of prince, which clearly defines who is ruler and who is consort. This was a change from the situation of earlier English queens regnant, Mary I and II, whose husbands were awarded the title of king consort. In the case of Queen Anne, Charles Beem notes that although Anne may have been in favour of granting her husband the crown matrimonial, she was convinced, most likely by the Duke of Marlborough, that she would not have the support of Parliament. While Anne did press for the passage of a controversial annuity for

⁶⁴⁴ Georges Duby, ‘Women and Power’ in *Cultures of Power; Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth Century Europe*, ed. by Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), p.74.

her husband, Beem reasons that 'ultimately, the reason George did not become a king consort was that Anne chose not to pursue the project'.⁶⁴⁵ However, this was an outcome which appeared to please everyone; Parliament, who did not want a king consort, George, who appears to have been content to be merely the Queen's husband and finally the Queen herself. However, Queen Victoria was disappointed that her husband, Prince Albert was not awarded the crown matrimonial. The Queen commented in her diaries that it 'was so unfair that a Queen's husband should have so much less than a king's wife'.⁶⁴⁶

However, it is important to note a major difference between the earlier and later consorts. Both Philip of Spain and William of Orange were sovereigns in their own right; William ruled the Netherlands while Philip was King of Sicily and heir apparent to the throne of Spain. It would have been insulting to offer them the title of 'prince'; particularly to William who was the nearest male claimant to the English throne. In contrast, George of Denmark and Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha were younger sons and once George set the precedent for being a 'Prince consort', it became unlikely that a later spouse would be awarded the crown matrimonial.

That this is even necessary to rank a queen's husband as 'Prince consort' shows the weight given to the word 'king'. It is normally unnecessary to label the wife of a king as 'queen consort' or 'princess' so that there is no confusion over who has the right to rule. Theresa Earenfight explores the difficulty in nomenclature with these non-standard monarchical partnerships. 'A queen rarely stands alone', Earenfight declares, 'She needs an adjective.'⁶⁴⁷ A woman who inherits the throne can be designated in a variety of ways, as a 'queen regnant', a 'sole queen', a 'female monarch' or even a 'female king'. Again it is this last definition which illustrates the problem; the underlying assumption is that a king is the one who rules the realm.

⁶⁴⁵ *The Lioness Roared*, p.132.

⁶⁴⁶ Quoted in *The Lioness Roared*, p.154.

⁶⁴⁷ Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', p.1.

Two queens who exemplify the struggle between queens regnant and their husbands over titles and control of the realm are Giovanna I and II of Naples. A major source of difficulty in Giovanna I's marriage to her close cousin and rival claimant Andrew of Hungary derived from her unwillingness to accord the crown matrimonial to her husband. This was primarily because to do so would undermine her own authority by appearing to tacitly acknowledge that he had a stronger claim to the Neapolitan throne than her own. Their lack of personal chemistry coupled with this considerable source of tension meant that their personal and political partnership was an abject failure.

Unfortunately, Giovanna also found herself in conflict with her second spouse, her cousin Louis of Tarento, over his title and position in the kingdom. Louis' claim was not as strong as Andrew of Hungary's had been but he was a part of the Angevin family and as such had enough political standing in the realm to be a potential challenge to his wife's rule. Although the chroniclers demonstrate their uncertainty on his position in the way that they refer to him, Louis is not frequently referred to as 'rex'. Both the *Chronicon Estense* and the chronicle of Domenico da Gravina tend to use the title 'dominus' with regard to Louis, and he is also usually noted as 'Ludovicus Tarentinus' or 'princeps Taranti'.⁶⁴⁸ On a practical level, chroniclers may have used this appellation in order to clearly differentiate him from Louis, the king of Hungary who invaded Naples to avenge his brother's death. However, Machiavelli claims that the peace settlement negotiated by the Pope to remove the Hungarian invader 'effected her (Giovanna's) restoration to the sovereignty, on the condition that her husband, contenting himself with the title of prince of Tarento, should not be called king.'⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁸ For examples see Matthei Palmerii, *Vita Nicolai Acciaoli*, ed. by Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicum Scriptores*, (Città de Castello, 1934), p. 11, *Chronicon Estense*, ed. by Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicum Scriptores*, (Città de Castello, 1903), p.159 and Domenico da Gravina, *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis ab anno MCCCXXXIII usque ad annum MCCCCL*, ed. by Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicum Scriptores*, (Città de Castello, 1903), p.30.

⁶⁴⁹ Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, Book I, Chapter VI.

Giovanna II of Naples attempted to make the position of her second husband, Jacques de Bourbon, clear before their marriage. However, once he arrived in Italy in 1415, he was quick to press his advantage in an attempt to usurp her authority as described by Machiavelli,

(The queen) took for her husband Giacompo della Marca, a Frenchman of the royal line, on the condition that he should be content to be called Prince of Tarento, and leave to her the title and government of the kingdom. But the soldiery, upon his arrival in Naples, proclaimed him king; so that between the husband and the wife wars ensued; and although they contended with varying success, the queen at length obtained the superiority.⁶⁵⁰

Although the circumstances are quite different, the source of conflict is the same, the title and position of the queen's consort. However, the Neapolitan queens' attempts to prevent their husbands from exercising the royal authority did not necessarily meet with approval. The annalist Zurita deemed it 'unjust and improper' that 'the Giovannas of Naples...excluded some of their husbands from the title and regiment of the realm'.⁶⁵¹

If not to rule, what is the purpose of a king consort? In many ways his most crucial objective is the same as that of a queen consort, to enable the production of a successor to the realm and thus ensure dynastic continuity. Ensuring the stability of the succession is a key element in the job description of a king consort both in supporting the claim of his wife and later in the production of royal progeny to continue the line of succession. In the case of both kings and queens consort, their marriage was also intended to strengthen the kingdom through the diplomatic alliance and additional territory that formed part of the dowry or inheritance that the spouse may bring.

⁶⁵⁰ Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, Book One, Chapter 7. Note that Machiavelli has apparently combined her husband's name and original title (Jacques de Bourbon, Count of La Marche) and given it an Italian equivalent, resulting in 'Giacopo della Marca'. It is also worth noting that the marriages of Giovanna II are entwined with the House of Navarre. Jacques de Bourbon was originally married to Blanca I's sister, Beatrix while Juan of Aragon broke off his engagement to Blanca's other sister Isabel, in order to try for the hand of the Neapolitan queen.

⁶⁵¹ Zurita, *Anales*, Vol.8, p.74. Original text is '*las reinas Juanas de Nápoles...que excluyeron algunos de sus maridos del nombre y regimiento del reino*'.

In contrast to a queen consort, a purely masculine duty required of king consorts, sometimes assumed and sometimes explicitly stated, was to act as a war leader or military general for the realm. Although there are examples of female rulers and other women who have commanded forces, generally this was considered to be outside the boundaries of the accepted role for women in the Middle Ages. Even defenders of gynocracy, such as Thomas Craig, acknowledged this,

it belongs not to a Woman to raise an Army, to exercise Souldiers, or lead them on against an Enemy, or give the signal to Battel, shou'd she do it, 'twould be abhorred as a Bad Omen. And yet if a Woman be the only Heiress of a Kingdom, she must preside in Military and Civil affairs, in all Councils and Deliberations.⁶⁵²

A king consort however, could function as the military commander-in-chief in ways his wife could not. This was a key element of Elizabeth of Hungary's argument for Giovanna I to grant the crown to her husband Andrew; that she would need him to lead the Neapolitan army.⁶⁵³ Antony Eastmond claims that the twelfth century queen regnant, Tamar of Georgia, was pressed into a disastrous marriage with Iurii Bogoliubskii 'explicitly in order to secure a leader for the army'.⁶⁵⁴ However, in contrast to Eastmond's argument that 'her inability to lead the army into battle...was the prime concern of the Georgian monarchy', Antonia Fraser uses Tamar as an exemplar of a 'Warrior Queen' noting her 'flair for military strategy' and how she marched with her army, haranguing them before battles.⁶⁵⁵ Fraser's study of female military exploits does encompass several women whose careers took place just prior to the period of this study such as Matilda of Tuscany, the Empress Matilda (heir to Henry I of England), Queen Matilda of England (wife of Stephen of Blois) and the aforementioned Tamar of Georgia. Only one woman in Fraser's book was a direct contemporary of the

⁶⁵² Craig, *Right to Succession*, pp. 26-7. Although Craig is writing later with regard to the Stuart queens, his comments still reflect both medieval and Early Modern attitudes to females and warfare.

⁶⁵³ Full text of this letter included as Pieces Justificatives IX in Emile G. Léonard, *La Jeunesse De Jeanne I; Reine De Naples, Comtesse De Provence*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. (Paris, 1932), p.409-10.

⁶⁵⁴ Antony Eastmond, 'Royal Renewal in Georgia: The Case of Queen Tamar' in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries (Papers from the 26th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992)*, ed. by P.Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), pp.289.

⁶⁵⁵ Antonia Fraser, *The Warrior Queens* (New York, 2004), p.177.

Navarrese queens, Isabel of Castile. However, Fraser does concede that these women are atypical for female sovereigns as 'at the heart of the matter lies the feeling, almost if not entirely universal in history, that war itself is 'conduct unbecoming' in a woman'.⁶⁵⁶

All of the queens regnant of Navarre reigned during periods where there was armed conflict with another realm and some queens also had to contend with internal upheaval. All of their consorts were involved in military duties; some were part of the source of the conflict itself, one consort died on a military campaign, while another orchestrated a military response while remaining ensconced in the capital. However, there is also evidence for some of the queens being directly involved in military situations, as well as being involved in peace negotiations to end conflicts which will be discussed in detail later. The power-sharing dynamic between the couples was therefore intimately associated with military conflict.

No matter which royal spouse was the rightful sovereign or consort, every ruling couple had to develop a balance of power between them. The actual split between the partners; 50/50, 70/30 or any other division was less important in practice than whether or not both partners were satisfied with the division of power and duties. If they were unable to achieve a comfortable balance that both partners were content with, trouble could arise.

The marriage of Melisende, the heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and her husband Fulk of Anjou demonstrates the necessity of reaching a power-sharing agreement that both spouses are comfortable with. Fulk may have initially succeeded to the throne of Jerusalem alongside his wife in 1131 with a high 'approval rating' from the nobility of the kingdom, but a conspiracy arose against Fulk's leadership only a few years later, led by two important nobles, Romain de Puy and Hugh of Jaffa. William of Tyre claims that Hugh 'was rumoured to be on too familiar terms with the queen, and of this there seemed to be many proofs.'⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁶ Fraser, *Warrior Queens*, p. 326.

⁶⁵⁷ William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea)*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943).p.71.

Whether or not this accusation of adultery had any real basis, Hugh was accused publicly of treason for his role in the rebellion and eventually sentenced to a three-year exile. However, before he could leave the realm, Hugh was viciously attacked. William of Tyre claims that Fulk was believed to be at least tacitly involved in the assault as 'the miscreant would hardly have dared to attempt such a deed unless he had been confident of the king's favour.'⁶⁵⁸ Hugh survived and duly served his exile, but the episode made a huge change in the balance of power in the court. The Queen defended Hugh and his reputation in his absence, persecuting all those who stood against him so stridently that 'Even the king found that no place was entirely safe among the kindred and partisans of the queen'.⁶⁵⁹ The rift which had opened up between the royal couple was eventually healed but Fulk was forced to come to terms with his wife,

from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.⁶⁶⁰

This is the crux of the matter; indeed Hans Mayer suggests that the key aim of the revolt was 'restoring the queen to the share in the joint rule which was hers in her father's will'.⁶⁶¹ The chronicler Orderic Vitalis noted that Fulk had also alienated the nobles by shutting them out of governance and replacing them with Angevins who had accompanied him to Jerusalem.⁶⁶² Although this means that the rebels had an underlying motive for increasing Melisende's share of the governance, there is still a clear message that the nobility was uncomfortable with a king consort with total authority and Fulk was forced to reassess the balance of power with his wife. After this had been done, the couple's rule was much more

⁶⁵⁸ William of Tyre, p.74

⁶⁵⁹ William of Tyre, p.76

⁶⁶⁰ William of Tyre, p.76

⁶⁶¹ Hans Eberard Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, No.133, (1989), p.4.

⁶⁶² Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol.6 (Oxford, 1978), pp.390-392.

harmonious and their personal relationship appeared to benefit as well as Melisende reputedly showed genuine evidence of grief on Fulk's accidental death in 1143.⁶⁶³

One way to avoid potential conflict was by making the rights and duties of each partner explicit in the marital contract. It was important to define the role that the consort was expected, or conversely not expected to play in the governance of his wife's kingdom. However, forcing a consort to adhere to this agreement after the queen's accession was another matter entirely. In cases where a queen was married before her accession, agreements could be drafted at the time of the coronation which clearly define the role of the king consort both during his wife's reign and after her death. Most of the queens of Navarre had either a marital or a coronation agreement with their king consort which spelled out their respective rights and responsibilities. These will be discussed later in the chapter while the next section will examine the personal and political partnership of each monarchical pair and consider the connections between the power sharing dynamic that different ruling couples developed. Although the emphasis will be on the relationship between the queens regnant and their consorts, this chapter will also examine the situation of those queens who served as lieutenants as well as those who experienced a period of sole rule as a widow.

Connections

Power Sharing Modes

As all of the queens in this study were married to men who had lands of their own to administer, each couple was forced to divide their time and attentions between the mix of territories which they had to govern. The monarchical pairs responded to this challenge by developing a power sharing dynamic which helped them to address the situation and rule

⁶⁶³ Jaroslav Folda notes the depiction of Melisende as a grieving widow in the illustrations of William of Tyre's chronicle, in line with the author's literary descriptions, 'Images of Queen Melisende', p.100.

effectively. Ultimately, it appears that three different modes of power sharing developed, which can be described as 'His way', 'Team Players' and 'Divide & Conquer'.

The first of these modes, 'His way', is exemplified by the relationship of Juana I and Philip IV of France. Philip took the dominant role in their political relationship, which may reflect the fact that as King of France he was inherently the more powerful partner. Juana I is in many ways the most complex of the Navarrese queens regnant to evaluate as a sovereign due to the fact that she held three nearly equally important titles concurrently; Queen regnant of Navarre, Queen consort of France and Countess of Champagne and Brie. Each of these titles carried very different duties and ties to different geographical areas. Moreover, although she inherited the titles of Queen of Navarre and Countess of Champagne as an infant, a major shift took place between 1284-5 when she came into her majority, was married and became the Queen of France. This crucial period theoretically transformed her from a child whose inheritance was being administered by her relatives to an adult who was fully capable of governing her possessions. The question is whether she did in fact take up the reins of government or if her rights were exercised exclusively by her husband, Philip IV of France.

Before an examination of her involvement in the governance and her role as a sovereign queen and countess, it is worth discussing her role as a queen consort, which encompasses being the wife of Philip IV and their personal relationship. By all accounts, Juana was an excellent consort to Philip IV, providing him with three sons and a daughter and serving not only as a pious mother but also as a graceful steward of his court. Their personal relationship seems to have been quite strong which is unsurprising as they had grown up together in the French court. Philip's distraught behaviour at his wife's death in 1305 and his unwillingness to take a second wife appears to testify to the strength of their relationship.⁶⁶⁴ More

⁶⁶⁴ J.R. Strayer notes that Philip was throwing away 'considerable financial and political advantages' by failing to remarry, remarking that 'very few of his contemporaries missed such an opportunity'. J.R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), p.10.

testimony to the couple's close personal relationship comes from contemporary sources and Philip's modern biographers. Philip's love for Juana was noted by one contemporary who claimed that the king 'always wanted to be near his wife'.⁶⁶⁵ While admirable in a spouse, it may be possible that this desire for his wife's physical proximity may have prevented her from returning to Pamplona to preside over the government of her kingdom in person. J.R. Strayer attributes Philip's devotion to Juana's personality; 'Jeanne had a gentle and sympathetic character; she gave Philip the affection that had so long been denied him'.⁶⁶⁶

However, Strayer also notes that 'although her husband loved her as a woman and was willing to help her friends and persecute her enemies, he did not take her advice on major decisions'.⁶⁶⁷ Three of Philip's other prominent biographers, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, Sylvie le Clech and Jean Favier also concur with this view. Favier in particular is fairly damning of Juana's political role noting 'she was absent from the game of politics if it didn't concern Navarre or Champagne' and claiming 'in the affairs of the realm...Jeanne de Navarre was without influence' and le Clech's commentary is nearly identical.⁶⁶⁸ For evidence of this Brown points to Philip's rejection of the peace settlement with England that Juana and Marie de Brabant had helped to negotiate as well as an episode in Carcassonne where Philip had angrily forced Juana to return gifts given to her by the possibly heretical town councillors.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁵ Master Arnaud Garsie's testimony (originally in BN lat.4270), quoted in Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Prince is Father to the King: The Character and Childhood of Phillip the Fair', *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), p.287. Original text is '*qui semper esse uult iuxta uxorem suam*'.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p.9.

⁶⁶⁷ *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p.17

⁶⁶⁸ Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978), pp.14-15. Original text is '*elle est absente du jeu politique dès qu'il ne concerne ni la Navarre ni la Champagne*' and '*Dans les affaires du royaume...Jeanne de Navarre est sans influence*'. Sylvie Le Clech, *Philippe le Bel et les derniers Capétiens* (Paris, 2007), p.38. le Clech's comment is that the queen '*occupe une place de retrait de la vie politique*' or 'occupied a place of retreat (or stood back) from the political life'.

⁶⁶⁹ Brown, 'Childhood of Philip' pp. 305-6 and 'Persona et Gesta: The Image and Deeds of the thirteenth century Capetians. The Case of Phillip the Fair' in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, ed. by Elizabeth A.R. Brown (Aldershot, 1991), p.229. Strayer notes that the councillors hailed her as a 'New Esther' and Philip may have 'felt that his royal dignity had been affronted' by her apparent sympathy with the reformers; *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, pp.17-18.

However, Brown also notes 'striking testimony to Philip's regard for her' in his decision to name his wife as regent of France in October 1294 if he died before their son came of age.⁶⁷⁰ Moreover, Brown notes that this was 'the first royal ordinance to vest complete regency power in a queen.'⁶⁷¹ However, Andre Poulet argues that Philip merely 'tacitly and voluntarily...entrusted Joan with powers similar to those exercised by Blanche of Castile.'⁶⁷² This document is incredibly significant as it demonstrates Philip's confidence in Juana's ability to govern. Indeed Poulet notes that 'Philip IV spoke highly of wife's qualities...her loyalty, her fidelity, her devotion and her love for the kingdom and its people.'⁶⁷³ Philip would not have entrusted the realm to her sole governance after his death if he had not had total faith in her abilities, no matter how much he may have loved her. She may have been largely shut out of the day to day administration of the French kingdom during his reign, as his biographers have implied, but Philip would not have named her as sole regent if she did not have the ability and more importantly, the experience to be effective in the role. Since it appears that experience was not accrued as the consort of France, it must have been obtained through her involvement in the governance of her own territories which will be examined next.

Juana's position as Countess of Champagne and Brie was just as significant in many ways as her position as a royal sovereign, even though the title itself carried a lower rank. As discussed previously, Juana's mother Blanche administered Champagne directly in her daughter's name during her minority, first alone and later with her second husband, Edmund of Lancaster.⁶⁷⁴ When Juana reached her majority in 1284, Philip III marked the

⁶⁷⁰ The document is printed in full in Pierre Dupuy, *Traite de la Maiorite de nos Rois et des Regences du Royaume avec les prevves tirees tant du Tresor des Chartes du Roy que des Registres du Parlement et autres lieux* (Paris, 1655), pp. 145-47. The original provenance of the ordinance is cited (by Brown) as AN J 401, no. 4, dated October 1294 at Vincennes.

⁶⁷¹ Brown, 'Childhood of Philip', p.304.

⁶⁷² André Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation', in *Medieval Queenship*, p.110.

⁶⁷³ 'Capetian Women and the Regency', p.110.

⁶⁷⁴ See pp.79-80.

event by receiving her personal homage for the county in Paris.⁶⁷⁵ The following year after her marriage, her new husband issued a decree of homage to his father, placing himself first as 'first born (i.e. heir) of the king of France, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Count Palatinate of Champagne and Brie'. Juana is listed later in the document as 'our beloved consort Johanne heiress of Champagne'.⁶⁷⁶ The remaining cartulary for the county of Champagne in Longnon's compilation continue in this vein with Philip and his titles, even those held by right of his wife taking precedence, followed with a mention of Juana as the rightful heir.

The question is whether this precedence was merely a formality of the language or if it reflected the reality of the governance of the county. What is certain is that Juana's marriage had a profound impact on the administration of the county. Champagne was not officially part of the royal possessions until 1361 and was supposed to be as Hiroshi Takayama notes 'a county separate from the royal demense since it was the inheritance of Queen Joan. In practice however, it was under the king's control and governed by his officials.'⁶⁷⁷ John F. Benton notes that Philip extended his control over the county by sending his own men 'to be masters of the high court' and the county's Exchequer, repeating the process that had bound Normandy into the French crown.⁶⁷⁸ However, both he and his father were careful not to alienate the Champenois; Philip III did this by 'being sensitive about usurping the authority' of the *Jours de Troyes* assemblage and Philip IV followed suit by ensuring that his wife, the rightful Countess, confirmed all his acts.⁶⁷⁹ However carefully

⁶⁷⁵ Longnon includes three slightly different copies of this document as Docs. LVI, LVII and LVIII, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, pp.484-5.

⁶⁷⁶ Longnon, *Documents Relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, Doc. LXI, dated February 20, 1285 at Paris, p.486. Original text is; '*regis Francorum primogenitus, Dei gratia rex Navarre, Campanie et Brie comes palatinus*' and '*karissime consortis nostre Johanne heredis Campanie*'.

⁶⁷⁷ Hiroshi Takayama, 'The local administrative system of France under Philip IV (1285-1314)-*ballis* and *seneschals*', *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), p.174.

⁶⁷⁸ John F. Benton, 'Philip the Fair and the *Jours de Troyes*' in *Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. by Thomas N. Bisson (London, 1991), p. 191.

⁶⁷⁹ '*Jours de Troyes*', p.196 and Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)* (London, 1960), pp.128-9. Lalou discusses Juana's confirmations and her use of her seal to demonstrate her

the French kings may have moved, their efforts to bind the country firmly into royal administration were quite successful as Benton notes 'by the end of Philip (IV's) reign the Jours de Troyes had become even more a branch of Parlement than the Exchequer of Normandy'.⁶⁸⁰

The fact that Champagne was being drawn into royal administration does not necessarily mean that Juana was excluded from its governance. Champagne had a history of being successfully governed by women including Marie de France and Blanche of Navarre, mother of Thibault, the first Champenois king of Navarre.⁶⁸¹ Intrigued by the common assumption that the Queen was cut out of the administration of her county by the royal officials, Elisabeth Lalou investigated the extent to which Juana was involved in the governance of Champagne in her fascinating article 'Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne 1285-1305'.⁶⁸² She begins with a lengthy discussion of Juana's assent for all documents of royal administration, as mentioned previously, asserting firmly 'The queen gave her accord for all that was the right of a feudal lord'.⁶⁸³

In addition to this assent to royal administration, Lalou details the visits of the royal couple to Champagne, noting that in the twenty years of her joint tenure as Queen of France and Countess of Champagne, they visited the county annually fourteen years running.⁶⁸⁴ This was in sharp contrast to the couple's total absence from Navarre, despite Philip's journey to the Pyrenees with his father in 1285 and the couple's trip to the *Midi*, as discussed earlier with regard to the unfortunate episode in Carcassonne.

assent and assert her feudal rights at length; Elisabeth Lalou, 'Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne 1285-1305', *Cahiers Haut-Marnais* 167 (1986), pp.19-24. This includes several pictures of the seals of both Juana and Philip.

⁶⁸⁰ 'Jours de Troyes', pp.210-11. It is interesting to note that both Philip III and IV may have had the example of Toulouse in mind, another important county which came into the French royal domains via his uncle Alphonse of Poitiers' marriage to the heiress Jeanne of Toulouse. For more on the treatment of Toulouse during the reign of Philip IV see Henri Gilles, *The coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur premier commentaire (1296)* (Toulouse, 1969).

⁶⁸¹ Blanche's successful career as Countess of Champagne is thoroughly discussed in Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women', pp. 81-85.

⁶⁸² Lalou, pp.16-30.

⁶⁸³ See note 53 and Lalou, p.24. Original text is '*La reine donne donc son accord pour tout ce qui est du droit du seigneur féodal*'.

⁶⁸⁴ Lalou, pp 25-27. See in particular Lalou's map on page 26 which details five of the couple's journeys.

While trips to the county and Juana's signature and seal do appear to provide some evidence of participation in the governance of Champagne, two dramatic episodes provide more direct and dramatic proof of her involvement and influence. Both episodes concern the treatment of troublesome vassals and neighbours, an obvious prerogative and duty of any sovereign. Juana's particular actions in these episodes were noted by her contemporaries and show a striking contrast to the quiet, submissive consort who was described earlier.

The first episode involves the invasion of Champagne by the Comte de Bar in 1297. This was a tactical invasion, made in concert with his ally the Count of Flanders, who was staging a concurrent uprising against Philip IV near Lille. According to several chronicles, the queen, as sovereign countess, responded to the emergency personally, rounding up several prominent nobles to support the armed response.⁶⁸⁵ The nearly identical accounts in the *Chronique Normande* and the chronicle of Jean Desnouelles stress the queen's physical presence 'in her land' and desire to defend the county 'so her land was not lost'.⁶⁸⁶ Both accounts also specifically note that Juana was able to arrest the rebellious Comte without the need for battle and sent the Comte to prison in Paris, before joining her husband at Lille. However, Lalou cites an alternative version of the tale in a Flemish chronicle in which Juana gives battle to the Comte with her army and claims that this account gives Juana 'the military image of a strong woman who accomplishes her seigniorial duty like a knight'.⁶⁸⁷ However, it is difficult to ascertain which accounts are more credible; the battle may have been added to embroider the Flemish account while it may be omitted by the others as the image of the queen leading her troops to battle conflicted with expected behaviour for a

⁶⁸⁵ 'Extraits de la chronique attribuée a Jean Desnouelles, abbé de Saint-Vincent de Laon', *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France XXI* (Paris, 1855), p.184-5. *Chronographia regum Francorum*, Vol.1 ed. by Henri Moranville (Paris,1891), p.57-8. *Chronique Normande de XIVe siecle*, ed. by Auguste and Emile Molinier (Paris, 1882), p.4.

⁶⁸⁶ Original text is 'en sa terre...que sa terre ne fust perdue' (Desnouelles, p.185) and 's'en ala en sa terre...paeor que sa terre ne feust perdue'; *Chronique Normande*, p.4.

⁶⁸⁷ Lalou, p.28. Original text is 'l'image guerrière d'une forte femme qui accomplit son devoir de seigneur comme un chevalier'. The chronicle cited by Lalou is *Istoire et chroniques de Flandes*, ed. by Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, Vol. 1, (Bruxelles, 1880), p.219.

queen consort or even a sovereign countess. Either way, this episode does demonstrate as Lalou claims that 'the queen was still mistress of her lands even if the king took charge of the administrative tasks'.⁶⁸⁸

The second episode, which highlights Juana's influence and persistence more than her military interest or ability, centres on Bishop Guichard of Troyes. Guichard's elevation had been due to the patronage of first Blanche of Artois and then Juana herself, who was directly responsible for his appointment to the bishopric.⁶⁸⁹ Abel Rigault who produced a thorough study of Guichard's career comments that he 'was a creature of two queens, and that his fortunes, attached to these two women, followed and increased with her.'⁶⁹⁰ However, his relations with Juana soured when allegations of involvement with financial irregularities in the county of Champagne began to emerge.⁶⁹¹ Rigault suggests that there may have been some kind of understanding between the bishop and 'his protectress' the queen to allow him to hold back some of his revenues, but the queen's angry behaviour seems to negate this suggestion.⁶⁹² An inquest was begun into the matter but the situation became even more enflamed with the death of Blanche of Artois in May 1302. Suddenly, the bishop was accused of poisoning the dowager queen in addition to his other crimes.⁶⁹³ Juana, once his 'protectress' now turned vengeful demanding a repayment of forty thousand *livres tournois*.⁶⁹⁴ Strayer claims that,

usually Jeanne was not so vindictive, but this case touched her personally. Her mother had been wronged; her income from her country of Champagne had been reduced by fraud; one of her own protégés had betrayed her.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁸⁸ Lalou, p.28. Original text is '*la comtesse restait la maîtresse de sa terre même si c'est le roi qie se chargeait des tâches adminstratives*'.

⁶⁸⁹ Abel Rigault, *Le procès de Guichard, Évêque de Troyes (1308-1313)* (Paris, 1896), p.14.

⁶⁹⁰ *Le procès de Guichard*, p.14.

⁶⁹¹ *Le procès de Guichard*, pp.21-25. *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, pp.302-3.

⁶⁹² *Le procès de Guichard*, p.15.

⁶⁹³ *Le procès de Guichard*, p.26-7.

⁶⁹⁴ *Le procès de Guichard*, p.29. *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p.305.

⁶⁹⁵ *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, p.305.

Juana's own death in 1305 created even more problems for the beleaguered bishop. Instead of 'being delivered from his worst enemies, the queen of Navarre (Blanche) and the queen of France (Juana)', Guichard was about to gain a more formidable adversary, the King of France.⁶⁹⁶ The bishop was accused of causing Juana's 'cruel' death by sorcery and of attempting to poison her sons, Louis and even Charles, who was his own godson.⁶⁹⁷ At this point the remaining prosecution, which ended with Guichard's exile from France, carries on far beyond the date of Juana's death but the episode clearly demonstrates several key points; Juana's interest and involvement in the administration and finances of the county of Champagne, her power and influence in the French court which enabled such a vindictive prosecution of Guichard and the strength of her husband's feeling for her that he took over and amplified the prosecution of her former enemy after her death. Strayer confirms this view stating 'Jeanne's untimely death shocked him...An explanation of Jeanne's premature death would help assuage his grief; vengeance on her murderer would be the last and most fitting tribute he could pay to her memory.'⁶⁹⁸

Thus far, it has been established that Juana was a beloved consort and actively involved in the affairs of her county of Champagne. The final area, which needs to be explored, is to ascertain how connected she was to the governance of her own kingdom of Navarre. As discussed previously, it appears unlikely that Juana ever set foot in the realm; even if she had spent some time in the country as an infant, there are no records to suggest she returned to the kingdom after her mother fled to France in 1274.

Just as in the case of Champagne, the kingdom was administered on her behalf during her minority. However, it was not her mother who looked after her interests in Navarre after the Treaty of Orleans was signed in 1275; instead it was her prospective father-in-law, Philip III and the governors that he sent from Paris. During her minority, the exercise of power by

⁶⁹⁶ *Le procès de Guichard*, p.52.

⁶⁹⁷ The letter of accusation is translated by Rigault on pp. 58-9 and included in full as Pièce Justificative XII. The original provenance of the document is AN J.438.

⁶⁹⁸ *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, pp.309-10.

her appointed guardian is not surprising. However once she reached her majority, her concurrent marriage meant that her husband assumed his father's role as administrator, rather than the queen herself. Unlike the case of Champagne, there is no evidence to suggest that Juana visited her kingdom or played any role in its affairs beyond adding her signature and seal to official documents.⁶⁹⁹

In summary, Juana and Philip functioned very well as a personal and political partnership in many ways. As discussed previously, contemporary evidence appears to indicate that the couple had a close, harmonious personal relationship. The balance of power in their political relationship seems to have varied in each of their different roles. Juana played no part in the governance of France, but she was an active and popular consort, fulfilling all expectations in her roles of wife, mother, patroness and mistress of the court. With regard to Champagne, there appears to have been a more equitable balance. Philip may have been more involved with the administration of the county than his wife, but Juana's many tours of the county alongside her husband established her presence as sovereign countess and the episodes with the Comte de Bar and Bishop Guichard demonstrate her keen defence of her lands and revenues. Finally, in the case of Navarre, Juana appears to have had a minimal role in the governance of her kingdom. Although her right to the crown was always acknowledged, she did not appear to have personally exercised the royal prerogative to any great extent. Therefore, although they functioned well as a pair, particularly on a personal level, the label 'His Way' reflects that the balance of political power was undeniably in Philip's favour. They ruled their domains from his court and capital and it appears that Juana was not allowed to fully assume the responsibilities of ruling her own territories. Her right to rule the county of Champagne and Navarre were constantly confirmed by the official documentation of their rule, which will be discussed later. However, it is clear that Philip exercised the bulk of the

⁶⁹⁹ An analysis of the use of Juana's signature and seal and the couple's address clause will follow later in this chapter.

ruling authority in both of their domains and that French modes of governance and the interests of France were always paramount.

The second mode, 'Team Players' reflects a more equitable style of partnership. This is demonstrated by the cases of Juana II and Catalina, who were able to work with their consorts to govern both the kingdom of Navarre and their French territories. As discussed previously, this mode was developed to cope with the challenge of governing the combined territories of both queen and consort. It also reflects the fact that with both of these couples, the woman clearly held the greater title and more important territory.

At the beginning of Juana II's rule, there was an intensive period of negotiation between the Cortes' acknowledgement of Jeanne as the rightful sovereign in May 1328 and coronation agreements signed in May of the following year. This set a crucial precedent for the coronation of later queens regnant and will be thoroughly examined later in this chapter. The main source of tension in these negotiations was regarding the role of the king consort. It was also an important moment for the couple to reassess their own partnership. Due to the failure to claim her rights to the throne of France and her grandmother's counties of Champagne and Brie as a child, Jeanne had grown up as her husband's consort, the Countess of Evreux. Now, she was a sovereign queen and her husband was forced to negotiate with his wife and the *Cortes* for a role in governing her realm.

Although Jeanne's rights were affirmed and protected by the agreement, Philip was ultimately allowed to participate fully in the administration and government of the realm. Jeanne's willingness to let her husband participate in governance was a key factor in the negotiations regarding Philip's role. This sentiment can be seen in the document signed shortly after their coronation which set out the principles of succession after the queen's death, where it was claimed that 'her conscience would have much weight and doubt to have made a great sin if she did not grant satisfaction to the said king, her husband' to allow

him to participate equally in governance.⁷⁰⁰ That he did so effectively and successfully, promoting projects such as the *amejoramiento* of the *Fueros* which had long term benefits for the realm and ensuring that both he and the queen were visible on multiple visits to Navarre reassured the Navarrese that a king consort was not always a poor ruler.

Although Philip d'Evreux was far more connected to Navarre than Philip IV of France was, he was still the lord of several important French counties.⁷⁰¹ The royal couple had to balance the needs of their French territories alongside the rule of Navarre. Unlike the reign of Juana I, Jeanne and Philip d'Evreux tried to split their time between all of their territories and maintain a presence in the French capital, in their Parisian palace the Hôtel de Navarre, to further their interests as French 'princes of the Blood'. Their major journeys to Navarre took place between February 1329-September 1331 and April 1336-October 1337. Although this does not seem like a substantial amount of time for the sovereigns to be present, it was a vast improvement on the record of the Capetian dynasty. From the time that Blanche of Artois left Pamplona in 1274 until the new sovereigns arrived in 1329, the rulers of Navarre had been completely absent, bar a brief appearance by Luis I (Louis X of France) for his coronation in 1307.

In addition, Philip d'Evreux made at least two other trips to Navarre without his wife in 1342 and again the following year, partly in preparation for his crusade with the King of Aragon. Fermín Miranda Garcia notes a document that suggests that he was also in Pamplona in 1335, although this does not seem completely plausible.⁷⁰² During Philip's absence, Jeanne remained in their French counties took responsibility for the administration of these territories. This entailed an interesting role reversal and demonstrated the flexibility of their partnership; that she could look after his ancestral domains while he attended to the needs of her Iberian subjects. Moreover, both roles were equally important; Philip's

⁷⁰⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated 15th May 1329 at Olite. Original text is '*su consciencia seria muyt cargada e muyto dubdaria de aver grant pecado si eylla non fiziesse satisfacion al dicho seynnor rey su marido.*'

⁷⁰¹ See a map of the couple's territories in the Appendices, Figure 3.

⁷⁰² Felipe III y Juana II, p.137.

involvement in the crusade was a key part of developing better relations with their Iberian neighbours and visiting Navarre was also crucial in reassuring their subjects of their connection to the realm. However, Jeanne's presence in France was not only important to administer their French territory but to remain connected to the political developments in the French court and maintain their family's stature as one of the key 'Princes of the Blood'.

