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THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE AND A QUEEN FROM NAVARRE:
COMPARING THE EXPERIENCE OF QUEENSHIP OF LEONOR DE
TRASTÁMARA AND JOAN OF NAVARRE

*La reina de Navarra y una reina navarra: comparando la experiencia de la reginalidad
entre Leonor de Trastámara y Juana de Navarra*

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ABSTRACT: This article offers an intensive comparison of two queen consorts, Leonor de Trastámara, consort of Carlos III of Navarre (r. 1387-1425) and her sister-in-law, Joan of Navarre, consort of Henry IV of England (r. 1399-1413). Key similarities and differences in their lives and experience of queenship are revealed by an examination of the major ceremonies that marked their tenure as consort and their personal exercise of the queen's office. As well as bringing greater illumination to their individual lives, the comparison also deepens our understanding of queenship, not only in Navarre and England, but more broadly in the later middle ages.

Keywords: queenship; dynasty; ceremonial; England; Navarre.

RESUMEN: Este artículo ofrece una comparación en profundidad de dos reinas consortes, Leonor de Trastámara, consorte de Carlos III de Navarra (r. 1387-1425) y su cuñada, Juana de Navarra, consorte de Enrique IV de Inglaterra (r. 1399-1413). Las similitudes y las diferencias claves en sus vidas y experiencia de reginalidad se muestran desarrollando un examen de las grandes ceremonias que marcaron su tenencia y su ejercicio individual del cargo de la reina. Además de ofrecer nuevos datos sobre sus trayectorias vitales, esta comparación profundiza en nuestro entendimiento de la reginalidad, no solamente en Navarra e Inglaterra, sino más ampliamente en la Baja Edad Media.

Palabras clave: reginalidad; dinastía; ceremonial; Inglaterra; Navarra.

SUMMARY: 0 Introduction. 1 Weddings and Marriage. 2 Coronation. 3 The Practice of Queenship. 4 Death and Funeral. 5 Conclusions. 6 References.

0 INTRODUCTION

Leonor de Trastámara and Joan of Navarre shared a common bond through their relationship to Carlos III of Navarre — Leonor was his wife of forty years while Joan was his younger sister. While they were sisters-in-law and thus closely related through marriage, it is not certain that the two women ever met — by the time that Leonor finally came to Navarre from Castile at the outset of Carlos III's reign in 1387, Joan had just left the realm to make her first marriage to Jean IV, Duke of Brittany. Later, after she was widowed in 1399, Joan moved even further away from her homeland when she made a second marriage to Henry IV of England that made her a queen consort, like her sister-in-law, Leonor. While Joan kept up communication and connection with her Navarrese family after she left Iberia through various means, there is no secure evidence of definitive contact between herself and Leonor specifically such as surviving letters or evidence of gift exchange. Given the lack of personal connection between these two women, a comparative study of their lives and experience of queenship might appear to be an artificial one or nearly random juxtaposition of two contemporary women. Yet while Leonor and Joan experienced queenship in two very different settings and circumstances, these two women's lives have some interesting parallels and points of divergence that, when brought together for comparison, further illuminate the queen's role in the later middle ages. They are also two women whose lives have been understudied in comparison to other queens of this era such as Joan's other sisters-in-law Catalina and Philippa of Lancaster, the queens of Castile and Portugal respectively. This study will not only bring greater focus to their lives but also make comparisons in their personal experience, demonstrating both continuity and difference between the practices of the English royal court and that of Joan's Iberian homeland. Particular focus will be given to Joan and Leonor's experience of marriage and motherhood, two central elements of queenship, their exercise of the queen's office and impact on their marital courts as well as the major ceremonies which marked key moments in their lives and underlined their position as queen consort from their weddings through to their funeral and burial alongside their husbands.

1 WEDDINGS AND MARRIAGE

It is perhaps in the area of both women's weddings and experience of marriage that we can see the most divergence in their experience. As noted previously, Joan was married (and widowed) twice: her first marriage to Jean IV of Brittany lasted from 1386-1399 and her second marriage to Henry IV of England was ten years long, from 1403-1413. Both Joan's first marriage and Leonor's union with Carlos III had been orchestrated by Carlos II with Navarre's situation during a complex and ever-shifting political situation first and foremost in his mind. While a lack of space prevents a detailed exploration of Carlos II's challenging and political circumstances here, a large part of his difficulties was being repeatedly mired in bad relations with his neighbours and mutual allies France and

Castile¹. This was due in part to his own attempts to claim the French throne as a direct descendant of the Capetian king, Louis X and his tendency to lean towards alliance with the English, who were France's great enemy in the Hundred Years War. Moreover, the English also posed a threat to Enrique II, the first Trastámara king through the rival claim of the English Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who had married the infanta Constanza, heiress of the dethroned Pedro I. Carlos II's seizure of the cities of Vitoria and Logroño in 1368 was another point of tension between Navarre and its Castilian neighbours.

Leonor's marriage to Carlos II's son and heir came as part of her father Enrique II of Castile's manoeuvring to solidify his position in the Iberian Peninsula through a series of treaties and weddings with his neighbours in the mid 1370s². First Enrique sought to press his advantage over Portugal after a successful campaign in 1372-3 through a marriage between his brother Sancho and King Fernando's sister Beatriz. Then Enrique turned his attention to Navarre and Aragon. The power of Castile's army and its success against the Portuguese may have convinced Carlos II to agree to Enrique's demands that Vitoria and Logroño be returned and attempt to restore amity between them through a pledge to marry his heir to Enrique's daughter Leonor³. Having neutralized two potential allies of the Duke of Lancaster in Fernando of Portugal and Carlos II, a final piece in the puzzle was securing the king of Aragon who eventually abandoned John of Gaunt in autumn 1373⁴. Enrique and Pedro IV of Aragon eventually signed the Peace of Almazán in April 1375 which led to a double wedding the following month in Soria of Leonor and Carlos and Leonor's brother Juan to the Aragonese infanta Leonor⁵.

