

Dynastic Marriage in England, Castile and Aragon, 11th – 16th Centuries

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Abstract

Dynastic marriages were an important tool of diplomacy utilised by monarchs throughout medieval and early modern Europe. Despite this, no consensus has been reached among historians as to the reason for their continued use, with the notable exception of ensuring the production of a legitimate heir. This thesis will argue that the creation and maintenance of alliances was the most important motivating factor for English, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs. Territorial concerns, such as the protection and acquisition of lands, as well as attempts to secure peace between warring kingdoms, were also influential elements considered when arranging dynastic marriages. Other less common motives which were specific to individual marriages depended upon the political, economic, social and dynastic priorities of the time in which they were contracted.

An analysis of the marriages of the monarchs of England, Castile and Aragon, as well as their heirs who lived long enough to marry, but died before they could inherit their kingdoms, will show that most dynastic marriages were arranged with neighbouring dynasties. As well as political and geographic considerations, dynastic marriages had to fulfil a variety of social expectations, and this thesis will determine how potential spouses were identified from among the sons and daughters of Europe's ruling families, and the process through which the marriage was arranged.

Finally, by using the marriages of Catherine of Aragon with the Tudor princes, Arthur and Henry, as well as the dynastic marriages of their siblings: Isabel, Juan, Juana and María Trastámara and Margaret Tudor, it is possible to explore, in practice, how dynastic marriages were arranged and how they were influenced by wider trends in Western European politics and diplomacy. This thesis will therefore demonstrate that dynastic marriages were arranged for a variety of reasons, although the production of a legitimate heir and alliance building were the most important considerations. Further, as the discussion of Catherine of Aragon's marriages highlights, those arranging dynastic marriages had to take into consideration the shifting diplomatic situation in medieval Europe.

Statement of Originality

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution in my name and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Abbreviations

- C. S. P. Simancas Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas, Volume I: Elizabeth, 1558-1567, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: 1892).
- C. S. P. Spanish Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and Elsewhere, Volume I, 1485-1509, ed. Gustav A. Bergenroth (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862).
- C. S. P. Milanese Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan, Volume I, 1485-1618, ed. A. B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912).
- C. S. P. Venetian (+ Vol.) Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, Volume II, 1509-1519, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867).
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, Volume VII: 1558-1580, ed. Rawdon Brown (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970).
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, Volume XV: 1617-1619, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, Volume XXXII: 1659-1661, ed. A. B. Hinds (London: 1931).

Introduction

The widely-utilised practice of dynastic marriage in the medieval and early modern periods ensured that Europe's monarchs were frequently connected by an intricate web of family alliances. Disagreements between families, therefore, could become disagreements between kingdoms. Further, traditionally familial problems such as infertility and child mortality could lead to national crises, such as a disputed succession or a civil war. Despite this, dynastic marriages continued to be contracted by monarchs and their heirs. Historians have debated the function and value of dynastic marriage in the relationship between monarchs and kingdoms. In the scholarship to date, the only widely accepted motivation for such marriages is the production of legitimate heirs, although political alliances, the promotion of peace, territorial expansion and protection, and an increase in wealth or power, have also been seen as possible important factors. This thesis will argue that for English, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs, the creation and maintenance of alliances was the most significant motivating factor in the contracting of dynastic marriages. Other influences such as the creation of peace, territorial acquisition and protection and the recognition of a newly established dynasty by other monarchies will be shown to be important motivations on occasion, dependent on the domestic and international situation at the time. Catherine of Aragon's marriages with the Tudor brothers, Arthur and Henry VIII, will be used as a case study to analyse the importance of these factors in dynastic marriage in Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

When defining dynastic marriage, historians such as Benjamin Curtis and Heinz Duchhardt take the approach of first defining a dynasty. Curtis states that the definition of a dynasty is "a kinship-based political organisation promoting the interests of a family across generations, which claims a right to power grounded in medieval notions of lineage and inheritance."¹ Duchhardt argues that a dynasty is a "cross-generational [alliance] of individuals constituted by land ownership and sovereign rights, and whose members married partners of equal rank and social standing to maintain and expand their existing social and power-political position."² A key element for this thesis is Duchhardt's concept of a multi-generational, kinship-based group distinguishable by their sovereign rights. "Multigenerational" includes a reigning monarch, their legitimate children, and any

¹ Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 3.

² Heinz Duchhardt, "The Dynastic Marriage," *European History Online*, August 4, 2011, < <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/dynastic-networks/heinz-duchhardt-the-dynastic-marriage> > (Accessed May 24, 2012).

grandchildren born to the monarch's immediate heir. It is the right to rule, and the associated social status, which differentiates a dynasty from other families, and, in this instance, it is the right to rule a kingdom which separates a royal dynasty from the nobility and other aristocratic houses. For the purposes of this thesis, a royal dynasty will therefore be defined as a multigenerational kinship group characterised by its right to rule a kingdom. Dynastic marriage, by extension, is a marriage between members of two different dynasties.

I. Literature Review: Dynastic Marriage

Despite the definition of dynastic marriage as an undertaking reserved for ruling families, it must be acknowledged that such marriages shared many of the same characteristics and motivations with unions contracted across all of the social classes. The desire for children, in particular, paramount to a family's survival, could be described as a universal trait. Similarly, economic concerns would have been relevant factors when considering a potential spouse, as each family aimed to, at least, maintain their social status. Finally, the virtues and qualities of individual partners were important factors to consider both help to guarantee the survival of the union and the production of children.³ Similarly potential couples of all social statuses were bound by the Church which was able to codify as law its attitudes toward marriage and sexual behaviour. Penalties were imposed for adultery and fornication, the practice of concubinage was discouraged and the requirements for annulments and divorces were tightened.⁴ The idea of free, preferably public, consent to a marriage was of increasing importance to Church authorities in the medieval period. Marriages which were conducted in secret, called clandestine marriages, could prove problematic in the future if either partner attempted to remarry. Clandestine marriages might also create problems for any children born from the union as their status as legitimate offspring could be disputed, a circumstance which ruling families, in particular, needed to avoid.

The majority, although certainly not all, of the literature concerning dynastic marriage has been produced since the late 1970s, beginning with the work of Paula Sutter Fichtner and

³ For detailed studies in medieval marriage see, for example; Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985); Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁴ James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3, 145-146 and 578.

Georges Duby. Fichtner, in her article “Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach” published in 1976, discusses the earlier lack of scholarship. She argues that this may be due, in part, to a lack of understanding concerning the reasons why ruling families so often chose dynastic marriages for their children. Fichtner argues that since many of the aims of dynastic marriage, particularly geographic expansion, financial gain and the development of new alliances could be, and frequently were, gained by other means, those few historians who did discuss dynastic marriage prior to 1976 were often confused by the practice.⁵ In his book *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, written two years later, Georges Duby similarly confirms the lack of scholarship on dynastic marriage. Duby argues that one of the causes was that the texts which survived from the medieval period provided an imperfect picture of the practicalities of dynastic marriage.⁶ The work of both Fichtner and Duby has helped to alleviate some of these issues, and has set the parameters for future scholarship on the subject.

In her article, Fichtner examines the dynastic marriages arranged by Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor and grandson of Fernando and Isabel of Spain, for his children.⁷ Fichtner argues that Ferdinand never claimed that dynastic marriages were expected to encourage perpetual peace, but rather that they should be used to promote friendlier relations between monarchs.⁸ Further, she argues that while geographic expansion was clearly a key goal in many Habsburg marriages, it would be a simplification to state that such an aim was always relevant in dynastic marriage arrangements. Protection and preservation of territory through the acquisition of alliances could also be considered an aim, as could the accurate gathering of information in foreign courts. Fichtner, however, further argues that each of these aims could have been achieved by other forms of diplomacy.⁹ Fichtner’s major contribution therefore, is the idea that dynastic marriages created a mutual obligation between the two families involved through the reciprocal exchange of gifts, and children, which formed the backbone of the system of royal marriage.¹⁰

⁵ Paula Sutter Fichtner, “Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach,” *The American Historical Review*, 81:2 (1976), 243-244.

⁶ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth Century France*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 1-2.

⁷ Ferdinand I had fifteen children, thirteen of whom survived to adulthood. Of the thirteen survivors, ten made dynastic marriages while the remaining three girls became nuns.

⁸ Sutter Fichtner, “Dynastic Marriage,” 257.

⁹ Sutter Fichtner, “Dynastic Marriage,” 245-246.

¹⁰ Sutter Fichtner, “Dynastic Marriage,” 250-251; Fichtner is elaborating upon the ideas of French archeologist and sociologist Marcel Mauss, who proposed that the giving of gifts in primate societies created reciprocal

Duby, in his book, takes a different approach to that of Fichtner, analysing the marriages of the upper aristocracy in twelfth-century France, and comparing the expectations of the upper classes with those of the clergy. He argues that the two groups had conflicting ideas about marriage, with the Church's "model" of marriage gradually becoming the only acceptable version. The Church desired that marriage should be indissoluble and placed limits on who could marry based on familial and spiritual relationships.¹¹ In contrast, the aristocracy wanted the freedom to repudiate spouses based on infertility or adultery on the part of the wife.¹² Further, Duby argues that the aristocracy's desire to keep property within the family ensured that nobles were inclined towards endogamy and content to marry within the third degree of consanguinity.¹³ In recent years, Duby's conclusions have been criticised by historians such as Sara McDougall who argues that Duby's models are too constrictive and fail to take into consideration the fact that medieval society was not divided into neat groups.¹⁴ As McDougall points out, not only were many members of the aristocracy also members of the clergy, but neither the aristocracy nor the Church was a united entity.¹⁵ Therefore, while Duby argues that it was solely the Church which determined the parameters of medieval marriage, McDougall proposes that it was both the clergy and the aristocracy who influenced marriage laws and regulations in order to further their own interests.¹⁶ There is a large body of evidence which suggests that the nobility, at least, contracted marriages within the degrees prohibited by canon law for their own benefit. Several of these marriages will be discussed in the first chapter. Naturally, for these marriages to be legally recognised there had to be a dispensation provided by a willing pope.

While Fichtner largely focuses on the "why" of dynastic marriages and Duby and McDougall examine the attitudes of the clergy and the aristocracy, Heinz Duchhardt and Daniel Schönplflug in their essays, both look at the "who." In his essay "The Dynastic Marriage" Duchhardt argues that potential parents-in-law had to consider a future spouse's rank, and later, their religious affiliations. Duchhardt has also identified a geographic consideration; he argues that long-distance dynastic marriages were rare until the nineteenth

obligation between groups, see; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison, London: Cohen and West Ltd, 1966.

¹¹ Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, 17.

¹² Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, 7.

¹³ Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, 8.

¹⁴ Sara McDougall, "The Making of Marriage in Medieval France," in *Journal of Family History*, 38: 2, April 2013, 106.

¹⁵ McDougall, "The Making of Marriage," 106.

¹⁶ McDougall, "The Making of Marriage," 116.

century. He elaborates upon several “regional marriage circles:” a Western European circle, a Habsburg-Italian circle, an East Central European and a northern German-Scandinavian circle.¹⁷ Schönplflug takes a similar approach in his essay “One European Family? A Quantitative Approach to Regional Marriage Circles 1700-1918.” However, while Duchhardt bases his marriage circles on regions, Schönplflug, uses his data which was collated from an analysis of 386 dynastic marriages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to explain how individual dynasties intermarried and the impact of religion upon the choice of marriage partner.¹⁸ Schönplflug expands upon his idea in his 2010 article “Dynastic Networks,” using five European dynasties, the royal houses of Bourbon, Habsburg, Hanover, Hohenzollern and Romanov, as examples to analyse how ruling dynasties governed themselves in regards to succession, property distribution and marriage.¹⁹ The aim of both Duchhardt and Schönplflug was to identify patterns in the marriage behaviour of ruling European dynasties. Both conclude that while some patterns were identifiable in the regions and time periods they focus on, these patterns were subject to change over time. Further, both historians recognise that marriages in the medieval and early modern periods certainly took place outside these identified circles or patterns. The first chapter of this thesis will analyse the marriages contracted by monarchs and their heirs in England, Castile and Aragon from the eleventh to the fifteenth century to determine whether or not they adhere to the model of regional marriage circles.

A large proportion of the remaining dynastic marriage literature analyses either a single marriage or a small selection of marriages in a particular time or place. While much of this scholarship bears no direct relationship to the Tudor-Trastámaran marriages, the analysis of other marriages provides a useful insight into wider marriage patterns. As with Paula Sutter Fichtner, historians frequently attempt to explain the motivation behind dynastic marriages, although no general consensus has been reached aside from ensuring the continuation of the dynasty through the birth legitimate male heirs. Retha Warnicke, for example, suggests that when Henry VIII married Anne of Cleves, he was not only hoping to secure a second male heir, but he was also attempting to create an anti-papal alliance. Further she proposes that the extension of control over new territories was a factor in the dynastic marriages of the

¹⁷ Duchhardt, “The Dynastic Marriage.”

¹⁸ Daniel Schönplflug, “One European Family? A Quantitative Approach to Regional Marriage Circles 1700-1918,” in *Royal Kinship: British-German Family Networks 1815-1918*, ed. Karina Urbach (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2008), 25-34.

¹⁹ Daniel Schönplflug, “Dynastic Networks,” *European History Online*, December 3, 2010, < <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/dynastic-networks#> > (Accessed July 3, 2012).

Habsburg family.²⁰ Sheila Sharp in her essay “The West Saxon Tradition of Dynastic Marriage with Special Reference to the family of Edward the Elder” identified three major reasons for dynastic marriage in England in the tenth century: to gain or strengthen an alliance against a common enemy, to win support from within the family, and to gain the support of local families.²¹ Sharp’s analysis is interesting as it shows that some factors, particularly the formation and strengthening of alliances, were influencing dynastic marriage arrangements for many centuries before the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor. Finally Elizabeth Bonner, in her article “Charles VII’s dynastic policy and the ‘Auld Alliance’: the marriage of James II and Marie de Guelders,” highlights the importance of dynastic marriage in alliances and peace treaties, particularly in maintaining the Franco-Scottish alliance against England.²² The role of alliance creation and peace treaties in dynastic marriage will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One.

II. Literature Review: Anglo-Spanish Relations

A quick glance at the literature available on Anglo-Spanish relations prior to 1485 will reveal an obvious dearth of academic studies. A good proportion of the literature which does exist focuses either on trade between the two regions or on the Anglo-Castilian relationship during the Hundred Years’ War, or both. Most of the trade literature was produced in the late 1970s and 1980s, beginning in 1976 with Teofilo Ruiz’s essay “Castilian merchants in England, 1248-1350.”²³ Two years later, the only book dealing exclusively with trade between the two regions, Wendy Childs’ *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* was published.²⁴ While the latter chapters of Childs’ book discuss the type and quantities of goods, shipping and the organisation of trade between the two kingdoms, the first two chapters analyse Anglo-Castilian trade within a political context. Childs argues that Anglo-Castilian trade was affected not only by the relationship between England and Castile, but by

²⁰ Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6-8. For other historians who argue that territorial expansion was a key factor in dynastic marriage see; Curtis, *The Habsburgs*, 6; Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso, 2003), 225.

²¹ Sheila Sharp, “The West Saxon Tradition of Dynastic Marriage with Special Reference to the Family of Edward the Elder,” in *Edward the Elder, 899-824*, ed. Nick Higham and David Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), 83-85.

²² Elizabeth Bonner, “Charles VII’s dynastic policy and the ‘Auld Alliance’: the marriage of James II and Marie de Guelders,” *The Innes Review*, 54:2, Autumn 2003, 143-144.

²³ Teofilo F. Ruiz, “Castilian Merchants in England, 1248-1350,” in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab and Teofilo F. Ruiz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

²⁴ Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978).

the relationship between England and France. Castile was careful to protect its alliance with its northern neighbour, and at times of open warfare between England and France Anglo-Castilian trade declined.²⁵ While trade between Castile and England is relatively well represented by the work of Ruiz and Childs, there have been no scholarly studies investigating Anglo-Aragonese trade. This is probably due to the fact that there was only limited trade between the two kingdoms. Olivia Remie Constable argues that the majority of English trade in the Mediterranean occurred with Castile and Italy, although in the fourteenth century, a small amount of trade took place between England and the Aragonese cities of Barcelona and Mallorca.²⁶

Both *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* by Peter E. Russell, and *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century*, edited by María Bullón-Fernández, cover Anglo-Spanish relations prior to 1485. Russell's work is an in-depth analysis of the political, military and dynastic interactions between England and each of the Iberian kingdoms during the Hundred Years' War, the War of Two Peters and the Castilian Civil War. Although it was published in 1955, the book remains the most detailed study of this period in Anglo-Iberian history. Russell's narrative determines that it was the failure of Lancastrian policy, based, in part, on a lack of understanding of the intricacies of Iberian politics, which led to England's inability to undermine French influence and forge a lasting alliance with Castile in this period.²⁷ The actions of the Lancastrian brothers Edward, the Black Prince, John of Gaunt and Edmund of Cambridge, are scrutinised in great detail, with the conclusion being that the actions of these men contributed to the failure of English policy in the Spanish kingdoms.²⁸

Bullón-Fernández's collection contains nine essays, plus an introduction. Three of the essays are dedicated to Anglo-Portuguese relations, while the remaining six largely look at cultural exchanges between England and the Spanish kingdoms in the medieval period.²⁹ Perhaps the most useful for this thesis is Rose Walker's essay "Leonor of England and Eleanor of Castile: Anglo-Iberian Marriage and Cultural Exchange in the Twelfth and Thirteenth

²⁵ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 5-6.

²⁶ Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249.

²⁷ Russell, Peter E., *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), xxi-xxii.

²⁸ Russell, *English Intervention*, xxii-xxiii.