The evidence from their reign demonstrates that Jeanne and Philip were able to work jointly and separately in order to rule their domains. Although they generally chose to remain together, when necessary they were able to separate in order to ensure that all of their domains were governed effectively. This was a contrast to their predecessors, who rarely separated which led to Navarre experiencing a prolonged absence of rule *in absentia*. In some areas, one particular partner played a more prominent role, for example Philip took on the bulk of the project of revising and streamlining the code of law for the realm.⁷⁰³ In other areas, such as diplomacy, they each took on different aspects of the task. Philip was closely involved with their neighbours in the planning and implementation of an Iberian crusade while Juana played a key role in matrimonial politics.⁷⁰⁴ They also worked together on projects to improve castles and royal residences and administer justice.⁷⁰⁵

The assessment of the reign of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux reflects their efforts on behalf of Navarre and their tendency to work as an effective partnership. It is more difficult to assess the state of their personal relationship, unlike their predecessors there is no contemporary evidence which would indicate either an extreme closeness or any particular difficulties. Unlike their predecessors, who were fairly close in age, there was a ten year age

⁷⁰³ *Felipe III y Juana II*, pp. 102-7 and *Fazer Justicia*, pp.38-44.

⁷⁰⁴ For an examination of Philip's preparation for and role in the crusade see Marianne Mahn-Lot, 'Philippe d'Evreux, Roi de Navarre et un projet de Croisade contre le Royaume de Grenade (1329-1331)' *Bulletin Hispanique* 46 (1944), pp.227-233. A discussion of Juana's involvement in marital diplomacy can be found both in the previous chapter and later in this chapter under the examination of the queen's sole rule as a widow.

⁷⁰⁵ For examples of their work to improve castles and royal residences see Javier Martinez de Aguirre, *Arte y Monarquia en Navarra (1328-1425)* (Pamplona, 1987). A work which particularly examines the administration of justice during the couple's reign is Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, *Crimen y castigo en Navarra bajo el reinado de los primeros Evreux (1328-1349)* (Pamplona, 2005). Examples of both of these types of activity will be discussed in the section on impact later in this chapter.

gap between Jeanne and Philip d'Evreux. Jeanne was only seven when she was married, while Philip was seventeen.⁷⁰⁶ Jeanne was sent to live with Philip's grandmother Marie of Brabant, Philip III's widow and may have stayed there until Marie's death in 1321. Although Jeanne lived in the Evreux domains, the couple were not raised together as their predecessors had been as Philip d'Evreux was effectively a grown man when they married. Their marriage was not consummated until Jeanne reached her teens in 1324.⁷⁰⁷ However, their fairly rare periods of separation and their sizable family attest to their bond. Moreover, Jeanne's explicit willingness to share power with her husband is some testimony to her regard for her husband.

As political partners, they were able to balance their various roles; as king and queen of Navarre, as territorial lords in France and as Capetian 'Princes of the Blood'. They were able to work apart or together in order to carry out each of these roles, and they did this with a fair amount of success. Moreover, the couple were perceived as genuine partners. The Principe de Viana echoes this positive sentiment by describing the couple in his chronicle as 'those glorious kings'.⁷⁰⁸ It is noteworthy that Garci Lopez repeatedly refers to the couple as '*rey et reyna*' or 'king and queen', whereas he most often refers to Jeanne's grandparents as 'Philip the Fair, husband of the said Juana de Navarra'.⁷⁰⁹ This reaffirms the idea of the couple being 'Team Players', administering their territories jointly and above all effectively.

Catalina and Jean d'Albret also functioned as 'Team Players' in their personal and political partnership. Like Jeanne and Philip, Catalina and her husband also had to manage a territorial amalgamation of French territories and their Iberian kingdom. Even though their territory was far more geographically unified than the Evreux's holdings, it was a politically

⁷⁰⁶ Leroy, 'Les débuts', p.17.

⁷⁰⁷ *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.23.

⁷⁰⁸ Principe de Viana, *Cronica*, p.168.

⁷⁰⁹ *Garci Lopez de Roncevalles*, p.73.

and culturally diverse collection and Catalina's rule was not fully supported by all of her vassals.

The evidence from their reign clearly demonstrates an equitable partnership which clearly fits into the 'Team Players' category, with both spouses involved in most aspects of governance and rule. This equitable distribution may have simply been a practical arrangement given the large territorial area that the couple were responsible for. It may also indicate a comfortable personal partnership, which will be discussed further later. The contrast in rank may have also played a factor as the queen's decidedly superior standing may have prevented her husband, the son of a Lord and Viscount, from attempting to push her aside. Personality may have also played a part; Jean may have welcomed Catalina's participation in the governance of their territories as according to one contemporary source Jean 'often left governance to others so he could give himself to all pleasures and entertainments'.⁷¹⁰

With regard to the documentary evidence of their reign, there are examples of both Jean and Catalina issuing charters, letters and instructions separately and jointly. Catalina's involvement in diplomatic matters can be seen in letters, such as a lengthy missive to the Prior of Roncevalles with instructions on how to inform the Cortes about a proposed marriage for her daughter Ana with the son of Jean of Narbonne.⁷¹¹

Jean also demonstrated independent agency in diplomatic matters in a letter sent to Isabel and Ferdinand on 6th September 1497 regarding Castilian troops on their mutual frontier.⁷¹² This fairly brief missive has no formal address clause and is signed by Jean as 'the King of Navarre, your obedient cousin Jean'.⁷¹³ However, he does refer to Catalina in the

⁷¹⁰ Esteban de Garibay, *Los quarenta libros de Compendio historial y universal de todos Reinos de España*, from a section reproduced in Adot Lerga, p. 335. Original text is '*remitiendo muchas vezes la gouernacion a otros, se daua a todos plazer y entretenimientos*'.

⁷¹¹ AGN Comptos, caj,166, no.25 dated 15th December 1496 at Pau; reprinted in Adot Lerga pp.344-45 and Boissonade, document XI, pp.588-90.

⁷¹² Reprinted in Adot Lerga, p.345 (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms.18.691/108).

⁷¹³ Original text is '*El rey de Navarra, vuestro obediente sobrino Johan*'.

letter as 'the queen, your cousin, my most dear and beloved wife' and notes the agreement that she was drafting with her uncle.⁷¹⁴

This agreement between Catalina and her uncle Jean of Narbonne is known as the Treaty of Tarbes, dated 7th September 1497.⁷¹⁵ This document makes no mention of her husband, rather it is an agreement between herself as 'the very excellent and powerful lady, Catherine of Foix, Queen of Navarre' and her uncle which was intended to end the long running and damaging dispute regarding her rights to the patrimony of Foix and the crown of Navarre.⁷¹⁶ It was appropriate that this document emanated from her as it directly concerns her hereditary rights, but it is also important to note her sole agency in this crucial dispute.

The concurrent dating of the aforementioned letter, sent by Jean from Pamplona and the treaty Catalina was drafting at Tarbes in their French territories is significant. This clearly shows the ability of the couple to share out duties, divide up the governance of different territories and attend to pressing matters in order to administer their many holdings.

Alvaro Adot Lerga conducted a detailed study of the couple's documents in a useful database which forms both part of his monograph and was published as a journal article in *Principe de Viana*.⁷¹⁷ This information can be used, as Adot Lerga has, to track the couple's movements and their presence in their various territorial capitals. It can also be used to show the signatory of the documents and assess the couple's involvement in administration and governance.

Jean began to sign documents from the moment of his marriage in June 1484. From their marriage until the autumn of 1496, almost every document contains both signatures, with the exception of two documents from September and October 1484 which were signed

⁷¹⁴ Original text is '*la reyna vuestra sobrina, mi muy cara y amada muger*'.

⁷¹⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.20, dated 7th September 1497 at Tarbes. The treaty is also reprinted in full Boissonade, pp.590-95 (ADPA E547) which is helpful as the AGN copy is damaged and partially illegible.

⁷¹⁶ For further discussion of this treaty and the succession dispute, see the chapter on succession, pp.75-76.

⁷¹⁷ See Adot Lerga, pp.299-312 and '*Itinerario de los reyes*', pp.401-458.

exclusively by Catalina at Pau. The couple's first major period of separation comes between October 1496 and late September 1497 as discussed above. During this time, it appears that Jean remained in Navarre while Catalina returned to their French territories, although he may have joined her briefly in Pau in May 1497.

From September 1497 until April 1500, the couple appear to have remained together and jointly signed documents, bar a short period in November 1498. During this brief period there are three documents which are only signed by Jean, although this may coincide with the birth and/or death of an unnamed son.⁷¹⁸ In the spring of 1500, Jean travelled alone to Castile and accordingly, a series of documents are signed exclusively by him during this period. Catalina may not have joined him on this diplomatic mission for two reasons; one was the need for one of the sovereigns to remain physically present in their territories and the other reason was an apparent pregnancy for the queen which may have resulted in the birth and death of an unnamed son. While this diplomatic visit was important, it was crucial not to neglect the administration of their various territories. Favyn specifically notes in his description of Jean's Castilian trip that 'he had left the Queen Catalina his wife to govern the kingdom'.⁷¹⁹

In the winter and spring of 1502 Jean embarked on a visit to the French court, while Catalina remained in Pau. Again this shows a similar division of responsibilities; Jean left on a diplomatic errand abroad while Catalina administered the realm and looked after their growing brood of young children. The couple were reunited at the end of the year and returned to Navarre in January 1503 for a lengthy stay. The next significant period of separation came in the early months of 1508, when it appears that Catalina returned alone once more to Tarbes and Pau. By May 1508 the queen was once again in Navarre, where she gave birth to another son, Francisco. It seems likely that she returned to Pau alone again in

⁷¹⁸ See genealogical chart in the appendices, p.337 and the discussion on p.127.

⁷¹⁹ Favyn, p.637. Original text is '*il auoit laissé la Royne Catherine sa femme pour gouverner le Royaume*'. Moret makes a nearly identical comment about Catalina governing alone in Jean's absence in Vol. 7, p.156.

June 1509 and again in the spring of 1510. After that, the couple remained together until the crisis point when the realm was annexed by Castile in the summer of 1512.

Although this evidence demonstrates that the couple were willing to separate in order to attend to demands of administering their holdings, they remained together for the majority of their marriage and their reign in Navarre. Moreover, it appears that the couple had a reasonably equitable and comfortable balance of power in their political relationship with both spouses participating fully and fairly equally in government. However, Catalina appears to have retained a more prominent role as appropriate to her position as the hereditary sovereign. This is demonstrated by her agency in matters such as the drafting of the Treaty of Tarbes and can also be seen in several interesting examples of letters exclusively between Ferdinand and Catalina.⁷²⁰ Ferdinand's conscious choice to direct these letters solely to Catalina, with no mention of her husband, is an acknowledgement of her position as sovereign. Unlike Jean's individual letters which mention her as 'the most serene queen, my most dear and beloved wife', Catalina does not refer to her husband in her letter to Ferdinand.⁷²¹

There is also some evidence from contemporary chroniclers which alludes to a degree of division in their relationship. This shows a contrast between their official portrayal of their relationship and the public perception of it. One of the few suggestions that the couple had divided opinions on major political matters comes from Favyn who alleged that Jean d'Albret supported the Beaumont clan, while Catalina favoured the Agramonts due to their allegiance to her grandmother during her lieutenancy.⁷²² However, this is not necessarily reflected in their actions. The couple continued to have difficulties with the Beaumont clan throughout their reign but this appears to be the result of the scheming ambition of the

⁷²⁰ For Ferdinand's letters to Catalina, see Boissonade, documents XX and XXX, pp.618-19 and p.632 (ADPA E557 and E555).

⁷²¹ From Jean's letter to Ferdinand, dated May 14th 1500, reprinted in Adot Lerga, p.346 (AGN, *Guerra*, leg.1, carp.1). Original text is '*la serenísima reyna nuestra muy cara e muy amada muger*'.

⁷²² Favyn, p.623.

Count of Lerin, the leader of the faction, more than the product of the couple's split allegiance in the civil conflict.

An anecdote from Moret directly contradicts Favyn's suggestion regarding the couple's allegiances in the Agramont/Beaumont conflict. Moret relates the efforts of the queen to defuse the enmity between her husband and the Count of Lerin, the most powerful noble of the realm. Catalina conducted secret meetings with the Count and provided him with a warning and a safe conduct in order to subvert a plan by her husband to attack the Count. Even though this would appear to show that Catalina was working against her husband, Moret stresses that

It should not be tolerated what they attribute to the Queen, that she gave away important secrets to the Count, as it would be against her dignity, honour and interests which were inseparable from those of the King, her husband, who she greatly loved and respected.⁷²³

On a more personal level, there are some comments from contemporary chroniclers which suggest that Jean may not have been entirely faithful to his wife. Diego Ramirez de Avalos de la Piscina in his *Cronica de los muy excelentes Reyes de Navarra* comments that Jean 'was much given to the ladies' while Gabriel Chappuys notes in *L'histoire du Royaume de Navarre* that Jean 'was received by ladies and damsels in the manner of the country'.⁷²⁴ In addition, Moret makes a brief comment about a possible illegitimate son of Jean d'Albret who was supposedly sired before his marriage. Moret certainly gives credence to this possibility and names the son as Pedro (or probably Pierre) d'Albret, later Bishop of Convenas and ambassador to the Pope for a later Queen of Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret.⁷²⁵ While this evidence may indicate that Jean had extramarital affairs, the couple's personal

⁷²³ Moret, Vol.7, p.134. Original text is '*Tampoco se debe tolerar lo que imputan à la Reina, de descubrir al Condestable secretos tan importantes, tan contra su dignidad, honor é intereses, que eran inseparables de los del Rey, su marido, á quien ella mucho amaba y estimaba*'.

⁷²⁴ Both excerpts reprinted in Adot Lerga, pp.335-6.

⁷²⁵ Moret, Vol.7, p.113. Moret cites the source of this information as the chronicle of Arnaldo Oiherart. Oiherart was a near contemporary of Moret, whose work *Noticia utriusque Vasconiae* (1631) is described by Jose Ramon Castro Alava as 'abundant in information, interesting for its details and critical spirit'.

partnership also seems to have been fairly sound given their general preference for remaining in the same location and the large number of children that the queen bore.

In summary, by collecting all of this relevant evidence is possible to make an overall assessment of the couple's personal and political partnership. Once the couple attained their full majority as anointed sovereigns and were freed by the death of the regent, they demonstrated that they were willing and able to exercise the royal authority jointly and equitably as 'Team Players'. Their personal and political partnership appeared to be comfortable and fully functional, as they demonstrated an ability to work together effectively and also work independently when circumstances demanded their physical presence in different parts of their territorial holdings.

In both of the 'Team Player' cases, in the reigns of Juana II and Catalina, the couples were able to work well on a joint basis but also were able to separate and work on different aspects of administration when the situation demanded it. It is important to note however, that although their situations were equitable, they were not exactly equal. This lack of strict equality did not hinder the effectiveness of each couple's rule. In the case of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux, it could be argued that Philip took a slightly more dominant role. However, their rule was successful because they were an effective partnership and politically shrewd. In Catalina and Jean's situation, although they had a fairly balanced power sharing dynamic, ultimately it appears that she retained the pre-eminence due to her place as queen regnant.

The third option, 'Divide & Conquer' is a mode which responds to the challenge of governing their diverse territories by assigning each partner to the administration of a different territorial area. This mode, by definition, demands a fair amount of equality in the partnership as both partners need to be able to exercise authority independently in their respective areas. This mode is best demonstrated by the reigns of Blanca and Juan and their daughter Leonor's relationship with her husband Gaston of Foix.

As discussed in the chapter on marital alliances, Blanca's second marriage to Juan of Aragon was made after she had been formally designated as heiress apparent to the realm. Initially Blanca accompanied her new husband into Castile after their wedding in 1420 and took up residence in Juan's castle at Peñafiel, along with several members of the Navarrese court, including Blanca's illegitimate half-sister Juana and her minstrel Ursúa.⁷²⁶ The couple's first child, Carlos, was born at Peñafiel on 29th May 1421 but Blanca brought him back to Navarre to be raised in the kingdom which he would one day rule as her heir.

The following years saw Blanca dividing her time between her father and son in Navarre and her husband in Castile.⁷²⁷ Blanca was an active heir apparent, and her influence can be seen in evidence from the final years of her father's rule. A document from Estella in early 1424, shows Blanca's piety and involvement in governance, in the document Carlos III grants special privileges to the Monastery of Santa Clara on her particular request, 'for...our most beloved and loved first born (heiress) daughter, the queen lady Blanca, who has begged us to grant this request'.⁷²⁸ Blanca also convinced her father to grant the city of Tafalla the status of a *buena villa*.⁷²⁹

As mentioned earlier, Blanca's father died unexpectedly on 8th September 1425, and Blanca and Juan assumed the throne as Carlos' designated heirs. Although Juan undoubtedly benefited from his promotion in rank, it did not distract him from his projects in Castile. Joseph O'Callaghan aptly summed up Juan's attitude to his new crown, 'While pleased to have the royal title, Juan was little interested in Navarre and was content to leave

⁷²⁶ Blanca's period of residence in Castile is well documented through records of expenditure for messengers between the Navarrese court and Blanca's residence, in particular see AGN Comptos, Caj.107-8 for a substantial number of documents from 1421-3.

⁷²⁷ It is interesting to note that Carlos III sent several musicians to entertain his daughter in Castile, including a singer and a viola player; AGN Comptos Caj.107, no.4, 73 dated May 16, 1421 and Caj.108, no.9, 33 dated May 25, 1422. The continued contact between the courts of Navarre and Blanca's household is also shown by the visit of her half-brother Godfrey (noted in the latter document).

⁷²⁸ DME, Document 189, (AMSCI.Estella, D-8), dated February 29th at Tafalla. Original text is '*por ... nuestra muy cara et muy amada fiia primogenita, la reynna donna Blanca, qui a grant instancia nos ha suplicado...*'

⁷²⁹ Fortún, *Sedes Reales*, p.230.

its administration to the queen.’⁷³⁰ It is worth noting that Juan spent very little of his lengthy time as King of Navarre on the day-to-day management of the realm, leaving that task to his wife and later to a series of lieutenants, including his second wife and two of his children.⁷³¹ With regard to his relationship with Blanca, this was entirely appropriate given the fact that his wife was the rightful heir to the throne, older and more experienced in the governance and administration of a realm.⁷³² Moreover, his extensive commitments in Castile and Juan’s duties as one of his brother’s designated lieutenants in Aragon would have kept him occupied outside of Navarre.⁷³³ In the mid 1430’s, Juan also travelled to Italy to support his brother’s Italian enterprise and was briefly held as a prisoner of war after the battle of Ponza in August 1435.⁷³⁴

One of the most significant events during the couple’s reign was a prolonged conflict with Castile. The couple’s actions during this crisis demonstrate how they worked to support one another and also how they worked separately in order to further their own political goals, even when this meant working counter to their spouse’s interests. Juan was keen to preserve the substantial Castilian territories that his mother had bequeathed to him. These vast Castilian territories included the Dukedoms of Peñafiel and Montblanch as well as the *Condes* of Haro and Briones which were situated close to the frontier with Navarre.⁷³⁵ These important holdings and Trastámara blood made Juan a key Castilian noble as well as an Aragonese prince and a Navarrese king consort. However, his meddling in Castilian affairs ultimately drew Navarre into conflict with Castile. The tensions began shortly after the

⁷³⁰ Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, 1975), p.554.

⁷³¹ Theresa Earenfight states that ‘it is fascinating to note how easily Juan delegated authority to his second wife, Juana Enríquez’. She believes that the long standing tradition of lieutenancy in Aragon gave Juan a ‘habit of co-rulership.’ See her work *The King’s Other Body; Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010), pp.138-139 for a discussion of Juan’s co-rulership with his second wife.

⁷³² Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, ‘La reina Blanca y Navarra,’ *Príncipe de Viana*, 60 (1999), 323-40. Ramírez Vaquero notes Blanca had ‘considerable experience on her shoulders’.

⁷³³ Maria Isabel Ostolaza Elizando, ‘D.Juan de Aragón y Navarra, un verdadero príncipe Trastámara,’ *Aragón en la Edad Media* 16 (2000), p.596. Ostolaza Elizando also notes that Navarra continued to be under the administration of the queen during Juan’s lieutenancy in Aragon.

⁷³⁴ Earenfight, *King’s Other Body*, pp.70-1.

⁷³⁵ M. Diago Hernando, ‘Política y guerra en la frontera castellano-navarra durante la época Trastámara,’ *Príncipe de Viana* 55 (1994), 527-50.

couple's wedding in 1420 developed over the course of the decade into full-scale war between the two realms.

By 1429 Juan's interference in Castile went too far and he was stripped of his Castilian territories and forced to retreat to Navarre. Blanca responded to this turn of events by sending a flurry of orders for men and requests for money to be spent on the defence of the realm, particularly in vulnerable border areas.⁷³⁶ However, Castilian forces managed to take and hold Navarrese territory along their mutual frontier including the Castillo of Buradón and the town of Corella.⁷³⁷ Blanca continued to support the troops defending the frontier, including one mandate for 500 libras paid for 4 men-at-arms, 150 *ballasteros* and 150 foreign *lanceros* to protect the frontier with Castile.⁷³⁸

At the same time, Blanca attempted to mitigate the damage of these losses by sending peace envoys, including her personal secretary and her own confessor to the Castilian court.⁷³⁹ Although she defended her realm vigorously, Blanca never ceased to work for an end to the hostilities and the return of her lost territory, putting the needs of her realm before the desires of her husband. She also sent an embassy to Juan's brother, King Alfonso of Aragon, to try to get his backing for peace negotiations with Castile.⁷⁴⁰ With the help of Alfonso and his wife Maria of Castile, the Truce of Majano was crafted in 1430 which set up a five-year suspension of hostilities.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj.110, no.18, 54, 55, 58, 62, no.19, 4,6,59, no.22, 44, 61, 70, no.22, 83, 85, no.23, 11, 36; all dated between August 6 and December 2, 1429. In one example, 300 libras were paid for men at arms; AGN Comptos, Caj.128, no.20,7; dated 5th August 1429 at Tafalla.

⁷³⁷ Compensation of 120 libras had to be paid out to local residents for losses incurred from the Castilian capture of Corella; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3, 49-51, dated 21-23 January 1430.

⁷³⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.1, 27, dated 13th June 1430.

⁷³⁹ Simón de Leoz, Blanca's secretary was compensated for trips to Castile in August and December 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,4 dated 17th August 1430 and Caj.111, no.12, 36 dated 22nd December 1430. Blanca's confessor Pedro Beraiz, Archbishop of Tiro was compensated for similar trips in February and August of 1430; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3, 33 dated 8th February 1430 and Caj.111, no.3, 5 dated 22nd August 1430. There is also a messenger compensated for delivering 'secret letters' to the King of Castile; AGN Comptos, Caj.111, no.3,2 dated 8th September 1430.

⁷⁴⁰ *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, p.168.

⁷⁴¹ The treaty can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj. 129, no.32 dated 25th July 1430 at Majano.

Towards the end of the five-year truce, Blanca's efforts to keep the peace with Castile and lay the groundwork for the eventual treaty can be seen in the expenses for messengers to Castile, particularly in 1435.⁷⁴² The resulting Treaty of Toledo in 1436 allowed Navarre to finally recoup some of the territory which had been lost along the Castilian frontier and included a projected marriage between the Castilian heir to Blanca and Juan's eldest daughter, as discussed in the chapter on marital alliances.⁷⁴³ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero commented on Blanca's continued peace-making efforts right up to her untimely death,

Queen Blanca, who has always been considered to be a woman of extreme patience and persistence throughout the whole of her life, eternally mediating conflicts, always looking for the source of a possible pacification, with extremely delicate health, died ultimately without more than the intent to tranquilize the Castilian situation.⁷⁴⁴

Although Blanca and Juan were often referred to as the single entity '*los reyes*', the couple appeared to have maintained somewhat separate lives with markedly different political goals and interests. Juan appears to have been largely content to let his wife exercise her rights as hereditary sovereign to administer Navarre, but his own political goals in Castile were directly opposed to Blanca's own objectives of maintaining the security and prosperity of her realm. However, she seems to have been able to maintain a fairly harmonious relationship with her husband while simultaneously working for the benefit of Navarre, even if that meant her peace making efforts ran counter to her husband's objectives.

It could be argued that Blanca should have attempted to rein in Juan's destructive ambitions in Castile for the sake of her own realm but this would have brought her into personal conflict with her husband, which she may have been keen to avoid. Overall, it

⁷⁴² Blanca's secretary Simon de Leoz was sent on missions to Castile in 1432 and 1434; AGN Comptos, Caj. 133, no.16, 2 dated 1st February 1432 and no.18,6 dated 30th April 1434. In 1435 there are records of six missions to Castile, all sent by Blanca; AGN Comptos, Caj.138, nos.9, 15, 17, 27, 36-7.

⁷⁴³ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, pp.82-3.

⁷⁴⁴ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'Los restos de la reina Blanca de Navarra y sus funerales en Pamplona,' *Príncipe de Viana*, 57 (1996), 345-58. Original text is '*La reina Blanca, a quien siempre se ha considerado una mujer de extremada paciencia e insistencia a lo largo de toda su vida, eternal mediadora de conflictos, siempre buscando el punto de una posible pacificación, con una salud extremadamente delicada, que murió en un ultimo y fracasado intento por tranquilizar la situación castellana...*'

appears that, although their goals and interests were not in line with one another, they were still able to maintain a functional personal and political partnership, with a fair degree of freedom for each partner.

Blanca and Juan's daughter Leonor also worked with her husband, Gaston of Foix, in a 'Divide and Conquer' manner. However, unlike her parents' sometimes contrary objectives, all of Leonor and Gaston's actions can be seen to be working towards their joint goals of obtaining the Navarrese crown and politically dominating the Pyrenean region. This entailed working together, as seen in their joint entry in Barcelona, and also working separately where necessary. Politically, it appears that they took on different areas of negotiation. Gaston was the designated emissary to the French court, which was entirely appropriate as one of the French king's leading magnates. One important example of his involvement in negotiations of this type include Gaston's visit to the French court in the winter of 1461-2 to negotiate the marriage between their heir and the French princess Magdalena, which ensured Louis XI's backing for Leonor's promotion to *primogenita*. Gaston also conducted negotiations on behalf of his father-in-law Juan of Aragon with France, with a successful outcome in the case of the Treaty of Olite in April 1462 but less successful results in the case of marital negotiations for Juan's daughter Juana of Aragon and the Count of Armagnac.⁷⁴⁵

However, Leonor appears to have taken on many of the negotiations with her own family in Aragon and Navarre including the important treaty she brokered in 1467 with her stepmother Juana Enríquez to guarantee her rights to the Navarrese succession. The accord reached on 20th June 1467 clearly delineated her succession rights as well as that of her half-brother; on her father's death she would be Queen of Navarre and Ferdinand would inherit the crowns of Sicily and Aragon.⁷⁴⁶ Leonor also represented her father in negotiations for a truce with the supporters of the Principe de Viana on 27th March 1458 at Sangüesa. Zurita

⁷⁴⁵ 'La cuestion', p.23.

⁷⁴⁶ Suárez Fernández, 'Ferdinand y Leonor', p.622.

notes that 'The princess Lady Leonor was there at that time in Sangüesa and signed the treaty with the power of the king her father'.⁷⁴⁷

One area where Gaston necessarily played a more central role was militarily. Robin Harris acknowledges Gaston's 'long and successful military career' and notes that after his useful military service to the French crown 'the comte was permitted by the [French] king in the last years of his life to employ his military resources in order to further his family's interests in Navarre'.⁷⁴⁸ Gaston also performed many military services for his father-in-law; the agreement of 1455 which promoted Leonor and Gaston to the successors of the realm required Gaston to go to Navarre on Juan's behalf and retake those areas which had fallen to the rebels 'for the honour of the King of Navarre as well as for his own interests and those of the princess his wife'.⁷⁴⁹

The agreement of December 1455 which promoted Leonor and Gaston to the position of heirs apparent also named them as lieutenants for Juan, to rule Navarre in his absence as the Principe de Viana had done previously. According to Zurita, Gaston was named as lieutenant and granted 12,000 florins a year as a pension and Leonor would rule in his absence.⁷⁵⁰ However, the documentary evidence clearly demonstrates that Leonor appears to have taken on the bulk of the administration of the realm. This was entirely appropriate as it was Leonor, not Gaston, who had the hereditary right to the crown. Moreover, it was logical for Leonor to remain in Navarre so that her husband could look after his own patrimonial holdings and continue to serve as a military commander for the King of France. Ramírez Vaquero remarks that Leonor

⁷⁴⁷ Zurita, Vol.7, p.185-6. Original text is '*Estaba la infante doña Leonor por este tiempo en Sangüesa y firmó la tregua con poder del rey su padre*'.

⁷⁴⁸ Valois Guyenne, p.174.

⁷⁴⁹ Zurita, Vol. 7, p.148. Original text is '*por la honra del rey de Navarra como por su propio interese y de la infanta su mujer*'. See also Leseur, p.41.

⁷⁵⁰ Zurita, Vol. 7, p.149.

remained permanently in the kingdom, almost continually, visiting her territories over the Pyrenees very infrequently and with all safety [in mind], scarcely knew her daughter-in-law [Magdalena] and her grandchildren to whom, without fail, she would send frequent letters.⁷⁵¹

Moreover, the documentary evidence illuminates Leonor's role as an active ruler, both in internal administration and external relations. Her lieutenancy will be explored further in the following section.

This ability to divide up roles and responsibilities demonstrates the couple's effective partnership, using each partner in the most appropriate arena. Moreover, this division was entirely necessary as the couple's widespread territorial holdings and the demands of balancing the complicated and difficult political situation both within Navarre and the *Midi* and between France, Castile and Aragon meant that both partners needed to be fully engaged and active in order to achieve their mutual goals and further their dynastic interests.

Even though Leonor and Gaston generally employed this mode of 'Divide and Conquer' which left Leonor primarily responsible for the administration of Navarre while Gaston oversaw his own sizable patrimony, there is also evidence that the couple worked together as a unit whenever possible. There is evidence that Gaston came to stay with Leonor in Navarre for short periods, particularly during the autumn of 1469 and 1470.⁷⁵² There is also some additional evidence regarding an earlier reunion in 1464 which suggests a desire on the part of the couple to be together. Gaston and his party appear to have been stuck in the mountain passes between Foix and Navarre on his way to visit Leonor. The princess issued a series of orders to dispatch men and pay for additional recruits and mules in the mountains

⁷⁵¹ Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, p.169. Original text is '*había permanecido en el reino casi de continuo, vistando más bien poco sus señoríos ultrapirenaicos, y, con toda seguridad, conocía escasamente a su nuera e incluso a sus nietos, a quienes, sin embargo, enviaba frecuentes correos*'.

⁷⁵² The examples from this period include AGN Comptos Caj.158, no.64 dated 27th September 1469 at Pamplona, AGN Comptos Caj.162, no.9 dated 7th December 1470 at Olite, AGN Comptos, Caj.162, no.3, dated 18th September 1470 at Olite and AGN Comptos Caj. 130, no.10, 2 dated 27th October 1470 also at Olite. It is important to note that this was a period when they were being challenged by their son for the lieutenancy of Navarre, which is why Gaston may have come to support Leonor's rule.

in order to clear the passes and roads for Gaston, including one order for 300 men to be sent to help.⁷⁵³ Gaston's death in 1472 took place on another journey to see his wife in Navarre; he died en route of natural causes in the Pyrenean town of Roncesvalles.⁷⁵⁴

Overall, Gaston and Leonor worked together with the mutual goal of obtaining the crown of Navarre, throwing the weight of Gaston's power, wealth, connection and military forces behind Leonor's hereditary rights and were willing to fight off opposition from their own family in order to succeed. They worked in partnership, with each partner taking on the role most appropriate to them; Leonor took on the governance of Navarre and Gaston supported her militarily and financially. They both worked on diplomatic efforts to achieve their ambitions; Gaston used his position as a powerful French vassal and general to gain support while Leonor negotiated with her Iberian relatives to maintain their rights.

For both couples examined here, the 'Divide and Conquer' mode was useful to cope with the demands of managing many different territories and it also enabled one of the partners to focus completely on events outside of Navarre. It is also a mode which by definition allowed the female partner the greatest degree of independent access to administration and governance. It is important to note that both couples were ruling Navarre during periods of conflict. In the case of Blanca and Juan, this conflict was mostly external and fuelled by Juan's ambitions with regard to Castile. Blanca's ability to administer Navarre allowed Juan the freedom to pursue his own political goals which unfortunately drew Navarre into a war with its Castilian neighbour. In Leonor's case, the ability of the couple to work independently allowed her to exercise the lieutenancy of Navarre, while Gaston could still manage the administration of his territory on the northern side of the Pyrenees. However, Gaston also supported Leonor's rule in Navarre by giving her much needed military and financial aid during a period of civil conflict and unrest. This teamwork reflected the couple's joint

⁷⁵³ The documents for this episode are AGN Comptos, Caj.172, no.9, 9, 11-14 and 21 dated 16th January to 4th February 1464. The particular document for the order to dispatch 300 men is Caj.172, no.9,13.

⁷⁵⁴ 'La cuestion', p.30.

ambition to obtain the Navarrese crown for Leonor and later for their descendants, establishing the dynasty of Foix.

These examples of power sharing strategies for sovereign pairs are significant for an overall examination of female rule. Although it was certainly possible for a female sovereign to be completely overshadowed by her husband and excluded from the rule of the realm, the fact that she had the hereditary right to the kingdom gave a queen regnant some leverage to exercising authority. In the cases examined in this study, the addition of the consort's territory, which was often located at a considerable distance from the Navarrese capital, made it more difficult for one spouse to govern alone without the help of their spouse or alternatively a designated representative. With the possible exception of Juana I and Philip of France, most of the couples in this study made use of the abilities of both partners in order to manage their diverse collection of territorial holdings. It should be acknowledged that they also employed governors where necessary or in the case that both spouses needed to be absent from a particular territory. However, the majority of the queens in this study governed as a 'Team Player' with their husband or chose to 'Divide and Conquer' in order to effectively govern as a monarchical pair. These two modes do share some similarities, in both cases the couples were able to work together and separately. However, the 'Divide and Conquer' mode entailed a more concrete division of duties and distinct spheres of influence either because of divergent political goals or due to the need to physically separate for the majority of the time in order to govern their territories effectively. Although the circumstances of the Navarrese queens was somewhat unique in terms of the far flung territories that they governed with their consorts, these three models can serve as a means of analysis or comparison to evaluate the power sharing dynamic of other monarchs and their consorts.

Lieutenancy

Another form of power sharing which some of the women in this study experienced prior to their actual reign as a sovereign queen was lieutenancy. Both Blanca I and Leonor served as a lieutenant, ruling on behalf of an Aragonese king. This opportunity was unique to Aragon, where there was a tradition of queens and other female family members serving as lieutenants in the absence of the king.⁷⁵⁵ Blanca's two Aragonese marriages ultimately provided the opportunity of lieutenancy for both women.⁷⁵⁶

In situational terms, their experiences were extremely different. Blanca was appointed, first by her husband and then by her father-in-law, to rule the kingdom of Sicily, a far-flung appendage of the Aragonese crown. Blanca had previously been the queen consort and her sole rule was a temporary measure until the dynastic crisis in Aragon could be resolved and a more permanent solution to the problems in Sicily could be found. Leonor, on the other hand, was ruling on behalf of her father, as the heir apparent. Her lieutenancy was a virtual apprenticeship to be served until the time came for her own independent rule as queen regnant.

The power sharing dynamic between Blanca and her first husband Martín appears to have been fairly equitable. Indeed, Martín's own mother, Maria de Luna, was a successful example of an able queen-lieutenant which may have encouraged Martín to entrust Blanca with a share in governance.⁷⁵⁷ Certainly, Martín felt confident enough in her political ability to entrust the kingdom to her while he returned to Aragon in 1404 for several months. This was a significant challenge for the queen consort given that the realm was still unstable and not completely amenable to Aragonese rule. However, Blanca handled the administration of

⁷⁵⁵ Theresa Earenfight, 'Absent Kings: Queens as Political Partners in the Medieval Crown of Aragon' in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. by Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot, 2005), 33-54.

⁷⁵⁶ For more background on female lieutenants in Aragon see Jesus Lalinde Abadia, 'Virreyes y lugartenientes medievales en la corona de Aragon', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* XXXI-XXXII (1960), 98-172.

⁷⁵⁷ Nuria Silleras-Fernandez discusses Maria de Luna's political career in at length in *Power, Piety and Patronage*. See especially pp.5-7 and chapters 2 and 4.

the troubled realm 'with prudence and ability' despite the difficult political situation and an uprising in Messina during her husband's absence.⁷⁵⁸ However, some scholars argue that Blanca herself contributed to the instability of the realm. Pietro Corrao claims that the arrival of the Navarrese princess upset the delicate equilibrium at Court which caused the rivalries between the two groups of nobles, those of Catalan and those of Sicilian descent, to come to the forefront.⁷⁵⁹

Martín must have been satisfied with Blanca's management of the realm in his absence as he entrusted her with a second period of regency in 1409. However, during this second period of regency, Martín died on 25th July on the island of Sardinia while on a mission to quash a rebellion against Aragonese rule.⁷⁶⁰ Martín was struck down by a fever, possibly malaria, not long after winning a major victory against the rebels at Sanduri. The Aragonese annalist Zurita laments Martín's death, 'in the middle of the rejoicing for his victory, flourishing in every kind of courage and glory'.⁷⁶¹

Martín's death left Blanca in a desperately difficult position. His will called for Blanca to retain the governance of the realm and the King of Aragon confirmed his widowed daughter-in-law as his viceroy, leaving her to safeguard the island for Aragon.⁷⁶² Being named Viceroy gave Blanca full authority and power to govern the island on the King's behalf, but it did not guarantee her popularity with all of her subjects.⁷⁶³ In particular, Blanca struggled against the powerful and ambitious noble Bernardo Cabrera. The island was divided between those who supported the queen and her rule on behalf of the Aragonese crown and Cabrera's

⁷⁵⁸ Sciascia, 'Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra', p.125. Original text is '*con prudenza e abilità*'.