Yet the marriage of Leonor and Carlos did not ensure long-term peace and friendship between Navarre and Castile. Indeed, the couple spent several years apart in the early years of their marriage as the young groom was taken as a hostage by France in 1378 during a trip to negotiate on his father's behalf when Navarre was accused of attempting to ally with England and held for over three years⁶. Matters deteriorated further to the point where Castile invaded Navarre forcing Carlos II's to sign the humiliating Treaty of Briones in 1379, resulting in the seizure of most of his territories in France itself and many strategic castles in Navarre⁷. Carlos II's difficulties with France and Castile,

¹ For more on Carlos II's life and political career, the most recent biography of Carlos II is Sánchez Aranaz, Fernando. *Carlos II de Navarra: El rey que pudo dominar Europa*. Pamplona: Editorial Mintzoa, 2021.

² Lacarra, José María. *Historia política del Reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*. Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1973, vol. 3, pp. 117-119.

³ Flood, Timothy M. *Rulers and Realms in Medieval Iberia, 711-1492*. Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2019, p. 169.

⁴ Sumption, Jonathan. *Divided Houses: The Hundred Years War III*. London: Faber and Faber, 2009, pp. 178-180.

⁵ Lacarra, *Historia Política*, p. 118. Narbona Cárceles, María. «Leonor de Trastámara». In Pavón, Julia (ed.). *Reinas de Navarra*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 653.

⁶ Ongay, Nelly. «La boda de la infanta Juana con el duque bretón Juan IV (1386). Las relaciones diplomáticas con Carlos II Evreux». *Estudios de Historia*, 2018, vol. XX, p. 144. Joan's siblings Pedro and Bona were also held by France during this period.

⁷ The Treaty of Briones 1379 forced Carlos II to be allied to France and Castile. The treaty gave the Infante of Castile the castles of Tudela, San Vicente de la Sonsierra, Estella, Viana, Lerín, Larraga, Carcar,

which had not been improved by Leonor de Trastámara's marriage to his heir, created the context for Joan's first marriage to the duke of Brittany in 1386. Jean IV of Brittany also had a similar scenario with the French king — both Carlos and Jean lent towards the English in their political sympathies but both had been forbidden in treaties signed with the French to support the English⁸. However, a marriage between their respective houses was not barred and allowed them effectively to develop a deeper bond between two realms which shared a desire to support the English and prevent French control of their territories.

While Leonor's marriage and Joan's first wedding had been a product of political circumstances and attempts to forge alliances that often decides a queen's destiny, Joan's second marriage to Henry IV of England offers a completely different scenario. This time, it was not Joan's father or family who were directing the path of her life to their diplomatic and political advantage — Joan was taking the reins to decide her own future. In contrast to the diplomatic negotiations between Navarre and Brittany that had presaged her first marriage, Henry and Joan conducted their negotiations with near complete secrecy. Given the secretive nature of the discussions, it is difficult to say with complete certainty when they began — however, in the close rolls there is an entry on 7 February 1400, less than three months after the death of Jean IV for the passage of Anthony Rys and Nicholas Alderwiche «who by command of the king are sailing to the duchy of Brittany with letters on his behalf addressed to the duchess»⁹. Rys was appointed as her procurator with full powers to negotiate on 15 March 1402 and stood in for her at the proxy ceremony at Eltham on 3 April¹⁰. Only after the proxy ceremony did news of the match become more widely known, triggering a very negative reaction in the Breton and French court—precisely the reason why Joan and Henry had chosen to negotiate in a more personal and private fashion rather than formally and publicly as Jean IV and Carlos II had negotiated her first match.

Joan and Henry IV's wedding took place at Winchester Cathedral in February 1403—it was a second marriage for both spouses who were both approximately 35 years old and Henry had already been king for nearly four years. In contrast, Leonor and Carlos were both teenagers when they were wed on 27 May 1375 and Carlos was the

Miranda, San Adrián, Andosilla, Azagra, Bernedo, Toro, Genevilla, Zúñiga, Zahurdi, Avalos and Sartaguda with the city of Laguardia. All of these cities had to give six hostages who had to be permanently in the castles. The cities of Pamplona, Sangüesa, Olite and Laguardia which did not have castles had a give 15, 10, 6 and 5 hostages respectively who had to live in Castile for 7 years. Twenty additional hostages, sons of the elites of the Navarrese realm had to go to Castile for security as well. See Zunzunegui, José. «El matrimonio de la infanta Juana con el duque de Bretaña: Navarra a fines del siglo XIV». *Príncipe de Viana*, 1943, vol. 4, no. 10, p. 53.

⁸ Jean IV of Brittany had been similarly pressured by the French into signing of the Treaty of Guérande, 4 April 1381. However, Jean sent Richard II of England a letter in 1383 to note that despite the treaty he would do nothing against the English. Ongay, «La boda», p. 148; Zunzunegui, «El matrimonio», p. 55.

⁹ «Close Rolls, Henry IV: February 1400». In Stamp, A.E. (ed.). *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry IV: Volume 1, 1399-1402*. London; His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927, p. 44-45. British History Online, accessed 24 June 2020, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen4/vol1/pp44-45>

¹⁰ Morice, Dom Hyacinthe. *Mémoires pour servir de preuves a l'histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne*. Paris; Charles Osmont, 1842, vol. I, col. 83-4.

young heir to the Navarrese throne¹¹. Moreover, instead of Joan's journey across the English Channel for her wedding to Henry IV, Carlos came to Castile for his wedding to Leonor which took place in Soria as previously noted. These two royal marriages were very different in their personal aspect as well. Joan and Henry's marriage was harmonious and as his biographer Bryan Bevan noted «Henry, uxorious by temperament, was always faithful to Joanna [Joan] and we do not hear of any discord»¹². While their marriage was a seemingly happy one, it only lasted ten years as Henry died after a long period of ill health in March 1413—Joan's first marriage to Jean IV had also been harmonious but had lasted slightly longer at thirteen years in length.