²⁹ María Bullón-Fernández, *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Centuries.”³⁰ This comparative study examines the cultural impact both women had upon their new realms, as well as the reception they received from their new subjects. While much of Walker’s essay is dedicated to literary exchanges, it does conclude with the interesting suggestion that while Leonor of England (as she came to be known) was defined by her Plantagenet ancestry throughout her life and in memorials to her death, Leonor of Castile’s identity in England retained little of her Iberian inheritance.³¹ Conversely, Catherine of Aragon, although beloved by the English populace, continued to be recognised as being of royal Spanish blood.³²

The Anglo-Spanish relationship in the period from 1485 until 1509 is also poorly represented in scholarly studies. Many historians instead focus their attention on political and cultural exchanges during the reigns of the English queens, Mary I and Elizabeth I, later in the sixteenth century, and on the Anglo-Spanish interactions in the New World. Two notable exceptions to this statement are Ian Arthurson’s essay “The King of Spain’s Daughter Came to Visit Me: Marriage, Princes and Politics,” and John M. Currin’s essay “England’s International Relations, 1485-1509: Continuities Amidst Change.” Arthurson’s essay details the negotiations that led to Catherine and Arthur’s marriage, as well as the marriage ceremony itself.³³ He argues that Anglo-centric historians place too much emphasis on Henry VII’s role in negotiating the union, and forget that Fernando and Isabel were the more experienced diplomats. Instead Arthurson proposes that the Spanish monarchs were reacting to events in Italy, particularly the Breton Wars of 1485-91 and the Italian Wars of 1494-1504, when they led the negotiations for the marriage.³⁴ Currin similarly argues that Henry VII is traditionally given too much credit for English diplomacy in the early years of his reign. He claims that many historians ignore the Plantagenet influence on early Tudor policy, as well as the impact of Western Europe’s dynastic interactions.³⁵ These ideas will be further discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

³⁰ Rose Walker, “Leonor of England and Eleanor of Castile: Anglo-Iberian Marriage and Cultural Exchange in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 67-87.

³¹ Walker, “Leonor of England and Eleanor of Castile,” 83.

³² David Loades, *The Tudor Queens of England* (London: Continuum, 2009), 107.

³³ Ian Arthurson, “The King of Spain’s Daughter Came to Visit Me: Marriage, Princes and Politics,” in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), 2009.

³⁴ Arthurson, “The King of Spain’s Daughter,” 22.

³⁵ John M. Currin, “England’s International Relations 1485-1509: Continuities Amidst Change,” in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 15.

There are also several useful biographies analysing the lives of both Catherine and Henry VIII in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Catherine has traditionally been studied within the context of her second marriage to Henry VIII and its subsequent annulment. Increasingly though, Catherine has emerged as a figure of historical interest in her own right. In recent decades she has been the subject of several biographies. Garrett Mattingly's narrative biography, *Catherine of Aragon*, published in 1941, was described by one of his contemporaries as "the first critical and conceived account which we have of Catherine's career."³⁶ In 1990, Mattingly's book was described by one historian as still being "the best study of the life of Catherine of Aragon."³⁷ Today, if references to his book in recent works are anything to go by, it is still held in high regard. Mattingly's book has the further distinction of being one of the few biographies of Catherine which is absolutely focused on her and not overshadowed by Henry VIII. Divided into three sections covering her life as a Spanish princess, a queen in England and the period of the annulment, Mattingly is obviously sympathetic to Catherine's fate, promoting her as an honourable and pious woman caught up in a situation beyond her control. Finally, Mattingly was one of the first historians to recognise and discuss Catherine's diplomatic position, a role which is often, if not overlooked, at least not discussed in any depth in most studies of her life. He argues that Catherine played an important role in English foreign policy, particularly during her seven-year-widowhood, when she acted as an ambassador for her father, Fernando.³⁸

Giles Tremlett and David Loades have also written extensively on Catherine's life. In *The Tudor Queens of England* Loades provides a useful narrative of events leading to Catherine's marriage to Henry in 1509.³⁹ More importantly, he too discusses her brief position as ambassador to England, claiming that such a position was unprecedented in her time. He argues that while some women did serve as pseudo-ambassadors for their fathers, they did so in the courts of their husbands, while Catherine was unmarried, and in 1507, it appeared unlikely that she would marry in the immediate future.⁴⁰ Loades claims that after the wedding, Catherine, who was the more experienced partner in the marriage, probably advised Henry in his relationship with her father.⁴¹ It seems likely that Catherine would have

³⁶ Elmore Harris Harbison, *The American Historical Review*, 47: 3 (1942), 579; Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1941).

³⁷ Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 106.

³⁸ Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, see pages 92-93 for Catherine's role as an ambassador; pages 137-141 for Catherine's role in English foreign relations early in Catherine's marriage to Henry VIII.

³⁹ Loades, *Tudor Queens*, 87-107.

⁴⁰ Loades, *Tudor Queens*, 87.

⁴¹ Loades, *Tudor Queens*, 91.

acted as an intermediary between her husband and her father, and possibly even as a peacekeeper following Henry's disastrous military campaigns at Fernando's behest. Giles Tremlett, author of *Catherine of Aragon, Henry's Spanish Queen* agrees, and goes even further, arguing that Fernando was the key in Henry's ambitious plan to attack France.⁴² Over time however, Catherine's political impact waned. This was largely due to the increasing influence, initially of Thomas Wolsey, and later of Anne Boleyn.⁴³

Arthur Tudor, Catherine's short-lived first husband appears to be one of England's most forgotten royals. The announcement of Arthur's birth heralded poems and pamphlets from scholars across Europe announcing the beginning of a new golden age of peace and prosperity.⁴⁴ Named for the mythical British king from whom the Tudor family claimed descent, Arthur's birth united in blood the formerly warring houses of his Lancastrian father, Henry VII and his mother, Elizabeth, the daughter, sister and niece of three former Yorkist kings, Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. Despite the celebrations which surrounded his birth and the later controversy his marriage to Catherine played in English history, Arthur's life has warranted just one scholarly book. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton's *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration* serves to show how little is known about Arthur and his life than anything else. Of the ten essays which make up the book, four are dedicated to discussing the Prince's final resting place, his tomb and chapel at Worcester, one examines the representation of the Tudors in Welsh churches, one debates the possibilities of labelling various portraits as Arthur, and another re-enacts his funeral. Although it is surprising to discover that Arthur is so poorly represented in modern literature, this can be explained by the scarcity of primary material directly relating to his life, forcing modern scholars to contemplate his existence within the larger framework of his family, or in this case, his role in Anglo-Spanish relations.

In complete contrast to his elder brother, Henry VIII has been the subject of innumerable works.⁴⁵ Further, many books and articles focused on other people and events, such as his six wives, important early modern personalities, and the Reformation, will often dedicate at

⁴² Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), 181-182.

⁴³ Loades, *Tudor Queens*, 95.

⁴⁴ Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton, "Introduction," in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 1.

⁴⁵ See for example: David Loades, *Henry VIII and his Queens: Church, Court and Conflict* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000); Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995); J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb, ed., *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

least some space to Henry.⁴⁶ However, this thesis is primarily concerned with how Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon's marriage reflected the Anglo-Spanish relationship of the time, and whether their union followed an established pattern of dynastic marriage. In his essay "Foreign Policy," David Potter argues that "[t]he relations between states were, strictly speaking, the relations between dynastic rulers."⁴⁷ In other words, England and France had a turbulent relationship, for example, because Henry VIII and Francis I had a turbulent relationship. This idea will be explored further in this thesis. Chapter Two will analyse how the relationship between Henry VII and Fernando and Isabel, as well as their associations with neighbouring monarchs, in particular, Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, James IV of Scotland, and Charles VIII and Louis XII of France, influenced the dynastic marriage arrangements they made for their children.

III. English and Iberian Politics and Diplomacy, 14th - 15th Centuries

Dynastic marriages, alliances and trade agreements, and other interactions between England and the Spanish kingdoms were sporadic throughout much of the medieval period.⁴⁸ This was in part due to the fact that monarchs were preoccupied with more pressing issues which resulted from their geographic and historic circumstances. Unsurprisingly, Spanish monarchs directed their attention toward their nearest neighbours: Portugal to the west, France to the north, and Sicily and the Italian kingdoms to the east. The kingdoms also focused their energies on the Muslim territory in the southern Iberian Peninsula and on crusading and land acquisition in Northern Africa and the Near East.⁴⁹ Further, the relationship of each of the Iberian kingdoms to the others was at times difficult, as the varying interests of the monarchs came into conflict. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were particularly tumultuous. Castile suffered through two civil wars during this period. The First Castilian Civil War was fought from 1366 until 1369 between the supporters of the two claimants to the throne, Pedro I and his illegitimate half-brother, Enrique Trastámara. Just over one hundred years

⁴⁶ See for example: David Loades, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2008); David Potter, *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540-47* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); George W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*; Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴⁷ David Potter, "Foreign Policy," in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCullough (London: St Martin's Press, 1995), 101.

⁴⁸ Anthony Goodman, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages," in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453, Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 74-75 and 80-84.

⁴⁹ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2008), 128-129.

later, in 1479, Isabel of Castile gained the throne over her half-brother Enrique IV's disputed daughter, Juana *la Beltraneja*, ending the War of Castilian Succession which had raged for four years. Further, from 1356 until 1375 all the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as France and England, were engaged in The War of Two Peters (*La Guerra de los Dos Pedros*). This war, fought between Pedro I of Castile, with the support of England, Navarre and Portugal on one side and Pedro IV of Aragon, Enrique Trastámara and France on the other, was an extension of both the Castilian Civil War and the Hundred Years' War.⁵⁰

The English, similarly, were preoccupied with neighbouring kingdoms and civil war. As England shares a border with Scotland and claimed dynastic rights to the French throne, English monarchs were largely, but not exclusively, preoccupied with those kingdoms.⁵¹ For much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, England was at war with both of its neighbours, beginning in 1332 with the Second War of Scottish Independence. The following year witnessed the beginning of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, a conflict which eventually grew to encompass each of the Iberian kingdoms. Finally, from 1455 until 1485 the English nobility was devastated by civil war as noble families battled each other to determine whether Henry VI, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, or Henry VII had the right to rule.

It was largely the Hundred Years' War, and the defence of English territories in France, which brought the Iberian Peninsula and England into conflict in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. English diplomacy in the Iberian Peninsula during this period was greatly influenced by the perception held by both the English and French governments that Castile was the preeminent Iberian power.⁵² Both kingdoms therefore attempted to develop and maintain an alliance with Castile. Peter Russell has suggested that one reason for this perception was the reality of Castilian naval strength. Castile possessed a large and well-maintained merchant fleet, similar to those utilised by England and France, which could be called upon for support in military matters. However, in addition to this fleet, Castile, with Genoese assistance, had developed an impressive fleet of galleys, designed for speed and easy manoeuvrability, which had, by the fourteenth century, proven extremely effective in battle. Russell claims that England and France were only too aware that should the Castilian navy be deployed on either side during the Hundred Years' War, their presence could prove

⁵⁰ For a detailed analysis of The War of Two Peters and the Castilian Civil War see Russell, *English Intervention*.

⁵¹ Goodman, "England and Iberia," 95.

⁵² Goodman, "England and Iberia," 73.

to be the decisive factor in the outcome of the conflict.⁵³ Anthony Goodman, however, claims that English political interest in Castile derived from the need to protect English territory, initially in Gascony and later in Aquitaine, as well as beneficial trade between the two kingdoms and respect for Castilian crusading traditions.⁵⁴ Probably it was a combination of all these factors. Certainly, the English were concerned by French intervention in Castile and attempted to undermine French influence whenever the chance arose.

In 1362, early in the War of Two Peters, an alliance was signed by Pedro I of Castile and Edward III of England. The alliance stipulated that the English would provide military aid to Castile if required. Russell argues that the English had little to gain from this alliance, as Pedro was too involved in Castilian affairs to offer any military support to his allies in England or Gascony, an English-held territory in France, in return. He maintains that the sole benefit the English could have hoped to have gained from the alliance was control over the fleet of Castilian galleys.⁵⁵ However, it is also credible that the English hoped to break the French dominance over Castile in the event that Pedro was able to hold onto his throne. In 1366, with the support of France, Aragon and Carlos II, King of Navarre, who constantly changed sides during the conflict, Enrique Trastámara invaded Castile and had himself crowned king. Three years later, in March 1369, Enrique personally stabbed Pedro I to death at Montiel, ending the Castilian Civil War, and firmly allying Castile with France.⁵⁶

In 1371, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, eager to claim the crown of Castile for himself, married Pedro's eldest surviving daughter and heir, Constanza. Following his marriage Gaunt had himself and his new wife declared King and Queen of Castile. The next year his brother, Edmund of Langley, married Constanza's sister, Isabel. Thus the conflict between England, France and the Iberian kingdoms continued until 1388 when, following a disastrous Anglo-Portuguese invasion of Castile, Gaunt agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Bayonne. The treaty finally put an end to English military intervention in the Iberian Peninsula. It maintained that Gaunt give up his claims to the Castilian throne in return for a large financial settlement. Further, Gaunt and Constanza's daughter, Catherine of Lancaster, was to marry the heir apparent to the Castilian throne, the future Enrique III. However, although Gaunt had signed away the rights of his heirs, the rights of the children of his brother, Edmund of Langley, by Pedro's remaining daughter, Isabel, were not mentioned. The Yorkists, Langley

⁵³ Russell, *English Intervention*, 5-6.

⁵⁴ Goodman, "England and Iberia," 94.

⁵⁵ Russell, *English Intervention*, 5-6.

⁵⁶ Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 259.

and Isabel's heirs, were unable to act upon their hereditary claims to Castile, and unlikely to succeed if they did so. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Trastámaran dynasty was firmly established on the throne, while the Yorkists were battling their Lancastrian cousins for control of the English crown. Still, Isabel and Langley's eldest son, Edward, and their nephew, Richard, successive dukes of York, both took a mild interest in their family's claim.⁵⁷

Anthony Goodman and David Morgan claim that it was the Yorkist kings, rather than the Tudors who successfully developed an Anglo-Spanish friendship, and certainly it was Duke Richard's son, the Yorkist king, Edward IV who finally succeeded in signing an alliance with the Castilian king, Enrique IV.⁵⁸ This alliance, ratified in 1467, as well as the Anglo-Aragonese alliance of 1468 finally succeeded, although only temporarily, in undermining French influence in the Peninsula.⁵⁹ Edward's alliance with Castile, however, lasted only two years, before yet another Franco-Castilian alliance was agreed upon in 1469. Despite the initial failure to implement a long-lasting alliance with Castile, Edward continued his attempts to develop a friendly relationship with the Spanish kingdoms. In 1477 he suggested creating a dynastic link, proposing his son and heir, Edward, marry Isabel, eldest daughter of Fernando and Isabel. At the same time he suggested their only son, Juan, marry his daughter, Catherine. The untimely deaths of Edward IV and his sons, Edward V and Richard, Duke of York, put an end to his dynastic ambitions in Spain.⁶⁰ However, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Fernando and Isabel were able to establish a strong, although not always positive Anglo-Spanish relationship based in part on the marriages of Catherine of Aragon and Edward IV's grandsons, Arthur and Henry.

Henry VII and Fernando and Isabel arranged dynastic marriages for each of their children. Of the Trastámara siblings, Isabel and María became successive queens consort of Portugal, while Juan and Juana both married into the Habsburg dynasty. Juan married Archduchess Margaret of Austria and Juana wed Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy and the Burgundian Netherlands. In England, three of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York's four surviving children married more than once, and each made at least one dynastic marriage. Daughters Margaret and Mary married James IV, King of Scotland and Louis XII of France respectively. Both surviving sons married Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII went on to

⁵⁷ Anthony Goodman and David Morgan, "The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile," in *Journal of Medieval History*, Volume 11: 1, 1985, 61.

⁵⁸ Goodman and Morgan, "The Yorkist Claim," 61.

⁵⁹ Goodman, "England and Iberia," 91-92.

⁶⁰ Goodman, "England and Iberia," 92.

make a further five marriages, only one of which, to Anne of Cleves, was a dynastic marriage. Each of these Spanish and English marriages and a multitude of others conducted throughout Europe in this period, ultimately aimed either to strengthen or enhance the position of a dynastic monarchy. As explored in this thesis, it was hoped that these marriages would result in the eventual birth of an heir, unite ruling houses, secure peace or alliances between families and states, or increase territorial or financial holdings for one family or another. While the dynastic marriage of Arthur Tudor and Catherine of Aragon was intended, in part, to deepen the ties of friendship between the two dynasties, the reality was greatly complicated by the death of Arthur, and Catherine's subsequent widowhood and remarriage. This will be discussed in more depth in the second chapter of this thesis.

IV. Sources, Methodology and Outline

This thesis will be divided into two chapters, the first of which will be further divided into three sections. The first section of chapter one, entitled "Dynastic Marriage as a Tool of Diplomacy" will answer two primary questions:

- i. What was the purpose of dynastic marriage in medieval Aragon, Castile and England?
- ii. Is it possible to identify patterns in regards to the countries of origin of the spouses in dynastic marriage arrangements?

In order to answer question one; this section will include an analysis of 108 royal marriages from Aragon, Castile and England. This analysis will establish the most likely motivations for dynastic marriage from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries in these three kingdoms. Potential aims such as the production of legitimate heirs, the creation and maintenance of alliances, the acquisition or protection of territory and wealth, and the promotion of peace will all be examined to determine whether or not they were consistent factors in the arrangement of dynastic marriages.

Other, less common motivations, which arose due to the circumstances relevant at the time of certain marriages, will also be discussed. The inclusion of incentives such as the recognition of a newly established dynasty, strengthening a claim to the throne, the increase or neutralisation of influence, prestige, aggrandisement of the realm, the legitimisation of children born out of wedlock, concern for chastity, avoidance of consanguinity, an attraction to particular qualities possessed by a potential spouse, love and lust, will all serve to

highlight the complex nature of dynastic marriage arrangements. In many cases, no primary source material remains from the marriage negotiations to conclusively determine the motivations for the union; this is particularly true of the earlier marriages being analysed. Further, the aims of a marriage are not always explicitly evident in the sources which have survived. However, historians specialising in particular eras or individuals have often been able to deduce the probable reasons based on circumstantial evidence, such as domestic or international events occurring at the time, correspondence between third parties, and the assumed ambitions of monarchs arranging dynastic marriages for their children.

In order to answer question two, this section will apply Heinz Duchhardt's model of regional marriage circles to England, Castile and Aragon, to determine the theory's relevance to these kingdoms. The same 108 marriages mentioned above, will be further analysed to determine the country of origin of the spouses chosen.⁶¹ The data will then be presented in three tables, which will help to establish whether Duchhardt's theory is indeed applicable. The majority of the data for this first section will be collected from secondary sources, although where possible primary source material, particularly in the form of letters and chronicles, such as *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon* will be used.⁶²

The second section of chapter one, entitled "Arranging Dynastic Marriages" will then detail how a potential spouse was identified from the sons and daughters of Europe's ruling families, and the process through which the marriage was arranged. This section will highlight the fact that dynastic marriages needed to fulfil social, as well as political, expectations. Books and treatises such as *Las Siete Partidas* attributed, at least in part, to Alfonso X of Castile in the mid-thirteenth century, and *Basilikon Doron*, written by James VI of Scotland in 1599 will be used.⁶³ These sources will provide invaluable insight into the opinions of monarchs, their advisors and ambassadors on the purpose and function of dynastic marriage in the medieval and early modern period.