⁷⁵⁹ Pietro Corrao, *Governare un regno. Potere, società e istituzioni in Sicilia fra trecento e quattrocento* (Naples, 1991), p.113.

⁷⁶⁰ For a description of the Sardinian situation, see T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon; A Short History*, (Oxford, 1986), p.124 and pp.129-30..

⁷⁶¹ Zurita, *Indices de las Gestas de los Reyes de Aragon*, p.290. Original text is '*en medio del regocijo de la Victoria, floreciendo en todo tipo de valor y de gloria*'.

⁷⁶² Fodale, 'Blanca de Navarra y el gobierno de Sicilia', p.317.

⁷⁶³ Lalinde Abadía thoroughly discusses the situation of a 'Virrey' and the difficulties of the role noting, '*Es manifesta-y no puede extrañar-la impopularidad de todos estos oficiales extraordinarios*'. 'Virreyes y lugartenientes medievales', p.150.

followers who opposed her.⁷⁶⁴ Laura Sciascia described the conflict between the two camps 'a duel to the final blood' or a fight to the death.⁷⁶⁵

The crisis was exacerbated by the overarching succession difficulties of the crown of Aragon. The King lacked a successor after the death of Martín and Blanca's failure to produce another heir for the kingdom left the dynasty in crisis. The King of Aragon made a hurried marriage to Margarita de Prades, but the union did not produce a child before the King died on 31st May 1410.⁷⁶⁶ Both the thrones of Sicily and Aragon stood vacant and the resulting chaos threatened to undermine Blanca's authority on the island. The situation was further complicated by the existence of Martín's illegitimate children by Sicilian mistresses, Fadrique and Violante, who were sent to the care of the Queen of Aragon shortly after his marriage to Blanca in 1403.⁷⁶⁷ The Pope legitimised Fadrique on 20th August 1410, which made him a viable contender for the Sicilian and possibly the Aragonese crown.⁷⁶⁸ A Parliament met at Taormina to assess the situation. The assembly recommended setting up a committee to determine a successor and placing Sicily under the protection of the Church. The Pope responded by nominating Ladislao of Naples as the rightful King of Sicily, but this suggestion proved unpopular with Cabrera's supporters.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁴ Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicile 1300-1450* (Palais Farnèse, 1986), p.848. Bresc lists the major partisans of each group and notes that Cabrera's faction was supported by Palermo, while Blanca's base of support was Messina. Corrao tends to categorize Blanca's group as being the nationalist or 'siciliane' group; Corrao, *Governare un regno*, p.146-8.

⁷⁶⁵ Sciascia, 'Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra', p.126. Original text is 'un duello all'ultimo sangue'. Intriguingly, there is a long standing presumption that Cabrera was obsessed with the Queen, madly in love with her and determined to possess her, with quasi-legendary stories of Blanca continually eluding his attempts to take her hostage in order to force his attentions on her. Mainenti discusses the battle between Blanca and Cabrera as well as the legend of 'la storia delle passioni del Cabrera per Bianca di Navarra' in F. Mainenti, 'Bernardo Cabrera, Conte sovrano di Modica,' *Storia di Sicilia*, VIII (2002), 24-9. The legend is also tied to the name of a castle, Donnafugata, in Ragusa where Blanca is believed to have eluded one of Cabrera's attempts to capture her. However, it is more likely that Cabrera desired the crown rather than the queen herself. Sciascia analyzed the story of Cabrera's passion for the Queen and argues that for Cabrera, 'the splendid body of the young queen embodied a metaphor for the realm'; Sciascia, 'Le ossa di Bianca di Navarra', p.130. Original text is 'Lo splendido corpo della giovane regina incarna la metafora del regno'.

⁷⁶⁶ Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p.130.

⁷⁶⁷ Nuria Silleras-Fernández, 'Spirit and Force: Politics, Public and Private in the Reign of Maria de Luna (1396-1406)' in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. by Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot, 2005), 78-90. The mistresses were Tarsia Rizzani and Agatuzza de Pesci.

⁷⁶⁸ Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen*, p.845.

⁷⁶⁹ D.M. Smith, *A History of Sicily: Medieval Sicily 800-1713* (London, 1969), pp.91-2.

A possible lifeline of support for the beleaguered queen was offered through a marriage proposal from Nicolás Peralta, the scion of a powerful Sicilian family and descendant of Frederick III, but Blanca decided to reject the proposal.⁷⁷⁰ A marriage to Peralta would have certainly bolstered her position as Queen of Sicily in the short term by solidifying her base of support among the 'Sicilian' faction but it would have been unlikely to win over any of Cabrera's supporters to her side. It is possible that Blanca refused the match with an eye to her future and her position as the heiress of Navarre. There would be little point in sacrificing her father's long-term scheme of matrimonial alliances in order to temporarily strengthen her base of support in Sicily.

Back in Navarre, her parents were concerned about the gravity of her situation and did what they could to alleviate her desperate position, sending envoys and enlisting the help of Jean of Foix and papal support to attempt to secure her return to Navarre, but the Aragonese could not afford to release her from her post given the instability in the succession.⁷⁷¹ Ultimately, Blanca could not rely on support from Iberia and had to be independent, resourceful and shrewd in order to survive and keep the island under Aragonese rule. The fact that she managed to remain in her post as viceroy and retain the island for Aragon, in spite of the prolonged upheaval and campaign of resistance from Cabrera and his supporters, demonstrates Blanca's political ability. Moreover, the political skill she developed during her lieutenancy was an invaluable aid to her as a queen regnant.

Leonor's situation was somewhat different and reflects another common facet of the Aragonese lieutenancy, deputizing the heir apparent to govern in the sovereign's absence.⁷⁷² Leonor had to cope with the difficult power sharing dynamic during her lieutenancy on

⁷⁷⁰ Corrao, *Governare un regno*, p.146.

⁷⁷¹ See AGN Comptos, Caj. 84, no.9, 20-21 and 30, dated 19th November 1410 and 20th August 1410 both from Pamplona. Both documents concern the expenses of Nicolas de Roncevalles, who was entrusted to a mission to see Pope Benedict XIII in August and a trip to Zaragoza in November, both with regard to Blanca's situation in Sicily. Even Jean de Foix, Blanca's former brother in law received payment for expenses of 1,015 libras for a trip to Barcelona on Blanca's behalf in 1411 (AGN Comptos, Caj.98, no.38,5 dated 19th March 1411). See also p.45 for a further discussion of Navarrese efforts to extricate Blanca from Sicily.

⁷⁷² 'Virreyes y lugartenientes medievales', pp.110-112.

behalf of her father in Navarre, just as her siblings had, as she was simultaneously her father's lieutenant and her mother's heir. She was only released from this challenging situation with her father's death in 1479, which was followed swiftly by her own.

As discussed previously, Leonor and her husband were initially appointed as lieutenants of Navarre for her father Juan of Aragon in 1455. In line with their 'Divide and Conquer' mode of partnership, Leonor took on the bulk of the administration and governance of Navarre while Gaston oversaw his own French territories North of the Pyrenees. Although she theoretically lost the lieutenancy briefly to her son in 1469, she continued to exercise authority and was reconfirmed in the post in 1471.⁷⁷³

Documents from the archives in Estella provide key examples of Leonor's governance on both major and minor matters. The Merinidad of Estella was an important piece of Navarrese territory, which contained several key fortresses and towns and the city of Estella itself. Zurita described it as the most eminent, well fortified and highly populated area of the entire realm; however it had been seized briefly by Enrique IV of Castile and suffered through years attacks and disputed possession.⁷⁷⁴ In 1465, Leonor exempted the city of Estella from taxes on baked bread to thank them for their efforts to defend the city from the Castilians two years previously.⁷⁷⁵ Ten years later, in 1475, Leonor reduced the tax burden on the city to acknowledge the reduced capacity of the city to pay after the population had shrunk from the effects of war and flooding.⁷⁷⁶ This document demonstrates the gravity of the situation in Navarre after years of destructive conflict and also demonstrates Leonor's efforts to retain the support of the city through a magnanimous gesture,

⁷⁷³ The examples from this period include AGN Comptos Caj.158, no.64 dated 27th September 1469 at Pamplona, AGN Comptos Caj.162, no.9 dated 7th December 1470 at Olite, AGN Comptos, Caj.162, no.3, dated 18th September 1470 at Olite and AGN Comptos Caj. 130, no.10, 2 dated 27th October 1470 also at Olite. In addition see AGN Comptos, Caj.162, nos.26-7 dated 5th November 1472 which rewards the city of Caparroso for their support during her struggle against Juan.

⁷⁷⁴ Zurita, Vol.7, pp. 453-454. For additional commentary on the continuing dispute in Estella in 1477, see Vol.8, pp.274-5.

⁷⁷⁵ DME, Document 217, dated 18th August 1465 at Tafalla, pp.600-2 (AME Fondos Especiales, num. 39).

⁷⁷⁶ DME, Document 222, dated 22nd December 1475 at Tudela, pp. 610-12 (AME Fondos Especiales, num.77).

As to the desolation and destruction of the said town, which is one of the principal ones of the said kingdom...[I am] wanting to see with eyes of clemency as your natural [rightful] lady them removed in this way, such that the absent ones of said town and others want to come and live in the said town and those who [still] do live [there] with an improved spirit to order and maintain themselves and considering that the other good towns of the said realm have been refurbished by our certain knowledge, special grace, our own change and royal authority...⁷⁷⁷

Leonor also had to contend with the continuing conflict between the Beaumonts and Agramonts and she was involved in making both war and peace. There is an episode mentioned in two chronicles which suggests some active involvement in military conflict and bravery on the part of Leonor. This episode, recounted by both Moret and Favyn, occurred in the winter of 1471. Her opponents, the Beaumonts, held the capital of Pamplona and both the princess and her supporters, the Agramonts, were keen to retake the city. They devised a plan to storm one of the gates of the city with the princess herself and a group of armed supporters. Moret notes, 'this surprise was reckless; for it exposed the person of the princess to obvious risk and was somewhat rash'.⁷⁷⁸ Moreover, it was unsuccessful as the cries of her supporters shouting '*Viva la Princesa!*' alerted the Beaumont troops to the threat and Leonor and her supporters were eventually ejected from the city.⁷⁷⁹

Leonor was also involved in 'making a great effort to resolve the differences of the parties and subdue the kingdom into union and calm'.⁷⁸⁰ Her efforts were often at least temporarily successful such as a truce which was contracted in Sangüesa, in January 1473.⁷⁸¹ Moret also notes Leonor's presence at a meeting with her father and her half-brother

⁷⁷⁷ DME, Document 222, dated 22nd December 1475 at Tudela, pp. 611 (AME Fondos Especiales, num.77). Original text is '*E como la desolacion e despoblacion de la dicha villa, que es vna de las principales d'este dicho regno...queriendo con ojos de clemencia como seinora natural mirar enta ellos e relebarlos en alguna manera, port al que los ausentados de la dicha villa e otros tomen cudiçia de benir a vivir en la dicha villa e los que de pressente biben con major animo se dispognan a se mantener, e considerando que las otras principales buenas villas d'este dicho regno estan reformadas, de nuestra cierta çiençia, graçia especial, muta proprio e autoridat real...*'

⁷⁷⁸ Moret, *Anales*, Vol.7, p.14. Original text is '*la sorpresa era temeraria; por exponerse à evidente riesgo la persona de la Princesa, y demasiado precipitada*'.

⁷⁷⁹ For details see Moret, Vol.7, pp.14-16 and Favyn, pp.589-90.

⁷⁸⁰ Zurita, Vol.7, p.702. Original text is '*haciase gran fuerza en concordar las diferencias de las partes y reducir aquel reino a union y sosiego*'.

⁷⁸¹ Zurita, Vol.7, p.702.

Ferdinand in Vitoria 'accompanied by the nobility of Navarre to renew the treaties...and attempt to arrive at a stable peace.'⁷⁸²

The continuing division in the realm made it incredibly difficult for Leonor to govern effectively, as some towns who had been sympathetic to her brother, the Principe de Viana, were opposed to her rule as her father's lieutenant. This is illustrated by a prolonged struggle between Leonor and the town of Tafalla which consistently refused to send representatives when she called together meetings of the *Cortes*. Between 1465 and 1475 there is a series of missives from Leonor both summoning representatives from the town and then expressing disappointment when they failed to arrive.⁷⁸³ During this period, Leonor appears to have called a meeting of the *Cortes* six times, and yet each time the town obstinately refused to send envoys to the assembly. This clearly demonstrates the difficulty that Leonor had in enforcing her authority as lieutenant in the realm given the on-going conflict and hostility in the realm to the rule of Juan of Aragon.⁷⁸⁴

Leonor's situation became even more difficult on the death of her husband Gaston on 10th July 1472. At the time of his death, he was on his way from Foix to Navarre to give support to Leonor and their partisans when he died en route of natural causes in the Pyrenean town of Roncevalles.⁷⁸⁵ Moret claimed that Leonor was forced to call her husband to bring help 'as the weak hand of a woman was insufficient to steer the wheel of the ship with success on a sea which was extremely stormy'.⁷⁸⁶ Given that they had been married since childhood and been such a united and effective partnership, Gaston's death after the

⁷⁸² Moret, Vol.7, p.36. Original text is '*la princesa Doña Leonor, asistada de la nobleza de Navarra...renovadas las treguas..de tratar de una paz estable*'.

⁷⁸³ Jose Maria Jimeno Jurio, Roldán Jimeno Aranguren. *Merinidad de Olite II. Documentación del Archivo Municipal de Tafalla* (Pamplona, 2008); AMT Libro 344, nos. 18, 25, 27-8, 30-32, 34-38, 40-41, dated between June 17, 1465 and November 3, 1475.

⁷⁸⁴ It is worth noting that her aunt, Maria of Castile had similar difficulties in Catalonia as Alfonso of Aragon's lieutenant as the Catalans repeatedly challenged her right to hold *Corts*; Earenfight, *King's Other Body*, p.58.

⁷⁸⁵ 'La cuestion', p.30.

⁷⁸⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.19. Original text is '*no bastando la mano débil de una mujer para regir el timón de nave tan fracasada en un mar sumamente tormentoso*'.

early deaths of her mother, siblings and eldest son, left her 'truly very much alone'.⁷⁸⁷

Gaston was not only her personal partner but also her strongest ally; they had always been united in their quest to gain the Navarrese crown, even when that meant fighting against their own family. Moreover, she could no longer rely on his crucial military support, his link to the French court or the wealth from his French counties and pensions. Their grandson Francisco Fébo took over Gaston's patrimony, although in his will Gaston acknowledged Leonor's rights as the heir to Navarre and that she would continue to administer the kingdom.⁷⁸⁸

However, this meant her son's widow, Magdalena of France, was now regent in Foix and she could not be counted on to support Leonor's lieutenancy in Navarre in the same way as Gaston had. Instead, Magdalena often worked counter to Leonor's interests. Zurita noted that 'between the Princess of Navarre and the Princess of Viana, her daughter-in-law, there was great dissention and difference'.⁷⁸⁹ Indeed, Zurita claimed that the 'enmity' between Leonor and Magdalena was one of the key difficulties of her lieutenancy.⁷⁹⁰ Moret noted that one of the sources of disagreement between the two women was a dispute over financial dues.⁷⁹¹ Moreover, Magdalena's desire to support her brother, the king of France, often brought her into conflict with Juan of Aragon.⁷⁹² As regent for her son, Magdalena worked to protect his interests and refused to sign treaties that she felt could have a negative effect on his eventual succession and rule in Navarre.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁷ Ramírez Vaquero, *Leonor*, p.169. Original text is '*realmente muy sola*'.

⁷⁸⁸ Gaston's will, dated 9th July 1472 is reprinted in full in Leseur, *Pièces Justificatives XLII*, pp. 393-395. The passage cited is '*Item, ordinavit quod domina Leonor, principissa Navarra, uxor sua, sit domina et major in suis terriis et dominacionibus, ut modus et forma patrie habet et servatur, quamdiu vixerit*' (p.394).

⁷⁸⁹ Zurita, Vol.8, p.328. Original text is '*A otra parte la princesa de Navarra y la princesa de Viana su nuera estaban en gran disensión y diferencia*'.

⁷⁹⁰ Zurita, Vol.8, p.360.

⁷⁹¹ Moret, Vol.7, p.41.

⁷⁹² Moret, Vol.7, p.39.

⁷⁹³ Zurita discusses Magdalena's preference for France and her dissatisfaction over the situation in Navarre in Vol.8, pp.226-7.

Externally, Navarre was still literally trapped between the hostilities and rivalry of Juan of Aragon and the Kings of Castile and France. Zurita commented that

it was a very dangerous competition between these diverse nations and between the kings of Spain and France and the princess was left as an inheritance the enmity and dissention between these princes.⁷⁹⁴

Although Leonor was no longer directly tied to France now that her husband had died, the King of France was still interested in working with Leonor to achieve his own ends. Even though Gaston normally took on the role of intermediary with the French crown, there are two letters issued by Leonor during her marriage in December 1466 as lieutenant of Navarre which show her involvement in French affairs.⁷⁹⁵ These letters were written during a period of extreme crisis, when Juan II's difficulties in Catalonia were matched with Leonor's continuing struggle with the Peralta clan in Navarre. In these letters, Leonor is playing on her familial connection to Louis XI, in hopes of his aid and backing, asking him to 'commend this poor kingdom and the said princess to him [Louis XI] as one who is of his house'.⁷⁹⁶ Moreover, these letters show Leonor's independent interaction in crucial diplomatic negotiations with France, both in receiving embassies directly from Louis and in sending her own personal ambassador, Fernando de Baquedano with detailed instructions on how to proceed.⁷⁹⁷

According to Zurita, during Leonor's widowhood Louis offered to give Leonor the governance of her husband's rich territories in France in return for several key Navarrese fortresses that he needed to advance on Castile.⁷⁹⁸ Louis must have clearly been in dire need of these fortresses if he was willing to strip his own sister of the governance of her son's

⁷⁹⁴ Zurita, Vol.8, p.361. Original text is '*un más peligrosa competencia, siendo de diversas naciones y entre los reyes de España y Francia y dejando esta princesa como en herencia la enemistad y dissension entre estos principes*'.

⁷⁹⁵ See Leseur, *Pieces Justificatives* XXXI and XXXII, pp.366-70.

⁷⁹⁶ Leseur, *Pieces Justificatives* XXXI, p.367. Original text is '*encomendado este pobre regno e la dicha princessa con el, como a aquella que es de su casa*'.

⁷⁹⁷ Leseur, *Pieces Justificatives* XXXII, p.368-70 contains Leonor's instructions to her ambassador de Baquedano.

⁷⁹⁸ Zurita, Vol.7, p.702. See also Boissonade, p.10-11. Boissonade notes that Zurita was 'the only historian who recounts these obscure intrigues'(p.10, note 6).

territories. However, Leonor declined claiming that technically the fortresses belonged to her father and that she could not turn them over to France.

This continuing instability within and around Navarre gave her half-brother Ferdinand an opportunity to interfere. Ferdinand was concerned about the influence and interest that the King of France had in Navarre and did not want the French king to be able to bring an army through Navarre in order to attack Castile or Aragon. Setting himself up as a peacemaker, he negotiated a peace treaty in Tudela in October 1476 which had a crucial effect on the frontiers of Navarre and Leonor's ability to exercise authority as lieutenant. Ferdinand included a passage into the treaty which stated that Castile must defend Leonor as heiress and most importantly defend her land from a French invasion. To 'protect' Leonor and Navarre, Ferdinand would hold the fortress of Pamplona as well as several other key castles in order to defend the realm, in effect establishing a Castilian protectorate over Navarre.⁷⁹⁹ In practical terms, Navarre had lost control over its own frontiers and Leonor was also required to compensate Ferdinand for his expenses in 'defending her realm', including the pay of 1500 Castilian soldiers now resident in Pamplona.⁸⁰⁰ Although he made a pledge to return several towns which had been given over to Castile in 1463, the time-scale for this was left disturbingly vague.⁸⁰¹

Far from ensuring that Navarre and its sovereigns remained thoroughly Iberian, the treaty of Tudela pushed Leonor towards France as 'this princess quickly realized that she had played the rôle of a dupe'.⁸⁰² Leonor was thoroughly frustrated by the bullying behaviour of her father and half-brother and was literally stuck in the middle between them and their rival the King of France. Although Juan, Leonor and Magdalena all wanted to 'expel the

⁷⁹⁹ Luis Suárez Fernández and Juan de Mata Carriazo Arroquia (eds.), *La España de los reyes católicos (1474-1516)*, Historia de España (Madrid, 1969), pp.202-203.

⁸⁰⁰ Luis Suárez Fernández. *Política Internacional De Isabel La Católica. Estudio y Documentos*. Vol. I (1469-1482) (Valladolid, 1965), document 29, dated October 4, 1476 at Tudela (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.55). See also Boissonnade, p.14-15.

⁸⁰¹ Suárez Fernández. *Política Internacional De Isabel La Católica I*, document 30 dated October 4, 1476 at Tudela, (AGS Patronato Real, leg.12, fol.56).

⁸⁰² Boissonnade, p.15. Original text is '*Cette princesse s'aperçut bientôt qu'elle avait joué le rôle de dupe*'.

rebels entirely from the kingdom of Navarre, as they had reduced it to such extreme desolation' Leonor felt that she was not getting sufficient help to achieve this goal.⁸⁰³ Zurita claims that Leonor

complained to the king her father and the King of Castile her Brother [Ferdinand]...that she in past times had worked to sustain and defend those who were faithful subjects of the king so that they and the kingdom would not be lost.⁸⁰⁴

Leonor wanted to meet with her father to discuss a way out of the current crisis, but feared losing the realm completely if she journeyed to Aragon and Juan replied that he could not come to Navarre either.⁸⁰⁵ Accordingly in 1478, Leonor sent a challenging 'manifesto' to Juan via the *Conselleres de Barcelona*, in which she described herself as 'the most obedient daughter that was ever born' while simultaneously laying out her reasons to turn towards France for support.⁸⁰⁶ This was a bold move which demonstrated Leonor's political ability and her confidence to threaten her father and the Catalanian assembly with an alliance with their enemy in order to wrest the support that she needed from them.

Although her administration of Navarre as her father's lieutenant had lasted for nearly twenty five years, Leonor only ruled as queen for a matter of a few ephemeral weeks between her father's death in January 1479 and her own the following month. Her extended lieutenancy had fully prepared her to rule as a fully fledged sovereign but she did not get the opportunity to exercise the royal prerogative for very long. However, Leonor's administration of the realm lasted longer than her mother's rule or that of Juana II, even if she was only a lieutenant for the majority of that time.

⁸⁰³ Moret, Vol.7, p.39. Original text is '*echar enteramente del reino de Navarra à los inobedientes, que le tenían reducido à una extrema desolación*'.

⁸⁰⁴ Zurita, Vol.8, p.298. Original text is '*lamentándose del rey su padre y del rey de Castilla su hermano...que ella en los tiempos pasados había trabajado por sostener y defender aquellos fieles súbditos del rey, porque ellos y aquel reino no se perdiesen*'.

⁸⁰⁵ Zurita, Vol.8, p.299.

⁸⁰⁶ The text of Leonor's ultimatum is printed in N. Coll Julia, 'El dilema franco-español de Doña Leonor de Navarra,' *Príncipe de Viana* 13 (1952), pp.417-418. Original text is '*la mas hoberdiente fija que nunca nascio*'. Zurita also mentions Leonor's embassy to Aragon in Vol.8, pp.343-4.

Even though Blanca and her daughter had very different experiences and were involved in disparate situations as lieutenants, both women shared two key common factors. They both had to deal with the challenge being effectively a sole ruler who was still accountable to the Aragonese throne for their actions. They had to take direction from the King of Aragon, protect his interests and were dependant on his military, financial and political support to remain in post. Both women also served as lieutenants during a period of intensive and prolonged civil unrest, with major factions who were fundamentally opposed to their rule. For both women, the lieutenancy gave them practical, challenging experience of rulership before their own reign commenced. This was a fairly unique experience for female lieutenants however, as most were either queen consorts or princesses who would never have expected to rule in their own right.

Widowhood

Another experience which several of the women in this study shared is widowhood. Although their individual situations were all very different, the common aspect which they all shared was an increased access to power. Both Blanca and Leonor were widows during their period of lieutenancy. It is important to note that both women were already serving as lieutenants when they were widowed. Blanca had been designated as lieutenant during her husband's Sardinian campaign and Leonor was already established as her father's lieutenant in Navarre when her husband died. As discussed previously, widowhood robbed them of a husband who was a powerful ally, which left them more vulnerable in an already difficult political situation. Although both women successfully retained their place, there is no doubt that their widowed state made it more difficult for them to govern, even if they had the opportunity to exercise greater authority.

One of the most significant widows in this study is Magdalena of France, whose widowhood prevented her from ever becoming Queen of Navarre. However, Magdalena served as regent for her son and daughter in turn and exercised authority in their domains

for twenty three years, from the death of Gaston IV of Foix in 1472 until her own death in 1495. It is extremely likely that she exercised far more power as the Princess regent than she ever would have done if her husband had survived and she had become the Queen consort of Navarre. For Magdalena then, widowhood was an unparalleled opportunity, but she also had to cope with the difficult challenge of ruling a diverse collection of territories, including a kingdom divided by civil war on behalf of minority sovereigns.

Blanche of Artois, the mother of the first queen regnant, also faced a challenging situation as a widowed regent. The accession of an infant girl after her husband's fairly brief rule created a difficult political atmosphere. Both Aragon and Castile moved quickly and forcibly in an attempt to capitalize on Navarre's weakened state. This in turn created internal instability as there was a lack of clear authority and the Navarrese were divided as to whether they favoured the intervention of Castile, Aragon or France. Blanche responded by fleeing the realm in order to seek the support of her cousin, Philip III of France. He effectively took over her position as regent in Navarre, although she retained the administration of the rich counties of Champagne and Brie, with her new husband, Edmund of Lancaster, until her daughter reached her majority. It is easy to criticize Blanche for her apparent abandonment of Navarre and her decision to hand over power and the management of a complicated situation to her cousin. However, Philip of France did have the necessary military power and political authority to prevent both Castile and Aragon from either annexing the realm or dividing it between them. Moreover, turning to her relatives for support in a moment of crisis was a sensible option, which was probably driven by her desire to safeguard her daughter's crown rather than mere self-preservation.

In addition to Blanca I's period as viceroy or lieutenant in Sicily, another queen who enjoyed an increased access to power in widowhood is Juana II. Although Leonor was also technically a widowed queen, her brief reign makes it difficult to hold her up as a viable model or example to analyse. However, Juana II used her ability to exercise sole authority

after her husband's death to implement political strategies which were both in line with her own personal interests and responsive to international developments.

The example of Juana II is an interesting one to examine with regard to the wider study of female rule as examples of widowed queens regnant are rare. Most women who gain access to power through widowhood do so as regents as in the situation of Magdalena of France and Blanche of Artois. There have been several well-studied examples of queen consorts who were able to exercise power as regents, particularly in France with medieval regents such as Blanche of Castile and Early Modern examples like Catherine de Medici.⁸⁰⁷ However, the transition of power for a widowed queen consort is different to that of a queen regnant. In the case of a queen consort, becoming a regent in effect changes her from consort to sovereign whereas for a queen regnant, the transition is from joint sovereign to sole rule. In both cases, the access to power and responsibility is increased, but the fundamental position of the queen regnant does not change.

Juana II's widowhood began when her husband, Philip d'Evreux, died in September 1343 while on crusade with the King of Aragon.⁸⁰⁸ The full responsibility for the governance of Navarre fell to Jeanne, as the hereditary monarch. In addition, she was also responsible for the continued administration of the couple's French territories which her husband had bequeathed to their son. This was a heavy responsibility, but also a political opportunity for Jeanne. Although the couple appears to have had a fairly equitable and harmonious personal and political partnership and a successful joint reign, becoming the sole ruler allowed Jeanne the freedom to exercise the royal prerogative in whatever way she saw fit and make changes in praxis or policy where she felt it was appropriate.

⁸⁰⁷ For more discussion of queens regent in medieval France, see André Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation', In *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons, (Stroud, 1998), pp.93-116. For Early Modern examples see, Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

⁸⁰⁸ Mahn-Lot, 'Philippe d'Evreux et un projet de Croisade', pp.227-233.

While it appears that Jeanne made some preparations for a return to Navarre in 1344, she did not revisit the realm before she died in 1349.⁸⁰⁹ However, this does not demonstrate a lack of regard for her realm or interest in ruling directly. Jeanne fully exercised her royal prerogative, albeit through governors, during her widowhood. However, Jeanne had legitimate reasons for her continued presence in France. One was the needs of her large brood of young children, including two who were still toddlers at the time of their father's death. The second was political; the onset of hostilities in the Hundred Years War required Jeanne to be vigilant in order to protect the French territories which formed a significant part of her children's inheritance. In addition, the threat of battle in Northern France or in the Aquitaine made it much more difficult to travel south to Pamplona.

Jeanne continued to remain actively involved in the governance of Navarre, even if she was unable to make a physical return to the realm. The queen sent numerous missives with detailed instructions to her governors and was willing to make changes if she felt her governors were not implementing her instructions effectively. At the beginning of her sole reign, she dismissed the couple's long-term representative Philip de Melun.⁸¹⁰ She initially installed Guillermo de Brahe, but removed him several months later and replaced him with Jean de Conflans.⁸¹¹ Her involvement in the governance of the realm was wide reaching, including initiating reform against corruption and ruling on the treatment of debtors.⁸¹² The queen's interest in and instructions on detailed matters can be seen in her specific request to pardon two shoemakers from Tudela who were accused of assault in 1346.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁹ The document which alludes to plans for a return to Navarre is AGN Comptos Caj. 9, no.7 dated 29th March 1344 at Breval.

⁸¹⁰ Juana's antipathy toward Philip de Melun can be seen in an order that she sent which prevented him from seeking any further payment for expenses incurred during his period as governor; AGN Comptos Caj.9, no.92 dated 24th April 1345 at Breval.

⁸¹¹ *Felipe III y Juana II*, pp. 128-131.

⁸¹² *Fazer Justicia*, p.263 (on corruption) and p.384 (on debtors-see also AGN Reg.58).

⁸¹³ *Fazer Justicia*, p.158. Another document which shows her awareness of minor matters is her request to seize the goods of Ezmel de Abiltas, a Jewish resident of Tudela due to the debts he owed to the realm; AGN Comptos Caj. 9, no.75, dated 29th March 1344 at Breval.

One area which Jeanne had been keenly involved in during their joint rule was in foreign policy, especially with regard to matrimonial alliances as discussed previously. Even though she remained in France, she kept a close watch on Iberian affairs. One example of her continued contact with her Iberian counterparts is an order issued by Alfonso XI of Castile to his citizens to desist in their attacks on several Navarrese towns specifically in response to Jeanne's protest.⁸¹⁴

Jeanne made her most profound shift from the foreign policy from their joint reign in regard to relations with France. Philip had always been a loyal vassal of the King of France, as a Prince of the Blood and a key ally both in Northern France and the Pyrenees. However, Miranda Garcia notes a distinct change in attitude by Jeanne after Philip's death, claiming the queen displayed 'a manifestly vindictive posture' towards the French crown.⁸¹⁵ As evidence, Miranda Garcia cites the virtual abandonment of their Parisian residence where they had previously spent a great deal of time and an increasingly competitive attitude about alliances with Castile and Aragon. Jeanne also became more demanding about her rights, pursuing negotiations with the French king over disputed territories and dues. She complained in 1345 that the revenues of the county of Angoulême did not match what she had originally been promised and eventually negotiated an exchange for more strategic castles closer to Paris.⁸¹⁶

The position of her territories, in Normandy as well as on the borders of English territory in Aquitaine, gave her considerable political leverage as the Hundred Years War began. The French king and the Duke of Normandy were forced to obtain Jeanne's consent and negotiate accords with her in 1343 and 1348 regarding the crucial levy of troops in Normandy as the Evreux holdings there were considerable. Philippe Charon suggests that these agreements might indicate 'a deliberate policy of the countess (Jeanne) aimed at

⁸¹⁴ AGN Codices, C.6, 132-133, dated 25th February 1347.

⁸¹⁵ Miranda García. 'Felipe y Juana de Évreux y la guerra de Cien Años', p.91. Original text is '*una postura manifestamente reivindicativa*'.

⁸¹⁶ Raymond Cazelles, *La Société Politique et la crise de la Royauté sous Phillippe de Valois* (Paris, 1958), p.207.

freeing her principality from the direct hold of the king'.⁸¹⁷ Moreover, Raymond Cazelles notes a potentially provocative agreement that Jeanne forged in 1348 with Edward III of England to let his partisans pass through her territories. Under the terms of this agreement, the queen promised not to build any new fortifications or to allow the French to occupy any of her existing strongholds, in return for safe passage for herself and her children.⁸¹⁸

Although Jeanne's policies during this period are often interpreted as the precursors of her son Charles 'the Bad', it may be that Jeanne had merely abandoned the couple's previous loyalty to France in order to ensure the security of their territories in the face of an increasingly heated political situation between her French and English cousins. Her willingness to work with Edward of England in particular, makes more sense with regard to safe passage, as she would need to either sail in English waters or cross through Edward's lands in Aquitaine and Gascony to access Navarre. Viewed with these objectives in mind, her actions appear more politically shrewd and less like the vindictive decisions of a failed claimant to the French throne. Miranda Garcia takes a similar view, arguing that in her widowhood Jeanne 'quickly demonstrated her qualities for governance, both in Navarre and in her French lordships'.⁸¹⁹

Jeanne and Philip d'Evreux appear to have ruled jointly as true and fairly equitable partners. Jeanne's rights as hereditary sovereign were acknowledged and honoured but her husband was given full access to rule Navarre as well. During some periods of their marriage, they effectively swapped territories, as in the period of 1342-3 when Philip was in Iberia while Jeanne remained in France, overseeing her husband's ancestral domains. However, the changes in policy and personnel made by the queen during her widowhood may indicate

⁸¹⁷ Philippe Charon, 'Contribution à l'histoire des principautés territoriales en France à la fin du Moyen Âge : l'exemple de la principauté d'Evreux, 1298-1378', *Journal des savants* 1 (1995), p.155.

⁸¹⁸ *La Société Politique*, p.207-8. The agreement can be found in Rymer, *Foedera*, III, p.157.

⁸¹⁹ *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.74. Original text is 'manifestó pronto sus cualidades para el gobierno, tanto en Navarra como en sus señoríos franceses.'

some divergence of opinion between the couple or may simply reflect the queen's need to shift her policies to fit with the fluid political situation.

Continuity and Change

This section will build on the connections between the queens regnant, particularly examining elements of continuity and change between their reigns. It will focus on the ways in which the reigns and experiences of certain queens set positive or negative precedents for later female sovereigns and the reasons why a queen might adopt or eschew a previous queen as a model for her own reign. Although the emphasis will be on the queens regnant of Navarre in this study, the reigns of other female monarchs will be drawn in where appropriate for comparison.

Marital/Coronation agreements

In the examination of marital alliances and the relations and rule of the monarchical pairs, the importance of defining the role of a king consort was discussed. There were two different points when this might be done; prior to the marriage of a queen or heiress or at the point of coronation. Generally, it was better to delineate the rights and responsibilities of each partner before the marriage took place, particularly if the bride was already a queen regnant. However, if the bride was not yet the heiress to the throne when she was wed or if no specific definition of the king consort's role was made at the time of the marriage, a coronation provided an ideal opportunity to set out the rights of both spouses clearly.

In this study, there are surviving agreements for three of the monarchical pairs; a coronation agreement for Juana II and Philip d'Evreux, a marital agreement for Blanca I and Juan and a coronation agreement for Catalina and Jean d'Albret. It is not surprising that there is no major agreement for Leonor and Gaston of Foix for several reasons. First, at the time of their marriage, Leonor was third in line for the throne. Although it was specifically

noted that Leonor and Gaston were eligible to succeed to the Navarrese throne if death took her elder siblings and their heirs, there was no need to elaborate greatly on the specifics of Gaston's role as king consort as it would have been seen as unlikely eventuality at that point. There is documentary evidence from the agreements which promoted them to heirs apparent and later confirmed their place, but again these documents are more concerned with outlining the plans for succession rather than the specific roles of the queen and her consort. Finally, as Gaston died before Leonor ascended the throne briefly in 1479, there was no need for a coronation document which defined his place.