Leonor and Carlos' forty-year marriage was far longer—and far more turbulent with extensive periods of separation both due to Carlos' many journeys to France and due to a marital rupture. While there is insufficient space to discuss this fascinating situation in depth here in this comparative piece, Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros summarizes it well at the end of her classic article on Leonor's life: they were married in 1375 and lived harmoniously for thirteen years until 1388 when Leonor left Navarre after a period of illness which she appeared to believe was caused by poisoning by a court doctor¹³. Then the royal couple were separated for approximately seven years while Leonor stubbornly remained in Castile, refusing Carlos' entreaties to return. This situation could be interpreted in a number of ways — as a purely personal dispute between husband and wife, as a means of the queen displaying agency in deciding to return to her homeland rather than remain at the Navarrese court or as Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero suggests Leonor and her daughters could even be seen as hostages in relations between Castile and Navarre¹⁴. In 1375, Leonor was effectively forced to return by her nephew Enrique III of Castile as a matter of political expediency, having received assurances from her husband that he would treat her with the greatest respect and prevent further any threats to her life. The chronicle of Pedro de Ayala notes that when the Castillian party with the queen met with Carlos III *el Rey su marido la acogió muy bien, é le plogo mucho con ella, é fizo mucha honra á todos los que con ella fueron*¹⁵. Once reunited, the birth of four further children to the couple underlined their rapprochement and they formed an effective personal and political partnership for the remaining twenty years of the queen's life until she died in 1415¹⁶.

¹¹ Narbona Cárceles, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 654.

¹² Bevan, Bryan. *Henry IV*. London: Rubicon Press, 1994, p. 93.

¹³ Gaibrois de Ballesteros, Mercedes. «Leonor de Trastámara, reina de Navarra». *Príncipe de Viana*, 1947, vol. 26, p. 69.

¹⁴ Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero notes that the marital difficulties of the couple had become intermeshed with political issues between the neighbouring countries; «Cabe considerar, así, dadas las circunstancias comentadas, que las acusaciones de maltrato vertidas por la reina contra Carlos III y su corte formaban parte, más bien, de un despertado intento de no verse desplazada de las cuotas de poder castellano». Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. *Carlos III rey de Navarra. Príncipe de sangre Valois (1387-1425)*. Gijón: Trea, 2007, pp. 79 and 74-75.

¹⁵ López de Ayala, Pedro. *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III*. Madrid: Don Antonio de Sancha, 1780, vol. II, p. 547.

¹⁶ The couple had eight children: Juana (b. 1382), Maria (b.1384), Blanca (b. 1385), Beatriz (b. 1386, likely the survivor out of twin girls), Isabel (b.1396), Carlos (b.1397), Luis (b.1399), Margarita (b. 1401); Narbona Cárceles, «Leonor de Trastámara», pp. 645-646.

It has to be said that these very different experiences of royal marriage have some fairly unique scenarios in terms of the norms of medieval queenship. While it was not unusual for a royal marriage to experience periods of difficulty, which could even result in the end of the union, Leonor and Carlos' prolonged separation, eventual reunion and resumption of a stable marital life is certainly a non-standard pattern. Joan also offers an unusual example as a woman who became queen later in life, as a widow who already had a family of her own which she had to largely leave behind in Brittany. Leonor's experience of being wed in her teenaged years or early adulthood was far more common for queens and royal women. However, taken together, these two unusual and divergent examples offer us a glimpse of the wide variety of royal marriages and a queen's experience of marital life.

2 CORONATION

One of the few direct similarities between the two women is that both were crowned as queen in 1403. Interestingly, for both women, few accounts of the ceremony itself survive, but through financial records of expenditure and other documentary sources, we can gain an understanding of both events which allows us to make a fruitful comparison. However, once again the circumstances of their coronation ceremony and the context of the event are largely different. Joan's coronation took place almost immediately after her wedding at the outset of her tenure as queen, while Leonor's took place sixteen years after she became queen of Navarre—after a period of separation from Carlos III, a long absence from the kingdom and the birth of several children. Indeed, as we will discuss shortly, these factors were all significant in terms of the decision to hold a coronation for Leonor—while it was standard practice in England, this was not necessarily the case in Navarre. Indeed, while a regnant or ruling queen required a coronation to confer authority on her as the sovereign, it was not vital to confirm the position of a consort queen—her wedding to the monarch was more important in establishing her position as his spouse and ruling partner¹⁷. Thus, not all consort queens were given this ceremonial honour in many countries and even realms which typically crowned their consorts have examples of women who did not have this ceremony.

In Leonor de Trastámara's case, this unusual solo reginal coronation took place for three reasons. One motivation was to honour Leonor — Carlos III had promised to show her the greatest honour and respect when she returned to Navarre in 1395 and a formal coronation was perhaps the greatest outward display he could make of his respect for her and to underline her position as his queen. María Narbona Cárceles has argued that another motivation for Leonor's coronation was to affirm her position as regent or lieutenant to govern the realm during Carlos' frequent journeys to France¹⁸. A final mo-

¹⁷ For further discussion of the coronation of queens both regnant and consort in a broader sense, see Woodacre, Elena. *Queens and Queenship*. Bradford: ARC Humanities Press, 2021, particularly chapter 3, «Image».

¹⁸ Narbona Cárceles, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 665.

tivation for the coronation may have been to recognize that Leonor had also produced a plethora of heirs for Carlos, including the long awaited infantes Carlos (b.1397) and Luis (b.1399). Other queens, including Isabeau of Bavaria, Elizabeth of York, Anne Boleyn and Leonor of Sicily were 'rewarded' with a coronation once pregnant or once they had given birth to an heir. Although it could be argued in each of these cases that other circumstances had led to these particular queens receiving a coronation during or just after a pregnancy, the timing ties in with John Carmi Parsons' argument about the importance of the queen's fertility being stressed in the queen's coronation ceremony, solidifying not only her position as the king's wife and dynastic progenitor but that of her children as legitimate heirs to the crown¹⁹. Tragically however, Leonor's sons were short lived and plans for her coronation which had been set for 1402 had to be postponed for a year due to the death of the infantes.