⁶¹ An analysis of how marriages were determined to be dynastic is included in the Introduction. Please see pages 7 - 8.

⁶² James I, King of Aragon, *The Chronicle of King James I, King of Aragon, Surnamed the Conqueror (Written by Himself), Volume I*, trans. John Forster (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd), 1883.

⁶³ Alfonso X, King of Castile, *Las Siete Partidas, Volume Two: Medieval Government: The World of Kings and Warriors*, trans. Samuel P. Scott, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Alfonso X, King of Castile, *Las Siete Partidas, Volume Four: Family, Commerce and the Sea: The Worlds of Women and Merchants*, trans. Samuel P. Scott, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); James VI, King of Scotland, *The True Law of Free Monarchies, and Basilikon Doron*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1996).

The third section entitled “The Failure of Dynastic Marriage” will analyse those occasions when monarchs ignored dynastic concerns and married according to their own desires. It will also discuss the use of annulments and betrothals as tools available to monarchs to further their ambitions. It will be argued that monarchs could use betrothals to temporarily secure alliances, while an annulment could be secured to end an unwanted or infertile union.

The second chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section, “The Marriages of the Tudor and Trastámaran Siblings,” will analyse the marriages of Arthur and Henry Tudor’s eldest sister, Margaret, as well as the marriages of Catherine of Aragon’s sisters, Isabel, Juana and María, and her brother, Juan. This section will aim to investigate whether these unions adhere to the pattern of dynastic marriages in Aragon, Castile and England identified in the first chapter. Further, examination of these marriages will provide a useful background to the motivations of Henry VII and Fernando and Isabel which can then be analysed in the context of Catherine of Aragon’s marriages. This section will rely heavily on an analysis of primary sources, in particular the diplomatic correspondence between Fernando and Isabel and their ambassadors Rodrigo de Puebla, Pedro de Ayala and Fernando, Duke of Estrada.⁶⁴

The second section of Chapter Two, “The Marriages of Catherine of Aragon” will examine Catherine’s two dynastic marriages contracted with the Tudor brothers and the diplomatic negotiations which led to them. It will show that Catherine and Arthur’s marriage was not only an extension of Fernando and Isabel’s attempts to counter the influence of France and to further their diplomatic goals in the Mediterranean, but it was also crucial to Henry VII’s aim in securing alliances and the recognition of his right to rule in England. As such, their union was contracted despite the constantly shifting diplomatic situation in late fifteenth century England and Spain.

⁶⁴ *C. S. P Spanish.*

Chapter I

Dynastic Marriage in Aragon, Castile and England: 11th – 16th Centuries

On 14 November 1501 at the old St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales, married Catherine of Aragon. Their union, which was typical of royal and aristocratic marriages in medieval and early modern Europe, had first been proposed in 1487. The negotiations, as well as the marriages themselves, were regularly used by families to further their dynastic ambitions and as such could be lengthy and complicated. Catherine and Arthur's marriage took ten years of sporadic negotiation to arrange. Scholars have articulated a range of motivations for such unions, dependent on the specific circumstances relevant to each marriage. This chapter will therefore be divided into three sections. The first section will include an analysis of dynastic marriages in England, Castile and Aragon from the eleventh century until the deaths of Elizabeth I in England, Juana I in Castile and Fernando II in Aragon. In conjunction with a discussion as to the reasons why dynastic marriages were so frequently employed as a tool of international diplomacy, this analysis will determine the reasons why monarchs from these three kingdoms consistently contracted dynastic marriages. The second section will discuss how dynastic marriages were arranged, from the identification of potential spouses through the negotiation period. The third section will examine the pitfalls which could befall dynastic marriages, such as annulments and broken betrothals, as well as the non-dynastic unions occasionally contracted by monarchs who ignored dynastic concerns and married according to their own desires.

I. Dynastic Marriage as a Tool of Diplomacy

This section will begin by analysing the marriages of monarchs and their immediate heirs in England, Castile and Aragon. The intention is to determine firstly how many of these unions were dynastic, and secondly the country of origin of the spouses. This data is presented in three tables; one for each kingdom. Further analysis, within the context of scholarly discussion about marriage patterns among ruling families during the medieval and Renaissance periods, will establish the reasons why dynastic marriages were arranged within these three kingdoms. Information regarding each marriage, including the most likely reason for which they were contracted, can be found in the relevant appendix at the end of this thesis. These appendices detail the marriage of every monarch, and their primary heir, from the eleventh century until the deaths of Elizabeth I of England in 1603, Juana I of Castile in

1555, and Fernando II of Aragon in 1516. The data for each marriage was taken predominantly from secondary sources as no primary source material remains for some marriages. As will be argued, by piecing together the pattern of marriage partners in these three kingdoms, it is possible to test the feasibility of various scholarly explanations about dynastic marriage and to determine the key factors underpinning unions between ruling houses over a sustained period.

England had twenty-three undisputed monarchs between 1066 and the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 (counting those who ruled twice only once).¹ Further there were five heirs who lived long enough to marry but died before they could inherit the throne: William Adelin, Henry the Young King, Edward, the Black Prince, Edward of Westminster and Arthur Tudor. Finally, there were four monarchs who died without marrying: William II, Edward V, Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Between them, the remaining nineteen monarchs and five heirs contracted thirty-four marriages, although not all of them were dynastic unions. There were, for example, several monarchs who were married well before they were considered to be serious contenders for the throne. John was betrothed to the English heiress Isabel of Gloucester in 1176, while four of his elder brothers were still alive, and he married her in 1189, shortly after his brother Richard inherited the throne.² Henry IV married Mary de Bohun in 1380, nineteen years before he seized the throne from Richard II, and Mary died before he became king.³ Richard III married Anne Neville in 1472. At that stage Richard's elder brothers Edward IV and George of Clarence were alive and Edward's eldest son, the future Edward V, had been born.⁴ In addition, Edward IV's wife, Elizabeth Woodville had already given birth to five children and there was no reason to assume that she would not have more sons. William I was already married to Matilda of Normandy in 1066 when he invaded and conquered England. However, considering that one of the reasons why he married Matilda was to use her family connections to further his claim to the English throne, this marriage will be included in the list of English dynastic marriages.⁵ Finally, as their union was arranged by Henry I, with the view that Stephen was a possible heir to the throne, the marriage of Stephen and his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, will also be included in the list

¹ Undisputed does not include the Empress Matilda or Lady Jane Grey.

² Graham E. Seel, *King John: An Underrated King* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), 13 and 15-16.

³ Helen M. Jewell, *Women in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 120.

⁴ Nigel Saul, *The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II and Richard III* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), 147.

⁵ David Charles Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 77.

of dynastic marriages. This is despite the fact they married in 1125, ten years before Stephen claimed the throne following Henry I's death.⁶

Castile had twenty-one monarchs between 1037 and the death of Juana I in 1555. Moreover there were two heirs, Fernando de la Cerda and Juan of Asturias, who lived long enough to marry. Castile also had three monarchs who contracted marriages before they were expected to inherit the throne. The future Queen Berenguela, for example, had a younger brother, Fernando, when she married Alfonso IX, King of León, in 1197.⁷ The illegitimate Enrique of Trastámara, the future Enrique II, was nineteen years away from claiming the Castilian throne when he married Juana Manuel in 1350. Finally, the future Juana I, was her parents' third surviving child when she married Philip of Burgundy in 1496. Between them, the remaining eighteen monarchs and their heirs contracted thirty-four marriages.

Finally, Aragon had twenty monarchs between 1035 and the death of Fernando II in 1516. Only one Aragonese monarch failed to marry, Alfonso III. Alfonso had been betrothed to Eleanor of England, but he died in 1291, at the age of twenty-six, before the marriage could take place.⁸ There were however, three heirs who lived long enough to marry: Jaime, son of Jaime II of Aragon, Martín the Younger and Juan of Asturias, who was also heir to the Castilian throne. Contemporaries of Jaime argued as to whether or not his 1319 marriage to Leonor of Castile was legitimate. The prince refused to participate in parts of the marriage ceremony, leaving his father to act on his behalf, and immediately after the ceremony announced his intention to renounce his right to the throne and enter a monastery. The marriage was not consummated and was eventually dissolved. Leonor was returned to Castile the following year, although she did ultimately become queen of Aragon, marrying Jaime's younger brother, Alfonso IV, as his second wife in 1329.⁹ As the union of Leonor and Jaime was as intended as a dynastic marriage, it will be included in the marriages of Aragon's monarchs and heirs.

Five of Aragon's monarchs married at least once before they were considered serious contenders to inherit the kingdom. Alfonso IV, younger brother of Jaime, discussed above, married Teresa d'Entença in 1314, five years before his brother renounced his right to the

⁶ Donald Matthew, *King Stephen* (London: Hambledon, 2002), 56 and 59.

⁷ Janna Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 34-36.

⁸ Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1515* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 26-27.

⁹ H. T. Sturcken, "The unconsummated marriage of Jaime of Aragon and Leonor of Castile (October 1319)," *Journal of Medieval History* 5: 3 (1979): 193.

throne.¹⁰ Martín I married his first wife, María de Luna in 1373 while his elder brother, Juan, was still alive, and his son Martín the Younger married his first wife María, Queen of Sicily after Juan inherited the throne.¹¹ The future Fernando I married his only wife, Leonor of Albuquerque, in 1393, nineteen years before he was elected King of Aragon by the Compromise of Caspe.¹² Finally, Juan II was the second surviving son of Fernando I when he married his first wife, Blanca of Navarre, in 1420.¹³ The monarchs of Aragon and their heirs who lived to marry therefore contracted thirty-three dynastic marriages between them.

The following three tables show the country of origin of each of the consorts of the monarchs of England, Castile and Aragon. The marriages of their immediate heirs who married but died before they could inherit the throne are also included. The majority of the marriages were dynastic and are shown in a dark blue colour. The marriages of non-heirs, including second or subsequent sons and other male relatives, daughters and usurpers, who later become monarchs are shown in pink. Finally the non-dynastic marriages of monarchs and heirs, including clandestine unions and the marriages based on love or desire are shown in green.

Origins of the marriage partners of English monarchs and their heirs 1066-1603¹⁴

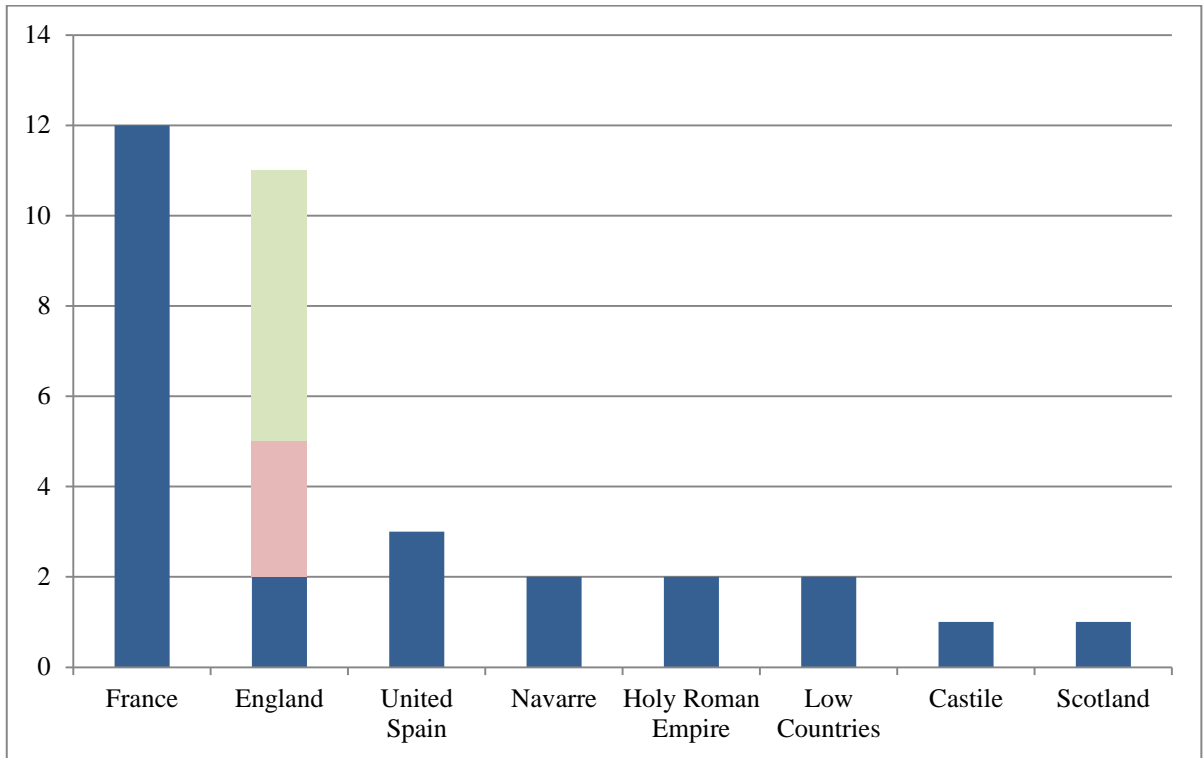
¹⁰ Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La política matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón desde 1213 hasta Fernando el Católico,” *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 23-24 (2002): 210.

¹¹ Núria 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. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 79-80; D’Arcy J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 284.

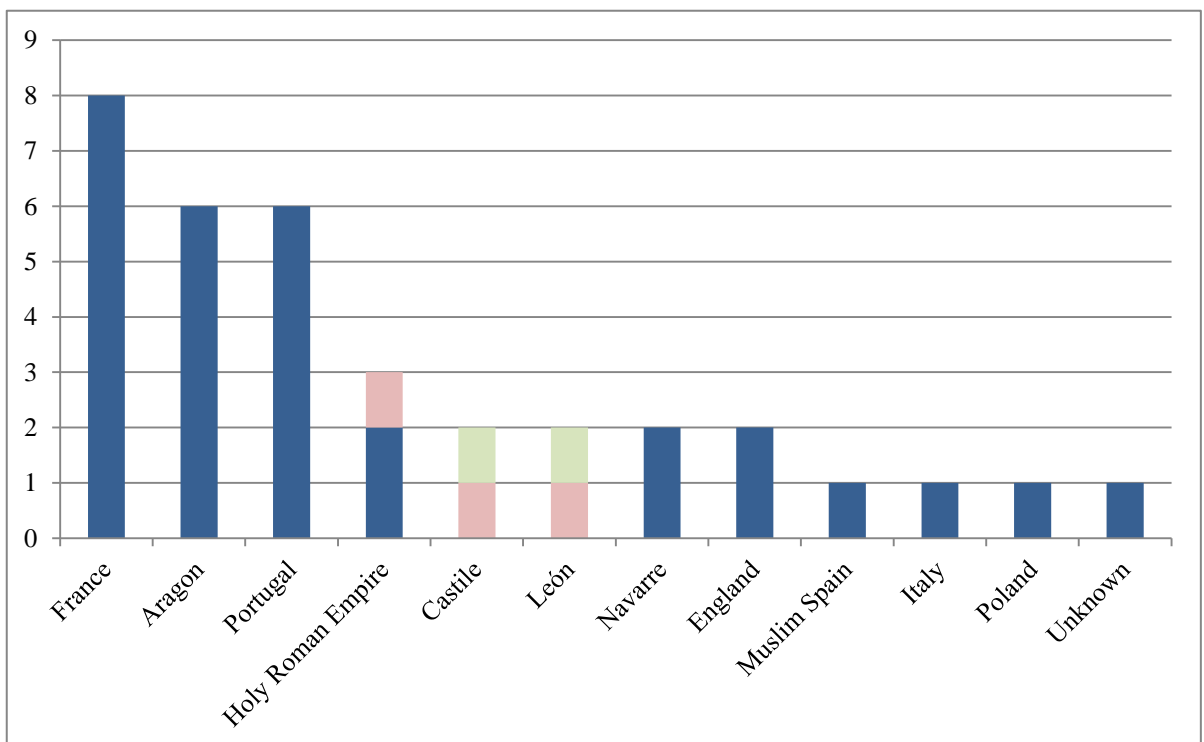
¹² Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “The Queen and the Master: Catalina of Lancaster and the Military Orders,” in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 96 and 99.

¹³ Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre*, 91.

¹⁴ See Appendix One for references.



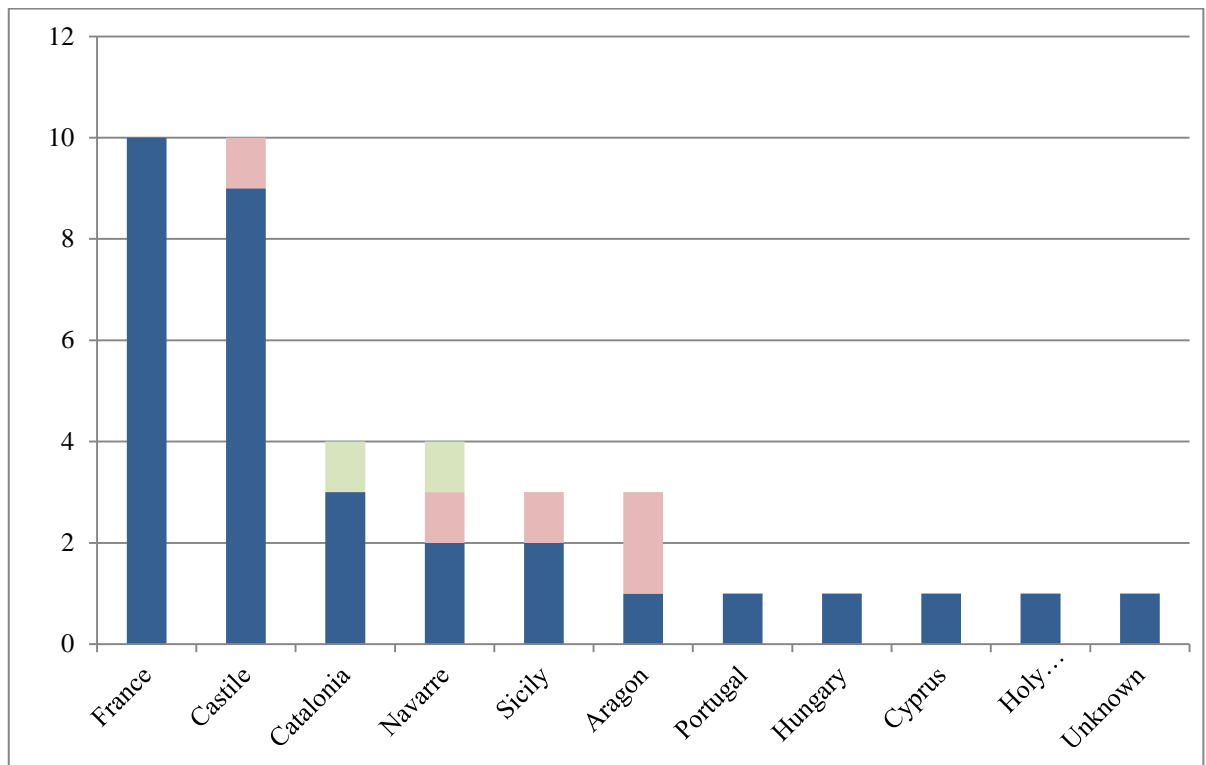
Origins of the marriage partners of Castilian monarchs and their heirs 1037-1555¹⁵



Origins of the marriage partners of Aragonese monarchs and their heirs 1035-1516¹⁶

¹⁵ See Appendix Two for references.