As Juana I and Philip IV of France did not receive a formal coronation in Pamplona as King and Queen of Navarre, there was accordingly no agreement which set out the expectations of their respective roles and rights. Moreover, as the first queen regnant in this study, there was no previous precedent for doing so within the realm. Although they might have drawn on the reigns of previous queens regnant from Iberia such as Urraca of Leon-Castile and Petronilla of Aragon or from the examples of the Queens of Jerusalem, there is no evidence that these earlier queens served as direct models for the reign of Juana I. However, Juana I's reign served as both a negative and positive model for later queens of Navarre and their consorts and it is clear that later agreements were shaped by the reign of the first queen and the actions of her consort.

One of the major areas of dispute and discussion before the couple's coronation was negotiating the role that the new consort would play in the realm. After the generally negative experience that Navarre had under the previous king consort, Philip IV of France, the Navarrese were understandably keen to put specific limits to the powers of Juana II's husband. As the queen was already married, there had been no opportunity to define the exact role that her husband could or could not play in the realm within the marital agreements. In the year between the death of Jeanne's uncle Charles in February 1328 and their coronation in March 1329, there was an intensive period of negotiation between the

queen, her husband, their representatives and the ambassadors of the realm in order to come to an agreement on this key issue.

Intriguingly, there are several letters all dated 20th July 1328 from Paris which form part of this negotiation process and suggest that queen and her husband were negotiating separately with the *Cortes*. One was written in Latin, from Philip alone, naming himself as King of Navarre before his other titles and naming Henry de Sully and Philip de Melun as his legates.⁸²⁰ This was followed by a letter which is nearly identical in content, written in French by his wife, as Queen of Navarre.⁸²¹ Neither letter mentions the other spouse, not even to note that they give their consent to their spouse's actions. There was also a third letter with nearly identical content, from the queen but written in Latin.⁸²² Finally, there was a fourth letter which again named Sully and Melun as their representatives, but this letter is issued by both spouses in French.⁸²³ The address clause of this last letter is interesting as it clearly lists Philip first as King of Navarre before a full listing of his many titles, while Jeanne is relegated to being 'his companion, by the same grace, queen of said kingdom and countess of the aforementioned counties'.⁸²⁴ Although it is not unusual for a husband to precede his wife in address clauses, Philip's clearly superior position in this example may have been intended to assert his own authority as king consort.

This in turn may have worried the Navarrese who were keen to stress that Juana was the hereditary sovereign. Indeed, as Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero stressed, the Navarrese had addressed their original summons to rule to 'the queen-only to her as the legitimate queen regnant' and there is no mention in the document of her husband Philip accompanying her to Pamplona or sharing her rule.⁸²⁵

⁸²⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.85 dated 20th July 1328 at Paris.

⁸²¹ AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.84 dated 20th July 1328 at Paris.

⁸²² AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.82 dated 20th July 1328 at Paris.

⁸²³ AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.83 dated 20th July 1328 at Paris.

⁸²⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.83 dated 20th July 1328 at Paris. Original text is '*Iohanne, sa compaigne, par celle meisme grace, royne de dit royaume et contesse des contes desusdites*'.

⁸²⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.6, No. 81 dated 4th May 1328 at Pamplona. Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "Un golpe revolucionario en Navarra: 13 de marzo de 1328." In *Coups d'état à la fin du moyen âge aux fondements du*

A particular sticking point in these negotiations regarding the place of the king consort was his role in the coronation itself. Delegates from the *Cortes* met with representatives from the royal couple in November 1328 at Roncesvalles.⁸²⁶ The plans put forward by the Navarrese contingent were for the queen to be elevated alone on the shield of estate during the ceremony and carry out all of the traditional elements of the coronation, 'my lady will be raised up...as she is the natural lady and no one can be raised up if they are not the natural lord.'⁸²⁷ However, they acknowledged that Philip could still participate in the administration and rule of the realm as her spouse.⁸²⁸ This was not enough for Philip who felt that his authority would be undermined if he did not have an equal share in the coronation process.⁸²⁹ Henri de Sully argued for Philip's right to share fully in the government of the realm from the coronation onwards 'as husband and head he should have the rights of his wife and companion'.⁸³⁰ Moreover, Sully argued that the queen herself 'approves and consents' to her husband having an increased share in the royal prerogative and stressed her authority as sovereign as support for Philip's equal participation. In the end, both husband and wife participated in the coronation rituals, were anointed and raised up on the ceremonial shield together in the Cathedral of Pamplona on 5th March 1329.⁸³¹

Although the document emphasized repeatedly that the queen was the 'true and natural heir' of the realm, it acknowledged that her husband was due compensation for his efforts to 'procure and defend' her rights. Philip was compensated for his expenses in return

pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale, ed. Jean Philippe Genet and José Manuel Nieto Soria, (Madrid, 2005), p. 424.

⁸²⁶ The results of this meeting, sent to Philip and Juana is AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated 30th November 1328 at Pamplona.

⁸²⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated 30th November 1328 at Pamplona, original text is '*madame fust levee...pour ce que elle est dame naturele et nulz ne doit estre levez si il n'est seignor naturel*'.

⁸²⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.41, no.37, 2 dated 30th November 1328 at Pamplona and see also *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.88.

⁸²⁹ Further evidence of the ongoing negotiation between the Cortes and Henri de Sully as the Evreux's representative can be found in AGN Comptos, Caj. 31, no.7, 7 (2) dated 12th January 1329 at Estella.

⁸³⁰ A portion of the original document reprinted in Javier Zabalo Zabalegui, *La administración del Reino de Navarra en el siglo XIV* (Pamplona, 1973), p.53. The provenance of the document is AGN Comptos, Caj.6, No. 60. Original text is '*assi como marido et cabeça deve aver de los bienes de su muyller et comaynnera*'. Note that Sully is clearly drawing on biblical authority, the assertion of Paul that 'the head of woman is man' (1 Corinthians, 11.3).

⁸³¹ The coronation documents are AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no.60 dated 5th March 1329 at Pamplona. See also Jose Maria Lacarra, *El juramento de los reyes de Navarra (1234-1329)* (Zaragoza, 1972), p.62.

for his donation of rents to the queen and their heirs from his own county of Longueville which would continue in perpetuity after his death, ensuring that Navarre would continue to benefit from this income.⁸³²

However, there is one significant clause in the succession document which demonstrates the desire of the Navarrese to put specific limitations on the period of rule of the king consort. The document notes that as the queen and the members of all the Estates had expressed their consent 'all of the kingdom of Navarre would obey her consort, under the name of king and he would always enjoy the benefits [of the position]'.⁸³³ However, in spite of the word 'always', this position had a limited time frame. It was stipulated that when Jeanne and Philip's heir 'whether it will be a son or daughter' reached twenty-one, they would have to step aside or pay a hefty fine of 100,000 livres. Favyn found this stipulation, indeed the very idea that subject could place limits on the sovereigns' rule shocking, 'Let us consider here the blindness and the temerity of the Navarrese to want to give laws to their princes, from whom they should receive it'.⁸³⁴ However, this stipulation is hardly surprising considering the recent history of the Capetian kings and particularly the rule of the previous king consort, Philip IV of France. Ultimately though, it proved to be a moot point as both spouses died before their son's twenty-first birthday.

However, one of the most important areas of the document, which can definitely be traced in later marital and coronation agreements, concerns the role of the king consort after the death of the queen. If Jeanne died without a surviving heir, the coronation agreement of 1329 stipulated that the *Cortes* would consult the realm as to the designation of a new successor. If the queen left children behind, her consort could serve as regent until

⁸³² AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated 15th May 1329 at Olite. Also Jose Maria Lacarra 'Las cortes de Olite 1329 y la sucesion al Reino de Navarra' *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 55-56 (1972), p.307.

⁸³³ AGN Comptos, Caj. 6, no. 98, dated 15th May 1329 at Olite. Original text is '*al seynnor rey su marido solepnement stipulant que ell terra el regnado de Nabarra con nombre de rey toda obediencia et seynnoria fiziendo siempre los frutos suyos sen en descontar*'.

⁸³⁴ Favyn, p.411. Original text is '*Considerons icy l'aueuglement & la temerité des Nauarrois, de vouloir donner loy à leurs princes, desquels ils la doiuent receuoir...*'

the heir was twenty-one. However, the children had the option of living 'free from the company of their father' but they would have to ensure that he was paid any outstanding compensation and rents which he was due before he left the realm.⁸³⁵ If the heir was over twenty-one years of age at the time of the queen's death, the consort had to immediately turn over the government to the heir.

Although the Navarrese may have been drafting these restrictive accords in reaction to the fairly negative rule of the previous king consort, it is worth noting that Philip IV of France did turn over the Navarrese crown to his son Louis promptly on the death of his wife Juana I.⁸³⁶ He did not retain the Navarrese title as a widower and he allowed his son to travel to Pamplona to receive a full coronation. Thus these particular stipulations for the potential widowhood of Philip d'Evreux were not based directly on the precedent or actions of the previous king consort. However, the overall desire to limit and delineate the powers and prerogatives of the king consort in 1329 was clearly inspired by their recent experience of the governance of Philip IV of France who essentially usurped his wife's role as sovereign.

The next document which attempted to set out the role of a king consort was the marital agreements for Blanca I and Juan of Aragon which were signed in November 1419.⁸³⁷ In many ways this agreement was similar to the provisions for the succession made at the accession of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux. Again the rights of the queen regnant were firmly protected while the consort was permitted to be involved in the governance of the realm. The agreement attempted to define the position of both spouses, emphasizing that it was Blanca, not Juan who had the right to inherit the throne; his position as king consort and an *extranjero* or foreigner was clearly delineated. Blanca's position as heiress was also reaffirmed; Carlos III promised not to remarry to sire any other heirs who might take away

⁸³⁵ Jose Maria Lacarra, 'Las cortes de Olite 1329 y la sucesion al Reino de Navarra', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 55-56 (1972), p.308.

⁸³⁶ Moret reproduced the text of the letter sent from the Cortes to Philip IV of France on the death of Juana I which firmly stated that Louis should immediately assume the kingship of Navarre and travel to Pamplona in Vol.5, pp.152-54.

⁸³⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.105, no.15, 1-2 signed 5th November 1419 at Olite.

her position as '*heredera universal*'.⁸³⁸ It was specifically noted that Juan must not go against the wishes of his wife, the Queen and he was specifically prohibited from giving away castles, fortresses or territories to foreigners or permitting the annexation of the realm. The future succession of the realm was also discussed, their children would inherit both the crown of Navarre and Juan's Castilian territories and the possibility that they might die without heirs was also explored.

However, this agreement was less specific about the role of the king consort after the queen's death. If Blanca died without heirs, it was specifically noted that Juan would be treated as a foreigner and as such would not be eligible to succeed her. However, the role of the consort in the eventuality of Blanca's death with heirs was left more vague than the 1329 agreement and it was not made explicitly clear exactly when the widowed king consort would be forced to leave the governance of the kingdom to the heir.⁸³⁹ This lack of clarity, coupled with the provision in Blanca's will which asked her son Carlos, to refrain from using the title of King of Navarre until his father was ready to renounce it, allowed Juan to remain in power long after Blanca's death when their children were fully grown adults. As discussed earlier, this led to conflict between Juan and their son the Principe de Viana, which escalated into a destructive civil war that continued for nearly a century into the reign of Blanca and Juan's great-granddaughter Catalina. It is interesting to note a document from 1444 in the AGN which records a request made by the Principe to the Chancery to view a copy of his parents' marital agreement.⁸⁴⁰ Carlos may have been looking for documentary evidence to prove that his father's actions contravened these agreements which would in turn provide support for his right to the throne.

The negative example of Juan of Aragon's conduct as a king consort, both before and after he was widowed, arguably influenced the agreements forged for the marital and

⁸³⁸ Both Castro Alava and Ramirez Vaquero have analysed the capitulations. See Castro Alava, 'Blanca de Navarra y Juan de Aragón', pp.51-55 and Ramirez Vaquero, *Blanca y Juan II*, pp.68-73.

⁸³⁹ *Blanca y Juan II*, p.70.

⁸⁴⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.151, no.29, 14 dated 15th November 1444 at Olite.

coronation agreements for three other queens regnant who were all his descendants. The marital agreements for his son Ferdinand and Isabel of Castile and later for their granddaughter Mary I of England both sought to clearly spell out the role of the king consort, in order to eliminate loopholes which could be exploited by an aggressive royal spouse.

As two sovereign monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel's situation was certainly different to that of Blanca and Juan when they married and accordingly required major 'pre-nuptial' agreements. These agreements were initially signed in 1469, but were revised twice more before the final version was signed in 1475.⁸⁴¹ The documents focused on affirming the individual rights of each spouse in their own realm and setting specific limitations on the powers and rights that they would have in their partner's kingdom. This was a very difficult and potentially controversial negotiation process. As Isabel's cousin and a member of the Trastámara dynasty, Ferdinand had some claim to the Castilian throne and his supporters were keen to ensure that he would have primacy in the relationship and preferably sole rule.⁸⁴² According to the chronicler del Pulgar there were many who felt that 'the succession of the realms should pertain to Ferdinand as he was a man, and that all the rights of governance should pertain to him.'⁸⁴³ However, Isabel and her party pushed for terms which protected her rights as the heir to Castile and sovereign queen. Although Ferdinand and some of his supporters may have been disappointed that he was formally forced to share joint rule with his wife, there was a sense that all could be resolved informally between the couple after their marriage.⁸⁴⁴ Flores claims in his *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos* that in spite of the terms of the contract which defended Isabel's primacy in Castile, Ferdinand wrongly 'believed that after their marriage the queen...would concede to him the

⁸⁴¹ 'Tanto monta', p.51.

⁸⁴² Barbara F. Weissburger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis, 2004), p.46.

⁸⁴³ Hernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragon*, (Reprint: Valencia, 1780), p.34. Original text is 'que así por pertenecer al Rey la subcesion destos Reynos, como per ser varon, la pertenencia la governacion dellos en todas cosas'.

⁸⁴⁴ *Isabel Rules*, p.46 and p.165.

free reign in governance that kings have had in Castile, which precludes queens having anything to do with the affairs of the Kingdom'.⁸⁴⁵ However, this statement contradicts the examples of several Castilian queens who were in fact involved in the rule of the kingdom.⁸⁴⁶

Overall, these important agreements placed key limitations on the amount of power that Ferdinand could wield in Castile and protected Isabel's position as queen regnant. This desire to prevent Ferdinand from seizing complete control in Castile may have been motivated both by his father Juan's negative behaviour as king consort and the fear that the realm might be subsumed to the power of Aragon. The accords set up the couple's dual paramountcy and also set out the manner in which their joint authority would be presented publicly, demonstrating a sense of balance and compromise. For example, it was decided that while Isabel's arms would come first on chancery documents, Ferdinand's signature would precede hers.⁸⁴⁷ Ultimately, these accords, termed 'one of the most famous prenuptial agreements in history' became the foundation of both their marriage and their undoubtedly successful political partnership.⁸⁴⁸

The marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand's granddaughter, Queen Mary I of England, was also subject to a complex series of negotiations concerning the position of her husband, Prince Philip of Spain. These negotiations show an even more marked suspicion of a foreign king consort and a more stringent limitation of his rule. Despite this, Philip was able to draw Mary and her kingdom into a war which was aligned to his own political interests, just as Juan had, which cost the queen her prized Continental possession, Calais. These negotiations were concluded in November 1553 and Charles Beem argues that the result was 'a form of pre-nuptial agreement that sought statutorily to preempt Philip's rights to any aspect of his

⁸⁴⁵ Juan de Flores, *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos* (c.1480) quoted in *Isabel Rules*, pp.166-7.

⁸⁴⁶ See Bethany Aram, 'Authority and Maternity in Late Medieval Castile: Four Queens Regnant' in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, (Turnhout, Belgium, 2007), 121-129 and Cristina Segura Graíño, 'Las mujeres y el poder real en Castilla. Finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI,' in *Las mujeres y el poder. Representaciones y Prácticas de vida*, ed. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez and Cristina Segura Graíño (Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2000), 135-146.

⁸⁴⁷ 'Tanto monta', p.44

⁸⁴⁸ Theresa Earenfight, 'Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership' in *Queen Isabel I of Castile; Power, Personage, Persona*, ed. by Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge, 2008), p.11.

wife's royal prerogative'.⁸⁴⁹ Philip was barred from many aspects of government including making appointments and was specifically prohibited from taking his wife out of the realm without her consent or taking her jewels.⁸⁵⁰ It was also made explicit that Philip's rights in the realm would expire with his wife, so that he would be unable to retain the crown after the queen's death and wield power as Juan of Aragon had to disastrous effect in Navarre.⁸⁵¹ Given all of these restrictions on the king consort's role and power, one chronicler claimed 'indeede the match was concluded, with conditions of farre more advantage to Queen Mary, then they were to King Philip.'⁸⁵² The agreement however, was not enough to allay the public fears about the Queen's marriage to the Spanish prince, and accordingly Mary's role as hereditary reigning sovereign was given further definition and strength in the 'Act Concerning Regal Power' in early 1554. Ultimately, however the marriage between Philip and Mary proved to be ill-starred both personally and politically, although the marriage contract did provide a lasting exemplar which was used as the basis of the negotiations for her sister's Elizabeth's marital diplomacy in later years.⁸⁵³

However, it must be noted that in both of these cases, the marital negotiations were made when both of these women were already reigning queens. As such, it was crucial to define their husband's role. It should also be noted that these examples both come from the end of the period of this study, and in the case of Mary Tudor, slightly beyond. Their marital agreements were probably shaped by the difficulties encountered by earlier ruling consorts, including their mutual relative, Juan of Aragon. Isabel of Castile would also have been wary of the disastrous marriage of the last reigning queen of Castile, Urraca of Leon-Castile in the

⁸⁴⁹ *The Lioness Roared*, p.89.

⁸⁵⁰ Glyn Redworth, "Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Phillip & Mary' *The English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (1997), p. 598.

⁸⁵¹ Alexander Samson, 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36.3 (2005), p.772.

⁸⁵² Sir Richard Baker, *A chronicle of the Kings of England, from the time of the Romans goverment [sic] unto the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King Charles containing all passages of state or church, with all other observations proper for a chronicle / faithfully collected out of authours ancient and moderne, & digested into a new method*, (London, 1643), p.318.

⁸⁵³ *The Lioness Roared*, p. 98.

twelfth century. Urraca's marriage to Alfonso of Aragon, as discussed in the previous chapter, ended in divorce and armed conflict, due to a contentious personal relationship and a lack of agreement over royal rights and responsibilities. Again, Mary Tudor and her husband Philip of Spain may have looked to the successful example of their mutual relatives, Isabel and Ferdinand, in constructing their own marital agreements. Unfortunately, as discussed previously, in their case a watertight power-sharing agreement did not necessarily lead to a successful reign.

The coronation agreements for Catalina and Jean d'Albret in 1494 provide the third example of a document which was drafted with the reign of Juan of Aragon as a negative precedent.⁸⁵⁴ The beginning of the document clearly stated that Jean 'has come to this kingdom of Navarre in the right and cause of the Queen Catalina, our wife'. The document discussed the succession in great detail, specifically noting the right of daughters to succeed, which was important as to date the queen had only produced two girls. The widowhood and possible remarriage of both of the royal spouses was also considered in depth. It was noted that 'Queen Catherine would always remain queen, during widowhood or if she remarried'.⁸⁵⁵ However, the situation of the king consort needed more definition, particularly after the precedent of Juan of Aragon.

As in the cases of Juana II and Blanca I it was specified that if the queen died without heirs, the king consort would need to leave the kingdom and the *Cortes* would appoint a successor. However, the provisions for the queen's death with heirs was much more specific than the marital agreement for Blanca and Juan. This provision clearly drew on the precedent of Juana II's coronation agreement and specified that the widowed king consort could continue to rule as regent for the heir, governing in tandem with the *Cortes*, until the heir reached the age of twenty-one. This return to earlier, more specific models,

⁸⁵⁴ The only surviving version of these documents are a certified copy from 1544, although the original document dates to 12th January 1494; AGN Papeles Suelos (PS), 1st Series, Leg.1, no.7 at Pamplona.

⁸⁵⁵ Favyn, p.613. Original text is '*la Royne Catherine, icelle demeurante tousiours Royne, persistant en viduité, ou se remariant*'.

demonstrates the *Cortes'* desire to prevent a reoccurrence of the disastrous widowhood of Juan of Aragon.

In addition, a second provision was added to the document which was plainly drafted in response to Juan's behaviour and actions. Initially, Juan's retention of the title King of Navarre and his continued involvement in the rule of the realm after Blanca's death had been just about tolerated as the Principe de Viana was effectively ruling as lieutenant. However, when Juan remarried in 1445, the Principe was unwilling to countenance the installation of his stepmother, Juana Enríquez, in Navarre and the tension between father and son spilled over into a long lasting, bloody conflict. In order to prevent a similar disaster, Jean d'Albret had to agree to give up the post of regent and leave the realm immediately if he remarried after the queen's death.

These agreements were drafted at the time of Catalina and Jean's coronation which contained the ancient Navarrese ceremony of raising the sovereign upon a large shield by the principal barons of the realm. Moreover, it appears in the descriptions of the event by the chronicler Favyn that both spouses participated fully and equally in the ceremony, which two sets of coronation regalia including 'two gold crowns decorated with rich jewels' although there was only one sword, which was borne by Jean.⁸⁵⁶ The couple's equal participation in the event was clearly modelled on the precedent set by the coronation of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux. Although Philip d'Evreux had to fight to participate in the coronation, Jean d'Albret did not need to negotiate for an equal role in the event thanks to the precedent of previous king consorts.

These marital and coronation agreements clearly show the underlying concern about the role of a king consort, particularly after the death of a reigning queen. As discussed previously, it was considered acceptable for a king consort to be involved in the rule of the realm alongside his wife as traditionally, the properties of a wife could be administered by

⁸⁵⁶ Favyn pp.615-16. Original text is '*deux Coronnes d'or garnies de riche pierrerie*'.

her husband, who was held to be the lead partner in their relationship by the teachings of Scripture and prevailing custom. However, there was still a fair amount of concern over the rule of a king consort, especially a foreign one, and in Navarre that concern had been amplified by the negative examples of Philip IV of France and later Juan of Aragon. Moreover, it was extremely undesirable to allow a foreigner to continue to rule the realm once his his wife, the hereditary sovereign, had expired. The agreements discussed here demonstrate the adoption of previous precedents as well as adaptation in response to negative exemplars in order to avoid repeating the disastrous events of the past.

Public Image (Documents, Seals and Coinage)

One element which is essential to analyse in the case of all of the queens in this study is the way in which their rights as sovereign and their power sharing dynamic with their consort was publically portrayed in the official documents and the coins that they issued. This section will begin with an examination of the way that the monarchical pairs were represented in textual sources, primarily in the documents that they issued as sovereigns. These documents are important, not only because their content demonstrate how the couple exercised their royal authority, but because the address clauses and signatures can shed light on how the couple shared power between them and importantly, how they wanted their partnership to be perceived. The seals of these documents will also be considered, together with the coinage issued by each pair during their reign. These visual representations of the ruling couple are also excellent evidence of their public image which could potentially send a stronger, more immediate message to a much wider audience. Both textual and visual sources will be assessed for signs of continuity and change between the reigns of different pairs in order to see if previous monarchs served as models to emulate or reject.

Textual Sources

In the case of Juana I, there was an extended minority period, during which the kingdom was administered by governors who were directed by the queen's guardian and prospective father-in-law, Philip III of France. The French king was closely involved with the governance of Navarre and sent dispatches were on a nearly daily basis.⁸⁵⁷ These documents, though issued by the French king, carefully refer to the rightful sovereign, Juana, as a basis for their authority.⁸⁵⁸ Intriguingly, one of the few surviving examples of a charter issued by her mother while she was still Juana's guardian, has no reference to the young queen in the address clause.⁸⁵⁹ This may be because Blanche of Artois had the obvious authority of a dowager queen in Navarre, whereas Philip III of France, as a foreign monarch, needed to confirm his right to rule on behalf of Juana. Only a few acts were issued directly in her own name, including one from 1277 and another from 1281, although given the fact that she would have been under the age of ten, it is extremely unlikely that she had anything to do with the production of these documents.⁸⁶⁰

After gaining her majority and becoming the queen consort of France, the queen's address in administrative documents reflected her changed status. The first one issued after the regime change dropped the 'young lady' or '*domicella*' in favour of a more grown up appellation.⁸⁶¹ However, this does not mean that the documents were issued solely in her

⁸⁵⁷ These documents can be found in the Codices section of the AGN, specifically Codices C.3 which is made up of 23 folios of material from 1276-1279 and Codices C.7 which spans 1274-1285.

⁸⁵⁸ One example: '*pro domicella lohanna regina et herede regni Navarre et nomine ipsius*' or 'on behalf of the young lady Juana, queen and heir of the kingdom of Navarre and in her own name': AGN Codices, C.3, 3r (2) dated 6th July 1277 at Nemours.

⁸⁵⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj. 3, no.74 dated 3rd of February 1275 at Sans, Burgundy.

⁸⁶⁰ AGN Codices, C.3, 5v-6r dated 22nd October 1277 from Paris and AGN Comptos Caj.4, 35 dated 25th June 1281. Both documents contain rare examples of Juana's individual address clause. The former document concerns the Jewish and Muslim residents of Estella regarding peace between the two communities and payment owed by them to the crown.

⁸⁶¹ AGN Codices, C.6, 144 (2) dated 3rd June 1287; 'and we Juana, by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre, heir of this (kingdom)' (original '*Et nos lohanna, Dei gratia Francie et Nauarre regina, de cuius hereditate*'). It is interesting to note that Juana's Champenois titles are not always listed.

name; rather they shift from her father-in-law to her husband as the primary issuer.⁸⁶² Juana is still a part of the document as 'our beloved consort' and gave her assent and seal, but there is no sense that she had taken over control of the issue of documents themselves.⁸⁶³

It is also worth noting that the address clause of the documents of her reign show a distinctly French influence in the way that they portray the power of the monarchy. Félix Segura Urrea notes the shift between the traditional address of the earlier kings of Navarre which was more inclusive and drew on the idea of the monarchy's role in upholding the *Fueros* to an emphasis on the regal power of the crown under Juana and her French husband. In the example cited by Segura Urrea, Philip is referred to first in very strong, masculine terms as 'the most illustrious, magnificent and powerful lord' while Juana is merely 'the most excellent and serene lady' although her position as the 'natural lady' or rightful heir is duly noted.⁸⁶⁴

Juana's signature and seal on many official documents give an indication that she may have been aware of the decisions being made and edicts issued in her name, but there is little direct evidence of her actual involvement in the governance of the realm. However, it is interesting to note that documents which were not issued directly from France by the royal couple show a somewhat different view of who was administering the realm, emphasizing Juana's role as their sovereign lady. This is most evident in documents issued in Occitan, which in the thirteenth century was widely used in the *Midi* and the Pyrenean region. These documents have a unique format with two areas which specifically refer to the sovereign; the first is a pledge of loyalty and blessing to the sovereign from all of the men and women of the area and the second formula, at the end of the document, notes who was

⁸⁶² For a discussion of the different types of documents issued by the couple along with selected examples see Maria Itziar Zabalza Aldave, 'Tipología documental del reinado de Felipe I y Juana I de Navarra (1284-1307)' *Príncipe de Viana* Anejo 8, no. 3; Comunicaciones Edad Media (1988), pp.693-702.

⁸⁶³ An example of Juana's assent clause is 'We see (this) Juana by the grace of God Queen of France and Navarre Countess Palatine of Champagne and Brie as inherited' (Original text '*Nos vero Johanna dei gracia francia et Nauarre Regina Campanie et brie comitissa palatine de aug(? difficult to read) hereditate*'). AGN Comptos, Caj. 4, no.100, 1st August 1294 at Felleixin.

⁸⁶⁴ *Fazer Justicia*, p.130. Original text is '*illustrissimo, magnifico ac potentissimo domino*' and '*excellentissime ac serenissime domine sue naturalis domine*'.

currently the reigning sovereign and could also include the names of governors, bishops and other important officials. Juana is noted as sovereign during her minority, as the daughter of Enrique I, but there is no reference to Philip III's role as her guardian. After her marriage, some of the documents do name Juana's husband, rather than the queen herself. However, this change is not universal, and there are still many documents which persist in listing the queen alone, without reference to her husband. Only one of the documents even lists her title as Queen of France; the rest refer to her as 'our lady Johana, Queen of Navarre' and notes that 'Lady Johana, daughter of the King lord Hennric reigns in Navarre'.⁸⁶⁵

After Juana's death, there is a surviving declaration of homage from the city of Estella to her son Louis as the new king of Navarre which was also written in Occitan. This document also stresses Juana's importance; while her husband is given the standard mention as 'the most excellent prince, lord Philip by the grace of God King of France', Juana is referred to as 'the most high and most noble our lady Juana, the late queen of Navarre, may God pardon her, heir of the Kingdom of Navarre.'⁸⁶⁶ This effusive address may have been due to the queen's recent death, but the general trend toward emphasizing Juana's role needs to be addressed. There are multiple possibilities for this tendency; one may be that in these areas there was some hostility to French rule, so the natives preferred to ignore the French king in their documents or emphasize that it was Juana's right to rule that mattered. The other possibility may be that females in general may have had a relatively strong role in the local community. This can be seen in the inclusion of women in the homage clause of the Occitan documents and is also true of the Basque community, as discussed in the chapter on succession.

⁸⁶⁵ For examples see Santos Garcia Larragueta, *Documentos Navarros en Lengua Occitana*, Fuentes Documentales Medievales del Pais Vasco 26 (San Sebastian, 1990). The lone document which lists Juana's French title is AGN Roncevalles, leg. 1, no.49, dated 30th December 30, 1288, p.130. The other two examples can be found in AGN Irache, leg. 8, no. 230, dated 1st April 1303, p.203 and AHN OM San Juan, leg. 720-21, no.46, dated 7th February 1299, p.166 respectively. Original text is '*nostra dona lohana reyna de Navarra*' and '*Regnant dona Johana filla del rey don Hennric de Navarra*'.

⁸⁶⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj. 5, no.8-10, dated April 1306 at Estella. Original text: '*muyt excellent prince don Philipe, per la graçia de Dios rey de França, et de la muy alta et muy noble nostra dona dona Johana, reynna de Nauarra qui fu, a qui Dios perdon, hereter de regne de Nauarra*'.

Catherine Léglu notes that Occitan was ‘one of the few Romance languages that did not eventually become the official idiom of a nation-state’.⁸⁶⁷ Although this is arguably true in Navarre, there is one official charter issued by Juana I and Philip IV of France in Occitan during their trip to the *Midi* in 1300.⁸⁶⁸ It is surprising to note that the couple were so close to Navarre on this particular trip, literally just on the other side of the Pyrenees, and yet failed to visit the realm.

In contrast to the reign of her grandparents, documentary evidence from Juana II’s reign demonstrates that both partners were active in the rule and administration of the realm. There is a fairly even balance between charters issued solely by either the queen or consort and joint charters.⁸⁶⁹ In charters issued jointly, Philip’s name and titles precede Jeanne’s but this is fairly standard procedure for charters issued by a married couple and her titles are acknowledged, in other words she is given more weight than being merely his spouse.⁸⁷⁰ Philip’s own documents do not refer to the king specifically as a ‘consort’ nor do they note his wife’s assent or permission for his actions.⁸⁷¹ However, there are also examples of Jeanne issuing separate documents to support or confirm actions taken by her husband.⁸⁷² Jeanne also handled many important areas of administration and rule herself; documents clearly show her involvement in resolving disputes with Castile and in the crucial negotiations over the marriage of their daughter to Pedro IV of Aragon, as discussed previously.⁸⁷³

Overall, the documentary evidence from the reign of Juana II and Philip d’Evreux suggests more of an equitable joint rule rather than the reign of a sovereign and a consort. One example from a jointly issued charter from 1340 makes this point, ‘As to us only from

⁸⁶⁷ Catherine Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan and Catalan Narratives* (University Park, PA, 2010), p.5.

⁸⁶⁸ Garcia Larragueta, *Occitana*, AMP no.68, dated November 1300 in Cahors, p.175.

⁸⁶⁹ See *Catalogo*, documents 875-944 in Tomo I and documents 3-309 in Tomo II for a summary of this documentation.

⁸⁷⁰ For an example of a joint charter see AGN Comptos, Caj. 7, no.14 dated 4th July 1331 at Pamplona.

⁸⁷¹ One example is Document 162, dated 26th May 1331 at Olite in DMO, p.478 (AMO Pergaminos 58).

⁸⁷² One example, confirming Philip’s appointment of arbitrators in a dispute with Castile dated April 1336 in Lerin is AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no.65.

⁸⁷³ An important document regarding the dowry of her daughter in the Aragonese marriage is AGN Comptos, Caj.9, no.14, dated 30th July 1340 at Breval.

our royal right and all...belongs to us for all our realm of Navarre'.⁸⁷⁴ Given that this statement comes directly after their joint address clause, it is reasonable to assume that this strong sentiment, expressing a joint possession of the royal right, comes equally from both sovereigns, not from Philip using the royal 'we'.

The joint address clause from the reign of Blanca I and Juan of Aragon generally reflects the precedent of previous monarchical pairs. As in the case of previous royal couples, Juan's titles come first, beginning with 'by the Grace of God King of Navarre' and include the full list of his impressive maternal inheritance. However, even though she comes second, Blanca's superior position is clearly demonstrated in the wording of the clause. Iñigo Arzoz Mendizábal notes that 'the royal chancery makes a clear distinction between Juan II and Blanca in the address clause, that she is superior, the hereditary queen regnant, while her husband is only the king consort of Navarre'.⁸⁷⁵ This can be seen in the following example:

'Lord Juan, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Prince of Aragon and Sicily, Duke of Nemours, of Montblanc, of Peñafiel, Count of Ribagorza and Lord of the city of Ballaguer and Lady Blanca, by the same grace queen and rightful heiress of said kingdom, duchess of the aforesaid duchies, countess of the aforesaid counties and lady of the said city of Ballaguer'⁸⁷⁶

Furthermore the signature was often Blanca's alone or indicated that she was signing on behalf of both partners; 'Blanca. For the king and queen'.⁸⁷⁷ Although this signature indicates that she was signing on behalf of herself and Juan, Ramírez Vaquero stresses that it was the Queen's signature and assent which were vital as the '*señora natural*'.⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷⁴ Document 193, dated October 1340 at Paris in DMO, pp.507-8 (AMO Pergaminos 59). Original text is '*Come a nous seuls de notre droit royal et oour le tout appartiegnent....tout notre royaume de Nauarre*'. Note the missing section here is water as the document gives permission to a certain town to alter the flow of a particular river.

⁸⁷⁵ Iñigo Arzoz Mendizábal, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la cancillería de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1425-1441)', *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 29-30 (2005-6), p.29. Original text is '*La cancillería real en la intitulación hace una clara distinción entre Juan II y Blanca, siendo esta última, reina heredera y propietaria, mientras que su marido es solo rey "consorte" de Navarra.*'

⁸⁷⁶ DME, Document 202, p.569 (AMSCI. Estella E-14) dated 23rd June 1440 at Olite. Original text is '*Don Johan, por la gracia de Dios rey de Nauarra, infant d'Aragon et de Sicilia, duc de Nemours, de Montblanc, de Peynafel, conte de Ribagarça et senor de la cuidat de Ballaguer, et dona Blanca, por aqueilla mesma gracia reyna et heredera propietaria del dicho regno, duquessa de los dichos ducados, contessa de los dichos contados et senora de la dicha ciudat de Ballaguer*'.

⁸⁷⁷ Examples of this formula include AGN Comptos, Caj.132, no.21, 2 dated 15th June 1432 at Olite and AGN Comptos, Caj.131, no.47, 7 dated 18th September 1431. Original text is '*Blanca. Por el rey et por la reyna*'

⁸⁷⁸ Ramírez Vaquero, 'La reina Blanca y Navarra', p.331.

In addition, many royal documents were issued solely by the queen. For example, a sample of documents issued during the period between the couple's accession in mid September 1425 and 20th January of the following year, show that although 32 documents were issued on behalf of both spouses, 26 were issued by the queen alone. While some of these documents began with a joint clause but were clearly issued by Blanca, many of the documents issued had an individual clause from the queen alone.⁸⁷⁹ Less formal documents would begin simply with 'The Queen' as a heading.⁸⁸⁰

Although there is little surviving evidence from Leonor's brief period as Queen of Navarre, documentary evidence amply demonstrates Leonor's active role during her period of rule as lieutenant. Unlike the documents issued during her mother's reign which mention both spouses, for the most part, Leonor makes no mention of her husband in her address clause. In fact Leonor's address clause is more similar to her brother's as can be seen in the following comparison:

The Principe de Viana:

'Carlos, by the grace of God Principe de Viana, heir and lieutenant for the King, my father and lord in Navarre, [and] Duke of Gandia'⁸⁸¹

Leonor:

'Lady Leonor, by the grace of God princess *primogenita*, heiress of Navarre, princess of Aragon and Sicily, Countess of Foix and Bigorre, Lady of Bearn, Lieutenant general for the most serene king, my most redoubtable lord and father in this his kingdom of Navarre'⁸⁸²

Although Leonor's address clause is similar to her brother's during his lieutenancy it is more embellished and detailed, thoroughly detailing her current position and also laying claim to her position as heiress of Navarre as well as her rights as the daughter of the King of

⁸⁷⁹ An example of Blanca's individual address clause which also contains the queen's signature and ends with '*por la reyna*' or 'for the queen' is AGN Comptos, Caj.132, no.6, 3 dated 20th January 1432 at Olite.