Joan was the first of the two women to be crowned in February 1403. Immediately after the wedding, while still at Winchester, the king issued a proclamation calling for the presence of the nobility and court to attend the new queen's coronation, set for 25 February, the last Sunday before Lent began²⁰. Henry and Joan then left Winchester and travelled northwards to Henry's favourite residence at Eltham, just outside of London, where they stayed for approximately ten days for a sort of «honeymoon» period. The expenditure for their wedding and Joan's coronation was extensive and part of Henry's broader efforts to project majesty in order to affirm his position as the rightful king rather than a usurper, having unseated his cousin Richard II less than four years previously. His biographer Chris Given-Wilson notes that Henry spent «great but unquantifiable sums on his and Joan's coronations» — the records in the National Archives attest to the king's impressive financial outlay for these two important ceremonies which confirmed their status as king and queen as well as their wedding which established their personal union and the dynastic connection between England and Navarre²¹.

While there are no detailed contemporary accounts of Joan's coronation, by piecing together two near-contemporary sources, we can gain a reasonable understanding of the ceremonial itself and the festivities which surrounded the event. The only pictorial record we have of Joan's coronation comes from the *Beauchamp Pageant*, a late fifteenth century illustrated account of the life of Richard Beauchamp, 13th earl of Warwick (1382-1439). Beauchamp served as Joan's champion in the tournaments celebrating her coronation and given that this was a great honour in his life, two folios are dedicated to depicting the queen's coronation. The first is on folio 2 verso, where the queen is shown enthroned with the crown being placed on her head by two bishops²². Joan holds in her hand a

¹⁹ Carmi Parsons, John. «Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500». In Fradenburg, Louise Olga (ed.). *Women and Sovereignty*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992, pp. 60-77.

²⁰ *Calendar of Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V (1399-1422)*. Kirby, J. L. (ed.). London: HMSO, 1978, document no. 107, signed 9 February 1403 at Winchester, p. 41.

²¹ Given-Wilson, Chris. *Henry IV*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016, p. 421. The financial records for the wedding and coronation can be found in The National Archives (TNA), series E 403/573-4.

²² Anon., *The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, (late 15th century), British Library Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, folio 2v.

sceptre or rod and an orb with a large cross atop it and behind her is a cloth of estate with the arms of England and Navarre side by side. The caption underneath says «Here shows how Dame Jane Duchess of Brittany daughter of the king of Navarre and new wedded wife to Henry the 4th king of England was crowned Queen of this noble realm of England»²³. On the following folio, there is an illustration of Beauchamp jousting at the «Coronation of Queen Jane» and the queen and king can be seen looking on approvingly from the royal box²⁴. While the illustrations are only line drawings without colour and were likely created several decades after the event itself took place, they still give us some idea of what the ceremony and festivities may have looked like.

The evidence that survives from Leonor's coronation affirms that there were also several days of jousting as well as bull fights²⁵. While we may not have the pictorial images of Leonor's coronation, we do have descriptions from the financial records which give us an idea of what she wore. Extensive green cloth was purchased for clothing, ribbons and hanging, playing off her queen's livery colours of green and grey: Gaibrois de Ballesteros noted «Era el color de la reina ese día»²⁶. Lledó Ruiz Domingo has commented on the symbolism of green fabric and decoration for the queens of Aragon as a colour which was associated with renewal and new life that was also used for fabric to drape royal coffins during funerary ceremonies²⁷. The queen herself wore green with extensive embroidery and that the horse she rode through the streets of Pamplona was covered in a cloth embroidered with the arms of Navarre and Castile²⁸.

While we know little of the ceremonial aspect for the queen's coronation in Navarre, an important piece of evidence that we have which allows us some insight into the English ceremonial is the *Liber Regalis*, a fourteenth century recension of the *ordines* which formed the basis of the coronation ceremonies of all the fifteenth century queens²⁹. While not specifically noted in the *Liber Regalis*, the experience of Joan's successors indicates that before the ceremony of coronation itself, it was customary to hold pageants and processions to welcome the queen and fête her before her crowning. As Joanna Laynesmith has noted «the concepts of queenship which figured in the processions and pageants [were] designed for specific queens and political circumstances»³⁰. The itinerary of Henry IV indicates that the royal couple travelled from Eltham to Westminster on 24 February, the day before her coronation. It is reasonable to expect that on the 24th, as

²³ Text modernized above by the author.

²⁴ *Pageants*, folio 3r.

²⁵ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», pp. 60-61.

²⁶ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 61.

²⁷ Ruiz Domingo, Lledó. «The Fabrics and Colours of Power. The Queen's Chamber as a Political Scenario in the Crown of Aragon during the Late Middle Ages». Paper given at Kings and Queens 10 Conference, University of Highlands and Islands, July 2021.

²⁸ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 61.

²⁹ The *Liber Regalis* is reprinted in *English Coronation Records*. Wickam Legg, Leopold G. (ed.), Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co, 1901, pp. 81-130. The section on the queen's coronation ceremony (when it took place separately from the king's) is on pages 108-112 (in Latin) and pages 128-130 (English translation).

³⁰ Laynesmith, Joanna. «Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England, 1445-87». In Thornton, Tim (ed.). *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001, p. 57.

the queen's first entry into the capital after her marriage to Henry, Joan would have been welcomed with both pageants and pageantry, given Henry's desire as demonstrated in the expenditure for their wedding and the coronation, to use this ceremonial occasion as a means of both establishing the new queen and projecting his own majesty. Interestingly, in Castile, the coronation of queens was scrapped under the reign of Juan I and instead lavish entries or receptions of the queen in major cities of the realm served as an effective replacement³¹. While it was not the same as a coronation as the sacral element was missing, entries and pageants gave the public an opportunity to engage with the queen and as Lucinda Dean has demonstrated in the case of Anna of Denmark, it gave the public the chance to communicate ideals of queenship and expectations of their queens³². Yet in the fourteenth century, there are examples of Castilian queens who were crowned: María of Portugal in 1332 and Leonor of Aragon in 1379³³. The latter ceremony of her own sister-in-law, which Leonor de Trastámara may have personally witnessed, could have set a greater expectation for her to participate in a similar ceremony as a Navarrese consort.