¹⁶ See Appendix Three for references.



When considering the data, the common factor across the marriage patterns for all three kingdoms is the predominance of French princesses as queens consort. It is unsurprising that both England and the Spanish kingdoms looked to France, given France's status as Europe's preeminent military power in medieval and early modern Europe, and its geographic proximity to each of the kingdoms. Further, both the English and Aragonese Crowns claimed lands within France as their own, whilst Aragonese expansion into the Mediterranean was at times tempered by French ambitions in the same area, particularly in Sicily and Naples. While Castile was traditionally friendly with France, the Castilians occasionally looked to England for support against their powerful northern neighbour, particularly during the First Castilian Civil War (1366-69) which ultimately drew the Iberian Peninsula into the greater conflict of the Hundred Years War.

England had twelve French queens, compared to Castile, which had eight, and Aragon which had ten. Five of these Anglo-French marriages formed a part of peace treaties, including three during the Hundred Years' War: those of Richard II and Isabella of Valois in 1396, Henry V and Catherine of Valois in 1420, and Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in 1445. None of these marriages were successful in the long-term in ending the conflict between the two countries.¹⁷ Further, in 1299 a double marriage was arranged between Edward I and

¹⁷ Michael J. Bennett, "Richard II and the Wider Realm," in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 197; Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly

Philip's IV sister, Margaret of France, and Edward's son, the future Edward II and Philip's daughter, Isabella.¹⁸ The marriages were suggested by the pope, Boniface VIII, as a way of securing peace and an alliance between the two kingdoms. Peace was only a factor in one other English dynastic union. In 1485, Henry VII, newly crowned, married Elizabeth of York, successfully uniting the rival dynasties which had been battling to rule England and helping to secure his claim to the throne.¹⁹ Just under a quarter, therefore, or twenty-two percent of English dynastic marriages, were contracted with peace as a motivating concern, although only one resulted in long-term peace between warring dynasties.

Similarly, seven Castilian and three Aragonese marriages were contracted with the probable aim of securing peace, beginning in 1032 with the marriage of Fernando I of Castile and Sancha of León. None of the Aragonese unions resulted in long-term peace, in fact the second marriage; that of Jaime and Leonor Castile in 1319, which was discussed earlier in the chapter, exacerbated the volatile situation which existed between Aragon and Castile at the time of the marriage. It took a second marriage, ten years later, between Leonor, and Jaime's younger brother, Alfonso IV, to the repair the damage caused by Jaime's repudiation of his wife. The Castilian-Aragonese peace however, did not survive beyond the death of Alfonso IV in 1336, and in 1359 Leonor was imprisoned and murdered on the orders of her stepson, Pedro III.²⁰

The marriages arranged by Castilian monarchs were more likely to result in peace, at least in the short term. Alfonso XI's marriage to Maria of Portugal in 1328, for example, ensured at least a temporary peace, and allowed Alfonso the stability and the resources to focus on his campaigns against the Muslim kingdom in the southern Iberian Peninsula.²¹ A later marriage, contracted in 1388, between the future Enrique III of Castile and John of Gaunt's daughter Catherine, formed a part of a successful peace treaty between the two kingdoms, wherein Gaunt renounced his claims to the Castilian throne in exchange for the union.²²

DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363–1477* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 86–87. Ralph Alan Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422–1461* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 485.

¹⁸ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 129.

¹⁹ P. R. Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII, 1485–1504* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 31.

²⁰ Carlos Estepa Díez, "Rebelión y rey legítimo en las luchas entre Pedro I y Enrique II," in *Lucha política: Condena y legitimación en la España medieval*, eds. Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona and Georges Martin (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2004). 47–48.

²¹ Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis, 1300 – 1474* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 61–62.

²² P. E. Russell, *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 490.

While the premise that dynastic marriage was used as a means to attempt to secure peace between warring kingdoms is generally accepted, opinions are divided as to whether or not the same can be said of the expansion of power and territory. In *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations* Benno Teschke claims that dynastic marriage was a ruler's "single fastest and most cost-effective expansion strategy."²³ Monarchs from England, Castile and Aragon were occasionally tempted to use dynastic marriage to expand, consolidate or protect territory. There were two ways monarchs could secure or increase their territories using dynastic marriage: marriage to an heiress, or a military conquest, with the captured territories later recognised in a peace treaty as a part of a marriage arrangement.

The English were more likely than their Castilian or Aragonese counterparts to marry in the latter manner. In England, territorial expansion or protection was a factor in eight dynastic marriages: those of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry, the Young King and Margaret of France, Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre, John and Isabella of Angoulême, Edward I and Leonor of Castile, Edward I and Margaret of France, and Edward II and Isabella of France.²⁴ Further, the marriage of Henry V to Catherine of Valois in 1420 was a briefly successful attempt to secure English claims to French lands won during the Hundred Years' War. The Treaty of Troyes, which arranged the union, aimed not only "at the re-establishment of peace and removal of dissensions between the kingdoms of France and of England" but it also named Henry as the heir to the French crown.²⁵ Ultimately attempts by the English to secure both French lands and the throne failed when Henry died unexpectedly leaving an infant son as his successor. Despite eight marriages therefore, the English were never able to expand their territories beyond those which they held in France and Ireland. Further, the French territories were mostly lost by the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453, and were never again recovered, even though occasional attempts were made to reclaim them.

²³ Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso, 2003), 225.

²⁴ Jean Dunbabin, "Henry II and Louis VIII," in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 49; Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 44-45; Anne J. Duggan, "Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154-76," in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 169; Saul, *The Three Richards*, 139; Nicholas Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel," in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 172; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 8-9; Craig Taylor, "Henry V, Flower of Chivalry," in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. Gwilym Dodd (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 219.

²⁵ "Appendix: The Treaty of Troyes, 21 May, 1420," in Anne Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France," in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700*, ed. Glenn Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 35.

In contrast to those eight English dynastic marriages, territorial gain was only a factor in four Castilian unions: those of Fernando I and Sancha of León, Alfonso VI and Zaïda, Sancho III and Blanca of Navarre and Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of England, and in two Aragonese marriages: those of Sancho Ramírez and Isabella of Urgell and Pedro II and Marie of Montpellier.²⁶ As with their English counterparts, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs prior to the sixteenth century were rarely successful in their attempts to increase their territory through dynastic marriage. Nevertheless, dynastic alliances between the two kingdoms, and Portugal, against the Moors were ultimately successful in conquering the Muslim kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and therefore increasing the territory of Castile in particular.

Aragonese monarchs attempted four times to gain control of foreign crowns through dynastic marriage: Pedro III married the heiress, Constance of Sicily in 1262, while Jaime II's marriage to Marie of Lusignan in 1315 was an attempt to add the crown of Cyprus to the Aragonese possessions.²⁷ Further, Martín the Younger married his cousin, María of Sicily in 1390 in order to settle the question of the Sicilian succession and return the kingdom to Aragonese control.²⁸ Martín, however, was not the heir to the Aragonese throne at the time of this marriage. He was the heir in 1402, when he married his second wife, Blanca of Navarre, although Blanca did not become the heiress of the Navarrese kingdom until 1413; four years after Martín had died. In 1420, Blanca married for a second time, to Juan, second son of Fernando I of Aragon. Despite a clause in their marriage contract eliminating Juan from the Navarrese line of succession should Blanca predecease him, Juan claimed the throne for himself following Blanca's death in 1441. In 1455 after he had succeeded to the Aragonese throne, Juan named his youngest daughter by Blanca, Leonor, as heiress to the kingdom.²⁹ These marriages had varying levels of success. In the case of Jaime II, he left no legitimate heirs from his marriage to Marie of Lusignan to inherit the Cypriot throne, while

²⁶ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 235; Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in Northern Spain, c.950 - c.1250," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elizabeth Van-Houts (London: Routledge, 2013), 161; Anthony Goodman, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages," in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453, Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 76; Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 108-109; Ernest E. Jenkins, *The Mediterranean World of Alfonso II and Peter II of Aragon (1161-1213)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 93-94.

²⁷ Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 290; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 405.

²⁸ Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, 284.

²⁹ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 207.

the Sicilian crown remained an Aragonese possession until it was permanently lost in 1713 during the War of Spanish Succession.³⁰

There were certainly some dynasties which were able to create large empires through dynastic marriage, the Habsburgs, for example. By the time of the collapse of their dynasty the Habsburgs had progressed from ruling over the Duchy of Austria in the thirteenth century, to rule over much of central Europe, the Netherlands, Portugal, and parts of Italy, as well as Spain and the Spanish kingdoms in the New World. Dynastic marriage though, was not the only diplomatic tool at their disposal. Parts of the empire were taken by force, while the position of Holy Roman Emperor, which several generations of Habsburg men held, was an elected position. Paula Sutter Fichtner has written that it is certainly possible to argue that the Habsburgs were only able to build their empire through dynastic marriage. However she continues that this argument is

still one derived from the occasional results of these arrangements, as in the Spanish [Habsburg] case, rather than from an examination of the total content of these agreements and their possible relationship to the process of empire building. It also drastically simplifies the range of concerns evidently involved in such marriage policies. Succession provisions were only a part of all the negotiations which [were] carried on, and sometimes the contingencies which would activate them were so remote that territorial aggrandisement could hardly have been the prime interest of any of the signatories.³¹

Even monarchs with an obvious interest in territorial expansion, did not always choose to use dynastic marriage to further their ambitions. The kingdoms which eventually joined to form modern Spain: Aragon, Castile, Galicia, León, Navarre and the Muslim kingdom of Al-Andalus, were united both through conquest and dynastic marriage over a period of three hundred years. English, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs then, occasionally attempted to increase or protect their territory through the use of dynastic marriage, although marriage was only one of several diplomatic tools available to achieve territorial goals. Further, subsequent generations of medieval English and Spanish monarchs were unable to retain their inherited foreign lands, particularly if the territory they claimed was a traditional French dominion.

While territorial gains were an occasional consideration, wealth was frequently a motivation, although it was rarely the only factor. When listing the qualities that a king should look for in a potential wife, Alfonso X argued that her fourth most important quality is wealth. He

³⁰ O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 405; Ciro Paoletti, *A Military History of Italy* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 2008), 46-47.

³¹ Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *The American Historical Review* 81 (1976): 258-259.

wrote that “the more wealthy she is, the greater benefit will result to the king, and to the offspring which he will have by her, and also to the country, where he lives.” However, Alfonso stated that coming from a good family and having good habits were more important than being wealthy as “riches pass away more easily.”³² Despite the fleeting nature of wealth monarchs still sought heiresses for their sons. Indeed, marriage to an heiress could provide younger sons in particular with an inheritance of wealth and territory without fracturing the family estate. In January 1478, for example, Richard, Duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV of England married Anne Mowbray, Countess of Norfolk, in Westminster. The groom was aged just four years old, the bride was five. While betrothals of such young children were not uncommon, an actual marriage was unusual. A week or so later, parliament, at the king’s request, passed an act which circumvented the traditional inheritance laws and ensured that if Anne died without an heir, her fortune would be inherited by her husband, rather than revert back to her family.³³ Anne died in 1481 at the age of eight years, while her husband, Richard outlived her by only two years; it is believed that he died in 1483, aged eight or nine years old.

The deaths of Richard of York and Anne Mowbray, both before they had reached ten years of age, highlight the high levels of child mortality in medieval Europe. It was not uncommon for a monarch to marry and become a parent to one or more children, only to die without an heir. Nicholas Orme shows that out of the approximately ninety-six royal children born in England between 1150 and 1500, less than half survived until their twenties, with a third dying before their first birthday.³⁴ Presumably the figures were similar for Spanish royal children. While couples of all social classes married with the intention of producing children, from the perspective of royal families, the failure to produce an heir could have a devastating impact, not only on the family itself, but on the kingdom over which they ruled. A disputed succession could result in the collapse of the ruling family, and it had the potential to lead to civil war, as occurred in England in 1135 and 1455, in Castile in 1366 and 1475, in Aragon in 1410, and in a united Spain in 1701. As such the production of an heir, or preferably heirs, to continue the dynasty, was a crucial element of dynastic marriages.

³² Alfonso X, King of Castile, *Las siete partidas, Volume Two: Medieval Government: The World of Kings and Warriors*, ed. Robert I. Burns, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 298.

³³ Anne Crawford, *Yorkist Lord: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, c. 1425-1485* (London: Continuum UK, 2010), 87.

³⁴ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 113.

The gender of any children born to the king was also of particular importance, much more so than children born into non-royal families. While female children could inherit the throne in both England and the Spanish kingdoms, it was uncommon and a male heir was strongly preferred. In England, Mary Tudor was the first queen to rule in her own right, inheriting the throne following the death of her childless younger brother, Edward VI in 1553. An earlier attempt, in the twelfth century, by Henry I, to name his only surviving legitimate child, a daughter Matilda, as his heir failed. Henry's throne was instead claimed by his nephew Stephen, although following almost two decades of warfare, known as The Anarchy, Matilda's eldest son, Henry, was named as Stephen's successor.³⁵

There were three female monarchs in medieval Spain. In Castile, Urraca succeeded to the throne in 1109, following the death of her father, Alfonso VI. Over a century later, in 1217, Berenguela inherited her throne from her younger brother, Enrique I, who died following an accidental head injury. Finally, Petronilla of Aragon inherited her kingdom at the age of just one year, in 1137, after her father, Ramiro II, abdicated in favour of a monastic life. Both Urraca and Petronilla were recognised as heirs to their respective thrones by their fathers, and were married, before they inherited their crowns, to men who were considered strong enough to help them secure their kingdoms from domestic or foreign interference.³⁶ Berenguela, on the other hand, was not the heir when her marriage, to Alfonso IX, King of León, was arranged by her parents in order to facilitate peace between the two kingdoms.³⁷ In 1217 when she inherited the crown, she almost immediately abdicated in favour of her teenage son, Fernando III. Certainly the possibility of a female as the only heir to the throne could pose many problems in medieval and early modern Europe and steps, such as legitimising a natural born son, were considered in some cases. Henry VIII, for example, briefly considered legitimising his son, Henry FitzRoy, in order that he might one day inherit the throne. Such a move however would have needed the support of the pope and would not have been difficult to challenge.³⁸ Similarly, Martín I of Aragon attempted to have his illegitimate grandson, Fadrique, Count of Luna, named as his heir. Fadrique initially had the

³⁵ See, for example: Warren, *Henry II*; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993); Edmund King, ed., *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³⁶ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*, 357; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca*, 52-53; William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the royal patrimony in twelfth-century Iberia: the example of Petronilla of Aragon," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Teresa M. Vann (Cambridge: Academia Press, 1993), 50-51.

³⁷ Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 62-63.

³⁸ David Loades, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 36.

support of the pope, Benedict XIII, but not of the Aragonese aristocracy and his claim was ultimately overlooked.³⁹

The royal house of Barcelona in Aragon highlights the potential consequences for families which failed to produce surviving children over several generations. Juan I, the penultimate monarch of the House of Barcelona which had ruled the kingdom since 1164, produced five children with his first wife and eight with his second, before his death in 1396. Of those thirteen children, only two daughters, Juana and Yolande, survived to adulthood. Juana, despite being married for fifteen years, died childless in 1407. Yolande produced six children, five of whom survived childhood, yet her claim to the throne of Aragon was overlooked in favour of her father's nearest male relative: his brother Martín, who became Martín I. Martín I had four children, three of whom died in childhood. The remaining child, Martín the Younger, died in 1409 a year before his father, having outlived his two legitimate children. The death of Martín I resulted in an interregnum which lasted for two years. On 28 June 1412, Fernando de Antequera, Martín I's nephew, the son of his sister Leonor and Juan I of Castile, was elected king of Aragon by the Compromise of Caspe. This election not only solved the issue of the succession, but also established a new ruling dynasty in Aragon: the house of Trastámara.⁴⁰

With the end of a family's rule the most likely outcome of scarcity of heirs it is unsurprising that the production of an heir as a motivation for dynastic marriage is the only aim in which there appears to be complete agreement both by historians and contemporary sources. In "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft" Paula Sutter Fichtner argues that "the production of legitimate heirs was a cardinal function of dynastic marriages."⁴¹ Similarly, Retha M. Warnicke, in *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves* writes that the "concern for the dynasty's continuation was the single most important reason for royal marriages."⁴²

³⁹ T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 134-135.

⁴⁰ Vicente Salas Merino, *La Genealogía de Los Reyes de España* (Madrid: Editorial Visión Libros, 2008), 116–117.

⁴¹ Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy," 245.

⁴² Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7.