⁸⁸⁰ An example of a document which started with the heading '*La Reyna*' or 'The Queen' is AGN Comptos, Caj.130, no.28, 3 dated 1st October 1430 at Estella. This was an internal 'memo' or request to the Cámara de Comptos for a copy of a document. It is interesting to note that Catalina also used this informal heading for some of her documents.

⁸⁸¹ DME, Document 204, p.573 (AME, Fondos Especiales, no.13), dated 26th March 1442 at Olite. Original text is '*Karlos, por la gracia de Dios príncep de Viana, heredero et logartenient por el sennor rey, mi sennor et padre en Nauarra, duc de Gandia*'.

⁸⁸² AGN Comptos, Caj 161, no. 10 dated 18th September 1469 at Pamplona. Original text is '*Dona Leonor por la gracia de dios princessa primogenita heredera de Navarra Infanta daragon et de Sicilia contessa de fox et de begorra Señora de Bearn lugartiente general por el Rey mi muy Reduptable Señor e padre en este su Regno de Navarra*'.

Aragon. These address clauses also demonstrate the necessity of catering to Juan's ego; Leonor's address clause flatters Juan, listing his many titles or alluding to his authority, while Carlos, who had the most difficult relationship with his father, gives Juan a bare mention and his early address clauses issued immediately after the death of Blanca do not mention Juan at all.⁸⁸³

As discussed in the analysis of Leonor's partnership with Gaston of Foix, the couple tended to use the 'Divide and Conquer' mode of power sharing, which meant that Leonor generally administered Navarre alone while Gaston took care of his own patrimonial territory. During her independent exercise of power as lieutenant, Leonor generally used an individual address clause. However, there are a few examples of the couple's joint address clause as the administrators of Navarre which combine the formula of Blanca and Juan's address with elements of Leonor's sole clause. Most of these rare joint examples come from a short period, between September and December of 1470 when the couple must have been together in Navarre.⁸⁸⁴ The following is a sample of their joint address clause:

Lord Gaston by the grace of God Prince of Navarre, Count of Foix, Lord of Béarn, Count of Bigorre, of Marsan, of Nebousan and of Garbardan, Peer of France and Leonor by the same grace princess and heiress of Navarre, Infanta of Aragon and Sicily, Countess and Lady of the said counties and lordships, lieutenants general for our most redoubtable lord and father in this his kingdom of Navarre⁸⁸⁵

The cartulary evidence from the Catalina and Jean d'Albret's reign shows a remarkably similar address clause to Blanca I and Juan of Aragon. A direct comparison shows that

⁸⁸³ For example see DME Document 203, dated 7th June 1441 at Pamplona, p.570.

⁸⁸⁴ The examples from this period include AGN Comptos Caj.162, no.9 dated 7th December 1470 at Olite, AGN Comptos, Caj.162, no.3, dated 18th September 1470 at Olite and AGN Comptos Caj. 130, no.10, 2 dated 27th October 1470 also at Olite.

⁸⁸⁵ AGN Comptos Caj.158, no.64 dated 27th September 1469 at Pamplona. Original text is '*Don Gaston por la gracia de dios principe de nauarra conde de fox Señor de bearn Conde de begorra de marsan de nebosan et de garbardan par de francia et dona Leonor por la mesma gracia princessa primogenital heredera de nauarra Infanta de aragon et de Sicilia condessa de los dichos condados e Senyora de los dichos senyorios lugartienentes generales por el Serenissimo Rey nuestro muy Reduptable Señor e padre en este su regno de nauarra.*'. There is also another document with the same date and address clause, AGN Comptos Caj.158, no.63. It is worth noting that the examples from 1469 are slightly more elaborate than the 1470 ones as they include the mention of Marsan, Gavardan and Nebousan and his role as a peer of France.

despite a slight difference in the actual titles the address clauses of the two couples are effectively the same,

Blanca and Juan

Lord Juan, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Prince of Aragon and Sicily, Duke of Nemours, of Montblanc, of Peñafiel, Count of Ribagorza and Lord of the city of Ballaguer and Lady Blanca, by the same grace queen and rightful heiress of said kingdom, duchess of the aforesaid duchies, countess of the aforesaid counties and lady of the said city of Ballaguer⁸⁸⁶

Catalina and Jean

Lord Jean, by the grace of God King of Navarre, Duke of Nemours, of Gandia, of Montblanc, and Peñafiel, Count of Foix, Lord of Bearn, Count of Bigorre and Ribagorza, Lord of the city of Ballaguer, peer of France and lady Catalina, by the same grace queen regnant of the said kingdom of Navarra, duchess, countess and lady of the said duchies, counties and lordships⁸⁸⁷

Given the similarities between the two, it is very likely that Blanca and Juan's address clause served as a model for Catalina's chancery to emulate. However, it is not the only address clause that the couple used. The address clauses used by the couple in treaties vary; some give Jean a more prominent role, while others place the couple on a more equal footing. An example of the former is the third treaty of Seville between the sovereigns of Navarre and Spain, signed 14th May 1500 which lists Jean first with all of his titles and then adds Catalina as 'the most serene queen, your cousin, our very dear and beloved wife'.⁸⁸⁸ A more egalitarian address clause, on both sides comes from a treaty of alliance with the new sovereigns of Castile, Juana I and her husband Philip of Flanders, signed 27th August 1506,

Lord Philip and lady Juana, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Granada etc, in accordance with the love and good wishes which we have for you, the

⁸⁸⁶ DME, Document 202, p.569 (AMSCI. Estella E-14), 23rd June 1440 at Olite. Original text is '*Don Johan, por la gracia de Dios rey de Nauarra, infant d'Aragon et de Sicilia, duc de Nemours, de Montblanc, de Peynafel, conte de Ribagarça et senor de la cuidat de Ballaguer, et dona Blanca, por aqueilla mesma gracia reyna et heredera propietaria del dicho regno, duquessa de los dichos ducados, contessa de los dichos contados et senora de la dicha ciudat de Ballaguer*'.

⁸⁸⁷ DME, Document 253, p.696 (AMSCLEstella E-1), 27th March 1501 at Pamplona. Original text is '*Don Johan, por la gracia de Dios rey de Nauarra, duc de Nemoux, de Gandia, de Montblanch e de Pennaffiel, conde de Foix, senor de Bearn, conde de Begorra e de Ribagorça, senor de la cuidat de Balaguer, par de Francia, e dona Kathallina, por la mesma gracia reyna propietaria del dicho regno de Nauarra, duquessa, condessa e senora de los dichos duquados, condados e senorios*'.

⁸⁸⁸ Reprinted in Boissonade, pp.607-8. (AGS, Patronado Real, leg.2, fol.15). Original text is '*la Serenissima Reyna, vuestra sobrina, nuestra muy cara é muy amada muger*'.

most illustrious lord Jean and lady Catalina, King and Queen of Navarre, Lords of Bearn etc.⁸⁸⁹

Although this clause brackets both couples together fairly equally, it is important to note that neither queen is acknowledged as the rightful heir or queen regnant, though both women have inherited the royal authority of their respective realms. The only example of an address clause which simultaneously acknowledged Catalina's rights while indicating that she was subject to her husband comes from Favyn's *Histoire de Navarre*.⁸⁹⁰ This atypical address clause lists the couple as

We Lord Jean by the grace of God King of Navarre and we Lady Catherine by the same grace Queen regnant of the said kingdom, with the licence and permission of you Lord Jean my husband...⁸⁹¹

Although this is an interesting example, given the atypical formula and indirect provenance, it cannot be said to be truly indicative of the couple's partnership. Jean may have taken precedence in their address clause, but this was more likely due to chancery precedent as discussed previously rather than a reflection of any desire on Jean's part to dominate their relationship or the rule of the realm.

The similarities between the joint address clauses of the couples in this study indicate that the chancery must have used the examples of earlier queens and their consorts as a model for the next queen's cartulary. However, some differences can also be seen. The most atypical example is that of Gaston and Leonor, which is a reflection of their particular role as lieutenants for her father, Juan of Aragon. The rest of the examples are essentially similar; the husband and his titles come first, followed by his wife, whose titles are largely truncated.

⁸⁸⁹ Reprinted in Adot Lerga, pp.351-52 and in Boissonade pp.622-24. (ADPA E 552). Original text is 'don Phelipe y donna Juana, por la gracia de Dios, rey y reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Granada etc. acatando el amor y buena voluntad que tenemos a vos los muy ilustres don Juan y donna Catalina, rey y reyna de Navarra, sennores de Bearne etc.'

⁸⁹⁰ The document is reproduced in Favyn pp.611-12.

⁸⁹¹ Favyn, p.611. Original text is 'Nous Dom lean par la grace de Dieu Roy de Nauarre, et nous Donne Catherine par la mesme grace Royne propriétaire dudict Royaume, avec la licence et permission de vous Roy Dom lean mon mary'. Favyn notes a similar clause at the end of the coronation accord on p.613.

The example of the first queen regnant, Juana I, is slightly different, both in the wording and in the layout of the documents themselves. The couple's documents began with Philip's brief address clause, proceeded with the purpose and main text of the document and then Juana's clause would follow at the end, sometimes with an indication that she had 'seen' or 'assented' to the terms of the charter.

One item of significance, which demonstrates continuity, is that fact that although the queen may come second, her role and rights as the heir to the kingdom are emphasized. Even Leonor, who had not yet gained the title of queen noted that she was the rightful heir to Navarre. This underlines the principle of female inheritance as decreed in the *Fueros* and serves to protect the rights of the queen regnant. Her husband may have been allowed to participate in, or even dominate, the administration of the realm but her place as sovereign is always acknowledged and she must be seen to be involved in the government of the realm, even if it is only to acknowledge her awareness of acts and give her consent.

The only example here which does not spell out that the queen is the hereditary sovereign is that of Juana II. However, Jeanne often used the address clause of her documents to stress her inheritance in a different way, by using the term 'daughter of the king of France' immediately after her name at the beginning of her documents.⁸⁹² Perhaps logically, this clause was most often inserted in documents issued in French and was seen more frequently after the death of her husband in 1343. It was not unheard of for other French princesses to use this clause; for example Jeanne's maternal grandmother Agnes of France employed a similar phrase in her cartulary.⁸⁹³ A much later example of this same phrase can be seen in the cartulary of Magdalena of France, who began her address clause with 'Magdalena, daughter and sister of the Kings of France'.⁸⁹⁴ In Magdalena's case, the

⁸⁹² For examples of Jeanne's use of this clause see AGN Comptos, Caj. 9, no.75, and Caj. 9, no.7 both dated 29th March 1344 at Breval (in French) and AGN Comptos, Caj.11, no.35, dated 27th August 1349 at Conflans (in Latin).

⁸⁹³ See Document of *Preuve* CCXXV dated 1316 in Plancher, *Histoire Generale et Particuliere de Bourgogne*.

⁸⁹⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj. 163, no. 37, 3 dated 21st July 1479 at Pau. Original text is 'Magdalena fija y hermana de los Reyes de Francia'.

phrase was probably included to give her added authority and stress her allegiance to her own family and homeland. For Jeanne, this phrase may have been included as a nod to French tradition, however it is more likely that its deliberate inclusion served to stress the fact that Jeanne was her father's heir to the throne of France as well as Navarre, even if she had been ultimately unable to claim her rights to the French throne.

It is also important to note that although this particular section has focused primarily, though not exclusively, on joint address clauses as part of a wider analysis of partnership, all of the female rulers of Navarre had their own individual address clauses. The clearest links can be seen in the cartulary of Blanca and Catalina. Catalina could not use Leonor or her mother Magdalena's address clauses for a pattern to emulate. Although both Leonor and Magdalena ruled or administered Navarre both women were in a different position to Catalina; Leonor was ruling as her father's lieutenant and Magdalena was ruling as regent. The best option was to look to Blanca's individual clause for a model to emulate, which clearly appears to have happened, with only minor modifications, based on a direct comparison of the two addresses:

Blanca

Blanca by the grace of God Queen of Navarre, Duchess of Nemours, of Gandia, of Montblanc, of Peñafiel, Countess of Ribagorza and Lady of the city of Balaguer⁸⁹⁵

Catalina

Ourselves Lady Catalina by the grace of God Queen of Navarre, Duchess of Nemours, of Gandia, of Montblanc, of Peñafiel. Countess of Foix, Lady of Béarn. Countess of Ribagorza and Lady of the city of Balaguer⁸⁹⁶

Both Catalina and Leonor also adopted Blanca's informal model using the heading 'The Queen' and the footing 'for the Queen'.⁸⁹⁷ However, in Leonor's case the wording was

⁸⁹⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj.132, no.6, 3 dated 20th January 1432 at Olite. Original text is '*Blanca por la gracia de dios Reyna de Nauarra duquessa de Nemours de Gandia de montblanch de penyafiel comtessa de Ribagorza & Senyora de la Ciudat de balaguer.*'

⁸⁹⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj 163, no. 31 dated 8th June 1484 at Orthez. Original text is '*Nos dona Catalina por la gracia de dios Reyna de Navarra duquessa de Nemours de Gandia de montblanc e de penyafiel. Condessa de foix Señorra de bearn. Condessa de begorra de Ribagorza e Señorra de la Ciudat de balaguer.*'

⁸⁹⁷ An example of this formula in Blanca's cartulary is AGN Comptos Caj.130, no.30, 3 dated 18th December 1430 at Sangüesa. A very similar sample from Catalina is AGN Comptos Caj. 167, no.16, 2 dated 10th December 1502.

altered to reflect her different circumstances; her heading read 'The Princess' and the footer was 'by the mandate of the lady Princess'.⁸⁹⁸

In addition, Catalina did vary her individual address clause, as well as her joint address as discussed previously. In one version of her solo clause, she was clearly drawing on both the feminine model of her great-grandmother Blanca, the last true reigning queen before her and the masculine tradition of her grandfather, Gaston of Foix. The formula is similar to Blanca's but she has inherited a formidable collection of titles from both the Navarrese and Foix dynasties as seen below:

Lady Catherine by the grace of God Queen of Navarre, Duchess of Nemours, of Gandia of Montblanc, of Peñafiel, Countess of Foix, Lady of Béarn, Countess of Bigorre, of Ribagorza, of Ponnébre, of Perigord, Vicountess of Limoges, Peer of France and Lady of the city of Balaguer⁸⁹⁹

The unusual part is that Catalina has deliberately included the title 'Peer of France' which was also seen in Gaston's address clause. It is also interesting both that she chose to emphasize her position in France and also that she chose this more masculine way to do it, as a peer of the realm, rather than play upon her familial connections to the French throne in a more typical female formula as her mother and ancestor Juana II had.

In summary, both the joint and individual address clauses of female rulers and their consorts show both continuity and change. Generally, the address clauses are very similar which is to be expected as the chancery would have looked to previous models and precedent in order to shape the cartulary of a new monarch. Using traditional forms of address also emphasizes dynastic continuity. However, it has also been demonstrated that innovation did occur and that monarchs did tailor their clauses to reflect their own

⁸⁹⁸ AGN Comptos Caj.198, no.18, 2 dated 13th June 1475 at Tafalla. Leonor's signature is also visible in this example.

⁸⁹⁹ AGN Comptos Caj.167, no.16, 2 dated 20th December 1501 at Pamplona. Original text is '*Doña Cathalina por la gracia de dios Reyna de Navarra Duquessa de Nemours de Gandia de Montblanch de Penyafiel Condessa de fox Senora de Bearn Condessa de begorra de Ribagorza de Ponnébre de Peyregord Vizconde de Limoges Par de Francia e Senora de la Ciudat de balaguer*'

circumstances. Later rulers also appears to blend different models from the past, drawing on different precedents to create a formula that was still essentially similar, but reflected multiple aspects of their heritage.

Visual Sources (Seals and Coinage)

The seals of the couple's documents were a way to incorporate visual imagery to the literary representation of the royal authority and power sharing dynamic of the sovereign pair. The trends in the use of the seals demonstrate both continuity and change. The seals of the first two couples are extremely similar; the queen's bore a standing figure under a Gothic canopy which was flanked by the shields of Navarre and their French territories. The king consort's seal was in keeping with earlier traditions which depicted the king enthroned on one side and on the reverse as a knight on horseback, in armour and with the heraldic design of his house on the horse's back. Both spouses had similar small seals with a simple dynastic shield devise.

Seals were also altered as the position of the bearer was changed. It is worth noting that Juana's seal from the early days of her majority in 1284-5 bears the shields of both Navarre and Champagne as well as her own titles 'Juana by the grace of God Queen of Navarre Countess Palatine of Champagne and Brie'.⁹⁰⁰ However, after 1285 and her accession to the French throne the French title took precedence in her list of titles and the French shield replaced the Champenois on the front of the seal, reducing Champagne's presence to a quartering on the rear shield.⁹⁰¹

⁹⁰⁰ Original text is '*Johanne Dei Gracia Regine Navarre Canpanie et Brie Comitisse Palatine*'. See an illustration in the Appendices, Figure 11.

⁹⁰¹ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, pp.48-49 and pictorial examples 1/21, 1/22, 1/23, 1/24, 1/25, 1/26, 1/27, 1/28 and 1/29 on pp.113-6. See also Figure 12 in the Appendices.

The seals of Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were fundamentally similar to their Capetian predecessors as they followed the French sigillographic tradition.⁹⁰² Philip's seals carry the traditional designs of a knight on horseback on the reverse and the front of the seal has an image of the king enthroned.⁹⁰³ The seal is round in shape, approximately seven centimetres in diameter and imprinted in light brown wax. On the front the king is pictured crowned and enthroned in flowing robes holding a sceptre with a fleur-de-lys at its tip. Two lions flank the throne and another sits at his feet. The reverse bears an image of Philip as a knight in armour with a flowing cape and with the combined Evreux-Navarre arms on his horse, though his shield bears only the Navarrese devise.

Jeanne's own seal is similar to that of her grandmother and shows her standing under a gothic canopy with the arms of France, Navarre and Evreux.⁹⁰⁴ It is a similar size to her husband's seal but is lozenge-shaped and sealed in red wax. While the queen is not enthroned, she is crowned and holds a sceptre. Around the edges of both spouses' seals there is wording, although very little is remaining for Philip's examples.⁹⁰⁵ On Juana's seal, some words can still be seen, including NAVARRE, ROY, COMITISSA, IOH and what also appears to be REGIS FRANCIA FILIA, which again is an allusion to her Capetian heritage. The reverse of the queen's seal bears a small shield devise which again includes her titles of REGINE and COMITISSA.

The most fundamental change between the seals of the first two reigning queens and their consorts is the heraldry, with the arms of Evreux and Navarre combined to

⁹⁰² *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, p.50 and pictorial examples 1/52, 1/53, 1/54, 1/55, 1/56, 1/57, 1/58, 1/59, 1/60 pp.124-7.

⁹⁰³ An excellent example of Philip's seal can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.7, no.75, dated 3rd July 1336 at Pamplona. This is a document issued solely by Philip and accordingly bears only his own seal. See also an illustration in the Appendices, Figure 14, p.344.

⁹⁰⁴ The best surviving example of Juana's seal which is virtually complete and in excellent condition can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.6, no.97, 2 dated 5th April 1329 at Olite. This document was issued by both spouses and has a joint address clause in Latin and well as both seals still attached. This is possibly the most well preserved example of a document with both Philip and Juana's seals intact. See also a photograph of her seal in the Appendices, Figure 15, p.344.

⁹⁰⁵ On the seal present on AGN Caj.7, no.91, dated 10th February 1337 at Paris), the word ANGOLES can be seen which would appear to be part of a reference to the County of Angoulême. This seal is in very good condition, with nearly two-thirds of the seal remaining.

represent both spouses. The arms of France are still visible, which Jeanne still had the right to claim as the daughter of a French king and is in keeping with her emphasis on this link to the succession of France which has already been discussed.

Blanca and Juan broke with earlier traditions and created a large double seal which contained the image of both the King and Queen.⁹⁰⁶ The central image of the seal is that of a shield bearing their crowned joint arms, flanked by images of the King and Queen on each side.⁹⁰⁷ The size is truly notable, at almost ten centimetres in diameter and it was impressed in dark brown wax. The king and queen are both pictured enthroned and crowned; the king holds a sceptre while the queen appears to be holding an orb. There is a gothic surround which bears some resemblance to that of the two previous queens. However, the surround in this seal is embellished with angels and there appears to be two birds on either side of the shield's crown.

One interesting item of note with regard to the seals of Blanca and Juan is that while they used the same image of both partners enthroned on the front, they had several different designs for the reverse of the seal. In the early years of their reign, the image was that of Juan as a knight on horseback, similar to the individual seals of Philip of France and Philip d'Evreux.⁹⁰⁸ However, the design was changed after 1430 to a more neutral image of their joint crowned seal, flanked by two leopards.⁹⁰⁹ In another surviving example, the reverse of the seal is difficult to see clearly, but it appears to be a figure holding a shield with their joint arms.⁹¹⁰

This seal represents both continuity and change. In some ways it can be seen as a blending of the iconographic elements of the individual seals of their predecessors. They

⁹⁰⁶ A wonderful surviving example of their double seal can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.22, 1 dated 13th February 1426. Ironically, although this has a double seal, this document was issued solely by Juan as it concerns a gift of his own patrimonial lands to their son, the Principe de Viana. See also a photograph of one of their double seals in the Appendices, Figure 16.

⁹⁰⁷ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/95, p.141

⁹⁰⁸ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/96, p.141.

⁹⁰⁹ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/101 and 1/102, p.143.

⁹¹⁰ AGN Comptos, Caj.104, no.22, 1 dated 13th February 1426.

have clearly borrowed some of the imagery, including the gothic canopy of the queens' seals, but they have combined it with the masculine image of the monarch enthroned in flowing garments. However, the idea of a double seal is a direct contrast to the practice of last queen regnant, Juana II, who chose to retain her own seal which was used in addition to that of her husband. There are two possible rationales for this radical departure from tradition. One possibility is that using a double seal was a matter of convenience; Blanca could carry on the work of administration with one seal, rather than sending documents to her husband who was often away in Castile or Aragon, for his own seal.⁹¹¹ A second possibility, which does not necessarily exclude the previous suggestion, is that the seal was a matter of assuaging Juan's ego. Blanca may have been happy to share a seal with her husband and place his name first in the address clause in order to present the image of Juan actively ruling the realm as King, to make him feel more like a true king and less like a consort, whatever the reality may actually have been. However little interested Juan may have been in the realm, there is evidence that he used his standing as 'King of Navarre' to his political advantage, for example using his status as a fellow monarch while in Castile to keep similar state to the Castilian queen and heir and appear as their equal.⁹¹²

Another example of their joint imagery which also appears to have been equally balanced between both partners can be found on the sarcophagus of their daughter Juana, who died as a young girl in 1425.⁹¹³ The sarcophagus itself is unadorned and rests on two recumbent lions. However, there are six shields attached to the sarcophagus; on either side there is one of Juan's shields and one of Blanca's. One end bears Blanca's shield and the other Juan's. Thus the iconography is perfectly equal and balanced between both parents.

⁹¹¹ It is important to note that Juan did have his own seal, which again he would have needed if Blanca retained their double seal in Navarre while he was in Castile and Aragon. See *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/103, p.143.

⁹¹² 'D.Juan de Aragón y Navarra', p.597. Ostolaza Elizondo describes a visit in 1440 where Juan used his standing to receive the same treatment as the Castilian royals, including a guard of twelve footmen.

⁹¹³ The sarcophagus was originally placed in the Convent of San Francisco de Tudela but came to the Museo de Navarra, (Pamplona) in 1956.

However, Juan was not included in all of the royal imagery from the couple's reign. One striking example of the queen's own symbolic devise can be found on the ceiling of the cathedral in Pamplona. The centre of this vividly coloured and intricately detailed devise contains the single letter 'b' surmounted by a golden crown.⁹¹⁴ This symbol is particularly significant in a number of ways. First the cathedral itself was 'the stage of the monarchy'; the location where sovereigns were both anointed and buried.⁹¹⁵ Secondly, Blanca's parents had overseen a programme of restoration and improvements to the cathedral which Blanca continued to patronize during her reign.⁹¹⁶ The placement of such a large distinctive symbol in this particular public space was a strong statement of her personal sovereignty and patronage.

Leonor's seals demonstrate her difficult and changing position as lieutenant for her father during a period of civil conflict. At one point between 1472-3, Juan de Beaumont retained the seals of the chancery and refused to let Leonor have access to them.⁹¹⁷ However, Leonor still had access to her '*sello secreto*' as well as her signet seal which she continued to use. The signet she used between 1457-65 has no reference to her husband; the design is a single letter 'L' within an octagon.⁹¹⁸ However, the signet she used for the next ten years as well as her *sello secreto* bear the arms Navarre, her family dynasty of Evreux, her husband's counties of Foix, Béarn and Bigorre and finally the Trastámara connections to Aragon, Castile and León.⁹¹⁹ As in her address clause, it appears that Leonor was keen to delineate all of her titles and connections as a means of establishing her own somewhat precarious authority. An example of seal used during her widowhood, in 1478, retains the arms of Navarre, Evreux and the Iberian Trastámara connections but omits her

⁹¹⁴ See photographs of this devise and a smaller version in the Appendices, Figures 24 and 26.

⁹¹⁵ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'La Fábrica de la Catedral de Pamplona: Una Obra Pública?' In *Tecnología y Sociedad: Las Grandes Obras Públicas en la Europa Medieval* (Pamplona, 1996), p.219.

⁹¹⁶ 'Obra publica', p.230.

⁹¹⁷ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, p.59.

⁹¹⁸ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, picture 1/121, p.149.

⁹¹⁹ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, picture 1/22 (signet) and 1/120 (*sello secreto*), pp.148-9.

husband's territories although it is embellished with an angel, two lions and two greyhounds.⁹²⁰ The devise of Leonor's combined family arms can also be seen in a surviving example of her thumbprint-sized '*sello de placa*' or embossed seal.⁹²¹

Catalina and Jean d'Albret's use of seals reflects their 'Team Players' power sharing mode and the fact that they issued documents both independently and together as they possessed both single and joint seals. The Navarrese chancery reused some of the seals of her brother Francisco Fébo and Blanca and Juan during the early years of their reign.⁹²² This may reflect a number of things such as sheer practicality or a lack of funds due to the ongoing financial and political difficulties in the realm. It may also signal a desire to stress dynastic continuity and to emulate previous models as discussed with reference to the similarities to Blanca and Juan's address clause. Catalina used Leonor's signet ring occasionally, which again could demonstrate a desire to stress a familiar link and Catalina's hereditary rights which had previously been challenged.

There is evidence that the couple possessed several different large seals, both joint and individual. Their joint seal featured a heraldic shield surmounted by a crown which displayed all of their territorial holdings and family connections.⁹²³ This design can also be seen in their large '*sello de placa*'.⁹²⁴ The largest was their joint seal which measured 63 millimetres, followed by Catalina's individual seal at 62 millimetres which bore the title 'Katherine by the grace of God, Queen of Navarre, Countess of Foix and Lady of Bearn'.⁹²⁵ Jean's seal was slightly smaller at 60 millimetres and bore the wording 'Jean by the grace of God, King of

⁹²⁰ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, picture 1/119, p.148.

⁹²¹ AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.18, 2 dated 13th June 1475 at Tafalla. The arms of Navarre, Evreux and Aragon are all clearly visible, though the fourth quarter is indistinct.

⁹²² *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, pp.60-61. See also a photograph of an embossed seal with the Foix arms in the Appendices, Figure 17, p.344.

⁹²³ See *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/130, 1/131 and 1/132, p.151. The shield bears the arms of Navarre, Foix, Bearn, Evreux, Bigorre, Aragon, Castile and Leon.

⁹²⁴ A clear surviving example can be found on AGN Comptos, Caj.193, no.30 dated 29th March 1489 at Orthez.

⁹²⁵ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra* 1/131, p.151. Original text is '*Katherine Dei Gracia Regine Nauarre: Comitisse Foxi: et Domine Bearnii*'.

Navarre'.⁹²⁶ The couple also each had a smaller individual seal with only the arms of Navarre and Evreux and only their royal Navarrese title.⁹²⁷ Again the deliberate choice of the Evreux arms, even though the couple were considered to be members of the Foix-Bearn dynasty accentuated their link to the earlier monarchs, particularly to sovereigns such as Carlos III who ruled during a 'golden age' when Navarre was prosperous and free from civil war.⁹²⁸

Overall, the trend appears to be one of continuity, with the two earliest couples sharing nearly identical seals and the later monarchs deliberately reusing the seals of their predecessors. However, while tradition and dynastic continuity was favoured, innovation did take place. The one major change came in the reign of Blanca I and Juan of Aragon with the introduction of their elaborately detailed and massively sized joint seal. However, the precedent set by Blanca and Juan was not fully embraced by their descendants. Although both Leonor and Catalina reused Blanca and Juan's double seal as an efficiency measure and to stress dynastic continuity, they did not commission similar seals of their own. Leonor's seals were more reminiscent of the earlier simple shield designs of her ancestors. Catalina and Jean had individual seals and a joint seal, but none of their seals had a portrait of any kind. All of their seals featured a large shield which was partitioned to carry the arms of their various territories and dynastic connections with their names and titles around the edges.

Coinage was another way to demonstrate authority and represent their relationship to the public. Although coins are arguably more limited in content, they had a much wider reach and circulated over a long period throughout the kingdom and often beyond. As Alan M. Stahl noted, 'Coinage was perhaps the most conspicuous activity of any medieval ruler...they were the only product of governmental activity with which virtually the entire

⁹²⁶ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/132, p.151. Original text is '*Johannis Dei Gracia Regis Navarre*'.

⁹²⁷ *Sellos Medievales de Navarra*, 1/133 and 1/134, p.152

⁹²⁸ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero comments on the 'curious' way that the Evreux arms came to symbolize the representation of royalty in Navarre, even when they were no longer the dynasty in charge. Carmen Jusué Simonena and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, *La Moneda en Navarra*. 2nd ed. (Pamplona, 2002), p.80.

population was familiar'.⁹²⁹ The ability of the royal couple to mint coins demonstrated the stability of the realm and its finances while the imagery that they chose to use could either show dynastic continuity or links to other territories.

It is difficult to assess continuity and change in coinage for the earliest queens. For Juana I, this is due to the fact that there are very few surviving examples. However, in contrast to the documents which have Juana's name second to her father-in-law or husband's, surviving coins from Navarra issued during her reign appear to bear only Juana's name. Surviving examples bear a simple design, similar to her predecessors from the Champenois dynasty, with a cross on one side and a crown on the other.⁹³⁰ Significantly though, the only name on the coin is that of the queen, '*Iohanna*' or the legend '*Iohana Regina de Navarra*'.⁹³¹ Alan M. Stahl notes that 'a woman's name on coinage was a concrete and widespread recognition of her actual governance' although he concedes later that 'it must be admitted that the acknowledgement of a woman on coins as a ruler does not imply that she made the actual decisions of governance'.⁹³² It would be more appropriate for Juana's name to be on the coinage of the realm than her husband's, given the lingering resentment of the French occupation of the realm. However, it does not necessarily indicate that she was governing the realm as it appears that her interaction with her Iberian kingdom was limited as discussed earlier.

Juana II and Philip d'Evreux ran into difficulties with coinage, both in promoting their royal image and in the economic administration of the realm. The couple began their reign in a difficult situation with debts from their coronation, poor economic conditions, and uncertainty regarding the rents from the royal lands and complex negotiations with the

⁹²⁹ Alan M. Stahl, 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women' in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. by Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, Ga., 1990), p.321.

⁹³⁰ See an illustration in the Appendices, Figure 5.

⁹³¹ Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies Féodales de France*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. (reprint, Graz, 1961), p.176 and pictorial example on plate LXXI. See also the pictorial examples in the appendices.

⁹³² 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women', p.321.

larger towns over rolling out new coinage.⁹³³ These economic problems continued to plague the royal couple and can also be seen in the failure to pay some of the money stipulated in dowry agreements for their daughters' marriages, as discussed in the previous chapter. The situation was exacerbated by a general scarcity of money in the realm from 1338-1343 which led to the falsification of coinage. The royal couple worked with their master of mining, the Florentine Paulo Girardi, to exercise their royal prerogative of mining at Urrobi.⁹³⁴ Ultimately, however it appears that despite these efforts and a need for new coinage, they were never able to realize their desire to mint their own coins.

Leonor is another female ruler who failed to mint coins during her administration of the realm. Although her brother, the Principe de Viana minted coins as heir and lieutenant, there is no evidence that Leonor did so.⁹³⁵ Instead, Juan of Aragon minted Navarrese coins under his own name, as a means of reinforcing his own authority in the realm.

In fact, one of the first actions that Blanca and Juan took when they ascended the throne in 1425 was to use their prerogative to mint coins.⁹³⁶ They borrowed designs from earlier monarchs and issued several styles with different iconography.⁹³⁷ Blanca issued coins with a crown and cross design which were essentially similar to Juana I's, although the later coins are slightly more ornate and bear the initials of both spouses. Coins such as their *blanca de vellon*, were issued with the arms of the Evreux dynasty, surmounted by a crown on one side with a cross and further royal symbols on the reverse.⁹³⁸ Blanca also used her father's devise of a crowned initial. This proved to be a design with longevity; Blanca and Juan, their son the

⁹³³ Iñigo Mugueta Moreno, 'Política monetaria en Navarra bajo el reinado de los primeros Evreux (1328-1349)', *En la España Medieval* 27, (2004), pp.80-82.

⁹³⁴ Mugueta Moreno attached a number of reprinted letters and reports from the Girardi to 'Política monetaria', pp.94-104. It is worth noting that the sole letter directly to the monarchs, dated Spring 1340, is addressed only to Philip d'Evreux. (AGN Comptos, Caj.24, no.38).

⁹³⁵ For discussion and examples of Carlos's coinage see Jose Maria de Francisco Olmos, 'La moneda de los príncipes herederos en los reinos de la Europa occidental en la baja edad media (s.XIV-XV)', *Documenta & Instrumenta* 2 (2004), pp.137-146 and *La Moneda en Navarra*, p.78.

⁹³⁶ Juan Carrasco Perez, 'Moneda y fiscalidad en el reinado de Blanca de Navarra: del mardaje a los 'acuñaciones de guerra' (1428-1432)', *Principe de Viana*, 64 (2003), 557-86.

⁹³⁷ See illustrations of a few examples in the Appendices, Figure 6.

⁹³⁸ *La Moneda en Navarra*, p.77.

Principe de Viana, Francisco Fébo and Catalina and Jean d'Albret all used this design.⁹³⁹ In the case of a sovereign pair, both initials were used while the Principe and his father Juan in his widowhood just used a single letter.

In a related issue, monetary policy is one area where the detrimental effect of Juan's actions can be plainly seen. During his reign, both alongside his wife and later on his own, the currency of the realm was profoundly affected by Juan's desire to make war with Castile. Carrasco Perez remarks that initially there was an intent to 'inject more fluidity and equilibrium into the (monetary) system' but the necessity to increase coinage in order to pay for the means to wage war and cope with other budgetary losses from the reduction of rents from territories depleted by conflict or taken by Castile, had a profoundly negative effect on the economy as well as the value of the coinage itself.⁹⁴⁰

Despite the on-going civil unrest and the accompanying financial difficulties from depressed revenues and the expense of conflict, Catalina and Jean d'Albret were able to mint coins and there are several varied examples from coinage during their reign.⁹⁴¹ Again, just as in the imagery on their seals, the coinage issued by the couple carried a variety of heraldic devises and both singular and joint representations. Alan M. Stahl notes that, like Juana I's coins, Catalina's Béarnaise coinage carried only her name, while her Navarrese coins had the names of both spouses.⁹⁴²

The Navarrese coins also show several interesting designs. Once again, a similarity to Blanca and Juan can be seen in the design of their respective '*blanca de plata*' coins which are nearly identical bar the names and a slight alteration on the back of the coin.⁹⁴³ Another design initiated by Blanca and Juan which was also popular in Catalina's reign was a

⁹³⁹ See examples in *La Moneda en Navarra*, p.78, 'La moneda de los príncipes herederos' pp.137-146 and *Monnaies Féodales de France*, plate LXXII, nos. 8 and 9.

⁹⁴⁰ 'Moneda y fiscalidad en el reinado de Blanca de Navarra', p.577. Original text is, '*inyectar al sistema una mayor fluidez y equilibrio*'.

⁹⁴¹ See illustrations of a few examples in the Appendices, Figure 7.

⁹⁴² 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women', p.326.