There is little contemporary description of Joan's coronation in the chronicles of the period, or indeed little commentary on her life as queen consort and dowager in these sources, giving the erroneous impression that she was inactive or uninteresting. For example Thomas Walsingham, one of the most important English commentators of the era merely notes «She was magnificently crowned in London at Westminster on 26 January»³⁴. For an understanding of the ritual elements of Joan's crowning, we can turn to the *Liber Regalis*—while there does not appear to be a similar official *ordo* for the coronation of the queen in Navarre, comparisons can be made with France and Aragon, who also had fourteenth century documents which set out the ceremonial process for crowning a queen³⁵. For all three realms, the day of coronation begins with the queen dressed in ceremonial robes, although these varied in colour—Aragonese queens were robed in white and rode a white horse to the ceremony to signal purity, while French queens wore red as the royal colour and the *Liber Regalis* states clearly that «the tunic and robe shall be of one colour, that is, purple, and of one texture without any other working on it»³⁶.

The English, French and Aragonese queens all wore their hair unbound and all processed formally to the site traditionally associated with coronations be it Westminster Abbey in England, Reims in France (or the Sainte Chapelle in Paris if the queen was

³¹ Pelaz Flores, Diana. «Reynante(s) un vno: Poder y representación de la reina en la Corona de Castilla durante el siglo xv». Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidad de Valladolid, 2015, p. 151.

³² Dean, Lucinda H. S. «Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities c.1449-1560». In Mulryne, J.R., Aliverti, Maria Ines and Testaverde, Anna Maria (eds.). *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 273-274.

³³ Pelaz Flores, Diana. «Crowning the queen: staging legitimacy and the coronation ritual in fourteenth-century Castile». *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 2021, vol. 13:1, pp. 74-95.

³⁴ Walsingham, Thomas. *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376-1422*. Translated by David Prest and James G. Clark. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005, p. 325.

³⁵ For an excellent overview of the coronation ceremonies of queens in these realms, see Gaude-Ferragu, Murielle. *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 42-50 and Silleras-Fernández, Núria. «Creada a su imagen y semejanza: la coronación de la Reina de Aragón según las Ordenaciones de Pedro el Ceremonioso». *Lusitania Sacra*, 2015, vol. 31, pp. 107-125.

³⁶ *Liber Regalis* (translation), in *English Coronation Records*, p. 128.

being crowned alone) or Zaragoza in Aragon. The key elements of the coronation, which again were reflected in all of the *ordines* are prayers said over the queen, the anointing with chrism or holy oil and the conferral of the queen's regalia: the crown, ring, sceptre, orb and rod. The combination of elements in the queen's regalia varied—the *Liber Regalis* only notes the ring, crown and sceptre in the directions for when a queen was to be crowned alone. However, it also describes both a rod and sceptre, each topped with a dove in directions for a joint coronation and as noted previously the picture of Joan's coronation in the *Beauchamp Pageant* depicts her with an orb and sceptre which is different yet again³⁷. While we do not know with certainty what regalia may have been used for Leonor's ceremony, she too may have had a sceptre at her coronation as records indicate that the silversmith Juan Boneau was paid to fashion one for her³⁸.

A key difference between the English and French and the Aragonese ceremonies was who actually crowned the queen—while the queen was crowned by a high prelate, a bishop or archbishop, in the case of England and France, in Aragon the king himself crowned the queen and placed the ring and regalia in her hands. While prelates were involved in all stages of the Aragonese ceremony, making orations or prayers, anointing the queen with holy oil and blessing the regalia, it was the king who actually conferred the items on his wife³⁹. This mirrors the king's coronation itself—Pedro IV of Aragon famously crowned himself at his coronation in 1336 and as he wrote the *ordo* for the queen's coronation, it is hardly surprising that he retained the authority to crown his wife in her ceremony as well⁴⁰.

Leonor's coronation was likely influenced by a number of elements — it may have been modelled on the French or Aragonese ceremonies as both realms were influential neighbours, or it may have reflected the Navarrese traditions for the installation of the sovereign. However, another intriguing possibility posited by Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, is that Leonor's ceremony may also have been influenced by English traditions given the presence of a manuscript in Pamplona which delineated the ceremonial for the coronations and funerals of English kings and queens. Ramírez Vaquero notes that the combination of this manuscript and the installation of the Navarrese infanta Joan in the English court as its new queen «es testimonio de la fluidez de intercambios de todo tipo con la corte inglesa»⁴¹. In the Navarrese ceremony, the key elements were the oathswearing (*juramento*), the unction, being invested with the royal regalia and being lifted on the shield of state while «Real! Real! Real!» was cried⁴². It is unclear whether a queen consort would be required to swear oaths or if she would be raised up on the shield or if that was

³⁷ *Liber Regalis* (translation), in *English Coronation Records*, pp. 122 and 130.

³⁸ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 61.

³⁹ Silleras-Fernández, «*Creada a su imagen*», pp. 117-118.

⁴⁰ See Aurell, Jaume and Serrano-Coll, Marta. «The Self-Coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical and Iconographical Representations». *Speculum*, 2014, vol. 89:1, pp. 66-95.

⁴¹ Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. «De libros y reyes». In Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa (ed.). *Ceremonial de la coronación, unción y exequias de los reyes de Inglaterra: Estudios Complementarios*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2008, p. 16.

⁴² Osés Urricelqui, Merche. «El ritual de la realeza navarra en los siglos XIV y XV: coronaciones y funerales». In Ramírez Vaquero, *Ceremonial*, pp. 307-312.

only the prerogative of the sovereign. Indeed, at the coronation of Juana II of Navarre in 1329, the organizers indicated that only Juana would be raised up on the shield at her coronation as the «natural lady» as normally only the monarch was given that honour. However, after considerable protest by her husband, Philip d'Evreux, he was raised up on the shield as well⁴³.

In sum, both Joan and Leonor benefited from the costly pageantry and impressive ceremonial associated with their coronations to affirm their position as queen consort. However, the divergence in their situations and the comparison with that of consorts in neighbouring realms demonstrates the variety of experience of coronation. While Joan's coronation bears considerable similarity with *ordines* for queenly coronations in France and Aragon where queens were crowned with reasonable frequency in the later middle ages, Leonor's situation was unusual for Navarre and resonates with the wider context of queenly coronations—that they were not guaranteed for all consorts and could be entirely situational, rather than standard practice.