Contemporary sources and the actions of monarchs who were desperate for legitimate sons support the view that securing an heir was a vital function of dynastic marriage. In the chronicle of his life, written in the thirteenth century, Jaime I of Aragon wrote

And thus, by advice of my great vassals, I took to wife the Infanta Doña Leonor, for my father had left no son but me. They advised me to marry while still young, because they said they were in great anxiety for my life, either from maladies or from poison. And likewise because they wished on my account that I should leave an heir, so that the kingdom might not go out of the royal line.⁴³

In England, Henry VIII's increasingly desperate desire for male heirs has been well documented. Himself a second son, Henry would have been aware of the need to provide multiple male heirs to secure the succession and to allow for the continuation of the dynasty. In 1516 following the birth of the future Mary I, the Venetian ambassador to England, Sebastian Giustinian recorded in a letter to the Council of Ten that it had been remarked to Henry VIII that "the State would have been yet more pleased had the child been a son."⁴⁴ Two years later, in 1518 during Catherine of Aragon's last documented pregnancy, Giustinian wrote: "God grant that she may give birth to a son, so that, having an heir male, the King may not be hindered from embarking, if necessary, in any great undertaking."⁴⁵ It is evident from these comments that the birth of a male heir was important not only to the royal family, whose genetic line he would continue, but also to the state he would one day rule, in order to avoid a disputed succession or a civil war. Further, a king without an heir was restricted in the activities he could participate in. Until an heir was produced, and the succession secured, kings were limited in the battles they could fight, and the dangerous physical activities, such as hunting, jousting and crusading, they could indulge in, as their primary aim was to stay alive. The birth of a legitimate heir would allow him to take a fuller role in the military affairs of the kingdom.

It is perhaps the marriage of Ramiro II of Aragon which best demonstrates the importance which was placed on securing a legitimate successor to the throne. Ramiro's marriage in 1135 to Inés of Poitou was contracted solely for the purpose of begetting of an heir. The death of Ramiro's childless brother, Alfonso I, in 1134 meant that Ramiro had to marry to ensure that Aragon maintained its independence from its neighbours. As Ramiro was a dedicated bishop at the time of Alfonso's death it was determined necessary to find a woman of proven fertility, from a good family, in the hope of rapidly producing an heir. Inés was the

⁴³ James I of Aragon, *The Chronicle of King James I, King of Aragon, surnamed the Conqueror (written by himself)*, volume I, trans. John Forster (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd, 1883), 32-33.

⁴⁴ Sebastian Giustinian to the Council of Ten, February 11, 1516, in *C. S. P. Venetian (Vol. II)*, 285.

⁴⁵ Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory, October 25, 1518, in *C. S. P. Venetian (Vol. II)*, 470.

daughter of William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, and she already had three sons from her first marriage. The couple's only child, Petronilla was born in 1136 and betrothed the following year to Ramón Berenguer, Count of Barcelona. With an heir provided, Ramiro abdicated his throne in favour of his daughter and her future husband and retired to a monastery in 1137.⁴⁶

Despite the example of Ramiro II, there were rare occasions when the production of an heir was not a factor in arranging a dynastic marriage. When Henry IV of England married Joanna of Navarre in 1403, for example, he already had four surviving sons, ranging from approximately thirteen to seventeen years of age. His new bride also had four sons from her first marriage to John V of Brittany. Rather than an heir, Henry was seeking not only an alliance, but also the recognition by another dynasty of his right to rule.⁴⁷ Similarly Fernando III of Castile had seven sons by his first wife, Elisabeth of Swabia, and all seven were alive when he married for a second time in 1237.⁴⁸ Janna Bianchini argues that it was Fernando's mother, Berenguela, who, concerned for her son's chastity arranged a second marriage for him.⁴⁹ Arranging a marriage due to concerns for chastity was an unusual motivation. Bianchini was only able to identify one other such marriage, that of Berenguela's nephew, Louis IX of France, whose marriage was arranged for him by his mother, Blanche.⁵⁰ These few marriages serve to highlight the fact that dynastic marriages were complex; they were more than simply the means to producing surviving sons to carry on the dynasty, and their purpose cannot be satisfactorily explained by any one theory.

By far the most important consideration in arranging dynastic marriages, aside from producing an heir, was the creation or strengthening of alliances or friendships. In 1254 when he was arranging the dynastic marriage of his son Edward, Henry III stated "friendship between princes can be obtained in no more fitting manner than by the link of conjugal troth."⁵¹ In "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages" Anthony Goodman argues that dynastic marriage proposals were often used to create a common bond between countries with varying interests and ambitions.⁵² Certainly there is evidence that this was a consideration in

⁴⁶ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 53–54.

⁴⁷ Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV: The Life of England's Self-Made King* (London: Random House, 2013), 246-247.

⁴⁸ Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 242.

⁴⁹ Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 243.

⁵⁰ Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 146.

⁵¹ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae*, 4 volumes (1816-1869), i, 209, cited in John C. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John C. Parsons (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), 63.

⁵² Goodman, "England and Iberia," 73.

many cases. One of the aims of the marriage between Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor, for example, was to strengthen a lapsed friendship between England and Spain.⁵³ Similarly, the marriages of two of Catherine's siblings, Juan and Juana, were intended to develop stronger ties with the Habsburg dynasty.⁵⁴

Castilian and Aragonese monarchs were more likely than their English counterparts to contract dynastic marriages with French women to create or reinforce alliances. These were occasionally military alliances, aimed against the other Iberian powers, such as Alfonso VI of Castile's first marriage, in 1073 or 1074 to Inés of Aquitaine, as well as his fifth marriage in 1102 to Elisabeth of France.⁵⁵ At other times, they were attempts to strengthen the friendship between the two kingdoms. Seven out of eight Franco-Castilian marriages and seven out of ten Franco-Aragonese marriages were most likely solemnised for this purpose.

In contrast to the Franco-Castilian and Franco-Aragonese marriages, just three Anglo-French dynastic marriages aimed to create or maintain alliances, although only one of these alliances was formed with the French crown. The remaining two unions were contracted with the nobility either against, or to counteract the influence of the French monarch. The marriage of William I and Matilda of Flanders, for example, was probably intended to ally William with Matilda's father, Baldwin V, and her uncle, Henry I of France, in order to provide public recognition of William's right, as an illegitimate son, to rule the Duchy of Normandy.⁵⁶ However, the marriage, in 1119, of William Adelin and Margaret of Anjou was an alliance against Louis VI, and an attempt to bring Anjou under the influence of England.⁵⁷ Further, the marriage, in 1236, of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence might have been intended as an alliance against Capetian France, as no other motive is immediately obvious. Henry gained no territory or wealth, and no peace was necessary or achieved. Margaret Howell and Björn K. U. Weiler have suggested that Henry was attempting to counter an alliance created by the 1234 marriage of Louis IX, King of France and Eleanor's sister, Margaret.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ian Arthurson, "The King of Spain's Daughter Came to Visit Me: Marriage, Princes and Politics," in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 24.

⁵⁴ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Cosimo, 2010), 140.

⁵⁵ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 11-12.

⁵⁶ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 77.

⁵⁷ Charles Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 230-231.

⁵⁸ Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 9-12; Björn K. U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216-1272* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 56-57.

Not only did the rulers of Castile, Aragon and England marry French women in order to create alliances with the French crown, they also married to create alliances against France. Richard I of England's marriage to Berengaria of Navarre in 1191 was aimed at creating an alliance with Berengaria's father, Sancho, in order to protect England's southern French territories while Richard was on crusade.⁵⁹ Similarly Richard II's 1382 marriage to Anne of Bohemia created an alliance against the French-backed Angevin Pope.⁶⁰ Henry IV's 1403 marriage to Joanna of Navarre has been suggested as a possible alliance against France, although it has also been suggested that Henry was seeking recognition of his right to rule England.⁶¹ Further, the marriage of Alfonso VI and Berta of Italy, which was solemnised in 1094, presumably aimed to counteract the growing French influence in Castile which had resulted from Alfonso's earlier two marriages to French women. However, this marriage was probably not a military alliance. As Bernard Reilly notes, none of the Italian nobles would have been capable, at that time, of providing Castile with any significant military assistance.⁶² The marriages of three of Fernando and Isabel of Spain's children, including their heir, Juan of Asturias, as well Juana I and Catherine of Aragon, to the children of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I and Henry VII of England were aimed, in part, at encircling France with allies loyal to Spain, and will be discussed further in the second chapter.⁶³

A further seven English marriages were contracted with alliance building in mind, including one Anglo-Castilian union, that of Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of England, which was solemnised both to create an alliance, and to settle a dispute over the territory of Gascony. The remaining six marriages were those of Henry I and Matilda (also known as Edith) of Scotland, Henry I and Adeliza of Louvain, Edward III and Philippa of Hainaut, Edward of Westminster and Anne Neville, Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves, and Mary I and Philip of Spain. The most likely motives for the Scottish marriage were a friendship between the two countries, and, even more importantly for Henry, a match with Matilda's maternal family, the House of Wessex, with the aim to further secure his position on the English throne.⁶⁴ By marrying Adeliza in 1121, Henry hoped to develop an alliance with her father, Godfrey,

⁵⁹ Saul, *The Three Richards*, 139.

⁶⁰ Saul, *The Three Richards*, 142.

⁶¹ Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 156; Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV*, 246–247.

⁶² Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca*, 25.

⁶³ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 140.

⁶⁴ Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study of Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 27.

Duke of Lower Lorraine.⁶⁵ Similarly, Edward III's marriage to Philippa of Hainaut in 1328 aimed to connect Edward with an extensive network of new German and Dutch relatives.⁶⁶ Edward of Westminster and Anne Neville's union was a domestic match which aimed to reinforce an alliance between the supporters of Henry VI and his queen, Margaret of Anjou, and Anne's father, Richard Neville, the powerful Earl of Warwick, who had previously supported the opposing king, Edward IV.⁶⁷ Finally, Mary I's marriage to Philip was intended to restore England to the Catholic faith and assist Mary in securing and holding her throne.⁶⁸ While Henry I and Edward III's unions were politically successful, Mary's marriage was only partially successful. She was able to secure her throne, but her kingdom reverted to Protestantism following her death. Similarly, Henry VIII's fourth marriage to Anne of Cleves in 1540 failed to achieve its goals. Their union was to create an anti-Catholic, anti-Papal alliance between England and Anne's brother, William, Duke of Cleves, although this time it was the marriage itself which failed, ending in an annulment the following year.⁶⁹ However, the marriage of Edward of Westminster and Anne Neville in 1470 was a complete failure, ending with the death of Anne's father, Richard, in the battle of Barnet in April 1471, and of Edward in the battle of Tewkesbury in May 1471, after less than six months of marriage.⁷⁰

The Aragonese also married with the intention of creating alliances. All but two of Aragon's Castilian marriages were negotiated with this intention. The two marriages that were not were those of Leonor of Castile. Her first marriage, with Jaime of Aragon, which was a total failure, formed a part of a peace treaty, while her second marriage to Jaime's brother, Alfonso IV aimed to repair the damage done by her first marriage.⁷¹ Three of the four marriages of Pedro IV, those with María of Navarre, Elinor of Portugal and Eleanor of Sicily, were also contracted to create alliances.⁷²

As with their English and Aragonese counterparts, Castilian monarchs were more likely to marry to create or solidify alliances than for any other reason, with twenty-three marriages,

⁶⁵ Eljas Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25.

⁶⁶ W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 127.

⁶⁷ Michael Hicks, *Anne Neville: Queen to Richard III* (Stroud: The History Press, 2007), 77-78.

⁶⁸ John Edwards, "Introduction: Carranza in England," in *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolome Carranza*, ed. John Edwards and Ronald Truman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 3.

⁶⁹ Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, 8.

⁷⁰ Hicks, *Anne Neville*, 97-98.

⁷¹ Hinojosa Montalvo, *Jaime II y el esplendor de la Corona de Aragón* (San Sebastián: Nerea, 2006), 82.

⁷² Claramunt, "La política matrimonial," 214.

or sixty-seven percent contracted for this reason. Six marriages were solemnised with women from Aragon and a further six with Portugal. The overriding motivation for these unions was the creation of alliances either against the Moorish kingdom in the southern peninsula, or against other Catholic, Iberian powers. This was a factor in all twelve of the marriages with Aragonese and Portuguese women, although it was not the only factor. The marriage, in 1109, of the future queen Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragon, aimed not only to protect her right to the throne from external forces, but from the Castilian aristocracy.⁷³ The marriage, in 1375, of the future Juan I to Leonor of Aragon was solemnised with the hope that it would not only allow Juan's father, Enrique II, to concentrate on territorial expansion into Navarre and Portugal, but it would enhance Juan's right to rule Castile.⁷⁴ Similarly the 1383 marriage of Juan I and Beatriz of Portugal was intended not only to create a Castilian-Portuguese alliance at the expense of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, but as Beatriz was the only child of Fernando of Portugal, she was an attractive prospect for Juan, who unsuccessfully attempted to claim the Portuguese throne after the death of his father-in-law.⁷⁵ A further union, Alfonso VI's marriage, or concubinage, with the Moorish princess, Zaïda, in the late eleventh century was a rare example of an inter-religious marriage and alliance.⁷⁶

Garrett Mattingly argues that Fernando II of Aragon's predominant aim with the marriages of his children, and also in his alliance building with the Italian states of Milan and Venice, was to encircle France with allies loyal to Spain and Spanish interests. This was not only to minimise the threat of a French attack, but to ensure that Fernando was free to pursue his ambitions in Naples without French interference.⁷⁷ Mattingly's ideas will be further explored in the second chapter. However, as a result of policies such as these, long-distance dynastic marriages were rare in Europe until the nineteenth century, as monarchs sought alliances closer to home. The studies of German historians Heinz Duchhardt and Daniel Schönplüg confirm this. Duchhardt, in his essay "The Dynastic Marriage," identifies four regional marriage circles: a Western European circle, an East Central European circle, a North-German/Scandinavian circle and a Habsburg-Italian circle, with most medieval and early

⁷³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*, 357.

⁷⁴ Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*, 83-84.

⁷⁵ O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 204-205.

⁷⁶ This marriage may have been a concubinage, although evidence survives to suggest that if regardless of the status of the union, its intention was to create an alliance between Alfonso and Al Mutamid, the King of Seville; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*, 235.

⁷⁷ Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1961), 20.

modern dynastic marriages taking place within confines of these regions.⁷⁸ Daniel Schönplflug similarly notes a “spatial dimension” to European dynastic marriages, arguing that royal families married within “specific regional marriage patterns.”⁷⁹ Using the example of the Hohenzollern family, Schönplflug demonstrates that eighty percent of the dynastic marriages contracted by the family were with just seven neighbouring dynasties.⁸⁰

The idea of regional marriage circles is supported by the theory that monarchs contracted dynastic marriages for the purposes of building and maintaining alliances, and as a part of peace treaties. Monarchs were more likely to create alliances or go to war with neighbouring kingdoms or dynasties whose interests aligned or conflicted with their own, than with monarchs with distant realms and few shared interests. Rulers of the Spanish kingdoms, for example, married almost exclusively amongst themselves as well as with the royal families of Portugal, southern Italy and France. Occasional marriages did occur with England, the German states and Eastern Europe, in particular Poland and Hungary. Similarly a large percentage of English dynastic marriages were contracted with members of either the French royal family or the English aristocracy. There were also occasional marriages with the royal families of the Spanish kingdoms, including Navarre, as well as the Low Countries, the Holy Roman Empire and Scotland.⁸¹

While some dynastic marriages failed to achieve the aims for which they were contracted, others managed to result in lasting alliances or friendships between kingdoms. The union of João I of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster is perhaps the best example of a successful dynastic marriage and alliance. In 1386 the couple were married as a part of the Treaty of Windsor which also established an alliance between João and Philippa’s father, John of Gaunt. Gaunt intended to use the alliance to assist with his attempts to claim the Castilian throne for himself. The Portuguese, on the other hand, required a strong military partnership to offer protection from their powerful Iberian neighbours. Although Gaunt failed to establish himself as king of Castile, the treaty between the two kingdoms was enormously successful as it is still in force today.⁸² Despite this, an alliance spanning over six centuries is

⁷⁸ Heinz Duchhardt, “The Dynastic Marriage,” *European History Online*, (2011): paragraph 8, accessed May 24, 2102, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/dynastic-networks/heinz-duchhardt-the-dynastic-marriage>.

⁷⁹ Daniel Schönplflug, “Dynastic Networks,” *European History Online*, (2010): paragraphs 21 and 22, accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-networks/dynastic-networks#>.

⁸⁰ Schönplflug, “Dynastic Networks,” paragraph 22.

⁸¹ See Appendices One, Two and Three.

⁸² Amélia P. Hutchinson, “Os Doze de Inglaterra:” A Romance of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Later Middle Ages?,” in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th - 15th Century*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 167-168.

unusual and the majority of dynastic marriage alliances failed to achieve much in the long-term. Paula Sutter Fichtner has shown that it was the agreements themselves which were inadequate, rather than the use of dynastic marriage as a diplomatic tool. She argues that while dynastic unions “were expected to aid in knitting friendships together, they were not supposed to remove every conceivable difficulty that could arise among the partners to the wider alliance.” Further, Fichtner adds that such agreements could not foresee all “unanticipated antagonisms, misunderstandings of provisions, and countless other snags” which could arise.⁸³ This section shows that many alliances and peace treaties based on marriages failed to achieve the aims of the monarchs arranging them. Yet dynastic marriages continued to be arranged with alliance building and peace treaties in mind. These unions then were not expected to lead to alliances which would exist in perpetuity, rather they were a part of the gradual strengthening of relationships between kingdoms and monarchs, and in this they were undoubtedly successful.

Dynastic marriages then were an important diplomatic tool which monarchs could use in an attempt to further their interests both domestically and internationally. Usually dynastic marriages aimed to develop or maintain alliances, promote peace or to increase or protect wealth, power or territory. As shown previously, the creation and maintenance of friendly relations and alliances were factors in twenty-six Castilian marriages, twenty Aragonese marriages and fifteen English marriages. The increase or protection of territory, as well as peace treaties featured less frequently in dynastic marriages. Territorial factors played a part in eight English dynastic marriages, four Castilian marriages and two Aragonese marriages. Peace was a motivation in six English unions, as well as seven Castilian and three Aragonese marriages. While these unions frequently failed in the long-term to achieve lasting peace or enduring alliances they were often successful at satisfying these aims in the short-term. Dynastic marriages, therefore, aimed to fulfil a variety of diplomatic functions, however there were also social criteria which were expected to be met. The eligibility criteria for future consorts included rank, age, appearance and, increasingly, religion. The second section of this chapter will discuss how potential spouses were selected.

⁸³ Sutter Fichtner, “Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy,” 257.