⁹⁴³ See examples in *La Moneda en Navarra*, p.82 and p.77. Note: '*de oro*' would be a gold coin, '*de plata*', silver and '*de vellón*', copper.

partitioned and crowned shield on one side with a cross on the reverse with the names and titles of the sovereigns around the edges.

Regarding portraiture, it is interesting to note that although Blanca and Juan created a double portrait seal, there is no evidence that they used a similar design for their coinage. However, Catalina and Jean minted double portrait coins during their reign which were strikingly similar to those of their contemporaries and cousins Ferdinand and Isabel.⁹⁴⁴ Stahl claims that in the case of Isabel and Ferdinand, the double portrait reflected the fact that both were sovereigns in their own right.⁹⁴⁵ However, the same cannot be said for Catalina and Jean as she had the sole right to the crown and Jean had not yet inherited the Albret holdings. However, single portrait coins were not unheard of in Navarre as Carlos III, Juan and Francisco Fébo had all issued portrait coins.

In summary, the designs for coinage show a great deal of continuity and the reuse of previous models, probably in an effort to stress a dynastic connection to earlier rulers. However, there is also a willingness to adopt new designs as the double portrait coin of Catalina and Jean demonstrates. Overall, the coinage shows a general preference to include the names and sometimes the initials or portraits of both spouses. Both the seals and coins show an increasing trend towards joint representation, as exemplified by the great double seal of Blanca and Juan and the double portrait coin of Catalina and Jean d'Albret.

It is important to stress that although in the case of Juana I's coinage and the Béarnaise coins of Catalina, a consort can be absent, there is no evidence of a design which fails to include the name of the queen regnant. These coins, like the documents discussed earlier demonstrate that the rights of the queen as hereditary sovereign were consistently acknowledged. The coins were a public statement of female rule in the kingdom and demonstrated the queen's authority and right to mint coinage in the imagery chosen.

⁹⁴⁴ See examples in 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women' p.326 and 340 (nos. 22 and 24) and in *Monnaies Féodales de France*, plate LXXII, no.7.

⁹⁴⁵ 'Coinage in the name of Medieval Women', p.326.

Sole representation-Patronage

Patronage is a means through which many royal women have demonstrated agency and presented a key opportunity to promote their own individual image, interests and authority. As discussed in the chapter on queenship, many scholars have examined the patronage of both ruling queens, such as Therese Martin's investigation of Urraca of Castile, and the patronage of queens consort and regent have also been investigated.⁹⁴⁶

Juana I was a keen patroness as befit both her roles as queen regnant and consort. In regards to literary patronage, the queen is connected to three major works; a biographic study, a conduct manual and a romance. The latter, 'Meliacun' by Girart d'Amiens was produced in 1285 and may have been dedicated to her to acknowledge her recent marriage and accession to the French throne.⁹⁴⁷ The second book to be dedicated to her, the *Speculum Dominarum* (c.1300) has a much more tangible connection to the queen. It was written by Durand de Champagne, who not was not only one of her Champenois subjects, but her Franciscan confessor.⁹⁴⁸ However, the content of the book is extremely flattering to the author's patroness containing twenty-three chapters 'on the brilliant condition of the queen', a section on 'the effect of divine grace, especially in queens' and an entire part which is 'devoted to the spiritual character of the queen.'⁹⁴⁹ Even when Durand is talking about queens in an abstract sense, it is clear that Juana, as his own queen and patron, is serving as his own muse and inspiration. Finally, Juana commissioned Jean de Joinville to write his famous biography, *La Vie de Saint Louis* which was finished after her death in 1309 and subsequently dedicated to her son, Louis X. Joinville was an important Champenois

⁹⁴⁶ Therese Martin, 'The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth Century Spain', *Speculum* 80, no. 4 (2005); 1134-1171. Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006).

⁹⁴⁷ Laurent Brun, 'Girart d'Amiens', ARLIMA (*Archives de littérature du Moyen Age*), Accessed 25th April 2011, http://www.arlima.net/eh/girart_damiens.html

⁹⁴⁸ The British Library has a fifteenth century manuscript version of this work, also known as the *Miroir des Dames*, BL Royal 19 B XVI. In this version there is an exquisite image of Durand presenting the book to Juana as his patroness (f.2).

⁹⁴⁹ Lester Kruger Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Ideals' *Speculum* 3, no. 4 (1928), p.494.

noble and served as hereditary seneschal of the county. Juana may have played on her position as Joinville's direct liege lord as well as Philip's consort in order to encourage him to write his up his study of St. Louis, perhaps as an exemplar to her own son.⁹⁵⁰

Juana's other major project as patroness was the founding of the Collège de Navarre at the University of Paris. The funding for this project and for the foundation of a hospital at Château-Thierry was left in her will.⁹⁵¹ Even though the college was not built until after her death, her influence was very much felt in the design of the school, particularly in the curriculum and administration. Juana left lengthy, specific instructions regarding exactly how the school should be run and staffed and demanded quality instructors, 'the best..that one can find'.⁹⁵² Moreover Carlos Sánchez Marco claims that the queen's plans for the college brought 'an innovative character to French education'.⁹⁵³ The school continued to run as the Collège de Navarre until 1793 when it became known as 'L'École Polytechnique'. During its nearly 500 year life, the Collège turned out a number of famous alumni including Cardinal Richelieu, Juana's descendant Henry IV of France (Enrique III de Navarra), Jean Gerson and Nicolas Oresme.⁹⁵⁴ Juana's statue proudly stood to the left of the portal with an inscription noting her role as the founder of the school.⁹⁵⁵

A form of patronage which connects all of the queens in this study is the foundation and support of religious institutions. Even though they were living some distance from Navarre itself, Juana I founded a chapel with her husband Philip of France in the Monastery of Santa

⁹⁵⁰ Strayer implies that Juana may have encouraged Joinville's subtle criticism of Philip IV's rule in the book and may have also been indicating to her son to follow the model of Louis IX over that of his own father. Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p.18.

⁹⁵¹ Juana's will is dated March 1304 (given at Vincennes) and is reproduced in full in César Egasse Du Boulay, *Historia Vniversitatis Parisiensis*, Vol.4 (Paris, 1668), pp.74-80 with addendum pp. 80-87.

⁹⁵² *Historia Vniversitatis Parisiensis*, p.76. Original text is 'le meilleur...que l'on pourra trouver'.

⁹⁵³ Carlos Sánchez Marco, 'Collège de Navarre en Paris' on *Historia Medieval del Reyno de Navarra*, Fundación Lebrei Blanco, 2005. <http://www.lebrei Blanco.com/anexos/a0267.htm>.

⁹⁵⁴ Sánchez Marco, 'Collège de Navarre'.

⁹⁵⁵ Brown, 'Persona et Gesta', p.224. See also a late medieval and an early modern drawing in the appendices (Figure 18 in the Appendices) of Juana's statue alongside her husband's at 'Collège de Navarre'. One of the drawings clearly shows Juana holding a model of the college, clearly indicating her role as founder.

Clara of Tudela.⁹⁵⁶ There are also records of the royal couple making a grant to the Monastery of La Oliva of a 'soto' or grove at Falces.⁹⁵⁷ Individually, Juana also commissioned the construction of a chapel for the royal castle at Tafalla. Interestingly, there is a document certifying to Juana's role as patron of the chapel from her descendant Leonor, who was also contributing to its upkeep and repair.⁹⁵⁸ Juana II was also active on this front individually and with her husband. In 1330, the couple confirmed their grandparents' annual grant of 30 *cáhices* of grain to the Convent of Santa Clara of Tudela.⁹⁵⁹ During her widowhood, Jeanne founded the convent of San Francisco of Olite in 1345.⁹⁶⁰ Jeanne also left a specific bequest in her will for the foundation of a chapel in Santa Maria of Olite, which her son Carlos II realized for her.⁹⁶¹ Catalina and Jean d'Albret also followed the family tradition of founding chapels with an addition to the cathedral in Pamplona for dedicated to the memory of her mother Magdalena.⁹⁶² Catalina and Jean also gave the Augustinians a parcel of land outside the city walls of Pamplona for the construction of a new convent and church in 1498.⁹⁶³

Blanca I was noted as being particularly religious and her expenditure shows several different types of religious expenses. Like her predecessors, Blanca was involved in works in the cathedral of Pamplona and founded a chapel with her husband Juan in the Convent of Santa Maria del Carmen in their capital city.⁹⁶⁴ She also paid for masses to be said for her parents as well as distant ancestors and paid for the establishment of religious offices.⁹⁶⁵ In addition, Blanca went on several pilgrimages to sites both within and beyond Navarre and

⁹⁵⁶ AGN Comptos, Caj.163, no.3 dated February, 1302.

⁹⁵⁷ AGN Comptos Caj.5 no.4 dated January, 1302 at Paris.

⁹⁵⁸ AGN Comptos, Caj.162, no.39, 2 dated 20th March 1473 at Olite.

⁹⁵⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj.26, no.6 dated 28th January 1330 at Tudela.

⁹⁶⁰ *Arte et Monarquia*, p.278.

⁹⁶¹ AGN Comptos, Caj. 28, no.62, dated July 1374 at Pamplona.

⁹⁶² AGN Comptos, Caj.177, no.4 dated 3rd May 1496 at Pamplona. This is confirmed by the records of the cathedral in a document composed on the same day. See Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona. Tomo I (829-1500)*. (Pamplona, 1965), Document no.2131, p.505.

⁹⁶³ *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona*, Document no.2141, dated 26th February 1498, p.507.

⁹⁶⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj. 133, no.17, 60 dated 30th September 1432.

⁹⁶⁵ See AGN Comptos, Caj.139, no.29, 2 dated 4th September 1436 at Tafalla for requiem masses for her parents. AGN Comptos Caj, 131, no.56, 5 dated 22nd November 1431 is for masses to be said at Tudela, the burial place of the early kings of Navarre. AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.44, 6 dated 14th December 1429 at Olite donated money for the establishment of a canon.

met her death while on pilgrimage at Santa Maria de Nieva in Castile in 1441.⁹⁶⁶ She used her authority as queen to protect and assist pilgrims travelling through Navarre on their way to Compostela. For example, Blanca paid 50 florins to help a Frenchwoman on her way and also paid a Flemish group 6 florins in compensation for their robbery and imprisonment by a Navarrese noble, the Señor de Luxa.⁹⁶⁷ A recently restored statue of the queen with her hands folded in prayer at Santa Maria de Olite further emphasises her religious image.⁹⁶⁸

The survival of documentary evidence from Blanca's reign is very strong, especially with regard to her household records and in the context of patronage. This has enabled academic study of Blanca's household; an area which has not been specifically examined during the reigns of the other queens regnant in Navarre. The maintenance of the queen's household is certainly an important aspect of rulership. However, both queens regnant and consort maintained their own households which may make it difficult to ascertain whether Blanca's household particularly reflects her position as sovereign.

Maria Raquel García Arancón conducted a study of Blanca's household which focused specifically on the number and makeup of the female attendants.⁹⁶⁹ She notes that Blanca's household contained more female attendants than her immediate predecessors, the queens consort Jeanne de France (wife of Carlos II) and her mother Leonor de Trastámara.⁹⁷⁰ The increased number of female attendants may be a reflection of Blanca's unique status as queen regnant, which would entail greater state to be kept than the queens consort, while

⁹⁶⁶ Records of her internment there can be found in AGN CO. Papeles Sueltos, 1st Series, Leg.1, no.1. Her records also show the substantial expenditure of 2,703 libros, 13 sueldos and 3 dineros for a pilgrimage to Santa Maria del Pilar in Zaragoza in 1433; AGN Comptos Caj.135, no.36 dated 27th September 1433 at Tudela. Within Navarre, Blanca visited Santa Maria del Rocamador in Estella, Santa Brígida in Olite and Santa Maria de Ujué; *Sedes Reales de Navarra*, p.208.

⁹⁶⁷ AGN Comptos, Caj.126, no.10, 9 for the Frenchwoman and Caj.131, no.23, 5 (1-2) dated 26th April 1431 for the Flemish group.

⁹⁶⁸ See a photograph of this statue in the Appendices, Figure 23.

⁹⁶⁹ Maria Raquel García Arancón, 'El personal femenino del hostel de la reina Blanca de Navarra' in *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media*, ed. by Angela Muñoz Fernandez and Cristina Segura Graino (Madrid, 1988), 27-41.

⁹⁷⁰ 'El personal femenino', pp. 28-29 and 40. An excellent prosopographic study of the court of Blanca's parents which also focuses on female attendants can be found in María Narbona-Cárceles, 'Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425)', *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31-64.

increasing the number of female attendants over male ones may have been preferable for the queen.

Fernando Serrano Larráyoz has examined several different facets of Blanca's household in great detail including her employment of astrologers, although his primary focus has been the culinary aspects of her household, such as provisions and entertaining.⁹⁷¹ His analysis of the dishes prepared and supplies obtained have led him to suggest a wide range of influences, including French cuisine and tastes that the queen may have acquired during her time in Sicily and her travels in Castile and Aragon. Serrano Larráyoz also notes that the character of the court during Blanca's reign was much 'more sober' and the 'splendour and magnificence' of the court declined by degrees after the death of her father, Carlos III.⁹⁷² Serrano Larráyoz suggests two possible reasons for this change. The first line of reasoning he suggests may be due to the personal character of the queen, who was known to be very religious and possibly more concerned with pilgrimage than courtly splendour. The second suggestion Serrano Larráyoz makes is that the continuing wars of Juan of Aragon and the resulting impact on royal finances which may have forced the queen to make cutbacks in spending on feasting and entertainments.

However, even though she may have reduced her expenditure in comparison to her father, Carlos III, there are still ample records which testify to her employment of musicians and entertainers at her court. There are receipts for the payment of entertainers such as 'Bonafox', 'Hannaquin de Malines' and 'Petit Juan', including funds for them to travel to her daughter's court at Foix.⁹⁷³ Blanca also hosted entertainers from beyond the Pyrenees; one receipt shows a payment of 20 libros and 15 sueldos for shoes and a costume for two singers

⁹⁷¹ Fernando Serrano Larrayoz, 'Astrologos y Astrologia al Servicio de la Monarquia Navarra durante la Baja Edad Media (1350-1446)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 39, no. 2 (2009), 539-54. Serrano Larrayoz has also produced at least three articles on the culinary aspect of Blanca's household in 1433; see particularly 'La Casa y la mesa de la reina Blanca de Navarra (1433)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, No. 30, 1, 2000, 157-234.

⁹⁷² 'Casa y mesa', p.160.

⁹⁷³ See AGN Comptos Caj.125, no.3, 10 dated 13th January 1426, Caj.126, no.15, 5 dated 15th July 1427 at Pamplona, Caj.138, no.13, 1 dated 12th October 1435 at Olite and Caj,138, no.1, 44 (1) dated 2nd March 1436.

from the court of Philip of Burgundy.⁹⁷⁴ One entertainer, Arnaldo de Ursúa, was even given an exemption from tribute, with the usual exception of royal weddings in 1432, although this appears to have been revoked six years later.⁹⁷⁵

Blanca is also the queen with the strongest record of artistic patronage. In particular, Blanca's records show an on-going relationship with the painter Gabriel de Bosch, from whom she commissioned a variety of works.⁹⁷⁶ Some of these works were for her children, including the commissioning of toys and a dragon to be painted for her son.⁹⁷⁷ However, there is also evidence of the commission of more serious works including paintings for a chapel in 1434.⁹⁷⁸ Gabriel's last work for the queen was a series of paintings commissioned by her son for the queen's obsequies.⁹⁷⁹

In addition to painters, Blanca kept at least one *tapicero* or tapestry expert on her staff. There are records of salaries and expenses paid out to Roberto, who is noted as a '*tapicero real*' and to Lucián Bartolomé.⁹⁸⁰ Works carried out by these men included improvements to the palace of Olite and tapestries for the rooms of the queen and her children at the palace of Tudela.⁹⁸¹ Although Roberto appears to have grumbled about the late payment of his salary, Lucián was later rewarded with an exception from tribute for his services.⁹⁸²

There is also some evidence that Blanca was involved in literary patronage. Two receipts from 1435 show the payment of 10 libros and 100 sueldos for Jimeno de Ucar to 'write a

⁹⁷⁴ AGN Comptos Caj.138, no.14, 49 dated 10th February 1436.

⁹⁷⁵ AGN Comptos Caj.132, no.4 (1-2) dated 20th January 1432 at Tafalla and the possible revocation Caj.132, no.4, 2 (2) dated 17th January 1438 at Olite.

⁹⁷⁶ This includes a massive list compiled by the painter entitled 'These are the things which are necessary for the work that my lady Queen orders made', AGN Comptos, Caj.146, no.44, 4 dated 1433. Other receipts for work done include Caj.146, no.44, 2 (1) dated 17th January 1434 at Tudela and includes both the queens signature and the painter's (which had a little face drawn within the signature's flourish).

⁹⁷⁷ AGN Comptos Caj.133, no.25, 47 dated 16th June 1434, Caj.133, no.19, 47 dated 19th December 1433 and Caj.134, no.14, dated 18th December 1433 at Tudela.

⁹⁷⁸ AGN Comptos Caj.146, no.10, 14 (1) dated 28th April 1434 at Olite.

⁹⁷⁹ AGN Comptos Caj.147, no.15, 20 dated 13th April 1442 at Olite.

⁹⁸⁰ AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.43, 9 dated 10th December 1429 at Olite and Caj.139, no.5, 3 dated 19th February 1436 at Tudela.

⁹⁸¹ For works at Olite see AGN Comptos Caj.142, no.13, 10 dated 16th March 1439 at Olite and Caj.147, no.6, 59 for the 14th of the same month. The works at Tudela can be found in Caj.135, no.33, 2 dated 28th May 1433.

⁹⁸² Lucián's exemption is AGN Comptos Caj.128, no.39, 4 dated 20th November 1429 at Olite. The Queen twice sent requests to the treasury for Roberto to be paid his overdue salary; Caj.125, no.30, 8 dated 17th October 1426 at Tafalla and Caj.126, no.1, 5 dated 22nd January 1427 at Olite. Both were swiftly actioned by the treasury as there are accompanying receipts from Roberto for payment received.

book' for the queen.⁹⁸³ As discussed earlier, Juana I was a keen literary patron to whom several works were dedicated and her granddaughter Jeanne was also honoured by a literary dedication.⁹⁸⁴ In addition, Jeanne commissioned an unusual Book of Hours based on the life on Saint Louis which was discussed in the chapter on succession. Whether the book was designed to call attention to her Capetian heritage or mark the birth of a son and heir, it is still a work of significant artistic merit and demonstrates Jeanne's cultural patronage and agency.⁹⁸⁵

In summary, it can be seen that each of the queens of Navarre played an active role as a patroness. Moreover, they demonstrated their agency through patronage on several fronts including education, literature, art, music and religion. Patronage was a way for them to make an individual statement which reflected their own interests. Juana I used patronage to further her ideas on educational practice and improve facilities for scholars. Her granddaughter Juana II used patronage as a means of highlighting her own claim to the Capetian throne, and that of her own children in turn. Blanca's patronage demonstrates her religious fervour, wealth and power from her impressive household and court to her own individual symbol prominently displayed on the roof of Pamplona's cathedral which highlights her role as sovereign queen and patroness. There is less evidence of patronage from the last two queens; this may be due in part to reduced income and the necessity to focus on political affairs due to the tumultuous state of the realm. However, both women were clearly involved in religious patronage in keeping with the role that each of the previous reigning queens had played. Thus, although there seems to be a decreasing level of

⁹⁸³ AGN Comptos, Caj. 138, no.8, 56 dated 18th December 1435 and Caj.138, no.9, 3 dated 11th May 1435.

⁹⁸⁴ The work dedicated to Jeanne was *Le livre royal ou prophecies de Nostre Dame* by Jean de Chavenges, written between 1345-1349. See Laurent Brun, 'Jean de Chavenges', ARLIMA (*Archives de littérature du Moyen Age*), Accessed 25th April 2011, http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_chavenges.html.

⁹⁸⁵ As discussed earlier, different theories with regard to Juana II's motivation for commissioning this particular work can be found in Mertzman, 'An Examination of Miniatures of the Office of St. Louis in Jeanne de Navarre's Book of Hours', p.19 and Keane, 'Louis IX, Louis X, Louis of Navarre: Family Ties and Political Ideology in the Hours of Jeanne of Navarre', p.238.

queenly patronage after the high point of Blanca's rule, there is a strong element of continuity in religious patronage overall.

Impact

This section will assess the impact that the marriages and the reigns of the queens had on Navarre. As discussed previously, the shift in the primacy of Navarre and the centrality of Pamplona in the reigns of the queens was directly related to their marriages to foreign magnates which had a massive influence on the fate of the realm. This section will look at the short and long term effect of the rule of each monarchical pair, both regard to the decisions that they made and how they exercised power, individually and as a political and personal partnership.

Juana I's reign in Navarre was significant both because it set a precedent as the first queen regnant of the realm and set up a union with the kingdom of France during her reign along with that of her three sons who succeeded her. Despite the fact that the sovereigns remained in Paris, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero claims that the Capetians exercised power much more 'tightly' than their predecessors and introduced a range of reforms to the administration and organization of the realm along French lines.⁹⁸⁶ However, these reforms were not necessarily appreciated by the couple's Navarrese subjects, particularly the nobility.⁹⁸⁷ Maria Raquel García Arancón argues that 'the immersion in French affairs, the omnipresence of foreign functionaries, the dissatisfaction of all the social groups, created a dangerous internal tension'.⁹⁸⁸ Many Navarrese felt that the French regime did not respect the ancient rights and privileges guaranteed by the *Fueros* which every monarch had to swear to uphold and protect. The *Buenas Villas* or major cities of the realm sent a missive to

⁹⁸⁶ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'Los resortes del poder en la Navarra bajomedieval (siglos XII-XV)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 no. 2 (1995), pp.430-440.

⁹⁸⁷ *Fazer Justicia*, p.36.

⁹⁸⁸ Maria Raquel García Arancón, 'Navarra y Iparralde en la Baja Edad Media', *Revista Internacional de los estudios vascos (RIEV)* 45, no. 1 (2000), p.127.

Philip and Juana in 1294 to complain about the lack of respect that the current governor, Hugh de Conflans, had for the customs and laws of the realm.⁹⁸⁹ In 1297, there were assemblies of the *infanzones* (or lower nobility) and the *Buenas villas* (or major cities) to protest at French rule and defend their privileges.⁹⁹⁰ The agitation had little effect though on the rule of the royal couple or their governors. However angry the populace may have been, overt criticism of Juana's French husband was not tolerated; one man who dared to do so in 1304 had his tongue mutilated.⁹⁹¹

Moreover, there was considerable concern about the infrequency of visits by the Capetian monarchs. As discussed previously, it is possible that Juana I never visited Navarre and even if she did spend some time there as an infant, she never returned after 1274. The anger of the Navarrese about the situation can clearly be seen in a document from the Cathedral archives from 1307 issued by the assembled Cortes which pledges not to obey any French governor or official if Juana's successor Louis did not personally come to Navarre.⁹⁹² Although he eventually did so, his brothers Philippe and Charles never visited Navarre. Philippe had the temerity to order his Navarrese governors to designate particular citizens to come to France to pay homage to him there in 1317.⁹⁹³

The continued lack of the sovereign's presence, coupled with a barrage of interference from Paris and the rule of foreign governors and officials had a profoundly negative effect on the Pyrenean kingdom. However, there were some benefits to the realm; Manuel Iribarren argues that Navarre's period in 'the French orbit' under the Champenois and Capetian

⁹⁸⁹ AGN Comptos, Caj.4, no.98 dated 29th May 1294.

⁹⁹⁰ Alfonso Espinet and Juan Manuel Gouzález-Cremona, *Diccionario de los Reyes de España* (Barcelona, 1989), pp.222-3 and Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.39.

⁹⁹¹ *Fazer Justicia*, p.266. The episode is documented in AGN Reg. 8, fol. 10v. (1304).

⁹⁹² Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catalogo del Archivo Catedral de Pamplona. Tomo I (829-1500)* (Pamplona, 1965), document no.927, dated 28th April 1307, p.219.

⁹⁹³ AGN Comptos, Caj.5, no.98, dated 24th October 1317 from Paris.

dynasties 'brought beneficial cultural and artistic influence' and involved Navarre more closely in wider European politics.⁹⁹⁴

Generally the perception of the reign of Juana II and her husband Philip d'Evreux by both their contemporaries and modern historians has been positive. Part of the reason for this, particularly from contemporary sources and nationalist historians, comes from the comparison with the reigns of their Capetian predecessors who were viewed as absentee foreigners. The couple's actions also won them praise. Despite their absences, they were actively involved in the administration and amelioration of the realm and worked for the best interests of Navarre rather than France, as the Capetians had. Although they left the realm to officials during their absences, they ensured that their French governor had a team of Navarrese administrators to ensure that local law and custom was respected and that the citizens were more directly involved in governance.⁹⁹⁵

They strived to create better relations with their Iberian neighbours while maintaining a functional alliance with their French homeland and endeavouring to protect themselves from the outbreak of hostilities in the Hundred Years War. Their most famous achievement, which is generally attributed solely to Philip, was the '*amejoramiento*' or improvement of the law code or *Fueros*.⁹⁹⁶ The couple also embarked on economic development projects, such as the construction of irrigation around Tudela in the arid southern end of the realm.⁹⁹⁷ They also invested in the reparation and improvement of royal castles and built a new one at Castelrenault, near the northern border.⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹⁴ *En la Orbita Francesa*, p.13. José María Jimeno Jurío cites several examples of visible French influence including the architecture of Santa Maria de Olite and the mural paintings in the refectory of the Cathedral in Pamplona; Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, p.47.

⁹⁹⁵ Béatrice Leroy comments that 'progressively, Navarre was governed by the Navarrese' ('*progressivement, la Navarre est gouvernée par les Navarrais*'); 'Les débuts', p.23. Miranda Garcia also noted the 'exquisite respect and tact' ('*exquisito respeto y tacto*') shown to the Navarrese by Jeanne and Philip; *Felipe III y Juana II*, p.52.

⁹⁹⁶ *Felipe III y Juana II*, pp. 102-7 and *Fazer Justicia*, pp.38-44.

⁹⁹⁷ Leroy, 'La Navarre au XIVe siècle sous la dynastie d'Evreux', p.91.

⁹⁹⁸ *Arte y Monarquía*, pp.214-217.

Juana II and Philip d'Evreux were also actively involved in delivering justice, an important royal prerogative. Immediately prior to their succession, during the interregnum period of 1328-9, there was a serious outbreak of violence towards the Jewish citizens in several major cities.⁹⁹⁹ The new sovereigns spent the early years of their reign addressing the consequences of the outbreak, condemning perpetrators and cities which had not reigned in the outbreaks of violence and assigning compensation for victims.¹⁰⁰⁰ The couple also worked hard in the first years of their reign to combat the problem of banditry which was a particular problem in the realm. Segura Urrea claims that this effort was 'crucial in silencing rumours...against their capability to defend the community'.¹⁰⁰¹ The criminal records for their reign are well preserved and have been thoroughly analysed in recent years by scholars including Segura Urrea and Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano on patterns of crime during the couple's reign.¹⁰⁰² Although Segura Urrea suggests that the records make the couple's reign appear to be a 'turbulent' period with regard to crime, Beroiz Lazcano argues that the figures are in line with wider medieval norms. It may only be the couple's desire to prosecute criminals and serve justice that served to create a perception of additional criminal activity. This strong record in turn fuelled a positive perception of the royal couple's joint rule which can also be seen in chronicle evidence. The chronicle of Garci Lopez de Roncevalles claims 'they were a good king and queen and well loved by all in their kingdom'.¹⁰⁰³

The impact of the reigns of Blanca and Juan of Aragon and that of their daughter Leonor were blighted by war and conflict. Externally, this can be seen in the destructive war which Juan of Aragon initiated with Castile, while internally a long-term conflict began when Juan

⁹⁹⁹ A thorough discussion of the history of the Jewish community in Navarre can be found in *La Navarre au Moyen Age*, pp.109-125.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For coverage of the events and their aftermaths see Nadia Marin, 'La matanza de 1328, témoin des solidarités de la Navarre chrétienne', *Principe de Viana* 59, no.213 (1998), pp.147-170.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Fazer Justicia*, p.400.

¹⁰⁰² *Crimen y castigo*, p.310.

¹⁰⁰³ *Garci Lopez de Roncevalles*, p.76.

used the codicil in Blanca's will to deny their son his rightful place as King of Navarre. As discussed previously, although the source of both conflicts clearly originate with Juan's actions, it can be argued that Blanca could have possibly acted more effectively to prevent the damage caused by her husband. However, she had no ability to control his actions remotely in Castile and once he had initiated the conflict, she acted strongly both to mobilize troops in defence of the realm and to simultaneously work for peace with her neighbours. However, Blanca's actions in modifying her will to allow her husband to subvert their marriage agreement and remain as King of Navarre after her death did directly lead to the conflict which followed her reign. Although she may not have realized the impact that it would have, that decision was undoubtedly a key factor in the civil war which led to years of prolonged conflict and the ultimate destabilization of the realm.

It is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of Leonor's rule on Navarre, given the upheaval that the realm was experiencing in the midst of civil war and caught between the rivalries of Juan and his Castilian and French adversaries. There has been criticism that the rulers of this period, particularly Juan and Leonor, put their own ambitions to rule above the welfare of the realm. Zurita claims that 'it appears that the fury and vengeance of the skies [meant] that the situation in Navarre could not be remedied', all because Juan and Leonor had changed the succession of the realm to suit their own selfish desires.¹⁰⁰⁴ Although it could be argued that part of the cause of the internal conflict in the realm was due to the Gaston and Leonor's ambition to be promoted ahead of her elder siblings, the responsibility for the on-going conflict originated in her father's unwillingness to cede the royal title to his children. Boissonade summarized the situation for Navarre at Juan's death in 1479, 'a state ruined by civil war, disabled by anarchy, that is the heritage that Juan II left'.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰⁴ Zurita, Vol.8, p.344. Original text is '*parecía furia y venganza del Cielo que las cosas de Navarra no tuviesen ningún remedio*'.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Boissonade, p.8. Original text is '*Un état ruiné par la guerre civile, affaibli par l'anarchie, voilà l'heritage que Juan II laissa*'.

Leonor has often been represented as a scheming villainess, driven by ambition to claim a crown and willing to kill her own siblings if necessary in order to reach her goals. Moret argued that Leonor's difficulties ruling the realm as lieutenant were her own fault,

God wanted her to suffer (the authors said this in common) to punish her great crimes committed against the Prince and Princess of Viana, her elder siblings, with the end of depriving them of the crown of Navarre.¹⁰⁰⁶

This negative image of Leonor was further fuelled by the nineteenth century romantic works of Francisco Navarro Villoslada, whose popular novels *Doña Blanca de Navarra* and *La princesa de Viana*, renewed interest in the lives of the two sisters.¹⁰⁰⁷ These works portray the two sisters in opposition, with Blanca as the tragic victim of the aggressive ambition of Leonor and Gaston.¹⁰⁰⁸ This portrayal of Leonor, though fictional, was clearly influenced by Early Modern chroniclers like Moret and has coloured in turn the views of modern historians. Leonor's unsympathetic character may be part of the reason why she has not been the subject of a great deal of study. Although Ramírez Vaquero remains fairly neutral in her monograph for the *Reyes de Navarra* series, Leonor's reputation has not yet been fully rehabilitated.

Catalina and Jean d'Albret had a difficult reign as monarchs of Navarre from their contested claims, controversial marriage, civil conflict and finally the loss of the kingdom to Ferdinand of Aragon. On a positive note, the year 1500 proved to be the high point of the couple's reign. Moret declared,

¹⁰⁰⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.41. Original text is '*Dios quería que padeciese (dicen aquí comúnmente los autores) para castigo de sus enormes culpas cometidas contra el Principe y Princesa de Viana, sus hermanos mayores, con el fin de privarlos de la corona de Navarra*'.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Francisco Navarro Villoslada, *Dona Blanca de Navarra; Cronica del Siglo XV. Quince dias de Reinado*. 4th ed. (Madrid, 1849) and *La princesa de Viana* (digital edition), Biblioteca Virtual Universal, 2003, www.biblioteca.org.ar/libros/70234.pdf.

¹⁰⁰⁸ See an illustration from the frontpiece of Villoslada's novel which depicts Blanca as a romantic innocent; Appendices, Figure 25.

Never had the kings Jean and Catalina been such kings as during this period. They enjoyed total quiet. They were generally respected by their vassals and well esteemed by foreign princes.¹⁰⁰⁹

However, any assessment of the Catalina and Jean d'Albret's rule hinges on the Annexation in 1512 and accordingly they are remembered as unsuccessful monarchs. The question is whether the loss of the Iberian kingdom was the direct result of their actions and policies or whether it was the result of a train of events and decisions that were made by their predecessors.

Recent evaluations of this period have focused on situational factors which contributed to the annexation more than the rule of the couple themselves. Rachel Bard has argued that the couple was not guilty of 'deliberate negligence' but merely that they were 'distracted' by their unwieldy collection of territory.¹⁰¹⁰ Adot Lerga agrees with this line of reasoning, arguing that given difficulty of consolidating their rule in all of their territories and the political pressure on the monarchs from both sides of the Pyrenees, it would have been impossible for them not to lose some part of their French or Spanish patrimony.¹⁰¹¹

Following this line of reasoning it can be seen, particularly in the itinerary of the monarchs, that they attempted to travel around and between their French and Iberian territories in order to govern them effectively. Some historians, such as Béatrice Leroy have criticized Catalina and Jean for not travelling around their domains enough. Although Leroy alleges that 'Catherine and Jean made trips to Navarre from time to time, but as Viscounts of Bearn, spent the bulk of their time in Pau', the detailed itinerary compiled by Adot Lerga demonstrates that this was clearly not the case.¹⁰¹² At times, Catalina and Jean were willing to separate in order to maintain the physical presence of one of the sovereigns and

¹⁰⁰⁹ Moret, Vol.7, p.157. Original text is '*Nunca los reyes D.Juan y Doña Catalina fueron tan reyes como por este tiempo. Gozaban de toda quietud. Eran generalmente respetados de sus vasallos y bien estimados de los principes extranjeros*'.

¹⁰¹⁰ Navarra: *The Durable Kingdom*, p.80.

¹⁰¹¹ Adot Lerga, pp.293-95.

¹⁰¹² De L'Aquitaine a L'Ébre, p.140. Original text is '*Catherine et Jean, qui avaient fait de temps à autres des séjours en Navarre mais qui, vicomtes de Bearn, vivaient la plupart du temps à Pau*'.

administer their territory personally. Anthony notes that Catalina 'travelled incessantly around the interior of her domains' and describes the queen's team of secretaries that travelled with her to issue documents in the appropriate language, style and dating system for each of her territories.¹⁰¹³

However, despite the couple's efforts to maintain contact with all of their diverse territories, it was only possible to be physically present in a maximum of two places at a time and there is evidence that the Cortes complained to the Queen repeatedly about her absence from Navarre. In 1489, Catalina, Jean and Magdalena drafted a joint response to the Cortes in order to explain their prolonged absence and their failure to journey to Pamplona to be crowned even though Catalina had assumed the title five years previously. They explained the need to remain in Béarn to counter the offensive of Jean de Narbonne and reassured the Cortes that although they appreciated the love of their subjects for the time being they could not come to Navarre and felt confident that they could 'take care of everything with our messengers.'¹⁰¹⁴ Again in 1496, Catalina was forced to defend her absence, claiming that she was 'continuing with great and arduous business in this our Lordship of Béarn and in our other Lordships and our lands...and this requires...our Royal presence here'.¹⁰¹⁵ Overall it would appear that the source of the couple's problems was not that they were unable to rule effectively as a sovereign pair or that they were unaware of the discontent caused by their absence, but the sheer size and diversity of the territorial amalgamation that had been formed through dynastic marital alliances made their task virtually impossible.

Other historians, such as José María Jimeno Jurío have stressed the difficulties of the wider political context. Jimeno Jurío argues that although Catalina and Jean 'struggled

¹⁰¹³ Anthony, 'Un élément de critique', p.28.

¹⁰¹⁴ AGN Comptos, Caj. 193, no.30 dated 29th March 1489 at Orthez. Original text is '*effecto en todas las cosas par los nuestros messageros*'.

¹⁰¹⁵ AGN Comptos, Caj. 166, no.25, dated 15th December 1496 at Pau. Original text is '*seguir los grandes y arduos negocios ...en este nuestro Senorio de Bearne y en los otros Senorios y tierra nuestras ...y sobrebiene se requeriria ...de aquellos nuestra presencia Real*'.

determinedly to maintain their neutrality' in the growing conflict between France and Spain ultimately they were 'incapable of keeping the kingdom free from the interference of the two great neighbouring monarchies'.¹⁰¹⁶ Juan Carrasco Perez agrees with this arguing that 'the existence of this "blocking state" over half of the Pyrenean range and between the two most important monarchies in Western Europe was hardly viable'.¹⁰¹⁷ The question here is whether they lacked the political skill necessary to survive in such a challenging international situation, as Jimeno Jurío seems to suggest, or whether wider developments sealed their fate.