3 THE PRACTICE OF QUEENSHIP

In terms of their experience of queenship itself, Joan and Leonor's situations again show similarities and differences in terms of several key aspects of queenship: maternity, negotiating the court and administration. Motherhood is central to the queen's role as the dynastic progenitor who provides the heir to continue the line of succession. Both Joan and Leonor bore several children, but their individual situation and the role that motherhood played in their lives and tenure as queen was very different. In Joan's first marriage to Jean IV of Brittany, she had been selected in part as a young princess from a fertile family, in hopes that she would produce the long-awaited heir that Jean so desperately needed after two barren marriages to prevent a rival branch of the family, the Penthièvres, from attempting to reclaim the ducal throne⁴⁴. While Joan produced a plethora of heirs for Jean, including four sons, her second marriage to Henry IV as queen of England, was childless. However, in this instance it was actually a good thing that the queen bore no children as Henry already had a substantial brood of his own from before he took the throne and if his marriage to Joan had issue, it might have seriously complicated the line of succession. Instead, Joan became a royal stepmother who was given the appellation of «the king's mother» during her stepson Henry V's reign but not the security of being his blood relation⁴⁵.

⁴³ Woodacre, Elena. *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 61-63.

⁴⁴ For a brief scholarly overview of Jean IV's situation, see Jones, Michael. «Montfort, John de, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond [John of Brittany] (d. 1399), magnate». *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 29 Mar. 2021. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53088>

⁴⁵ For an example of Joan being referred to as «the king's mother», see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry V (1413-1416)*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910, vol. I, dated 18 December 1414 at Westminster, p. 272.

In contrast, Leonor bore the pressure of producing the heirs to the throne for Navarre. While fecund, Leonor bore five girls before she gave birth to two sons ten years after she first became queen and over twenty years into her marriage to Carlos III. While both boys sadly died young, Navarrese law, custom and tradition allowed female heirs, thus the infantas were still legitimate successors and Leonor's daughter Blanca eventually reigned as queen between 1425-41. However, one issue that Leonor had to contend with that Joan did not, was her husband's illegitimate children. Gaibrois de Ballesteros has suggested that one of the factors in Leonor's departure from the Navarrese court and reluctance to return was coming into contact with Carlos' mistress Maria Miguel de Esparza and her son Lancelot⁴⁶. The queen's concern over the possibility that this illegitimate son might displace her own daughters in the line of succession may have been a factor in Carlos III's repeated public declaration of the infantas' position as his heirs⁴⁷.

In terms of their experience of negotiating a new court in their husband's kingdom, we can see a clear similarity in that both women were foreign queens who keenly felt the challenges of transitioning from their native realm. Being foreigners made them particularly vulnerable to criticism and in spite of their elevated position as queen consort, both Joan and Leonor suffered real or perceived attacks on their person during their tenure. For Leonor, this materialized in the threat that she felt from the suspected poisoning during her first year at the Navarrese court that triggered her lengthy self-exile and separation from Carlos III. As mentioned previously, Leonor believed that she had been poisoned by Carlos II's somewhat infamous court doctor, Judas Orabuena, shortly after she first arrived in Navarre as its new queen, leading her to leave the realm for several years for fear of her safety and in hurt regarding what she felt was an attempt to remove or even assassinate her⁴⁸. There had been rumours, likely unfounded, that Carlos II's wife, Jeanne de Valois (Joan's mother), had died by poison as well which may have heightened Leonor's concern about this possibility⁴⁹. Joan was tainted by the legacy of Carlos II's court and his reputed attempts to assassinate others by poison or even witchcraft—this association was used against her when she was accused of contriving at the death of the king through necromancy in October 1419⁵⁰. In Joan's case, she too was exiled from court, but not by her own desire—she was placed under a comfortable house arrest until the summer of 1422 when her stepson finally released her as part of his deathbed wishes⁵¹.

⁴⁶ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», pp. 49-50.

⁴⁷ Woodacre, *Queens Regnant*, pp. 79-82.

⁴⁸ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», pp. 43-47, Narbona Cárceles, «Leonor de Trastámara», pp. 655-659.

⁴⁹ See Charon, Philippe. «Jeanne de Valois, reine de Navarre et comtesse d'Evreux (1343-1373)». *En la España Medieval*, 2009, vol. 32, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁰ Note Bryan Bevan's comment linking Joan's accusation to her father: «It is very likely indeed that Queen Joanna was absolutely innocent of the crime of necromancy or any form of sorcery, least of all any intent to kill Henry, though her father Charles the Bad of Navarre was formerly reputed to be a sorcerer». Bevan, *Henry IV*, pp. 152-153.

⁵¹ For more on the circumstances of her confinement, see Myers, A.R. «The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21». *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1940, vol. 24, no. 2, p. 263-284.

Another element of Joan's foreign identity which provoked criticism was her international entourage or household. The arrival of Joan's sizable entourage in 1403 of largely Breton and Navarrese courtiers triggered concern both that her large household would put a serious strain on beleaguered Crown finances and that her «alien» courtiers might be spies feeding information abroad. This led to a series of attempts to purge Joan's household of foreign servants in 1404, 1406, 1416 and 1426-while some courtiers were exempted in the initial purge and some managed to survive and retain their place in the English court, many were forced to leave⁵². Leonor, on the other hand, was able to bring with her a sizeable contingent of Castilian courtiers with her — as María Narbona Cárceles noted in her prosopographical study of the queen's household, «almost all the women who held positions of importance in the entourage of the queen are Castilian»⁵³. Indeed, the influence of Leonor and her Castilian courtiers changed the dynamic of the Navarrese court which had previously been subject to considerable French influence through the Champenois and Evreux monarchs and the connections the realm had north of the Pyrenees, making it more Iberian in composition and practice.

Moving to another key facet of the queen's role, both of these women demonstrated their ability as effective administrators on various fronts. Joan and Leonor held sizable lands which they managed proficiently — for Leonor, the bulk of her territories were lands she had inherited in Castile from her mother, who had been the lady of Madrigal, Arévalo, Sepúlveda and Roa, and she extended these holdings by purchasing Maderuelo for 16,000 Aragonese florins in 1389⁵⁴. This gave Leonor her own power base in Castile which made it easier for her to remain independent when she left the Navarrese court and returned to her own lands in late 1387.