II. Arranging Dynastic Marriages

The process of arranging a dynastic marriage was frequently lengthy with identifying a potential spouse from among the unmarried or widowed offspring and siblings of Europe's monarchs being the first step. As shown by the marriage tables in the first section of this chapter, monarchs and their heirs usually married foreigners. This was for several reasons, including the various political benefits mentioned above. Further, ruling dynasties, and aristocratic families, constantly aspired to increase or, at a minimum, maintain their rank through dynastic marriage.⁸⁴ *Las siete partidas* lists a good family as the most important quality the potential wives of kings can possess as

the better her family, so much the more esteemed will he be, and the children which he has by her will be more honoured, and held in greater consideration... for the benefits which result from [this quality will] abide in the line which descends from her.⁸⁵

Further the *Partidas* advises kings and queens on selecting husbands for their daughters:

As soon as they are of age the king and queen should endeavour to marry them well and honourably, and, in doing this, they should exert great diligence, paying careful attention to four things. First, that those whom they marry are persons of distinguished lineage; in order that the family from which they are derived may become still more noble.⁸⁶

The remaining three qualities potential husbands should have were: to be handsome and graceful, to possess good habits, and to have a good inheritance. James VI of Scotland, later also James I of England, gave similar advice to his son in his treatise *Basilikon Doron*, advising him to

Remember also that marriage is one of the greatest actions that a man doth in all his time, especially in taking of his first wife; and if he marry first basely beneath his rank, he will ever be the less accounted of thereafter... if a man will be careful to breed horses and dogs of good kinds, how much more careful should he be for the breed of his own loins? So shall ye in your marriage have respect to your conscience, honour and natural weal in your successors.⁸⁷

The potential spouses of monarchs and their heirs not only had to be of a suitable rank but they also had to be of an appropriate religion. While this was not much of a concern prior to the sixteenth century when the majority of Europe was Catholic, the Reformation narrowed

⁸⁴ Daniel Schönplflug, "One European Family? A Quantitative Approach to Royal Marriage Circles 1700-1918," in *Royal Kinship: British-German Family Networks, 1815-1918*, ed. Karina Urbach (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2008), 26.

⁸⁵ Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*, Volume Two, 298.

⁸⁶ Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*, Volume Two, 307.

⁸⁷ James VI, King of Scotland, *The True Law of Free Monarchies, and Basilikon Doron*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1996), 140.

available marriage partners as Catholics frequently married fellow Catholics and Protestants usually married Protestants.⁸⁸ James I advised his son

to marry one that were fully of your own religion... For although that to my great regret the number of any princes of power and account professing our religion be but very small, and that therefore this advice seems to be the more strait and difficile, yet ye have deeply to weigh and consider upon these doubts how ye and your wife can be of one flesh and keep unity betwixt you being members of two opposite churches. Disagreement in religion bringeth ever with it disagreement in manners, and the dissension betwixt your preachers and hers will breed and foster a dissension among your subjects.⁸⁹

James's advice was evidently ignored by his son and grandson, Charles I and Charles II, both of whom were Anglican and both of whom married Catholics. The wife of Charles I, Henrietta Maria of France, remained unpopular in England throughout her life, in part due to her religion.⁹⁰ The marriages of Charles I and Charles II were the last conducted by English monarchs with members of differing religions. In the Spanish kingdoms there is only one example of a monarch marrying a non-Catholic. At some stage in the years immediately following 1086, Alfonso VI, King of Castile and León, began a relationship, either a marriage or a concubinage, with a Muslim princess, Zaïda, the daughter (some sources state daughter-in-law) of al-Mutamind, King of the Moorish city of Seville. It is believed, although some doubt remains, that Zaïda converted to Christianity and changed her name to Isabel. Certainly the possibility of her son Sancho inheriting the throne was opposed by many of the kingdom's clergy. Ultimately their protests were irrelevant as Sancho was killed in battle in 1108 and Alfonso VI was instead succeeded by his daughter Urraca, Sancho's half-sister.⁹¹

In order to fulfil the aim of producing an heir, the age of the prospective bride, in particular, was also critical. With life expectancies low and infant mortality high, even among the upper classes, it was of paramount importance to the survival of the dynasty that children were conceived quickly and often. James I advised

Neither marry ye for any accessory cause or worldly respects, a woman unable, either through age, nature, or accident, for procreation of children; for in a king that were a double fault, as well against his own weal as against the weal of his people.⁹²

It was therefore not uncommon for a future couple to be betrothed either as infants or very young children. According to Church law the minimum age in which a marriage could be

⁸⁸ Duchhardt, "The Dynastic Marriage."

⁸⁹ James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, 140.

⁹⁰ Michelle White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 29.

⁹¹ Patricia E. Grieve, *The Eve of Spain: Myths and Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim and Jewish Conflict* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 59.

⁹² James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, 139.

consummated was twelve years for girls and fourteen years for boys.⁹³ It appears that many marriages were indeed consummated at these early ages. Leonor of Castile was thirteen years old when she married the future Edward I of England in 1254. Their marriage was immediately consummated, as their first child, a stillborn daughter, was born less than nine months after their marriage. Mary de Bohun was approximately twelve years old in 1380 when she married the future Henry IV of England, who was himself aged just fourteen years, their first child was born less than two years later.⁹⁴

After selecting a potential bride or groom who met the above criteria of appropriate lineage, religion, age and potential political usefulness, preliminary discussions could begin between parties. By the late medieval and early modern periods ambassadors were generally used to negotiate dynastic marriages and from the thirteenth century they occasionally even performed proxy marriages. Negotiations were frequently lengthy, not only because the expectations of both sides had to be accounted for, but because of the amount of time taken for ambassadors to communicate with their sovereigns. Negotiations for the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor, for example, took more than a decade, beginning when the pair were less than four years old, with representatives continuing to argue about the date of Catherine's departure for England right up until she left Spain. To help deal with the time delays caused by distance, and to attempt to gain a greater understanding of other rulers, monarchs began to employ resident ambassadors. These ambassadors were first used in Spain and England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, following a precedent set in Italy. Between 1480 and 1500, Fernando of Aragon established resident ambassadors in London, Brussels, Rome, Venice, and at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor.⁹⁵ Fernando even briefly used his daughter, Catherine of Aragon, as a resident ambassador while she was a widow living in London. Henry VII, likewise, employed John Stile who resided in Spain from 1505 to 1510 and his employment was continued by Henry VIII from 1512 to 1517. Henry VIII similarly employed John Spinely in The Netherlands early in his reign.⁹⁶ These two men, as well as the representative in Rome, were the only English ambassadors employed by Henry VII or Henry VIII until Thomas Wolsey established additional embassies in France and Venice in the 1520s.⁹⁷

⁹³ Ishbel C. M. Barnes, *Janet Kennedy, Royal Mistress: Marriage and Divorce at the Courts of James V and VI* (Edinburgh: John McDonald, 2007), 3-4.

⁹⁴ Bryan Bevan, *Henry IV* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 7-8.

⁹⁵ Michael Jacob Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), 6

⁹⁶ Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, 23.

⁹⁷ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 160-161.

While ambassadors were making preliminary arrangements regarding dowries and so on, it was common, after the fourteenth century, for the potential bride to be interviewed and for a portrait to be exchanged. For monarchs and their heirs who married partners they had never before seen, portrait exchange provided not only the chance to witness what the other party looked like, but within a culture of courtly romance, it provided the first opportunity for love at first sight.⁹⁸ Appearance was obviously an important factor, with one monarch stating in 1661 that he would “marry no one who was not beautiful.”⁹⁹ Similarly both Alfonso X and James VI advised their readers to marry attractive brides. Alfonso wrote

The more beautiful she is, the more he will love her, and the children which he has by her will be more handsome and graceful; which is very fitting for the children of kings, in order that they may make a good appearance among other persons.

However he adds that it should be remembered that beauty will fade and if a monarch had to choose he should look for a wife who is from a good family and in possession of good habits before concerning himself about her looks.¹⁰⁰ Similarly James VI advised that “beauty increaseth your love to your wife, contenting you the better with her, without caring for others.”¹⁰¹ In 1505 when he was toying with the idea of remarrying, Henry VII of England requested his ambassadors send a description of the appearance of the leading candidate, Juana, Queen of Naples. Their account included information such as Juana’s age, height, body shape and general demeanour, as well as details such as the appearance of her skin, hair, face, teeth, limbs, neck and breasts. They also included particulars such as the smell of her breath and whether or not she had any hair on her lips.¹⁰² It is evident then that monarchs expected their dynastic marriage partners to fulfil personal criteria, as well as to meet diplomatic expectations.

The exchange of portraits to determine the attractiveness of potential marriage candidates, however, was not without its own problems. Following the deaths of his first three wives, Henry VIII sent court painter Hans Holbein to Cleves in modern Germany to paint a portrait of his intended bride. Holbein was in the difficult position of having to paint an honest likeness for Henry, while at the same time pleasing Anne’s network of supporters in Cleves. Ultimately Holbein was unable to meet all of those expectations. Henry was repulsed by

⁹⁸ Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, 48 - 49.

⁹⁹ Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England to the Doge and Senate, January 28, 1661, in *C. S. P. Venetian (Vol. XXXII)*, 243.

¹⁰⁰ Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas, Volume Two*, 298.

¹⁰¹ James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, 139.

¹⁰² Report of Francis Martin, James Braybooke, and John Stile, concerning the old Queen of Naples and the young Queen, her daughter, June 1505, in *C. S. P. Spain*, 359-361.

Anne upon her arrival in England and their marriage was quickly annulled.¹⁰³ Henry's daughter Elizabeth later claimed that "she [had] taken a vow to marry no man whom she has not seen, and will not trust portrait painters."¹⁰⁴ Regardless of the occasional flattery of portraits, their exchange continued to be popular for the contracting of dynastic marriages throughout the medieval and early modern period.

Once it had been established that both parties were willing to proceed with the union, negotiations could proceed in earnest. Not only were marriage treaties important, negotiations themselves could be used as political tools. Monarchs were occasionally able to prolong discussions for their own benefit, or, more commonly, to break them off entirely if another option presented itself. England's Elizabeth I appears to have been the master of negotiations for her own political advantage. In 1580, the Venetian ambassador in France, Lorenzo Priuli, wrote stating

when [Elizabeth] is certain that the marriage cannot be accomplished she does not abandon the negotiation, because she desires to feed the English with the hope that she will marry in order... to avoid the election of her successor... she could not make any declaration without giving rise to many troubles and incurring danger to herself.¹⁰⁵

Similarly in 1618, James I of England attempted to negotiate a marriage between his son and heir, the future Charles I and Anna Maria of Spain. From James's perspective this "Spanish Match" could bring peace between the two countries at a time when the Anglo-Spanish War, which concluded in 1604, was still causing distrust.¹⁰⁶ However, the Spanish intentions were obviously quite different. Piero Contarini, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary, wrote to the Doge and Senate in Venice stating that the Spaniards

deceived [James I] with these hopes of marriage and by promising him a considerable sum of money on this account, but that in short it was all pretence, devoid of any intention of a matrimonial alliance, against which there were too many objections, both on account of religion, and also because they meant to marry that princess to the king of Bohemia. The real object of this negotiation was to benefit their affairs.¹⁰⁷

In Scotland, Mary of Guise used similar tactics to strengthen her own alliances while Henry VIII of England and James Hamilton, 3rd Earl of Arran negotiated a treaty between

¹⁰³ Michael Leyton, *The Structure of Paintings* (Vienna: SpringerVerlag, 2006), 99.

¹⁰⁴ The Bishop of Aquila to Count de Feria, May 1559, in *C. S. P. Simancas*, 64-78.

¹⁰⁵ Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Signory, March 12, 1580, in *C. S. P. Venetian (Vol. VII)*, 634.

¹⁰⁶ See in particular; Alexander Samson, ed. *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ Piero Contarini, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in England to the Doge and Senate, May 4, 1618, in *C. S. P. Venetian (Vol. XV)*, 207.

themselves for the marriage of her infant daughter Mary, Queen of Scots. John Guy notes that:

The treaty of Greenwich was a dead letter from the start. Mary of Guise had no intention of honouring it; she had used the period of negotiation simply to face down Arran and Henry VIII and to win time to build a new, more comprehensive coalition.¹⁰⁸

On other occasions negotiations took considerable time due to the sensitive nature of the treaties which eventuated from them. Peace proposals and the transfer of territories were important, not just to the dynasties involved, but to their subjects also. As such, great care was taken during the negotiation process to ensure a satisfactory agreement was reached.

Dynastic marriages then were arranged to meet a variety of political and personal criteria. From a political perspective marriages were arranged with the aim of producing a legitimate, preferably male heir. Further, dynastic marriages were commonly intended to create or maintain alliances between monarchs and kingdoms, to increase or protect territory, or to secure peace. At other times they aimed to provide recognition of a new monarch's right to rule or to offset the power of another group or individual. The frequency with which monarch's married in order to meet these political aims ensured that most dynastic marriages occurred within identifiable marriage circles. Certainly Aragonese, Castilian and English monarchs tended to marry with their closest neighbours. However, aside from political criteria, it is evident from this section that personal criteria, such as the age, religion and family of a potential bride or groom also had to be considered. Appearance, habits and wealth were also thought to be important.

III: The Failure of Dynastic Marriage

Despite the care and attention with which dynastic marriages were arranged and their accepted use a form of medieval and early modern diplomacy, there were occasions when a monarch attempted to take matters into his own hands, and marry of his own accord with no consideration for diplomatic concerns. More frequently, there were times when the marriages themselves failed leading to a breakdown in the alliances or peace treaties they were contracted to reinforce. There were two examples each from England, Castile and Aragon of monarchs, or their heirs, contracting clandestine marriages against the wishes of their families. The majority of these unions resulted from kings marrying their mistresses,

¹⁰⁸ John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 24.

presumably for love or to legitimise any children they might produce. These marriages were generally unpopular as they could threaten the position of older children from previous unions. Further, they often resulted in the promotion of relatives of the new queen to positions of power within the Court, which were traditionally filled by the aristocracy.

Both Edward the Black Prince and Edward IV contracted clandestine marriages with English women without the knowledge or support of their families and advisors. David Loades claims that Edward IV's 1464 marriage to Elizabeth Woodville was extremely unusual in that

[n]ever before had a ruling king of England married one of his own subjects. The normal practice, both for rulers and potential rulers, had been to take a bride from one of the princely houses of western Europe... The King of England had taken himself off the marriage market, so no alliance could be strengthened or peace mediated by that means.

Further he argues that the while Edward, the Black Prince, had married his cousin, Joan of Kent, Edward had never become king so Edward IV's marriage was unique.¹⁰⁹ Undoubtedly the most important difference in these two unions is that Edward IV was King of England at the time of his marriage while Edward the Black Prince was not. However, at the time it would have been reasonable to assume that the Black Prince would eventually inherit his father's crown; Edward was already thirty years old in 1361 when he married Joan, well past the dangers of infancy and childhood. Further, Edward III, the Black Prince's father had been in the process of arranging a dynastic marriage for him with the wealthy heiress, Margaret of Flanders, when the news of his union became public.¹¹⁰

There were four further clandestine marriages in Castile and Aragon, which resulted in strained relationships between the kings, the nobility and the heirs who had married without their permission. Sancho IV of Castile married, as his first and only wife, his Leonese cousin, María of Molina in 1282 and despite pressure from the pope, refused to leave her. Sancho's father had previously arranged a marriage and an anti-Navarrese alliance for him with Guillerma of Montcada, which Sancho broke in order to marry María.¹¹¹ Further Pedro I of Castile elevated his mistress María de Padilla to the position of wife, abandoning his

¹⁰⁹ David Loades, *Tudor Queens of England* (London: Continuum, 2009), 43.

¹¹⁰ Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent," *Journal of Medieval History* 5: 3 (1979): 217-218.

¹¹¹ Paulette Pepin, "A Case Study: Contract and its Consequences for the Kingdom of Castile-León," *The Historian* 75:4 (2013): 807, and Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 126.

first wife, Blanche of Bourbon, just hours after marrying her in order to do so.¹¹² Jaime I of Aragon married, as his third wife, one of his former mistresses, Navarrese noblewoman Teresa Gil de Vidaure; and Pedro IV did the same thing in 1377 when he married his fourth wife, Sibilla de Fortià.¹¹³

Similarly, Henry VIII of England elevated his mistress, Anne Boleyn, to the position of wife and queen. He later contracted a further three times with women of his Court, according to his own desires, and with no regard to concerns such as alliances, peace treaties or territorial expansion. However, Henry was able to use the promise of dynastic marriage with his daughter Mary to manipulate foreign policy in much the same way as he could have with negotiations for a dynastic union of his own. Seven such betrothals were negotiated on Mary's behalf during her father's lifetime, although none of them resulted in a marriage.¹¹⁴

Considering the precarious nature of dynasties, and the reliance on the fertility and longevity of their members, as well as their vital role in providing a stable succession for the states over which they ruled, it was important that all possible steps were taken to ensure their survival. It was, therefore, not uncommon for monarchs to attempt to annul a marriage for a variety of reasons. The infertility of the wife, particularly if the husband had proven capable of producing offspring with other women, was one of the more common motivations for annulling a marriage. As Georges Duby wrote, "Marrying the daughters of kings... was worth doing only if they produced male heirs."¹¹⁵ Alfonso X of Castile, for example, married Violante of Aragon in 1249 when she was just ten years of age. Concerned that his wife failed to become pregnant for several years, Alfonso arranged another marriage for himself, presumably planning to ask the pope to annul his earlier union. By the time his new bride arrived in Castile, Violante was pregnant, and Alfonso rejected the idea of another marriage. Violante and Alfonso ultimately had twelve children and the idea of an annulment was not raised again.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Anne J. Cruz, "The Female Figure as Political Propaganda in the Pedro el Cruel Romancero," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Reality*, ed. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 73.

¹¹³ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1978), 26-27; Núria Silleras-Fernández, "Money isn't everything: Concubinage, Class, and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87), in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 72.

¹¹⁴ John Edwards, *Mary I, England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 16-61.

¹¹⁵ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 49-50.

¹¹⁶ Sandy Bardsley, *Women's Roles in the Middle Ages* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), 82-83.