Documentary evidence shows the couple's attempts to negotiate with both sides as the Italian Wars commenced and relations between France and Spain became increasingly hostile. The many peace treaties and marital negotiations between Catalina and Jean and the Spanish sovereigns have already been discussed but it is also important to access their negotiations with their French neighbours and relations. As discussed previously, there was some tension between the Navarrese monarchs and France over the succession dispute with Jean of Narbonne as well as Catalina and Jean's repeated treaties of alliance with Spain. Relations with the King of France fell to an all time low when Catalina and Jean refused to do homage for their French territories and were sanctioned by the *Parlement* of Toulouse, which called for the confiscation of their French estates.¹⁰¹⁸ Only the death of Catalina's cousin and rival Gaston of Narbonne in early 1512 encouraged the French king to abandon the *Santa Liga's* condemnation of the Navarrese monarchs and offer them his support instead.¹⁰¹⁹ The result was the Treaty of Blois signed on 17th July 1512 which declared the

¹⁰¹⁶ Jimeno Jurío, *La Navarra Medieval*, pp.55-56. Original text is 'lucharon denodadamente por mantener su neutralidad' and 'incapaces de mantener el reino libre de las intromisiones de las dos grandes monarquías vecinas'.

¹⁰¹⁷ Juan Carrasco Perez, Julio Valdeón Baroque, Josep Maria Salrach and Maria Jesus Viguera (eds.), *Historia de las Espanas Medievales* (Barcelona, 2002), p.362. Original text is 'la existencia de este "estado tapón" a caballo de la cordillera pirenaica y entre las dos monarquías más importantes del Occidente europeo era poco viable'.

¹⁰¹⁸ Two such declarations of sanctions against Catalina and Jean, from January 1508 and January 1510 (documents 39 and 40) are reprinted in *La Vicomté du Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté*, pp.176-78.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ramirez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, p.105 and Moret, Vol.7, pp.282-3.

Navarrese monarchs 'true and loyal peace, union, affection, confederation and alliance' with France and was immediately followed by the invasion of Navarre by Castilian troops only days later.¹⁰²⁰

The question is whether this treaty demonstrates a lack of political judgment on the part of Catalina and Jean which had devastating consequences or whether it was an adept move to attempt to secure a powerful ally when the Castilian and English armies were already closing in on their territories. Although historians have made arguments for both of these rationales, the important thing to focus on in this context is that regardless of whether or not Catalina and Jean made a wise or foolish political move, that move was made together, as a united monarchical pair.

In contrast to these arguments regarding wider political factors, Early Modern historians have assessed the couple's personalities and style of rule more directly as a means of understanding the causes behind the annexation. Favyn argues that the part of the couple's difficulties in Navarre stemmed from Jean d'Albret's over-familiarity with his subjects, dining with them in their homes.¹⁰²¹ Favyn claims this was in keeping with a more French style of rule, which Favyn claims was at odds with his Navarrese subjects,

governance in the French style is completely opposite to the Spanish. In France the familiar presence of our monarchs delights the French and gives them the love and the reverence [of their subjects]. In Spain if their kings showed themselves every day they would be despised by their people...¹⁰²²

Ultimately though, Favyn concludes that Jean's conduct was only one of the couple's problems as he argues that the Navarrese were pushed to abandon their kings by the intrigues of their Spanish neighbours and the interference of the Pope.¹⁰²³

¹⁰²⁰ The Treaty of Blois is reprinted in Adot Lerga, pp.361-2 (Original provenance ADPA E.554).

¹⁰²¹ Favyn, p.677. This tendency to dine privately with his subjects is also noted by Gabriel Chappuys, who also remarks that this was a French behaviour. (Adot Lerga, p.336).

¹⁰²² Favyn, p.677. Original text is '*gouvernant à la mode françoise du tout contraire à l'Espagnole. Car en France la presence familiere de nos Monarques resiouit [rejouit] les François et leur accroist d'avantage l'amour et la reuerence qu'ils leur portent. En Espagne si leurs Roys se monstroient à tous les iours, ils seroient mesprizez de leur people...*'

¹⁰²³ Favyn, p.678. Favyn repeatedly remarks heatedly on the interference of the Pope in the annexation of Navarre. A discussion of the Pope's role has not been a key part of the examination here, as it does not directly

However, Esteban de Garibay makes a remarkably similar comment about Jean d'Albret's ruling style in his assessment of the king consort,

others despised him and held him in little esteem for his excessive softness, of the kind which there are in France, where the princes are very manual*, are foreign to the lofty arrogance of some Spanish knights, although [they look for] honest gravity, moderation and restraint before giving their approval which is very good in all men, especially princes and above all kings, who should rightly be revered and obeyed as people made by the hand of God for such a high throne and majesty, to judge and govern the world.¹⁰²⁴

Moret concurs with the assessment of Garibay and Favyn, noting that

what was very intolerable was his inconsequence in the decorum of his royal person, because it was too simple, which greatly reduced his authority, speaking to his vassals and others familiarly as if he was not a king but a certain knight, so much so that he did not mend matters by going to common parties and his delight was dancing with women and girls at these places...And it is true to say that it greatly displeased sane and upright men these French manners, where their kings are too familiar with the vassals.¹⁰²⁵

However, Moret also makes multiple attempts to vindicate Jean and correct what he perceives to be inaccurate portrayals of him by other historians,

But what we cannot tolerate is the manifest injustice which some have made to the King Jean d'Albret, who have painted him as a man of reservations, of bad faith, of political reflections and of deadly vengeance, as it is certain that he was none of these, and that for the cause of these faults good politics and the public good were ordered (mostly when the kings and princes of his time would not play another game) so that he miserably lost his kingdom.¹⁰²⁶

reflect on the power sharing dynamic of the royal couple, but it is important to note as a factor in the annexation itself.

¹⁰²⁴ From the excerpt in Adot Lerga, p.335. Original text is '*otros le menospreciauan, estimandole en poco, por su excessiua blandura, la qual eredó en Francia, donde los Principes son muy manuales y agenos de la sobrada altieuz de algunos caualleros d'España, aunque la honesta grauedad, mesura y templança, antes se deue aprobar y parece muy bien en todos los hombres, especialmente Principes, y sobre todo en los Reyes, que en justo sean reuerenciados y acatados como personas constituydas por la mano de Dios en tan altro trono y magestad, para juzgar y gouernar al mundo*'. Note: the word I would like to suggest for *manuales* is 'hands on' or 'touchy feely'; although both words are arguably slang, I believe they convey Garibay's sentiment that the French princes are excessively tactile with or physically close to their subjects.

¹⁰²⁵ Moret, Vol.7, pp.157-8. Original text is '*Aún era más insoportable su inconsecuencia en el decoro de su Real persona; porque gastaba tanta llaneza, que desdecia mucho la autoridad, conversando con sus vasallos y con otros extraños familiarmente como si no fuera rey sino un caballero particular, tanto, que no reparaba en ir á los festines vulgares y su regocijo era danzar con las damas y las doncellas...Y á la verdad: desgradaban mucho á los hombres cuerdos y de punto estos aires de Francia, donde sus reyes solian familiarizarse demasiado con los vasallos.*'

¹⁰²⁶ Moret, Vol.7, p.134. Original text is '*Pero lo que nosotros no podemos sufrir es la injusticia manifiesta que unos y otros hacen al rey D.Juan de Labrit, á quien pintan hombre de reservas, de dolos, de reflexiones políticas y de venganzas mortals, siendo lo cierto que no tuvo nada de esto; y que por falta de ello, en lo que la buena política y la vindicta pública pedian (principalmente cuando los Reyes y principes de su tiempo ne jugaban á otro juego) se perdió miserablemente à si y à su reino*'.

The King Jean d'Albret has been badly treated by historians...who have attributed his failures to cowardice, but it is certain that he showed valour on many occasions, even though he lost everything from his too great kindness.¹⁰²⁷

By putting together various portraits of the king consort, both positive and negative, a picture emerges of a man who would have been admired by many of his time, embodying the Renaissance ideals of a handsome, learned, courtly and pleasure seeking prince. However, while this corresponded well with fashionable behaviour for a French prince, it was not in keeping with appropriate behaviour for an Iberian monarch. At a time when the Navarrese were already alienated from their sovereigns due to the lack of their physical presence in the realm, particularly during the regency of Magdalena, Jean's foreign and discreditable behaviour would not have helped build the loyalty to the young sovereigns that they so desperately needed.

There are fewer descriptions of Catalina's behaviour by contemporary or near contemporary sources and as in the case of Jean, it is important to note that portrayals of the couple may have been tainted by a need to explain the annexation or be sympathetic to the exiled monarchs. Moreover, Catalina may have been portrayed in a more positive light due to her status as the natural sovereign in contrast to Jean d'Albret who was considered a foreigner and thus easier to blame. Certainly, Catalina comes across better in this description of the queen by Moret at the time of her coronation,

What is certain is that the Queen, despite her age only being twenty four years at this time, was very mature, had great courage, prudence and magnanimity and always worked with all fidelity at the Royal pledges to help the King, her husband in the government as it ran to both their account.¹⁰²⁸

Overall Jean d'Albret may have been more of a liability than a help to Catalina. Although it appears that they worked together well personally and politically, his domains brought

¹⁰²⁷ Moret, Vol.7, p.293. Original text is '*Al rey D.Juan de Labrit tartan mal los historiadores...atribuyendo sus omisiones á cobardia; con ser cierto que mostró valor en muchas ocasiones, aunque su demasiada bondad todo lo estragaba.*'

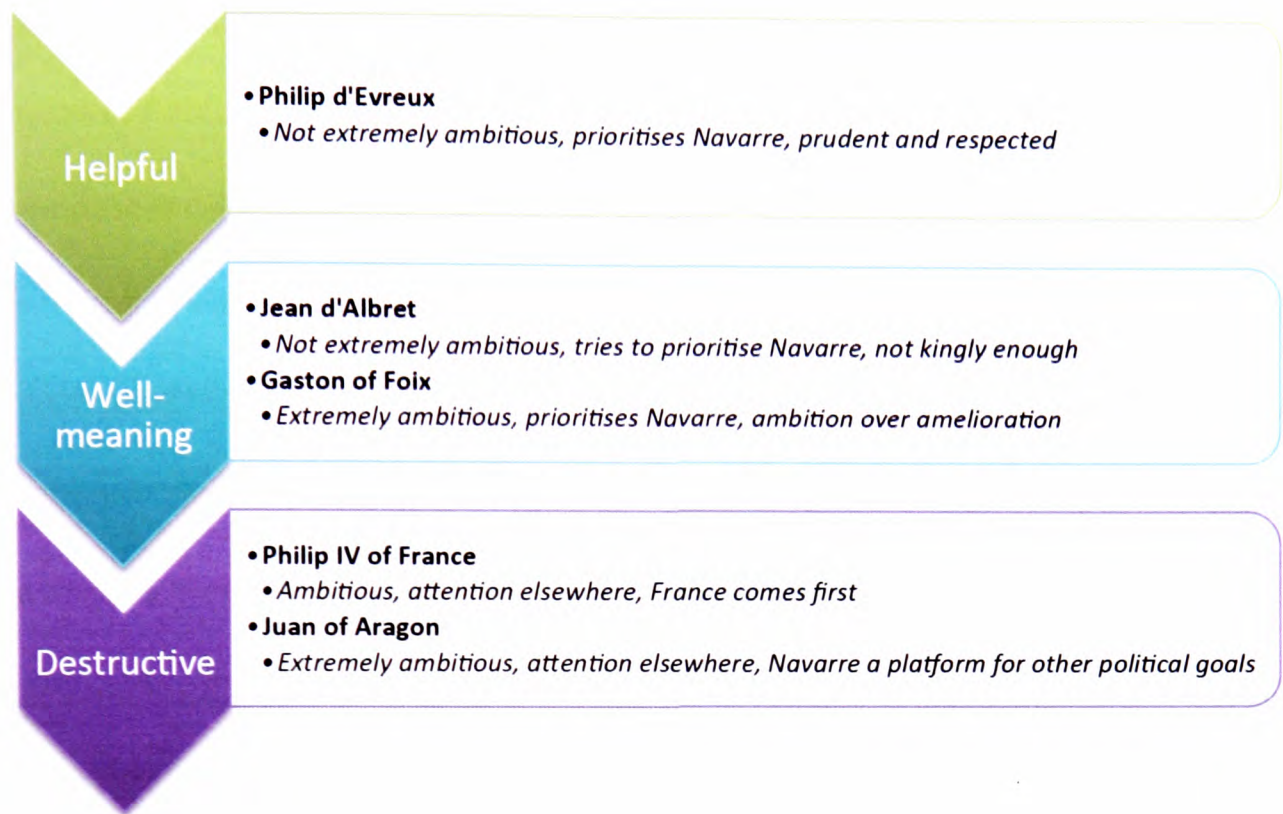
¹⁰²⁸ Moret, Vol.7, p.132. Original text is '*Lo cierto es que la Reina, aunque sue dad ahora solo era de veinte y cuatro años, tenía mucha madurez, gran valor, prudencia y magnanimidad, y que con suma fidelidad empleó siempre estas Reales prendas en ayudar al Rey, su marido, en el Gobierno, que ya corria por cuenta de ambos.*'

additional complication to her already unwieldy collection of territory. While Moret insists that Jean was not a coward, his military record was decidedly mixed and he was unable to defend Navarre from the Castilian invasion or recoup its loss after 1512. Finally, as the repeated criticism of Early Modern historians has noted, Jean's ruling style was inappropriate and perhaps even offensive to Catalina's Navarrese subjects. Although the root causes of the annexation arguably lie in the wider political context, it is clear that Catalina's consort was not necessarily an asset to her, even if they worked together well. The Annexation of 1512 had an undeniably important and lasting impact on the realm, which is still controversial today. While it is clear that Jean's actions and behaviour may not have helped, the most important factors were the difficulties in managing an unwieldy territorial bloc and the external political factors. Although Catalina and Jean might have ruled their territory more effectively and made wiser political decisions, ultimately they inherited a difficult situation and the wider political situation was far beyond their control.

King consorts

The king consorts had a huge impact on the realm, both with regard to their territorial holdings as mentioned and in their personalities, priorities and ambition. As discussed earlier, all of the king consorts had reasonable personal partnerships with their spouse and all of the couples developed a functional power sharing dynamic even if the balance of these dynamics was not always equal. However, even if they had a harmonious and fairly balanced partnership with their wife, it does not necessarily follow that they had a positive impact on the realm. For example, Blanca and Juan appear to have had a reasonable personal relationship and they chose to work together in a 'Divide & Conquer' style which gave both partners a separate, but fairly equal sphere. Nevertheless, Juan had political goals and ambitions which had destructive consequences for Navarre and resulted in the couple often working at political cross-purposes.

Ultimately, whether a consort had a positive or negative effect on the realm was largely due to the extent of their ambition and their interest in Navarrese concerns as the following chart demonstrates:



As displayed here, ambition and focus both have a direct relation to the positive or negative impact of a king consort on the realm. The consort with the most beneficial impact on the realm, Philip d’Evreux, was content with the rule of the Pyrenean kingdom and his French patrimony. Given that he was raised with the expectation of becoming a count, his promotion to king consort in 1329 would have been a major bonus. He took kingship seriously and worked on projects such as the *amejoramiento* of the law code which had a long-term benefit for the kingdom.

Jean d’Albret and Gaston of Foix both prioritised Navarre to a fair extent, but both ultimately failed to have a positive impact on the realm for different reasons. Jean d’Albret, like Philip d’Evreux, was the son of a French lord. Having reached the top of the feudal ladder by his promotion to king consort, he did not have major territorial or political ambitions. However, the fact that he had been raised as a French lord showed in his deportment and conduct which was at odds with the expectations of kingly behaviour by his Iberian subjects. Jean was also distracted by the extensive number of territories held by his

family and his wife, although he did generally put the needs of Navarre first after his coronation in Pamplona in 1494. Unlike Philip d'Evreux, he did not engage in any major programmes to benefit the kingdom, but this was largely due to the lack of stability in the realm and the on-going battles with the Beaumont clan.

Gaston of Foix was utterly focused on the acquisition of the Navarrese crown for his wife and their descendants. His marriage to Leonor and the subsequent family breakdown after the death of Blanca I in 1441 gave him the opportunity to achieve his ambition. However, being promoted to joint heir and lieutenant with his wife did not mark the end of the effort needed to gain the crown itself. His wife decamped to Navarre to administer the realm while Gaston divided his time between fighting Navarrese rebels, making diplomatic trips to further his political ambitions and governing his own substantial territories. He was focused on Navarre because the realm itself was the centre of his ambitions but, like Jean d'Albret, he was too busy trying to contain the rebels and administer his other holdings to engage in any beneficial projects for the kingdom.

Both Philip IV of France and Juan of Aragon were destructive consorts, due primarily to their ambition and the fact that their political focus was elsewhere. Navarre was only important to them as a means to achieve other political ambitions. For Philip IV of France, Navarre was a distant and troublesome realm which gave him a strategic Iberian toehold but was unimportant in comparison to French concerns and interests. Juan of Aragon appreciated the title of King of Navarre but the realm itself had little value for him except for being as his biographer Vicens Vives termed 'the principal front of his premeditated attack on Castile' and later as a means to thwart the ambitions of his rival, the King of France.¹⁰²⁹

However, it is also important to assess how the relationship between the queen and consort affected the overall impact on the realm. Although Philip d'Evreux has often received the credit for the beneficial impact of their reign, it is important to recognize

¹⁰²⁹ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, p.138. My translation; the original text is, '*el centro principal de la premeditada ofensiva contra Castilla*'.

Jeanne's contribution. Although Philip was keen to stress his dominance and the head of their family, the couple functioned well as a political and personal partnership, working as 'Team Players'. Documentary evidence clearly shows Jeanne's involvement in the administration of the realm and she was particularly evident in diplomatic negotiations and the forging of marital alliances which were also crucial for the benefit of the realm. The overall positive impact of their reign is due to both of their efforts, on a joint and individual basis.

Jean d'Albret and Catalina also worked fairly equitably and effectively as 'Team Players'. She did mitigate the damage done by Jean's behaviour to some extent as she appears to have been held in reasonable esteem for her own comportment as a monarch. However, it appears that Jean was neither an able general nor a shrewd politician, which were more significant liabilities for a king consort. Catalina could not personally command the army against the rebels to regain her lost kingdom after 1512 and was dependent on her husband's military skills. In addition, her frequent pregnancies and the need for at least one sovereign to remain resident in their territories meant she was not free to go to Paris or Madrid to conduct negotiations. Ultimately, the negative impact of their reign was driven by the internal turmoil they inherited combined with wider political forces, but to some extent, as Moret suggests, there is a sense that the couple were not able to cope well with the challenging conditions of their reign.

Leonor and Gaston of Foix also worked well together, although they chose to respond to the particular trials of their reign by working in the 'Divide & Conquer' mode. However, part of the reason why they had a negative impact on the realm was due to their joint ambition of securing the Navarrese crown. To achieve their ambitions they had to work against family rivals, supporting her father against her brother and capturing, imprisoning and possibly even poisoning her older sister. Their efforts did eliminate Leonor's sibling rivals, but it also fed the destructive civil conflict in Navarre as the Beaumont clan could never forgive her for

her support of her father and her willingness to put herself in front of her elder siblings, whatever the cost. The wellbeing of Navarre's citizens was never their first priority and the need to fight those opposed to their rule left them unable to mitigate the destruction caused by the civil war, let alone enact any measures which would create long-term benefits.

Philip IV of France and Juan of Aragon were both ambitious men, but unlike Gaston of Foix, their ambition did not centre on Navarre. Both men only viewed Navarre as a possession which they could use to further their other political goals. Although both men had at least a reasonable relationship with their wife, neither Juana I or Blanca I were unable to mitigate the destructive impact of their consorts. In the case of Juana I, this may have been due to her own lack of connection to Navarre, which may have left her unaware of the needs of the realm and how to improve the situation there. Even if they had a close personal relationship, Juana may have been unable to use her influence to affect the way in which Philip governed Navarre or may have even been uninterested in doing so.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that Blanca worked hard to mitigate the destruction caused by her husband's conflict with Castile. Although she was unable to prevent the outbreak of open war with their neighbour, she did manage to help end the conflict through her peace-making efforts and was able to regain most of the lost territory through diplomacy. However, after her death in 1441, there was no one to contain Juan and his ambitions. Furthermore, her own codicil undermined the efforts of the marital agreements to limit Juan's ability to rule as king consort. However, if their marital agreement had been as specific as the coronation agreements of Philip d'Evreux and Jean d'Albret, the situation might have been avoided. Instead Juan of Aragon not only continued to cause trouble with Castile, he also provoked a civil war which continued for more than fifty years, weakening the realm and opening it up for annexation.

Conclusion

This study set out to investigate the careers of the reigning queens of Navarre, assess the impact of their rule and explore the connection between female rule and the sovereignty of the realm. Although it can clearly be seen that female rule was a factor in the eventual annexation of the realm, it can also be argued the reigns of the queens also helped the realm to remain sovereign throughout the Middle Ages, in often challenging conditions.

The eventual annexation was driven by two major factors: the prevailing political situation, particularly with regard to the rivalry between France and Spain, and the destabilization of the realm from years of internal conflict. Both these factors are connected to the rule of Juan of Aragon who initiated the rivalry with Louis XI of France and thus created the civil war which had such a devastating long-term effect. However, Juan of Aragon would not have been able to have such a direct effect on the fate of Navarre if he had not been married to the queen regnant, thus indirectly female rule is to blame for providing an opportunity for Juan to gain control of the realm.

The annexation took place during a period of female rule and the marriage of Catalina to Jean d'Albret was an additional factor in the loss of the kingdom. This was for two reasons; one was his possible inadequacy as a king and the other was the decision to opt for the Albret marriage which caused a rift with their powerful Iberian neighbours, displeased her Navarrese subjects and added complications to an already unwieldy territorial amalgamation. However, female rule was not necessarily the root cause of the overall problem as it can be argued that the same situation might have occurred if Jean had personally inherited the crown. If Jean had performed ineffectually as the hereditary sovereign of an unmanageable collection of territories and chosen a bride who was unpopular with some of his subjects the same situation would have probably occurred.

However, the couple faced an additional challenge in Catalina's contested succession, which was another weakness for her enemies to exploit.

Even though female rule was arguably a factor in the annexation of the realm, it can also be argued that the succession of women actually helped to keep the kingdom sovereign in the Middle Ages. Navarre was threatened by predatory neighbours throughout the entire period of this study. The kingdom's French and Iberian neighbours wanted to possess the realm for its strategic position and crucial passes through the Pyrenees. The marriages of the queens and female heiresses thus provided valuable alliances to ward off the threat of a hostile invasion. However, in the case of Juana I, these marriages also drew the realm into an uncomfortable union which damaged, but did not completely destroy, the independence of the realm for an extended period. In the long term however, Navarre did remain a sovereign state and in large part this was due to the important alliances forged by the marriages of the queens and their offspring.

Ultimately, however it can be argued that the reigns of the majority of the queens in this study had a negative impact on the kingdom they ruled. Nevertheless, it cannot be maintained that female rule inevitably results in poor governance as the difficulties faced by the Navarre during the reigns of the queens were not necessarily the result of poor decision-making or ineffective administration on their part.

The longest period of female rule in Navarre, from 1425 to 1512, was also one of the most turbulent eras in the history of the kingdom. However, the primary source of the difficulty can be seen in the one period where female rule was interrupted; 1441 to 1455. This was the moment when Juan of Aragon refused to allow his son Carlos to take up his rightful position as King of Navarre, following the death of Blanca I. The power struggle between father and son became a full scale civil war that raged intermittently up to and beyond the Annexation of 1512, creating destruction and instability in the realm that the female rulers found impossible to contain or rectify.

This is not to say that the female rulers of this period were blameless. Blanca was responsible for the codicil in her will which allowed Juan to retain the royal title after her death. Her daughter Leonor's ambition to displace her elder siblings as heir to the realm added fuel to the conflict initiated by Juan and Carlos. Magdalena of France kept her children out of Navarre for nearly twenty years and chose a marriage for her daughter which directly contravened the wishes of the *Cortes*. Finally, Catalina's decision to abandon her Spanish alliance may have cost her the crown in 1512.

Overall, after examining the situations of all of the Navarrese queens, it can be argued that the particular challenge of female rule, their joint sovereignty with a king consort, proved to be the root cause of their difficulties. The queens' foreign marriages brought territorial gain but they also resulted in unwieldy amalgamations which were difficult to govern effectively. Although all of the couples appeared to have fairly harmonious personal partnerships, the ambition of a king consort could have a destructive effect.

Elizabeth I of England has often been cited as an example of an effective female ruler and a successful sovereign regardless of gender. Yet, part of the reason for her success was arguably her very lack of a male consort. Although she was under continuous pressure, both internally and externally, to marry in order to obtain a valuable alliance and secure the succession, her decision to remain unmarried was one of the key factors in her success. As a scholar who was probably well aware of the mistakes of previous queens regnant and a close observer of her own sister's difficulties with a consort, Elizabeth may have used these precedents in order to steer an alternative course.

Isabel of Castile is another example of a successful queen regnant. Her marriage, unlike those of many of the Navarrese queens, was a source of strength for her. However, in Isabel's case the territories of her husband combined with her own to form a powerful amalgamation, partially due to their shared borders and largely compatible interests. Moreover, as a capable general and astute politician, Ferdinand was an asset to Isabel. He

was certainly ambitious, but his ambitions were usually in line with her own, and as seen in the case of Navarre, she may have been able to restrain his ambition if she felt a different course of action was necessary. Crucially, the *Reyes Católicos* were able to avoid the disasters of their twelfth century predecessors Urraca of Leon-Castile and Alfonso of Aragon by forging a clear agreement which set out the roles, rights and responsibilities of each spouse. This accord provided an excellent foundation for their personal and political partnership.

In contrast, the queens of Navarre were married to men whose territories did not necessarily blend comfortably with their own Pyrenean kingdom. Each consort had to consider the needs of his own territories and his own political goals which were often contradictory to the peace and prosperity of his wife's realm. Ultimately, the decision to opt for territorial expansion through the marriages of the queens regnant meant that the realm lost control of its own destiny. Although many of the female sovereigns and some of their consorts tried hard to balance the needs of all of their mutual territories, this task for the most part, proved impossible and the impact on the kingdom was primarily, though not completely, negative.

In summary, the study of these queens and their consorts and the examples of other queens regnant which have been discussed throughout, demonstrate that these key factors must be observed in order for the realm to receive the most positive impact under female rule:

- 1. The rights of a woman to succeed and rule must have been firmly acknowledged and upheld**
- 2. Building an unwieldy territorial amalgamation through marital alliances should have been avoided**
- 3. It is important for the queen and her consort to have had a positive and functional personal and political partnership**
- 4. Both spouses needed compatible political goals and ambitions which were in line with the needs and interests of the realm**
- 5. The internal and external political situation must have been stable and favourable**

The careers of the queens of Navarre clearly demonstrate that the reign of a female sovereign had a more positive impact on the realm based on how many of these factors were satisfied as shown in the table below:¹⁰³⁰

<u>Monarchal Pair</u>	1	2	3	4	5	Impact
<i>Juana I/Philip of France</i>	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	Negative
<i>Juana II/Philip d'Evreux</i>	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	Positive
<i>Blanca/Juan of Aragon</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	Negative
<i>Leonor/Gaston of Foix</i>	✓	✗	✓	*	✗	Negative
<i>Catalina/Jean d'Albret</i>	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	Negative

Although this chart is necessarily subject to a degree of generalization, it does demonstrate that the couples which satisfied the majority of the factors also had the most beneficial impact on the kingdoms that they ruled.

Overall, this study of the Queens of Navarre has attempted to highlight the distinctive challenges of queenship. Although it has been acknowledged that their rule had an largely negative impact on the realm and played a part in the eventual Annexation of 1512, it has also been demonstrated that these women were active and effective rulers. Throughout this study, evidence has illuminated their many roles including diplomats, administrators and patronesses. Their agency can clearly been seen in their efforts to draft treaties, mete out justice, found religious houses, negotiate with territorial assemblies and defend their

¹⁰³⁰ Note: the symbol * has been used when a factor is partially satisfied. For example in the case of the fourth factor for Leonor, it is clear that Leonor and Gaston shared the same ambition of obtaining the Navarrese crown, but this goal was not necessarily in line with the needs and interests of the realm.

territories. It can clearly be argued that female rule was not necessarily more likely to result in a negative impact on the realm than in the case of a male hereditary sovereign.

However, it can be seen that female sovereigns had unique obstacles to overcome. One was the recognition of their right to rule, which was often contested and made their succession usually more difficult than a male candidate. The second was the impact of their marriages. Just as in the case of a male sovereign, it was important to use the opportunity of their marriage to build a strategic alliance which could bring political and possibly territorial gains. However, the introduction of a king consort could potentially be difficult for, unlike a queen consort, there was an open assumption, based on traditions which favoured the rights of a husband, that the king consort would be directly involved in the rule of the kingdom. Ideally, the couple would form a functional and harmonious personal and political partnership, aided by an agreement which clearly spelled out the role and rights of both parties. However, a foreign king consort may have put his own ambitions and the needs of his own territories and land of origin ahead of those of his wife's kingdom, which would naturally create difficulties. Finally, the additional complication of governing the territories of both spouses could have an adverse effect on the kingdom they ruled.

In addition to the overall assessment of the impact that female rule had on Navarre, this study has identified key areas of continuity and change by evaluating and comparing the reigns of all of its female sovereigns. With regard to succession, it has been demonstrated that in spite of the crucial enabling factors for female succession in Navarre, all of the queens, with the notable exception of Blanca I, had a difficult time asserting their claim to the throne. Although most were ultimately successful, one claimant, Blanca II, failed completely to claim her birthright and ultimately lost her life in a succession struggle with her younger sister.

It has also been demonstrated that each of the queens of Navarre were married to foreigners who held substantial territories of their own. These marriages brought important

political alliances and the addition of this territory expanded the physical size of the realm. Ultimately however, these marriages compromised the kingdom's sovereignty and the ability of the monarchical pair to concentrate solely on a course of action which would have the greatest benefit to Navarre.

The exploration of partnership and rule with the kings consort has highlighted three modes of power sharing. The analysis demonstrated that although all three modes of rule allowed for successful administration and harmonious partnership, women had the most access to power and governance in the 'Divide and Conquer' scheme as it gave them the ability to act with the greatest degree of independence and autonomy.

The high point of female rule in Navarre can be identified during the reign of Blanca I, between 1425 to 1441, even though her reign did not have the most positive impact overall. A number of factors played into her success as a female sovereign. Her succession process was the smoothest of all of the queens surveyed. Some of her success was due to the general prosperity of the realm under her predecessor, Carlos III and her father's efforts to make the succession of the realm as clear and uncontested as possible. However, her own experience, mature age and her ability to ensure dynastic continuity as the married mother of heirs also assisted her stable transition to power. Blanca exercised power confidently as an experienced sovereign and the 'Divide and Conquer' mode of power sharing also enabled her to act independently of her husband in Navarre. However, her reign was marred by the war that her husband provoked with Castile. Even in crisis though, Blanca demonstrated effective rulership; mustering troops in the defence of the realm while simultaneously working to broker peace with her neighbours.

Ultimately, although it has also been shown that female rule had a negative impact on the realm overall and was a factor in the eventual annexation of the realm in 1512, it has also been demonstrated that the actions of the women themselves were not the root source of the difficulties. Instead, the adverse impact was caused by a variety of factors: the

external political situation, marriages which created unstable territorial amalgamations and the ambitions and actions of the kings consort. Nevertheless, it can be argued that although the political situation would affect both male and female sovereigns equally, female rule itself made the territorial amalgamations possible and created the opportunity for these ambitious men to access power in Navarre.

The Kingdom of Navarre played an important part in the political landscape of medieval Europe. The exceptional number of women who were able to administer and govern the realm were enabled by and contributed to the realm's unique and diverse heritage. This study has drawn attention the fascinating careers of an important group of female sovereigns. In doing so, it has raised awareness of their significant role in the wider political events of the period. It has also demonstrated their links to other female sovereigns, either directly through contact or precedent or indirectly as a basis for analysis and comparison. It has highlighted previously unexplored areas of analysis including the succession process for female claimants, the important role of matrimonial diplomacy and different modes of power sharing. By so doing, it is hoped that these women and these models of analysis will be more widely included in any future study in both the field of queenship and that the history of Navarre will feature more prominently in work on the period at large.

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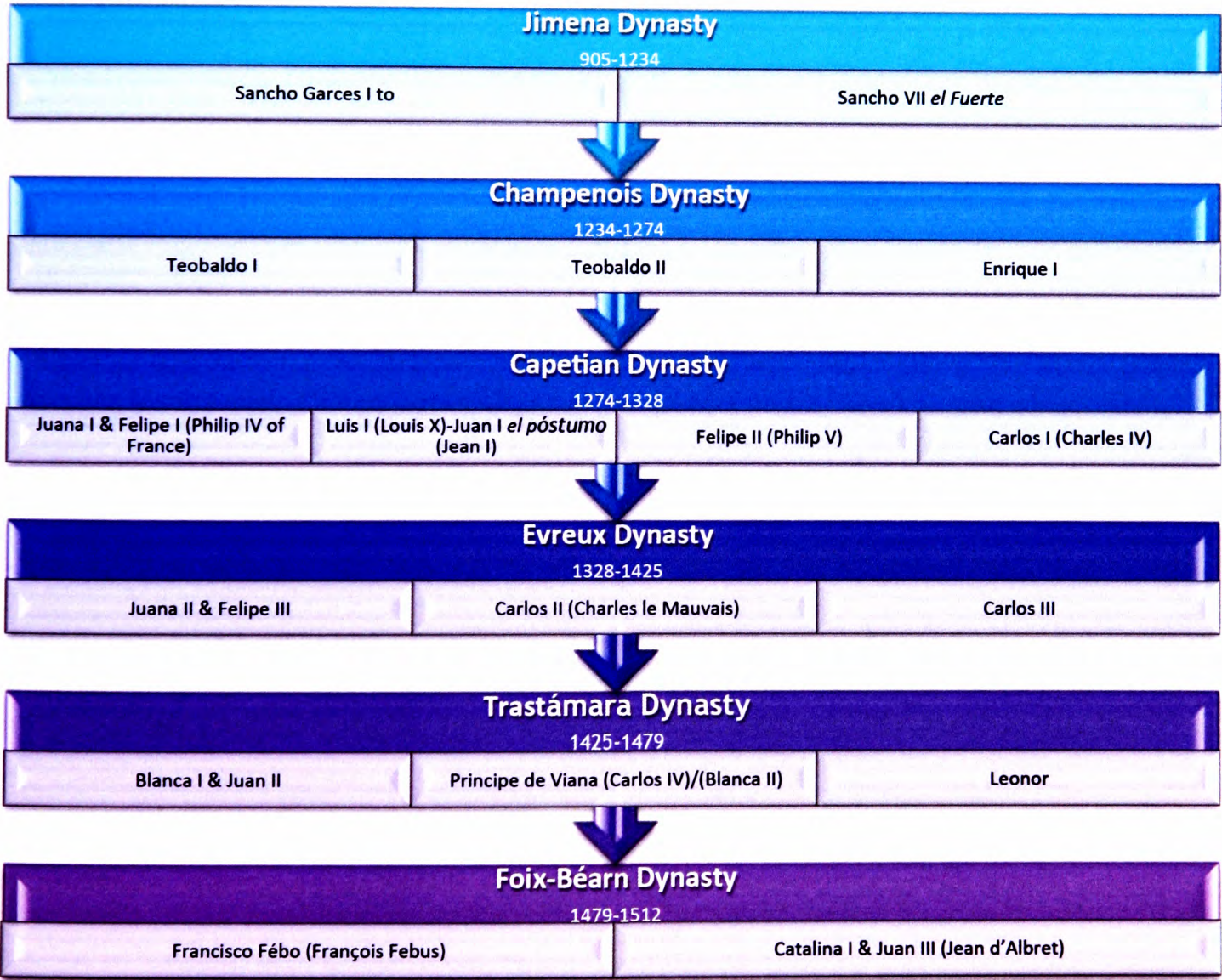
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Appendices

Chronological Summary

The eminent scholar Béatrice Leroy claimed in her book *La Navarre au Moyen Age* that Navarre ‘was born and lived in the Middle Ages’.¹⁰³¹ The foundations of the kingdom began with the rise of Kingdom of Pamplona which began to be known as the *Reino de Navarra*, or Kingdom of Navarre by the eleventh century.¹⁰³² The early Middle Ages saw an expansion of Navarrese territory and influence which reached its zenith under the Sancho Garces III *el Mayor* who ruled from 1004 to 1035. This period saw an almost entirely Iberian focus for



dynastic marriages, with the exception of a few royal brides who came from their French Pyrenean neighbours. However the marriages of two Navarrese princesses, Berengaria and

¹⁰³¹ Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age*, p.186. Original text is ‘est né et a vécu a l’époque médiévale’.
¹⁰³² Rachel Bard suggests that the name change occurred around the year 1000 but other sources continue to use the Kingdom of Pamplona title until the reign of Sancho el Sabio; *Navarra: The Durable Kingdom*, p.28.