While Joan did not inherit any lands from her parents, she was given substantial dowers from both of her husbands to sustain her financially both during her tenure as duchess, queen and as a widow. Moreover, she was able to retain her Breton dower lands when she moved to England, giving her a transnational collection of territory to manage. However, one issue that continually plagued Joan was obtaining the full revenues which should have come to her from her lands. After she left Brittany, she was dependent on her network of officers and the goodwill of her son, Jean V, to ensure that her revenues reached her in England. Mother and son were engaged in debate throughout much of the 1420s and 30s over her Breton lands, with Jean attempting to reallocate them to suit his own needs while Joan protested vociferously⁵⁵. Even months before her death in 1437, Joan continued to wrangle with her son over unpaid revenues, claiming she was

⁵² See «Henry IV: January 1404», «Henry IV: March 1406, part 1», «Henry V: March 1416» and «Henry VI: February 1426». In Given-Wilson, Chris, Brand, Paul, Phillips, Seymour, Ormrod, Mark, Martin, Geoffrey, Curry, Anne and Horrox, Rosemary (eds.). *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005. *British History Online*, accessed March 29, 2021, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval>.

⁵³ Narbona Cárceles, María. «Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425)». *Medieval Prosopography*. 2001, vol. 22, p. 41.

⁵⁴ Narbona Cárceles, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 661.

⁵⁵ Kermabon, Nicolas. «Le douaire des duchesses de Bretagne (13-15c)», Unpublished PhD Thesis, Université de Rennes 1, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 241, 253-255, 271-272, 292.

still owed 2,250 ecus or 2,812 livres and demanding that 1,000 écus (or 1,250 livres) was paid to her⁵⁶. While Joan's second husband, Henry IV, had promised her an impressive dower of 10,000 marks per annum, she continually struggled to receive the full amount both as consort and dowager and petitioned Parliament several times to complain of insufficient revenue to sustain her household and meet her expenses⁵⁷. Leonor also complained about the insufficient nature of the dower granted to her by her husband Carlos III—this was cited by the queen as another example of her not being treated honourably by her husband when she refused to return to Navarre in the early 1390s⁵⁸. However, while Carlos could not amplify her dower, he did show his respect for her ability as an administrator once they were reunited by leaving Navarre repeatedly in her hands as his lieutenant during his absences.

4 DEATH AND FUNERAL

The final point of comparison between these two women is the end of their queenship and indeed their lives, by considering their funeral and burial. The major difference between their situations is that Leonor died first, in 1415, before her husband Carlos III and thus during her tenure as queen consort. Both Leonor's will and records for her funeral survive which give us a good understanding of her wishes and the ceremonial itself. She was originally buried at Santa Maria de Olite but moved to the Cathedral at Pamplona to join Carlos in their joint tomb⁵⁹. Great quantities of black cloth were purchased to cover the queen's tomb, for hangings for the king's room and his oratory and for clothing for the royal family and courtiers⁶⁰. Additional services were held for the queen in 1416 and money was given to the poor, the clergy and even the bellringers of the cathedral—all in all 530 libras and 15 sueldos were spent in the fairly lavish ceremonial for the queen's passing⁶¹.

By contrast for Joan, her will has not survived and we know almost nothing of her funeral in 1437, apart from her step-grandson, Henry VI's summons for attendance: «oure counsail have appointed the funerelles of oure graundmodre Quene Johane whom God assoille to be holden and solemnized at Caunterbury the xi (11th) day of August next coming where we have appointed our saide uncle and other lordes and ladyes of

⁵⁶ Trevedy, J. «Le douaire des Duchesses de Bretagne: Contrats de mariage des Ducs (1)». *Revue de Bretagne*, 1907, vol. XXXVII, p. 37.

⁵⁷ Selected examples from her husband's reign include petitions to Parliament about the queen's dower in January 1404, October 1404, March 1406 and January 1410, see Given-Wilson, Brand, Phillips, Ormrod, Martin, Curry and Horrox (eds.). *Parliament Rolls*. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval>.

⁵⁸ Ballesteros, «Leonor de Trastámara», p. 47.

⁵⁹ Osés Urricelqui, Merche. «Ceremonias funerarias de la realeza navarra en la Baja Edad Media». In Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa (ed.). *Estudios sobre la realeza navarra en el siglo xv*. Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, 2005, p. 112.

⁶⁰ Osés Urricelqui, «Ceremonias funerarias», pp. 112-113.

⁶¹ Osés Urricelqui, «Ceremonias funerarias», p. 114.

this our reume to be present at the same day to the worship of God of us and oure saide graundmodre»⁶².

A list followed of those who were to attend the funeral headed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and his wife Eleanor Cobham—Humphrey was arguably Joan's favourite stepson and at this time was a key figure in the politics of the realm. The Archbishop of Canterbury was also in attendance and likely officiated at the event—possibly along with the 3 bishops, 2 abbots and 2 priors who were also present. There was also a selection of important nobles, including the Duchess of Norfolk and the earls and countesses of Huntington, Northumbria and Oxford. It is worth noting that Joan was the focus of further funerary ceremonial in Navarre. When word of Joan's death arrived in Navarre in the autumn of 1437, 42 libras were spent on wax and torches and 30 requiem masses which were said for repose of her soul on the order of Joan's niece, Blanca I⁶³.

Both Joan and Leonor were buried in alabaster joint tombs with their royal spouses, reflecting a wider European fashion of the period for monarchs and their wives to be buried together as highlighted in Jessica Barker's recent study, *Stone Fidelity*⁶⁴. While there is much stylistically which unites the two tombs such as the gothic canopies above the recumbent royal couples who lay side by side wearing their respective crowns, there is considerable difference in the influence of the two queens in the imagery of their funerary monument. Leonor predeceased her husband and at the point when she died, Johan Lome of Tournai had only just begun the design and production of the royal couple's tomb. Thus, as Osés Urricelqui notes, much of the work on the tomb would have been done under Carlos' direction — any input that Leonor might have had on the project, if any, would only have been on the initial discussions for the design⁶⁵.