Marriages between members of ruling families could usually be annulled with relative ease especially if they had not been consummated, or if it could be proven that the couple was within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, or kinship.¹¹⁷ Prior to 1215 the laws of consanguinity forbade the marriage of couples more closely related than the seventh degree (sixth cousins), while the laws of affinity forbade a widower from marrying any of his deceased wife's cousins to the same degree.¹¹⁸ Chris Given Wilson argues that the motivation behind the consanguinity laws was to "expand the dominion of love," or to create more ties of kinship among people.¹¹⁹ However, it was often impossible to know, and certainly to prove, who a person's sixth cousins were, and therefore whether the marriage fell within the prohibited degrees, especially at the lower end of the social scale. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council changed the rules regarding consanguinity and from then on marriage between couples related in the fourth degree (third cousins), and closer were forbidden.¹²⁰ Marriages between more closely-related couples were still possible, but a dispensation was required. Part of the controversy surrounding consanguineous marriages in this period was that while the pope could grant a dispensation to marry, he, or a subsequent pope, could also revoke it. Monarchs could therefore use the excuse of consanguinity as a convenient loophole to annul an inconvenient, unprofitable or childless marriage if they desired. In 1152, the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII was annulled after fifteen years. The union had not been a happy one and had produced only two daughters. While it had been known that the couple was related within the fourth degree (they were third cousins), this was overlooked at the time of their marriage. Sources vary as to who initiated the annulment but it is clear that both Eleanor and Louis contracted second marriages with people to whom they were also related within the rules of consanguinity. Eleanor married Henry II, King of England who was her third cousin, while Louis married Constance of Castile to whom he was even more closely related.¹²¹

The use of annulments highlights the significant role which dynastic marriage played in alliance building and territorial expansion in particular. If a potential spouse became

¹¹⁷ Judith J. Hurwich, *Noble Strategies: Marriage and Sexuality in the Zimmern Chronicle* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2006), 167-168.

¹¹⁸ Medieval Sourcebook: Ninth Ecumenical Council: Lateran I, 1123, Canon 5, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran1.asp>

¹¹⁹ Chris Given Wilson and Anne Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 30-31.

¹²⁰ Medieval Sourcebook: Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV, 1215, Canon 50, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp>

¹²¹ Constance Brittain Bouchard, "Eleanor's Divorce from Louis VII: The Uses of Consanguinity," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 225.

available who was more capable of being an ally, or of providing land or money for the dynasty, it was not uncommon, especially in the medieval period for a ruler to repudiate, or annul the marriage of one wife in order to marry another. There were two English monarchs who had their marriages annulled in order to further their own interests; John and Henry VIII. In 1176, at the time when John's marriage to Isabel of Gloucester was arranged, he had three elder, surviving brothers, and was considered unlikely to inherit the throne. His marriage then, was typical of those of younger sons. Isabel was a wealthy heiress who could provide both money and territory for John who was expected to receive no lands from his father. After succeeding to the throne, John used the excuse of consanguinity to annul his childless marriage, and claim Isabel's lands for the crown.¹²² He was then able to marry Isabella of Angoulême whose lands he wished to acquire.¹²³ Henry VIII however, is the most obvious, and one of the most extreme examples of a king dissolving his unwanted marriages; beheading two of his wives and annulling a further two unions.¹²⁴ Henry was not the only medieval or early modern monarch to get rid of an unwanted queen, although he was the only one to have his former queens beheaded.

Annulments were more common in both Castile and Aragon than in England, with five Castilian dynastic marriages ending in this manner. There were four in Aragon and a further two attempted annulments which were not granted by the pope.¹²⁵ The majority of these annulments claimed consanguinity. Usually it was the monarch who applied for the annulment, however, in the case of Berenguela of Castile, who had married her father's cousin Alfonso IX of León, the pope insisted on the separation despite appeals from both parties.¹²⁶ There were only two annulments, and two attempted annulments, in which the king did not claim consanguinity as a motivation. Enrique IV of Castile had his marriage to Blanca of Navarre annulled in 1453 after thirteen years of marriage. He claimed that witchcraft had prevented him from consummating the marriage and a physical examination of Blanca confirmed her virginity.¹²⁷ Enrique's second marriage to Juana of Portugal produced only one daughter after six years, and her paternity was disputed. The child was

¹²² Wilfred L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 30.

¹²³ Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême," 172.

¹²⁴ As well as annulling his marriages to Catherine of Aragon and Anne of Cleves, Henry VIII also annulled his marriage to Anne Boleyn before she was executed, an act which left his daughter, Elizabeth, illegitimate, see: Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: The Most Happy* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 354-355.

¹²⁵ The Castilian annulments were: 1. Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragon, 2. Enrique I and Mafalda of Portugal, 3. Berenguela and Alfonso IX of León, 4. Enrique IV and Blanca of Navarre and 5. Enrique IV and Juana of Portugal; the Aragonese annulments were: 1. Sancho Ramírez and Isabel of Urgell, 2. Alfonso ñ and Urraca of Castile, 3. Jaime I and Leonor of Castile, and 4. Jaime II and Isabel of Castile.

¹²⁶ Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 69.

¹²⁷ Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre*, 112.

known as Juana *la Beltraneja* after the man presumed to be her father, Beltran de la Cueva. In spite of attempts to make *la Beltraneja* appear to look like the King, including breaking her nose to look like his, she was ultimately excluded from the line of succession.¹²⁸ In 1464 Enrique repudiated Juana of Portugal who was banished from court and sent to live under the care of Archbishop Alfonso de Fonseca at Alaejos.¹²⁹

Further, Pedro II of Aragon tried, unsuccessfully, for seven years to annul his marriage to Marie of Montpellier. In his initial appeal to Pope Innocent III, Pedro did claim a consanguineous impediment to his marriage. However, he also claimed that at the time of their union, in 1204, Marie was married to Bernard IV, Count of Comminges, who was still alive in 1206 when Pedro appealed for an annulment.¹³⁰ In January 1213 Innocent handed down his decision regarding the annulment. He ruled that Marie's prior marriage to Bernard was invalid, due to two factors; Marie and Bernard were related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, and Bernard was married to another woman at the time of his marriage to Marie.¹³¹ With Marie's earlier marriage being declared illegitimate, no impediments remained to her marriage with Pedro, and his appeal for an annulment was rejected.

Finally, Jaime I of Aragon refrained from claiming a consanguineous connection when he attempted to annul his common law marriage to Teresa Gil de Vidaure. Instead, in 1265 he appealed to Pope Clement IV to on the probably fraudulent grounds that Teresa had contracted leprosy.¹³² Clement was outraged Jaime had asked for an annulment, and in a letter dated 17 February 1266, refused his request, writing

[w]e are astonished at the irresponsibility and the motivation that led you to present a petition contrary to God, abominable to angels, and monstrous to men... Do you believe that, if all the queens there are throughout the whole world became lepers, we would give kings on that account the licence to contract marriage with other women? You know for sure that each and every one of them would suffer a rejection, even if the royal houses were to die out root and branch for want of issue.¹³³

¹²⁸ Stephen Brown, *1494: How a Family Feud in Medieval Spain Divided the World in Half* (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 2011), 24.

¹²⁹ José Luis Martín Rodríguez, *Enrique IV de Castilla: Rey de Navarra, Príncipe de Cataluña* (Hondarribia: Editorial Nerea, 2003), 199 and 211.

¹³⁰ Jenkins, *The Mediterranean World*, 96.

¹³¹ Jenkins, *The Mediterranean World*, 100.

¹³² Burns, *Moors and Crusaders*, 26.

¹³³ Pope Clement IV to Jaime I, King of Aragon, February 17, 1266, in *Dissolving Royal Marriages: A Documentary History, 860-1600*, ed. David d'Avray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 113-115.

Jaime had already had his first marriage to Leonor of Castile annulled and had taken his cousin, Berenguela Alfonso as his mistress.¹³⁴ With his second annulment unsuccessful Jaime banished Teresa to Valencia and continued his relationship with Berenguela.

Not only were marriages annulled when the alliances they were intended to support were no longer possible or necessary, but it was even more common for betrothals to be broken-off as the political situation changed. Indeed betrothals were as much a political tool as the eventual marriages they sometimes resulted in. As mentioned earlier, the future Mary I of England was one such pawn utilised by her father, Henry VIII and his advisors, particularly Cardinal Wolsey, to further England's ambitious foreign policy. Mary was just two years old when she was first betrothed to Francis, the 6-month-old son of Francis I of France.¹³⁵ By 1520 the betrothal, and the alliance it formed a part of, had been broken and Henry instead sought a union with Mary's maternal cousin, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, also Carlos I of Spain. Mary was five years old at the time the betrothal was finalised, while her intended groom was twenty-one. Charles however, was not willing to wait almost a decade for Mary to reach a marriageable age and instead married twenty-two-year-old Isabella of Portugal.¹³⁶ Disappointed, but undeterred, over the next twenty years negotiations took place to marry Mary to another of her cousins, James V, King of Scotland, as well as Henri, the Duke of Orléans, William, Duke of Cleves, Dom Luis of Portugal, and Philip, the Lutheran Duke of Bavaria.¹³⁷ Despite these numerous marriage negotiations, Mary remained unmarried during her father's lifetime, and she ultimately arranged her own dynastic union to her second-cousin, Philip II of Spain, the son of her former betrothed, Charles V, after she ascended to the throne.

As with dynastic marriages then, betrothals and annulments were tools of diplomacy which monarchs could use to further their ambitions. Betrothals were used seal alliances, either temporarily, until the political situation changed, or in the long-term if a marriage were to follow. Annulments, on the other hand, could be seen as a possible "escape-clause" to be used by monarchs to put an end to marriages that were no longer meeting the expectations in which they were contracted. Failure to provide children, the possibility of another, more profitable marriage alliance or the complete incompatibility of the couple, were the most common motivations for an annulment, with the excuse of consanguinity used to secure

¹³⁴ Burns, *Moors and Crusaders*, 26–27.

¹³⁵ Edwards, *Mary I*, 15.

¹³⁶ Edwards, *Mary I*, 15 and 17.

¹³⁷ Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor, England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 29, 36, 101, and 137.

permission from the pope. The frequency with which monarchs attempted to annul marriages, break betrothals, or marry according to their own desires rather than for the benefit of the kingdom, highlight the difficulties in securing peace, alliances or territory through the marriage of two, often previously unfamiliar, individuals. Marriages which were unsatisfying on a personal level, as well as those which were unsuccessful in meeting the aims which they were contracted for could fail to survive, putting the subsequent alliances at risk. As shown in the second section of this chapter attempts were made to ensure that a potential spouse was acceptable on a personal level, as well from a political perspective, in order to avoid such a circumstance. Chapter Two will now analyse the marriages of Catherine of Aragon and the Tudor brothers to determine whether or not they adhere to the now established pattern of dynastic marriage.

Chapter II: The Marriages of Catherine of Aragon

The dynastic marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor was the result of over a decade of negotiations which continued despite the constantly shifting alliances and political motivations of the monarchs of Western Europe. Several times between 1488 and 1501 the marriage alliance looked unlikely to proceed. However, the persistence of Henry VII of England, and Fernando and Isabel of the Spanish kingdoms, and their flexibility in reworking the marriage treaties ensured its survival. Even the deaths of Arthur in 1501, and of Isabel in 1504, did not prove to be insurmountable obstacles to the Anglo-Spanish alliance. This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will discuss the marriages of the Tudor and Trastámara siblings. It will analyse the political motivations and manoeuvring which led to the marriages of Isabel, Juan, Juana and María Trastámara as well as Margaret Tudor, in order to highlight the importance of the anti-French coalition to Spanish dynastic policy. Further, this section will argue that an Anglo-Scottish peace was important both to Henry VII as the king of England, but also to Fernando and Isabel as Henry's allies. The second section, which considers the motivations for the marriage of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor, will examine the negotiations and the two treaties which led to their union in 1501. It will show that the marriage was an extension of Fernando and Isabel's system of western European alliances and was central to Henry VII's desire to win recognition from his contemporaries of his right to the throne.

I: The Marriages of the Tudor and Trastámara Siblings

The foreign policy of Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castile in the 1480s and the early 1490s was dominated by Fernando's desire to encircle France with allies loyal to Spain.¹ Castile and France had a recent tradition of alliances and military partnerships against England. This was partially due to the First Castilian Civil War (1366-69) in which the French and the English had supported opposing Castilian kings, with the French-backed

¹ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2010), 138; Ian Arthurson, "The King of Spain's Daughter Came to Visit Me: Marriage, Princes and Politics," in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 23.

monarch, Enrique of Trastámara, the eventual winner.² The Franco-Aragonese relationship however, was strained, due in part, to conflicting territorial interests. The territories of Roussillon and Cerdagne had been lost to France by Fernando's father, Juan II, who had entered into a military alliance with Louis IX in 1463 in order to crush a revolt by his Catalan subjects. Louis had insisted that payment for French support in Catalonia be secured by the revenues of the two regions, a move which effectively granted him control over them, as Juan was unable to pay what he owed.³ Despite attempts by Juan to reclaim the territories, France invaded Roussillon's capital, Perpignan, in 1475 and both counties came under the full control of the French Crown.⁴ As well as endeavouring to secure the return of the territories, Fernando's foreign policy aims were influenced by French interference in Brittany and Italy during the Breton Wars (1485-91) and the Italian Wars (1494-1504), particularly as the Aragonese Crown claimed territory within the Mediterranean, including Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Naples.⁵

Fernando however, through his marriage to Isabel I, and his role as king consort of Castile, was also bound to Castile's traditional alliances and enmities. In particular, Fernando and Isabel's diplomatic manoeuvres had to take into consideration Portugal and the role of the Portuguese in Isabel's succession to the Castilian throne.⁶ While Fernando's inheritance of the Aragonese throne in 1479 was straightforward, Isabel's rise to the throne of Castile in 1475 was not, and was only made possible due to her success in the War of the Castilian Succession (1475-79). Isabel's father, Juan II of Castile, had married twice. By his first wife, María of Aragon, he had one surviving child, the future Enrique IV of Castile. By Isabel of Portugal, his second wife, he had two further children: Alfonso, who died at the age of fourteen years, and Isabel.⁷ Enrique IV, Isabel's half-brother, also married twice. His first marriage, to Blanca of Navarre, was unconsummated, and after thirteen years, was annulled.⁸ Two years later in 1455 Enrique married Juana of Portugal, and after seven years of marriage a daughter was born, also named Juana. There were doubts about the legitimacy of the younger Juana. Her mother was suspected of having an affair with Beltrán de la Cueva,

² For a detailed analysis of the Franco-Castilian and Anglo-Castilian relationships during the fourteenth century see; P. E. Russell, *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

³ Alan Ryder, *The Wreck of Catalonia: Civil War in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 104-105.

⁴ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1410-1516, Volume II: Castilian Hegemony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 297-298.

⁵ Arthurson, "The King of Spain's Daughter Came to Visit Me," 22.

⁶ Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 537-538.

⁷ Luis Suárez Fernández, *Isabel I, Reina, 1451-1504* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2000), 7.

⁸ Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274-1512* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 111.

Duke of Alburquerque, and was eventually banished from court.⁹ The marriage was subsequently annulled in 1468. The doubt surrounding the legitimacy of Enrique's only heir, as well as his inability to effectively govern Castile, led initially to civil war and later to the war of succession. While many Castilian nobles, as well as Isabel's husband Fernando and his supporters, recognised Isabel's right to rule Castile, Juana had the support of the Portuguese, including the king, Afonso V, who she married in 1475.¹⁰

Within this context, the marriage of Isabel and Fernando's eldest daughter, Isabel, to Afonso V's grandson, Afonso, was arranged. The treaties of Alcáçovas and Las Terçerias de Moura (1479) laid out the terms of the marriage and aimed to establish:

perpetual peace between us [Isabel and Fernando] and the said our kingdoms and lordships, and our cousin, the very illustrious king of Portugal and the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and his son, the illustrious prince Dom João, and the said their kingdoms and lordships.¹¹

To maintain peace, Afonso V agreed to renounce his rights to the Castilian throne, which he claimed through his marriage to Juana, and to recognise Isabel I as queen. Isabel and Fernando likewise agreed to renounce any claims they might have to the Portuguese throne. Further, as the marriage of Afonso V and Juana had been annulled in 1478 on the grounds of consanguinity, Juana was given the choice of entering a convent or waiting fourteen years until Isabel and Fernando's son, Juan, was old enough to marry, at which point she would have to marry him. Juana chose the convent, and her Castilian supporters received pardons.¹²

Stabilising the relationship with Portugal was obviously a concern for Isabel and Fernando, as they ultimately committed not one, but two daughters to the cause. The marriage of Isabel and Afonso lasted less than a year before Afonso was killed in a horse-riding accident in 1491. What occurred next reveals the complex motives underpinning such marital unions. Despite the political reasons for the marriage, it was also a love match, and Isabel refused to remarry on her return to Spain. Her pleas ultimately went unheeded, and she remarried in 1497, to Afonso's uncle, the newly-crowned Manuel I.¹³ Their union ensured the continuance of the treaties of Alcáçovas and Las Terçerias de Moura and the friendship between Portugal and the Spanish kingdoms. However, Isabel's own untimely death in childbirth in 1498,

⁹ Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 97.

¹⁰ William D. Phillips, Jr., "Isabel of Castile's Portuguese Connections and the Opening of the Atlantic," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 22.

¹¹ *Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo (September 4, 1479)*, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/15th_century/sppo01.asp>

¹² Phillips, "Isabel of Castile's Portuguese Connections," 22.

¹³ François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2007), 171.

followed in 1500 by the death of her son, Miguel da Paz, again brought an end to the dynastic relationship between the kingdoms. A third marriage, between Isabel's widower, Manuel I and her younger sister, María, was solemnised in 1500.¹⁴ It was this marriage, lasting seventeen years and producing ten children, including Isabel of Portugal who became the queen consort of Spain through her marriage to her cousin, Carlos I, which finally resulted in long-term peace between Spain and Portugal.

J. N. Hillgarth described Fernando and Isabel as the first Iberian rulers to systematically create marriage alliances outside the peninsula.¹⁵ This statement can indeed be accurately applied to the marriages of their son Juan, and two of their daughters, Juana and Catherine. The same, however, cannot be said for the marriages of Isabel and María. Instead, their marriages follow an established pattern of Castilian and Aragonese royal children marrying into the Portuguese royal family. Isabel was the sixteenth queen consort of Portugal. Of the fifteen queens who had gone before her, three were Aragonese and four were Castilian.¹⁶ Further, Isabel and María's marriages seemingly conform to a traditional method, as outlined in chapter one, of securing peace with a warring neighbour. Together with the successful completion of the *Reconquista* in 1492, their daughters' marriages allowed Fernando and Isabel to pursue their diplomatic aims outside the peninsula.

Central to these aims were alliances with the Holy Roman Empire and England, and, if possible, with Scotland.¹⁷ In the late 1480s discussions began for the marriages of Juan, Juana and Catherine with the children of the Habsburg emperor, Maximilian I, and Henry VII of England. In 1490, a marriage was also suggested between Juana, Fernando's

¹⁴ Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "For the Honor of Her Lineage and Body: The Dowries and Dowries of Some Late Medieval Queens of Portugal," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5:1 (2007): 10.

¹⁵ Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 539.