Blanche, in the late twelfth century had an important impact on the future of the realm.

Berengaria was married to Richard I of England while her sister Blanche married Thibault of Champagne, a powerful French count, whose family was connected to the French crown and to the throne of Jerusalem. Blanche's son, Thibault, eventually became Teobaldo I of Navarre after the death of his uncle Sancho the Strong without issue. This bought the Champenois connection which greatly increased the size of the royal domains and their overall wealth. This connection also radically changed the diplomatic outlook of the realm, forcing it to look north, bringing new connections in France and beyond. As one of the most important magnates in France, it is unsurprising that the Champenois kings chose almost exclusively French brides, in fact from 1234-1375, none of the rulers of Navarre had an Iberian spouse.

The French entanglement became much more permanent at the end of the thirteenth century. The last Champenois king, Enrique I died in 1274, leaving his infant daughter, Juana as his heir. Her mother, Blanche of Artois, struggled to secure the realm for her daughter as her Iberian neighbours moved in with predatory intent and the kingdom became increasingly unstable. Only months after her husband's death, Blanche fled across the Pyrenees and appealed for help from her relative, Philip III of France. The Treaty of Orleans, in May 1275, provided a marriage agreement between his son Philip and the young Queen which would eventually unite the crowns of France and Navarre. This would give the French king a strategic toehold in Iberia, while it ensured that Juana would retain her throne. Perhaps more importantly, it also brought the young Queen's rich Champenois lands into the royal fold. The Capetians held the throne of Navarre until 1328 as the throne passed through all three of the couple's sons. During this period, Navarre was governed remotely from Paris with a team of French governors and officials installed in Pamplona.

1328 was a crucial year in Navarrese history. Juana's eldest son Louis X died in 1314, and was succeeded in both France and Navarre by his brothers Philippe and Charles in turn.

Although Louis' daughter Jeanne had been bypassed for the French succession due to her extreme youth, sex and disputed parentage, by Navarrese law and custom, she was considered to be the rightful Queen of Navarre. The Navarrese tolerated the rule of Louis' brothers but when Philip of Valois eventually claimed the French crown on Charles' death in 1328, there was no possibility they he would attempt to claim Navarre as he lacked any blood tie to the royal Navarrese line. Jeanne was finally acknowledged as Queen of Navarre and she and her husband, Philip d'Evreux, went to Pamplona to receive the crown.

The advent of the Evreux dynasty severed the direct linkage between the crowns of Navarre and France, although it did not entirely remove the entanglement in French politics. Jeanne's son, Carlos II or Charles *le Mauvais*, still saw himself as a potential claimant to the French throne and his involvement in the Hundred Years War was both destructive and costly. However, the Evreux dynasty did involve itself much more fully in Iberian politics and the running of the realm than their Capetian predecessors. They built bonds of alliance and marriage with Aragon and Castile and although they were forced to divide their time between their French and Iberian holdings, they did reside for long periods in Navarre in contrast to the practice of the Capetians.

The reign of Carlos III saw an increasing shift into the Iberian sphere. Although some historians have argued that he saw himself as more of a French prince than an Iberian king, an examination of his reign shows an ever increasing Iberianization.¹⁰³³ His marriage to Leonor de Trastámara solidified the realm's links to Castile and brought a strong Iberian influence to the court.¹⁰³⁴ The marriages of Carlos' daughters and sisters also showed a healthy balance between protecting his own frontiers and building wider diplomatic links. Carlos used matrimonial diplomacy effectively, contracting marriages with English kings,

¹⁰³³ Regarding Carlos as a French prince, see Jocelyn N.Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516. Vol. 2; 1410-1516 Castilian Hegemony*. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), p.564. For a discussion of his re-orientation towards peninsular politics see Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, 'A modo de presentación; Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV' in *Estudios sobre la realeza Navarra en siglo XV*, ed. by Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero (Pamplona, 2005), pp.11-13.

¹⁰³⁴ María Narbona-Cárceles, 'Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425)', *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31-64.

Iberian princes and French lords for his female relatives to build a wide ranging network of alliances. Carlos also married his illegitimate offspring to key nobles within the realm to ensure their support and loyalty.¹⁰³⁵

However, the marriages of his daughter and eventual heir Blanca demonstrate a definite Iberian emphasis of Carlos' foreign policy. Carlos made the decision to marry Blanca to an Aragonese Infante, not once but twice, despite offers from the Duc de Bar, the Count of Foix and Ludwig of Bavaria. Her first marriage was to Martí the Younger, King of Sicily and heir to the throne of Aragon. The death of her husband and infant son ultimately led to the end the Compromise of Caspe and the advent of the Trastámara dynasty in Aragon. Carlos decided to renew the connection with Aragon with Blanca's second marriage to the Infante Juan. However, the decision to renew the marital connection with Aragon failed to guarantee peace with their Spanish neighbours.

Juan of Aragon eventually drew Navarre into a war with Castile due to his continual interference in the Castilian politics. The Treaty of Toledo in 1436 attempted to restore Iberian harmony through a marriage between the young Castilian heir and Blanca and Juan's eldest daughter.¹⁰³⁶ Blanca's children were comfortably placed to ensure Iberian hegemony with her son as the heir to Navarre and Aragon, her daughter Blanca was set to become Queen of Castile and her youngest daughter Leonor was Countess of Foix. However, after her death in 1441, Juan of Aragon used a codicil in her will to prevent their son Carlos, the Principe de Viana, from acceding to the throne of Navarre and he favoured the claim of his son by his second wife, Ferdinand for the throne of Aragon. The quarrel between Juan and Carlos created a civil war in Navarre that continued even after both men were dead. The kingdom never managed to fully recover from the effects of this prolonged upheaval and

¹⁰³⁵ Carlos' illegitimate daughters were married as follows: Juana (mother unknown) was married to Iñigo Ortiz de Zuniga, Margarita (de Esparza) to Gracian d'Agramonte, Blanca (de Esparza) to González Hurtado de Mendoza, another Juana was married to Luis de Beaumont, 1st Count of Lerin. His sons by Maria Miguel de Esparza also did well; Godofre was married to Teresa Ramirez de Arellano and Lancelot became the Bishop of Pamplona.

¹⁰³⁶ Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon*, p.83 and Zurita, vol. 6, pp.134-136.

conflict. Matters were made worse by Enrique IV's decision to repudiate his Navarrese bride in 1453. Upon her return to Navarre, the princess Blanca joined her brother in his struggle against their father.

The marriage of the youngest daughter, Leonor, to Gaston IV of Foix was not originally intended to unite the realm with its Pyrenean neighbours. However, Juan's decision to favour Leonor's claim over that of her older siblings, and the shadowy deaths of the Principe de Viana and the Infanta Blanca changed the direction of Navarrese history. Leonor was promoted to heir apparent and governed Navarre as Juan's lieutenant from 1455 to 1479. Union with the house of Foix-Béarn pulled the loyalties of the Navarrese crown back towards France and created a situation where the ruling dynasty was struggling to manage a large territorial amalgamation on both sides of the Pyrenees.

The creation of a Pyrenean bloc was a risky strategy, but it was not without logic or merit. In theory, increasing their territorial size should have made them less vulnerable and prevented them from being caught up in the perpetual tug of war between France and its Iberian neighbours. However, the creation of this impressive 'Pyrenean group' or '*núcleo pirenaico*' built by the marriages of Navarrese queens to the lords of Foix and Albret was a potentially dangerous strategy which upset the delicate equilibrium in the region.¹⁰³⁷

The damage done by the civil war triggered by Juan and Carlos' struggle split the country into rival camps, the Agramonts and Beaumonts. This lack of cohesion was exacerbated by the addition of the territories of the Foix and Albret consorts, whose interests, customs, traditions and languages had little in common with the Iberian kingdom that they were joined to. It only remained for their predatory neighbours to exploit the destabilization of the Pyrenean realm in order to secure their own frontiers against their rivals. In 1512, Ferdinand of Aragon, was able to invade and annex Navarre, leaving the erstwhile Iberian monarchs with their remaining territorial possessions in France.

¹⁰³⁷ Ramírez Vaquero, *Historia de Navarra*, pp.82-83.

Biographical Summaries

Juana I

Born: January 1273, Bar-sur-Seine

Died: April 2, 1305 (Buried Paris)

Ruled: 1274-1305

Married: Philip IV of France; August, 1284

Issue: See genealogical chart below

As the only surviving child of Enrique I, Juana assumed the throne of Navarre as an infant upon her father's death in 1274. There is some doubt as to whether Juana was in Navarre at the time of her accession or indeed ever spent time in the country during her infancy. Her mother, Blanche of Artois was designated as regent but the Queen Mother was faced with a difficult situation with both Castile and Aragon aggressively pressing alternative claimants and matrimonial offers for the young queen which would have compromised the realm's sovereignty. In response, Blanche went to France to seek the help and support of her cousin, Philip III. Philip was more than willing to protect the infant queen if she was married to one of her sons. Accordingly, the Treaty of Orleans was signed in 1275 which provided for a marriage and designated Philip as her effective guardian and protector. At this point, Philip took on the governance of Navarre, crushing an uprising in the Navarreia in 1276-77 and established the French rule, which would last until the death of the last of Juana's sons in 1328. Blanche of Artois was satisfied with the administration of Juana's other inheritance, the rich counties of Champagne and Brie during her daughter's minority.

In 1284, Juana was deemed to have reached majority age and was married to Philip, heir to the throne of France. The following year, on the death of Philip III, the young couple became the rulers of France, in addition to Navarre, Champagne and Brie. However, they remained based in France and although they visited Juana's Champenois domains on several

occasions, there is no evidence to suggest that the queen ever returned to Navarre. During their reign, Navarre was administered by French governors on the couple's behalf.

The couple ruled together harmoniously until Juana's death in 1305. Juana had four surviving children; her three sons, Louis, Philippe and Charles who each ruled France and her own territories of Navarre, Champagne and Brie in turn. Her daughter Isabella became the Queen of England and famously deposed her husband Edward II. Juana's will left provisions and instructions to establish the Collège de Navarre in Paris which became a leading educational establishment.

Juana II

Born: January 28, 1312

Died: October 6, 1349 at Conflans (Buried at St. Denis)

Reign: 1328-1349

Married: Philip d'Evreux; June 18, 1318

Issue: See genealogical chart below

Although Juana II (or Jeanne) was the only surviving child of Louis X of France (Luis I of Navarre), she was not able to successfully claim her paternal inheritance upon his death in 1314. Her uncle, Philip laid claim to the thrones of France and Navarre as well as the Champenois domains of Juana I. After his death in 1322, Jeanne was passed over again and her younger uncle Charles took up the French and Navarrese thrones. However, in 1328 the death of Charles IV leaving only female claimants forced the French to appoint a cousin, Philip de Valois to the French throne. Since the Valois had no claim to Navarre, the will of the Navarrese *Cortes* was honoured and Jeanne and her husband accepted their request that she take up the crown of Navarre. They were formally crowned in Pamplona in March 1329.

Their reign marked the end of the French rule of Navarre and the beginning of the Evreux dynasty. Although they were forced to split their time between the Pyrenean kingdom and the Evreux domains in Northern France, the couple were closely involved in the rule of the kingdom. They spearheaded reform programmes, such as the *amejoramiento* of the Fueros and worked to repair their relationships with their Iberian neighbours.

After Philip d'Evreux's death in 1343, Jeanne continued to rule both her own kingdom of Navarre and administer her husband's territories on behalf of their young son and heir, Carlos. She died of the plague in October 1349. She was survived by three sons and three daughters. Her eldest son Carlos became known as 'Charles the Bad' due to his provocative behaviour in the Hundred Years War which may well have been driven by the fact that he believed that his claim to the French throne, though his mother, was far stronger than that of his Valois cousin. Jeanne's daughters, who were well married through her diplomatic efforts, became Queens of Aragon and France and Countess of Foix.

Blanca I

Born: June 6, 1387

Died: April 1, 1441 (Buried at Santa Maria de Nieva, Castile)

Reign: September 1425- April 1441

Married: 1) Martin of Aragon, King of Sicily 2) Juan of Aragon

Issue: See genealogical tables below

Blanca was the third daughter born to Carlos III of Navarre and his wife Leonor de Trastamara of Castile. In 1401, she was selected as the future bride of Martín of Sicily, heir to the throne of Aragon. She left Iberia for the island kingdom in 1402 and spent thirteen years there. She bore her husband one son, who died as an infant. Blanca was entrusted to rule the island in her husband's absence and following his death on campaign in Sardinia in

1409, she was appointed Viceroy by the King of Aragon. Blanca held the kingdom for Aragon despite considerable opposition from a rebel group headed by Bernardo de Cabrera.

Following the death of the King of Aragon and the resulting Compromise of Caspe in 1412 which put Fernando de Antequera on the throne, Blanca was finally relieved of her post in Sicily and allowed to return to Navarre in 1415.

Blanca's return was imperative as her two brothers and her elder sisters had passed away while she was in Sicily, leaving Blanca as the *primogenita* or heiress of Navarre. As she was a childless widow, a second marriage was arranged for her with Juan of Aragon, the second son of the new Aragonese king. The couple were married in 1420 and produced four children, three of whom survived to adulthood.

Upon Carlos III's death in September 1425, Blanca and her husband assumed the Navarrese throne. Their reign was marred by war with Castile which was driven by Juan's interference in Castilian politics. However, Blanca worked tirelessly for peace with her neighbours and to recoup the land loss to Castile. The Treaty of Toledo in 1436 ended the hostilities between the two realms and provided for a marriage between her daughter Blanca and the heir of Castile. The marriage eventually took place in 1440. Blanca attended the event and died in 1441 while on pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Nieva.

A codicil in Blanca's will which requested that her son and heir, Carlos refrain from using the title King of Navarre until her husband was ready to relinquish it allowed her widower to retain control of the kingdom and prevent the rightful ascent of their son. This eventually triggered a civil war in Navarre between those who supported Carlos and those who favoured the continued rule of Juan of Aragon. Although Carlos' untimely death in 1461 allowed Juan to claim the ultimate victory, the rival groups which emerged from this conflict continued to generate conflict and promote political instability in the realm up to the eventual annexation of the Kingdom by Juan's son by his second marriage, Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1512.

Leonor

Born: February 2, 1426

Died: February 12, 1479 (Buried Tudela or Tafalla)

Reign: 1479

Married: Gaston of Foix; September 22, 1434

Issue: See genealogical chart below

Leonor was the youngest child of Blanca I and Juan of Aragon. As an unlikely heir to the throne, she was committed at a young age to a strategic marriage with the heir to the neighbouring county of Foix. She became Countess of Foix when her young husband acceded to the title in 1436. Their marriage was harmonious and prolific with ten children, all but one of whom survived to adulthood. These children were advantageously placed in matrimonial alliances, and one son Pierre, rose to the post of Cardinal in the Roman Catholic church.

Leonor and Gaston were beneficiaries of her father's feud with her brother and sister in Navarre. Juan appointed Leonor and Gaston as the new heirs to the kingdom with the power to govern the realm as his lieutenants in 1455. Leonor immediately took up the post and remained in Navarre for the majority of her remaining years. However, she struggled to maintain peace and govern the country during outbreaks of war between the Agramonts and Beaumonts. Leonor was briefly ousted from her position by her father who appointed her son as lieutenant in 1469, in reaction to Leonor's attempts to push Juan off the Navarrese throne. Her son's accidental death in 1470, forced Juan to make peace with Leonor and reinstate her as lieutenant and heiress.

Gaston's death in 1472 left Leonor somewhat isolated without the military and financial support she had received from her husband. Leonor's daughter-in-law, Magdalena of France took over the domains of Foix as regent for her young son Francisco Febo, and she was less

willing to help Leonor-in fact the two women often were working counter to the other's interests.

Juan of Aragon died in January 1479, finally leaving Leonor able to claim the Navarrese crown. However, she only ruled the kingdom as queen for a matter of weeks before succumbing to illness in February 1479.

Catalina

Born: April 18, 1468

Died: February 12, 1517 (buried at Lescar)

Reign: January 1483-July 1512

Married: Jean d'Albret; June 14, 1484

Issue: See genealogical chart below

Catalina was the second child of Gaston of Foix and Magdalena of France. She was the designated heir of her brother Francisco Fébo, who died unmarried and without issue in 1483. Although she laid claim to both the throne of Navarre and the patrimony of the Counts of Foix, her position was challenged by her uncle Jean of Narbonne who maintained that as the next male heir, his claim was superior. Although his claim had support from the King of France, Catalina was eventually able to resolve the dispute with the Treaty of Tarbes in 1497. Catalina also had difficulty establishing her rule in Navarre. This was due to two factors; continuing instability in the realm from civil conflict and opposition to her marriage. Magdalena's decision to opt for the suit of Jean d'Albret for her daughter rather than that of Juan of Castile, son of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, angered and alienated the Navarrese. It took ten years after their marriage for Catalina and her husband to feel secure enough to travel to Pamplona for their coronation, which took place in January 1494.

Political instability in Navarre continued to be an issue throughout Catalina's rule; a legacy of the civil war between Carlos and Juan of Aragon which had developed into a

prolonged rivalry between the Agramonts and Beaumonts. The other major difficulty which Catalina faced was international politics. The increasing rivalry between the King of France and the *Reyes Católicos* of Spain left Navarre in a difficult position. Catalina had family ties to both monarchs and the geographical position of Navarre and its subsidiary French territories on the border of the two rival states made it extremely important to both France and Spain to control the Pyrenean realm. Throughout the majority of her reign, Catalina worked with the Spanish sovereigns, with a series of treaties and matrimonial proposals designed to bind the realms together in alliance. However, Ferdinand's increasingly predatory behaviour after the death of Isabel of Castile and his second marriage to Catalina's cousin and rival claimant Germana of Foix forced the Navarrese queen to reconsider her alliances. The Treaty of Blois, which she signed with the King of France in 1512, freed Ferdinand from any need to maintain friendly relations with Navarre and he annexed the kingdom in July 1512.

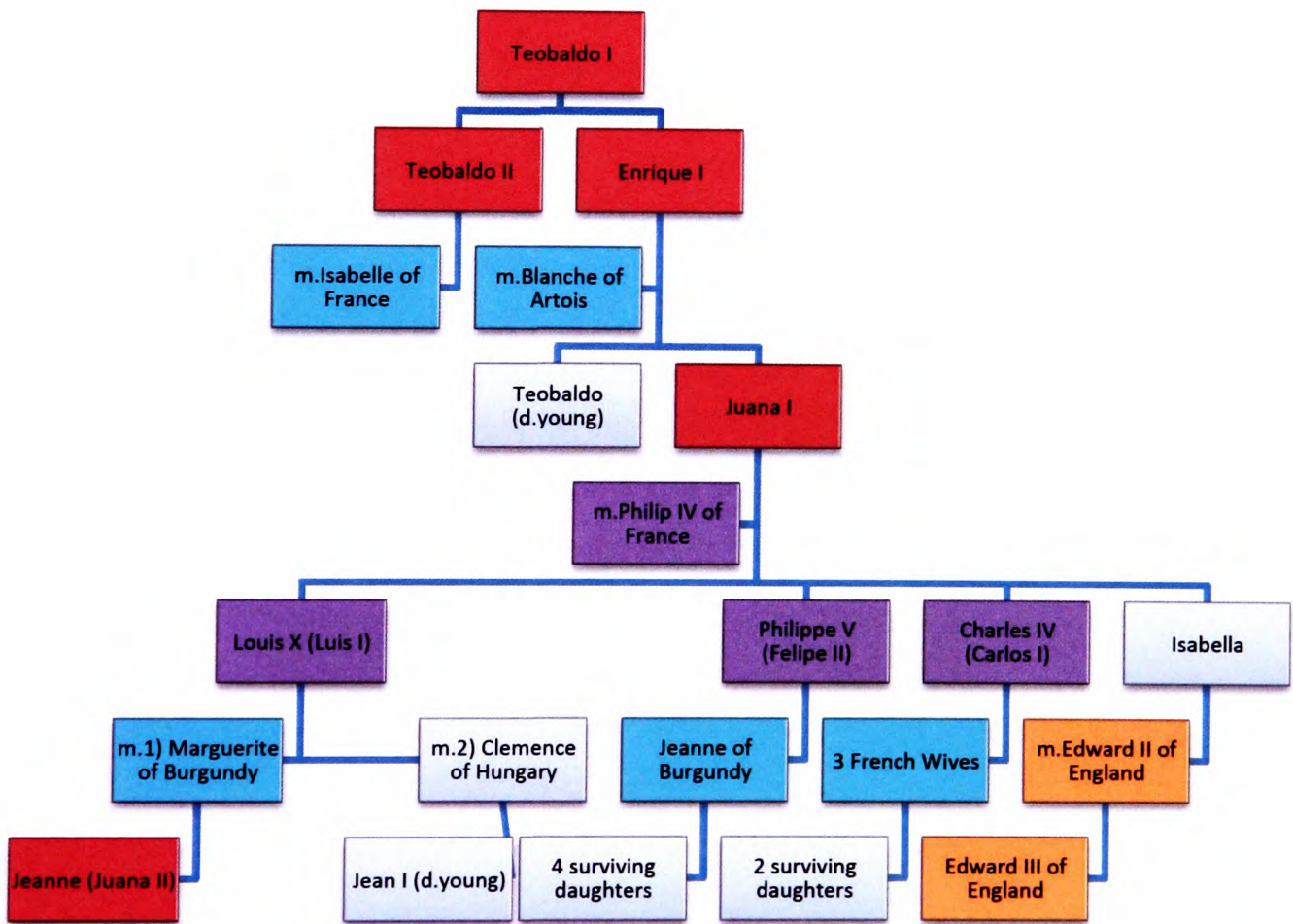
Catalina and her husband attempted to regain Navarre with a military campaign but were unsuccessful. Although Catalina and her descendants continued to style themselves as the rulers in Navarre, in reality they were left with their sizable collection of territory north of the Pyrenees, which still gave them considerable leverage in French politics. Although they never regained the Navarrese crown, her great-grandson, Henri became the King of France in 1589.

Genealogical Charts

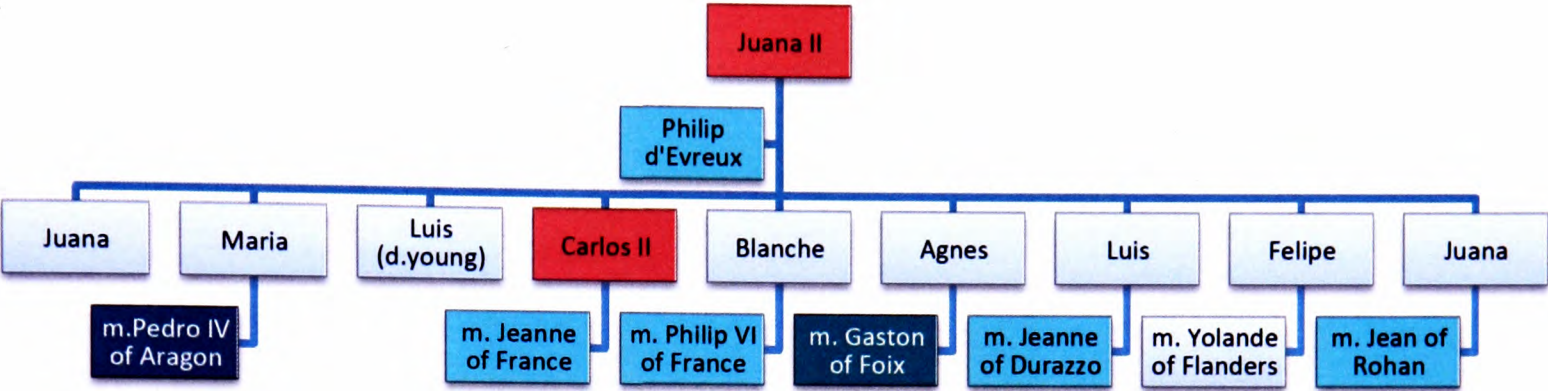
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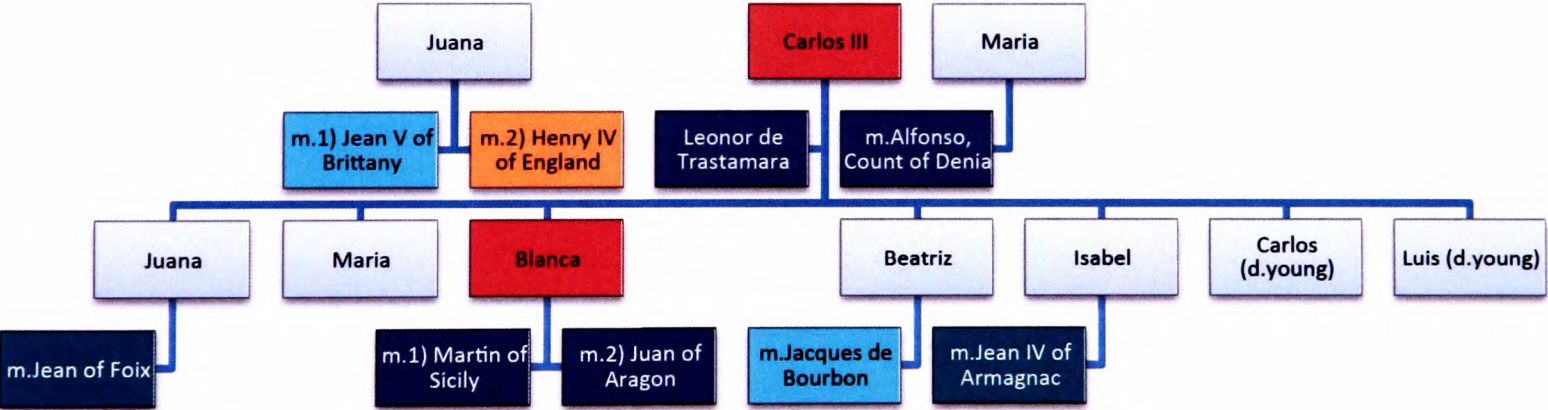
Champenois and Capetian Dynasties



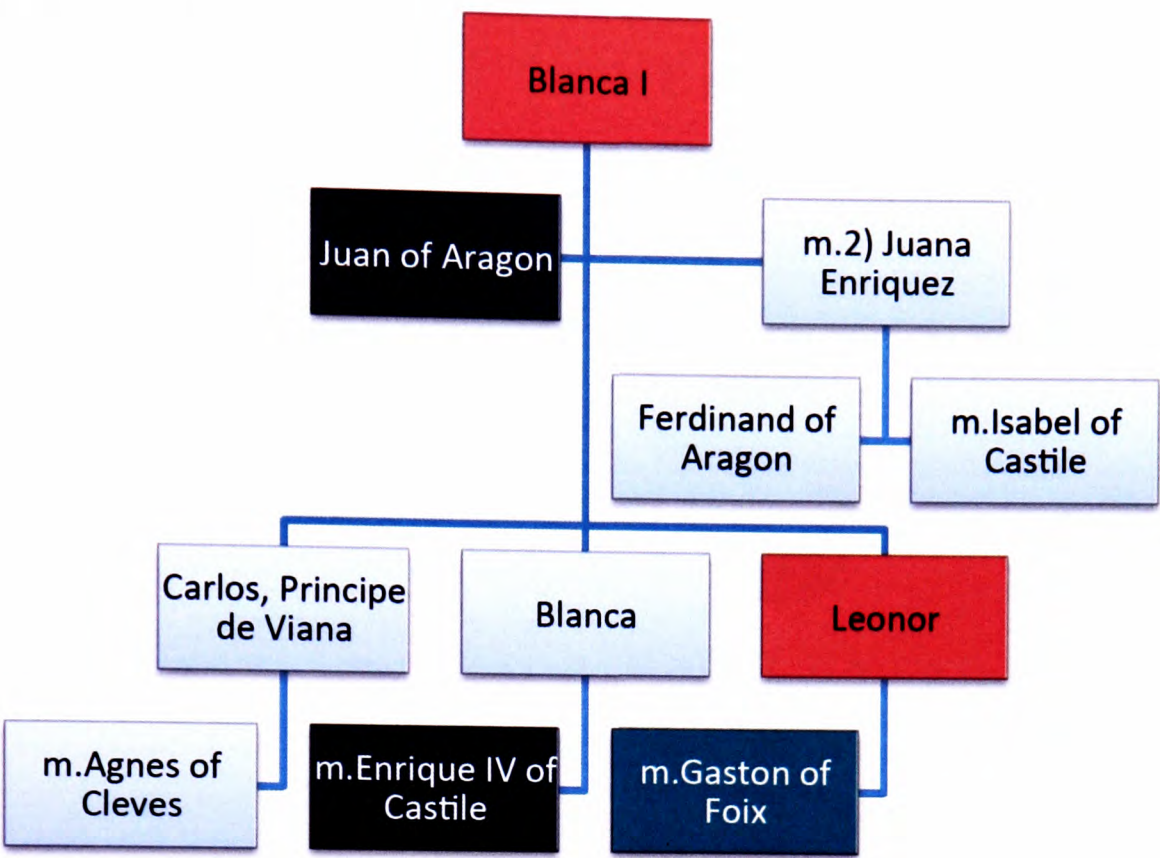
Issue of Juana II



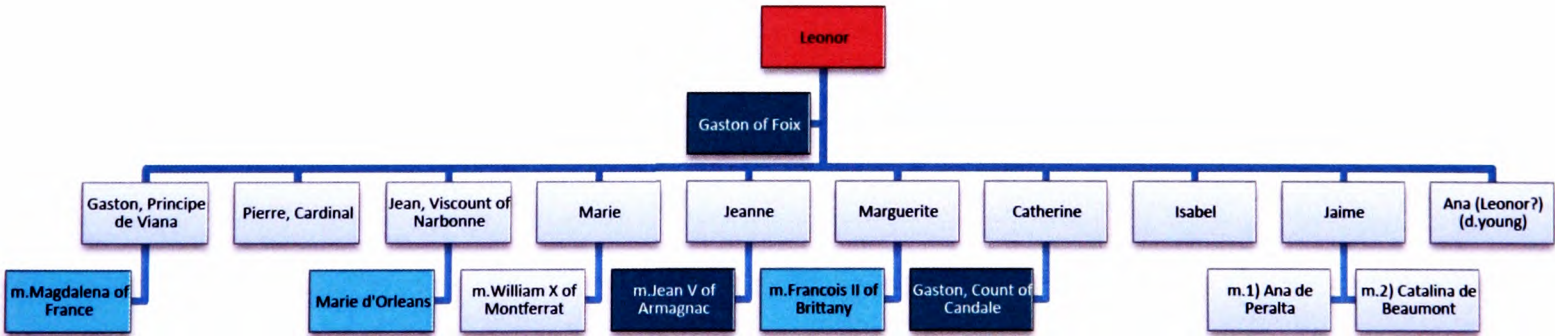
Issue of Carlos III



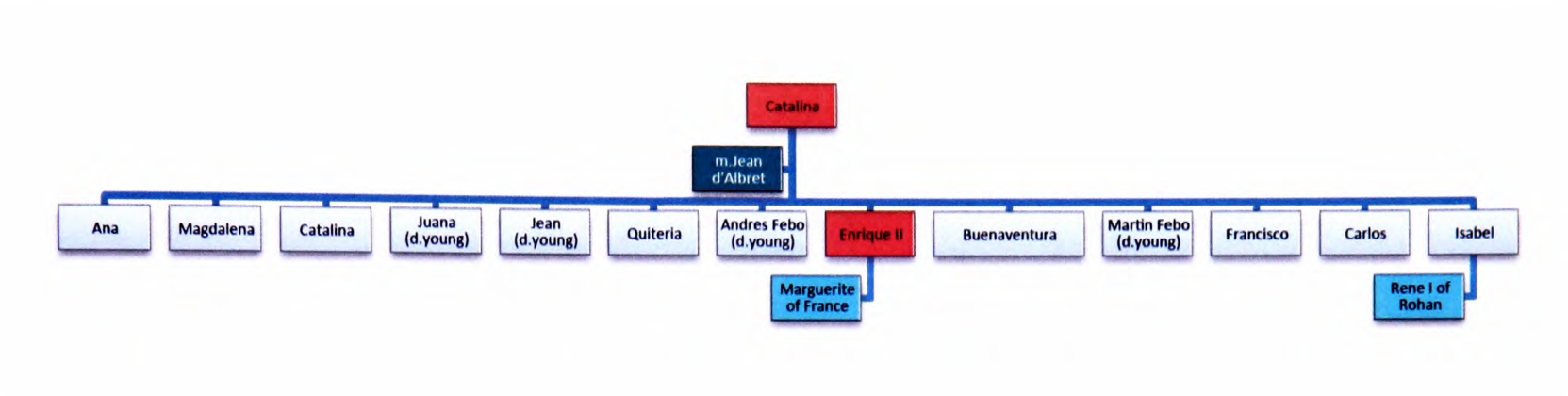
Issue of Blanca I



Issue of Leonor



Issue of Catalina



Tables

Table 1. Homage collected for Juana I (1276-77)

Doc no. ¹⁰³⁸	Date	Location of issue	Homage for
82	May 1276	Pamplona	Mendigorría
83	May 1276	Pamplona	Monreal
84	May 1276	Pamplona	Los Arcos
85	May 1276	Pamplona	Tafalla
86	May 1276	Pamplona	Estella
87	May 1276	Pamplona	San Juan Pie de Puerto
88	May 1276	Pamplona	Larraga & Berbinzana
89	May 1276	Pamplona	Tudela
90, 2	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Lérin
97	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Roldán Pérez de Sotés
107	9/11/1276	Estella	Lope Gonzalez de Andosilla
108	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Individual noble
109	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Fontellas & Tower of Monreal
110	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Individual noble
112	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Individual noble
113	20/11/1276	Pamplona	Individual noble
114	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Cortes
115	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Corella
116	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Oro
117	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Six castles
118	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castles of Funes & Cadreita
119	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Peñarredonda
120	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castles of Falces & San Adrian
121	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Los Arcos
122	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Milagro
123	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castles of Tudela & Estella
124	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Caparroso
125	5/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Valtierra
126	4/11/1276	Oteiza	Castle of Larraga
128	22/5/1277	Punicastro	Castle of Gallipienzo
129	2/4/1276	Los Arcos	Various nobles
130	25/3/1277	Falces	Castle of Caparroso
131	25/3/1277	Falces	Castles of Falces & San Adrian
132	25/3/1277	Falces	Tower of Andosilla
133	1/4/1277	Estella	Castle of Ataun
134	24/4/1277	Estella	Castles of Burgui & Isaba
135	11/4/1277	Estella	Castles of Herrera & Peñarredonda
136	22/5/1277	Punicastro	Castle of Gallipienzo

¹⁰³⁸ All documents are AGN Comptos, Caj.3

Table 2. Portions or amounts of expected contributions forgiven for

Blanca's second wedding in 1420

Doc. No	Date	Contributor	Amount
Caj.118, no.60, 1	March 18-19, 1420	Navarrería	1,920 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 2	As above	Tudela	¾ of <i>cuarteles</i>
Caj.118, no.60, 3	As above	Puente la Reina	70 florins & 8 sueldos
Caj.118, no.60, 4	As above	Sangüesa	782 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 5	As above	Los Arcos	153 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 6	As above	Estella	942 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 7	As above	San Juan Pie de Puerto	88 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 8	As above	Viana	747 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 9	As above	Laguardia	20 florins
Caj.118, no.60, 10	As above	Merinidad de Estella	All paid
Caj.118, no.60, 12	As above	Pamplona	All paid
Caj.118, no.60, 13	As above	Laguardia	1,305 florins
Caj.118, no.61, 1	March 20, 1420	San Vicente	315 florins
Caj.118, no.61, 2	As above	Monreal	76 florins
Caj.118, no.61, 4	As above	Labraza	30 florins
Caj.118, no.61, 5	As above	Urbiola	11 sueldos and 6 dineros
Caj.118, no.63, 1	April 4, 1420	Bernedo	20 florins

Table 3. Representatives sent for the Infanta Juana's succession confirmation

Document number ¹⁰³⁹	Date	Town
No. 3, 1	3/1/1423	Pamplona
No.3, 3	3/1/1423	Olite
No.3, 4	6/1/1423	Tudela
No.3, 5	3/1/1423	Estella
No.3, 6	9/1/1423	Villava
No.3, 8	4/1/1423	Los Arcos
No.3, 9	6/1/1423	Bernedo
No.3, 10	8/1/1423	Aguilar de Codés
No.3, 11	5/1/1423	Labraza
No.3, 12	8/1/1423	Torralba
No.3, 13	3/1/1423	Villafranca
No.3, 14	9/1/1423	Larrasoaña
No.4, 2	8/1/1423	San Vicente de la Sonsierra
No.4, 3-4	6/1/1423	Puente la Reina
No.4, 5	3/1/1423	San Juan de Pié de Puerto
No.4, 6	6/1/1423	Lanz

¹⁰³⁹ All AGN Comptos Caj. 122.