In contrast, as the surviving spouse, Joan had the opportunity to commission the tomb of both husbands, Jean IV who is buried in Nantes Cathedral and Henry IV, with whom she is buried at Canterbury. This opportunity to craft the final image of both husbands, and more importantly perhaps, her own, gave her considerable agency as Diane Booton termed «a shaper of memory»⁶⁶. This allowed Joan to influence the design in a way that not only spoke to her husband's desire to project majesty and legitimacy, but reinforced her own dynastic background and her role as his queen. While we cannot say with complete certainty that Joan designed the tomb due to a lack of records, her own prominence in the design, including the her motto «A temperance» and the heraldic device of the Navarrese house of Evreux suggests that she had control of the commission or at least a great deal of input. Barker notes that «Rather than being defined solely

⁶² *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*. Nicolas, Sir Harris (ed.). London: Commissioners of the Public Records, 1835, vol. V, Henry VI 1436-1443, p. 56.

⁶³ Archivo General de Navarra. *Catálogo de la Sección de Comptos, Documentos, Años 1437-1438, Adiciones 1412-1436*. Idoate, Florencio (ed.). Pamplona: Editorial Aramburu, 1966, vol. XLIII, no. 224, 30 October 1437, pp. 90-91.

⁶⁴ Barker, Jessica. *Stone Fidelity: Marriage and Emotion in Medieval Tomb Sculpture*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020.

⁶⁵ Osés Urricelqui, «Ceremonias funerarias», p. 111.

⁶⁶ Booton, Diane E. «Commemorating Duke John IV of Brittany in Ritual and Image». *Nottingham Medieval Studies*. 2015, vol. 59, p. 157.

by her status as dowager queen, the memorial represents Joan's identity as cumulative, commemorating each of her successive ties to the ruling houses of Navarre, Brittany and England»⁶⁷.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This article has brought together two queens who are closely related by marriage but have not previously been examined in tandem to draw out key themes of queenship through a comparison of their lives and tenure of the queen's office. Two major elements have formed the centre of this analysis—a comparison of the major ceremonies which underpinned their role, their weddings, coronations and funerals as well as an examination of their practice of queenship with particular emphasis on their roles as administrators, royal mothers and stepmothers and the impact that their foreign origin had on their marital court.

While there have been remarkable similarities and considerable differences in their experiences, taken together, Joan and Leonor's situations highlight several key aspects of the position of queen consort. In terms of the first ceremonial element of this study, an aspect that emerged in the comparison is the role that ceremonial such as coronation can play in securing the position of the queen, particularly when that position has a shaky foundation. Joan's coronation, immediately after she arrived in England and married Henry IV, was important in not only to mark her new elevation to the consortship but to cement her husband's still tenuous position as a usurper in the eyes of many contemporaries. In Leonor's case, her coronation came much later in her life and tenure of the queen's office but was similarly vital to honour the queen and confirm her role as consort, mother of heirs and her husband's lieutenant in his absences after years of separation.

Turning to the second strand of the comparison, the two queens' practice of queenship, one theme which was highlighted was their vulnerability to wider political forces outside their control as well as to various forms of personal attack. This can be seen in Leonor de Trastámara's belief that she had been the victim of poison, effectively an assassination attempt, which led her to leave the Navarrese court for several years, remaining in self-imposed exile in her own Castilian territories. In Joan's case, she was subject to repeated attacks by the English parliament who called for the expulsion of her foreign courtiers, believing her household to be a nest of spies in the heart of the royal court. This suspicion of her loyalties may have been a factor in her stepson Henry V's surprising decision to place her under house arrest under a spurious charge of witchcraft in 1419.

One final point can be made through a key point of difference between the two queens' personal circumstances. Leonor de Trastámara predeceased her husband, Carlos III while Joan survived both her Breton and English husbands. Being a widow gave Joan considerable agency in several respects. After the death of her first husband, she was able to negotiate secretly to secure a new future for herself as queen of England rather than her first marriage which had been designed solely for the political benefit of her first

⁶⁷ Barker, *Stone Fidelity*, p. 164.

husband and father. Secondly, Joan was able to accrue two dowers from Brittany and England, giving her a sizable amount of residences, territories and revenues on both sides of the English Channel. While she often struggled to receive all the funds that were owed to her due to complicated political circumstances and her distance from her Breton lands once she moved to England, it still meant that she remained a woman of substance, long after her consortships finished. Finally, being the surviving spouse gave Joan the ability to shape the design of both of her husband's tombs — and her own — ensuring that she was remembered not only as Henry IV's wife but as a Navarrese infanta, Breton duchess and English queen. This suggests that a queen could remain active and even have increased agency as a dowager — a period which is often overlooked in historiography given the increased emphasis on consort queens in contemporary sources. While this is not universally the case as individual circumstances vary, it demonstrates that additional focus is needed on dowager queens who can be powerful matriarchs, rather than «has-been» consorts or just the «relics» or an earlier reign. Indeed, recent scholarship suggests that in extra-European monarchies, it is the dowager queen/empress or queen mother who is the most powerful female figure at court, rather than the ruler's consort⁶⁸.

Here, Navarre has provided a useful pivot point for this comparison as Joan's point of origin and Leonor's marital home. The Navarrese court both shaped and was shaped by the two women. For Joan, it provided her initial education as an infanta and while she moved far from the Iberian Peninsula as first duchess of Brittany and later as queen of England, she retained courtiers from her homeland and continued contact with her natal dynasty throughout her life. Her pride in her homeland and membership in the Evreux dynasty and was recognized both in the iconography of her tomb and the ceremonial in Navarre to commemorate her death during the reign of her niece Blanca I. While Leonor appeared to initially reject the Navarrese court and her place as its queen during her prolonged absence from the realm at the outset of her husband's reign, her eventual return saw her develop the court with influence from her own homeland and the plentiful insertion of courtiers from her Castilian home. In sum, this article has demonstrated the value of comparative analysis to not only draw out and draw together key elements and events in the lives to two important, yet understudied, Navarrese royal women in order to gain both a better understanding of their individual lives and of the queen's role in the later Middle Ages.

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⁶⁸ See Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship*, chapter 2 «Family», especially pp. 47-54.

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