¹⁶ From Aragon: 1. In 1174 Dulce, daughter of Petronilla, Queen of Aragon, married Sancho I, see; Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 18; 2. In 1281 Isabel, daughter of Pedro III, King of Aragon, married Dinis, King of Portugal, see; Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300*, 176; 3. In 1428 Leonor of Aragon, daughter of Fernando I, King of Aragon married Duarte, King of Portugal, see; Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Cousin Marriage and Well-Being among the Portuguese Royal Family during the 15th and 16th Centuries," in *The Transmission of Well-Being: Gendered Marriage Strategies and Inheritance Systems in Europe (17th-20th Centuries)*, ed. Margarida Durães, et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 102. From Castile: 1. In 1208 Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VIII, King of Castile, married the future Afonso II, 2. In 1253 Beatriz, illegitimate daughter of Alfonso X, King of Castile, married Afonso III, 3. In 1309 Beatriz, daughter of Sancho IV, King of Castile, married Afonso IV, 4. In 1475 Juana *la Beltraneja*, disputed daughter of Enrique IV, married Afonso V. A further two women; Blanca of Castile and Constanza Manuel, granddaughters of Castilian kings, married the future Pedro I, King of Portugal, but both of their marriages were annulled before Pedro became king, see; Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, "Relations between Portugal and Castile in the Late Middle Ages – 13th-16th Centuries," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 1:1 (2003): 1.

¹⁷ Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 538; William D. Phillips, Jr., "The Frustrated Unity of Atlantic Europe: The Roles of Spain and England," in *Material and Symbolic Circulation Between Spain and England, 1554-1604*, ed. Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 10.

illegitimate daughter, born before his marriage with Isabel, and James IV, King of Scotland.¹⁸ From a Spanish perspective, the common factors in the negotiations for each of these marriages was an alliance against France with each of the monarchs involved, and the return of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. A letter from Fernando and Isabel to their ambassador in England, Rodrigo de Puebla in 1488 states that “[t]he principal reason why they decide to conclude the treaty of alliance with Henry is in order that they may get back from the King of France the said counties.”¹⁹ However, even after Charles VIII returned Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragonese control in 1493, Fernando and Isabel continued to negotiate with Maximilian and Henry for dynastic unions between their children. The survival of the negotiations beyond the return of the counties establishes that it was the alliance, rather than the territorial acquisition which was main purpose of Spanish diplomacy. Luis Suárez Fernández argues that the alliance aimed to prevent France from establishing wider power over Europe. This was to be achieved by introducing a balance of power to counteract French hegemony as none of the monarchs included in the anti-French coalition had the power to oppose or supplant France alone.²⁰ Certainly the inclusion of Scotland in the alliance, as well as the development of the Spanish-Portuguese relationship supports this theory.

Alliances between each of the Spanish allies against France, therefore, were considered essential to maintaining peace and counteracting French interference, initially in Brittany, and later in the Mediterranean.²¹ A letter from the Spanish monarchs to Rodrigo de Puebla in December 1488 stated that “[e]very means must be used to prevent Brittany from falling into the power of France.”²² Both Maximilian and Henry were identified as key allies in preventing the loss of Breton independence. This was due, in Henry’s case, to his control over the English Channel, which was essential to the Spanish and Dutch armies both for transportation and communication purposes.²³ Further, both Maximilian and Henry hoped to secure the marriage of the duchy’s heiress, Anne, either for themselves or one of their countrymen. A marriage for Anne with the Duke of Buckingham, for example, was

¹⁸ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Diego de Guevara and Rodrigo de Puebla, January 1490, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 26.

¹⁹ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 14.

²⁰ Luis Suárez Fernández, *Los reyes católicos: el camino hacia Europa, Volume 5* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1990), 96.

²¹ Suárez Fernández, *Los reyes católicos*, 95-96.

²² Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, December 17, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 18.

²³ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 141.

suggested by Henry in 1488.²⁴ Yet it was Maximilian who briefly secured the hand of Anne of Brittany and in 1490 he and Anne were married. However, the marriage was never consummated and was annulled by the pope in 1492. Anne was then married to Charles VIII of France and Brittany became a province under the French Crown, revealing that marriages could thwart Spanish foreign policy aims, as much as they might advance them.²⁵

Negotiations for a double marriage between Fernando and Isabel's children, Juan and Juana and Maximilian's children, Margaret and Philip began in 1487-88 before the loss of Brittany. Again, the dynastic marriages, and the alliance they would strengthen, survived despite the failure of what was claimed to be a key motivating factor for the anti-French coalition. The immediate focus, at least from the perspective of the Spanish monarchs, shifted from Brittany to Italy.²⁶ Fernando, as well as being king of Aragon and consort in Castile, was the hereditary king of Sicily and Sardinia, while his cousin and brother-in-law, Ferrante I, ruled in Naples. Ferrante died in January 1494, and in November France invaded Italy, triggering the Italian Wars. In 1495 Fernando, Isabel and Maximilian, as well as the pope, Alexander VI, and the leaders of Milan and Venice, allied themselves in the League of Venice, with the aim of protecting the Italian states from the French invasion.²⁷ The alliance was sealed with marriage of Juana and Philip in 1496 and Juan and Margaret in 1497. It is impossible to know with certainty whether the marriages of the Trastámara and Habsburg children would have gone ahead if it were not for Charles VIII's invasion of Italy. The unions suggest that as well as being the results of strategic planning, dynastic marriages were also the consequence of the circumstances and events which necessitated them. This supports the concept that dynastic marriages were arranged for complex reasons and no single explanation for their continued usage will suffice.

Garrett Mattingly argues that in 1496 when Henry VII joined the League, "any pretence that [it] was just an Italian affair was dropped. It was, in fact, a European-wide coalition against France."²⁸ Two attempts by Alexander, Fernando and Isabel to include João II, King of Portugal, in the League supports the theory of an extensive anti-French alliance.²⁹ Further

²⁴ Rodrigo de Puebla to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, October 11, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 15.

²⁵ Joachim Whaley, *German and the Holy Roman Empire, Volume 1: Maximilian I to the peace of Westphalia, 1493-1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 71.

²⁶ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 142.

²⁷ Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 19-20.

²⁸ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 144.

²⁹ Alexander IV invited João to join the League in May 1495, but he declined. The Spanish monarchs invited him again in September 1495, and were again turned down, see; Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*, 151.

evidence can be garnered from Fernando's behaviour concerning an alliance between Henry and Maximilian, and between Henry and James IV of Scotland. While England and the Holy Roman Empire remained at odds with each other, there were concerns that either of them could form an alliance with France against the other. From 1495 Fernando and Isabel consistently instructed de Puebla to attempt to reconcile Henry with Maximilian and his son Philip, both of whom had offered support to Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to the English throne. In 1483, Edward IV of England died leaving as his heirs his two young sons: Edward V and Richard, Duke of York. During the summer of 1483, shortly after their uncle, Richard III, had them declared illegitimate, and himself crowned as king, the boys disappeared in mysterious circumstances from the Tower of London where they had been living. Richard III was deposed by Henry VII in 1485, but the question of what had happened to the young princes remained. In 1490, Perkin Warbeck, professing to be Richard, Duke of York, claimed the throne of England. Warbeck had the support of Margaret of York, the Duchess of Burgundy and the young princes' aunt, which led some credibility to his claim. It is not known whether Margaret actually believed Warbeck to be her nephew, or whether she was simply causing trouble for Henry VII.³⁰ Maximilian formally recognised the pretender as an English prince in 1494, a move which granted Warbeck considerable status and endangered the Anglo-Imperial relationship.³¹ Further, in 1495, Warbeck sought, and was given, protection from James IV, ensuring that an alliance with Scotland was necessary to guarantee peace in England. A letter of April 1496 details the concerns Fernando and Isabel had regarding Maximilian and Philip's public acceptance of Warbeck's claim to be Richard of York.

One of their daughters being about to be married to the Archduke [Philip], and another to Prince Arthur, it would be a most lamentable misfortune if the husband of one sister were in arms against the husband of the other sister. To avoid such an occurrence it was necessary to first conclude the alliances.³²

Maximilian and Henry's relationship highlights the difficulties faced by Fernando and Isabel in securing alliances between independent monarchs with differing political aims, and firmly points to the significance of marriage as a tool of their foreign policy agenda. Yet it also reveals that they were not willing to sacrifice their daughters' loyalties and security to further their own diplomatic goals.

³⁰ See, for example; Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy, 1491-1499* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009); Alison Weir, *The Princes in the Tower* (London: Random House, 2011).

³¹ Sean Cunningham, "National War and Dynastic Politics: Henry VII's Capacity to Wage War in the Scottish Campaigns of 1496-1497," in *England and Scotland at War, c.1296-c.1513*, ed. Andy King and David Simkin (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2012), 303.

³² Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, April 14, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 90.

When Henry VII came to the English throne in 1485, he inherited an Anglo-Scottish relationship largely defined by intermittent wars, border raids, and a mutual animosity. Andy King and Michael A. Penman claim that after 1357 it was the Scots who set the tone for Anglo-Scottish relations. Scottish identity, they wrote, was in part determined by their “militant patriotism,” while their foreign policy was heavily influenced by their continuing alliance with France against England.³³ In the same period, the English were far more concerned with France, and their policies towards Scotland were mainly aimed at subduing, rather than conquering, their northern neighbour.³⁴ Neither Henry VII, nor the Spanish monarchs, could afford to tolerate a Scottish-backed pretender to the English throne. In Henry’s case this was a direct threat to his right to rule. From a Spanish perspective, Warbeck endangered both the marriage of their youngest daughter, Catherine, with the Prince of Wales, and the alliance it aimed to strengthen. Further, if Warbeck was successful in gaining the English throne, it was possible that he would be influenced by Scotland’s traditional Auld Alliance with France, which would in turn remove England from Spanish political influence.

James realised Warbeck’s potential as a political pawn to be used to his own advantage against England, and to ensure that Scotland remained within the orbit of Anglo-Spanish diplomacy.³⁵ Fernando and Isabel were increasingly determined to secure peace between Henry and James, and attempted to manipulate the Scottish king into withdrawing his support for Warbeck with the promise of a dynastic marriage. A letter from the Spanish monarchs to de Puebla highlights the benefits of a Scottish alliance:

We learnt... that the King of Scots had some complaints to make against the King of France, and was therefore willing to enter into alliance with us. He wished to marry with (a daughter of us). It seemed to us that this would be of great advantage to the King of England, in his difficulties in his kingdom; and we certainly wish that when our daughter is married to his son, his realms should enjoy repose. In order that the King of Scots might not assist *him of Ireland* [Warbeck], and that he might set him at variance with the King of France (which would be equally advantageous to us and to the King of England), we deigned to send ambassadors to him, and instructed them that it was principle business to procure peace, or least a long truce, between Scotland and England, and at the same time to detach Scotland from France.³⁶

³³ Andy King and Michael A. Penman, “Introduction: Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Fourteenth Century – An Overview of Recent Research,” in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*, ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 3.

³⁴ King and Penman, “Introduction,” 4-5.

³⁵ David Dunlop, “The ‘Masked Comedian’: Perkin Warbeck’s Adventures in Scotland and England from 1495 to 1497,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 70: 190 (1991): 101.

³⁶ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, April 26, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 96.

As mentioned earlier, this was not the first time that the Scottish and Spanish monarchs discussed the idea of a dynastic marriage. In 1490 it was suggested that James marry Fernando's illegitimate daughter, Juana. In the same letter in which Fernando and Isabel gave permission for a marriage between James and Juana, they instructed de Puebla to deceive the Scots into thinking that there was a chance they would accept a marriage between him and one of their legitimate daughters:

If the Scots wish to have one of the Infantas of Spain they must be put off with false hopes, because if a plain refusal were given them they might be induced to reconcile themselves with the King of France.³⁷

This Spanish policy of deception towards Scotland continued until 1502 when negotiations for a dynastic marriage between James IV and Margaret Tudor were finalised. As late as July 1498 when an Anglo-Scottish marriage was already being discussed, the Spanish ambassador to Scotland, Pedro de Ayala wrote that "[t]he King of Scots firmly believes that he shall marry one of their daughters."³⁸ Evidently Fernando and Isabel never had any intention of marrying one of their daughters to the Scottish king; however, for almost a decade they were able to use the promise of a dynastic marriage to influence James IV's foreign policy.

Daniel Riches claims that "[s]uccessful dynastic marriage negotiations required each side to believe that it had something to gain from the match."³⁹ As shown above, it was not unusual for monarchs to use marriage negotiations, or the promise of a dynastic marriage, to manipulate or deceive other rulers in order to achieve their aims. In this instance Fernando and Isabel did not need to commit to a match in order to gain from it. The Spanish monarchs' manipulation of James IV confirms that the proposed marriage and alliance was of greater importance to Scotland than it was to Spain, a fact of which Fernando and Isabel must have been aware. The situation also highlights the importance of negotiations in dynastic marriage arrangements. In this instance, Fernando and Isabel were able to stop Scotland from allying itself with France simply by discussing the possibility of a marriage.

It was in 1496 that Fernando and Isabel first suggested a dynastic marriage between England and Scotland as a means of securing peace between the two kingdoms. In a letter to de Puebla, they wrote

³⁷ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Diego de Guevara and Rodrigo de Puebla, January 1490, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 26.

³⁸ Pedro de Ayala to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 25, 1498, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 178.

³⁹ Daniel Riches, *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013), 31-32.

We must not deprive the King of Scots of his hope of having our daughter. On the contrary, we must amuse him as long as possible. The King of England might, if he likes it, propose to the King of Scots a marriage with one of his daughters... We think that would be desirable. Our ambassadors in Scotland and ourselves would lend all our assistance to bring about such an arrangement.⁴⁰

In June and August 1496, Fernando and Isabel again wrote to de Puebla insisting that he continue to delude the King of Scots, while at the same time attempting to broker a marriage between James IV and Henry VII's daughter, Margaret.⁴¹ James IV's offer to sign a perpetual peace treaty with England in exchange for a marriage with one of the Spanish infantas probably only served to convince Fernando and Isabel that their tactics in Scotland were working.⁴²

Henry VII was initially against the idea of an Anglo-Scottish marriage. In July 1499, the Spanish ambassador in Scotland, Pedro de Ayala, recorded Henry's thoughts on the marriage:

I am really sorry that I have not a daughter or a sister for him [James IV]... But I have already told you, more than once, that a marriage between him and my daughter has many inconveniences. She has not yet completed her ninth year of age, and is so delicate and weak that she must be married much later than other young ladies. Thus it would be necessary to wait at least another nine years.⁴³

Further, Henry stated that his wife, Elizabeth of York, and his mother, Margaret Beaufort, were against the union.

Besides my own doubts, the Queen and my mother are very much against this marriage. They say if the marriage were concluded we should be obliged to send the Princess directly to Scotland, in which case they fear the King of Scots would not wait, but injure her, and endanger her health.⁴⁴

It was not uncommon for a parent, particularly a mother, to delay the age at which a daughter was married. John Carmi Parsons suggests two reasons for this: the first was to give girls time to learn from their mothers all that they needed to know in order to represent their natal family in a dynastic marriage alliance.⁴⁵ Secondly, in what was the more pertinent

⁴⁰ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, April 26, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 97.

⁴¹ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, June 21, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 105; Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, August 18, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 115-116.

⁴² Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, June 21, 1496, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 105.

⁴³ Pedro de Ayala to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 25, 1498, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 176.

⁴⁴ Pedro de Ayala to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 25, 1498, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 176.

⁴⁵ John Carmi Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), 75.

factor with regards to Margaret Tudor, was a concern that the marriage would be consummated before the bride had reached a level of physical maturity to handle any resulting pregnancy and childbirth.⁴⁶ Margaret Beaufort was particularly aware of the dangers of consummating a marriage at a young age. Married to Edmund Tudor at twelve, Margaret gave birth to her first and only child aged just thirteen years. Modern historians have suggested that Margaret's youth and lack of physical development resulted in a traumatic birth which caused extensive physical damage and rendered her incapable of having further children.⁴⁷ There were other recorded occasions when parents delayed the marriages of their daughters out of concern for their safety. Eleanor, eldest daughter of Edward I of England, for example, was betrothed at the age of eleven years to the future Alfonso III of Aragon. The marriage never took place as Edward, together with his wife, Leonor of Castile, and his mother Eleanor of Provence, refused to send the young Eleanor to Spain claiming that she was not old enough to marry.⁴⁸ It is entirely plausible therefore that Henry VII, together with Elizabeth of York and Margaret Beaufort, was acting out of a genuine concern for the younger Margaret's welfare by delaying a potential union with the Scottish king. Instead, Henry pushed for a marriage between James IV and Fernando and Isabel's daughter, sixteen-year-old María, their only daughter who remained both unmarried and un-betrothed. However, following the Truce of Ayton (1497) and the defeat and eventual execution of Warbeck, the ambassadors reported that Henry was warming to the idea of the marriage, and by January 1502 the marriage alliance between the two kingdoms was concluded.⁴⁹

The marriages of the Trastámara siblings and Margaret Tudor highlight the concerns, both diplomatic and personal, which monarchs had to consider when arranging beneficial dynastic unions for their children. From a diplomatic perspective the marriages of Isabel, María and Margaret apparently conform to an established method of securing peace between warring neighbours. The marriages of Juan and Juana similarly follow a traditional pattern of using dynastic marriage to strengthen alliances. When considered together, these marriages further highlight Fernando and Isabel's foreign policy aims, and demonstrate how dynastic marriages could be used to advance diplomatic goals. The unions of Margaret, Juan and

⁴⁶ Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power," 68.

⁴⁷ Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40; Kim D. Philips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, c.1270-c.1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 38-39.

⁴⁸ Philips, *Medieval Maidens*, 40; Jennifer Ward, *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 55.

⁴⁹ Stanley B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 284.

Juana were a part of a wider strategy of anti-French alliances and involved considerable planning and diplomatic manoeuvring. The second section of this chapter will analyse the negotiations for Catherine's marriages with Arthur and Henry Tudor to determine whether these unions follow a similar pattern.

II. The Marriages of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur and Henry Tudor

Henry VII had been king for less than three years when he suggested a marriage between his then two-year-old son, Arthur, and one of Fernando and Isabel's daughters. For Henry who had only recently won his throne, the marriage was an important step towards the public acceptance of his dynasty from his European counterparts.⁵⁰ Henry VII, however, was not the first English king to attempt a dynastic alliance with Fernando and Isabel. In 1476 or 1477 Edward IV suggested a marriage between his eldest son, Edward and the Spanish infanta, Isabel.⁵¹ Further, in 1479 he proposed an additional marriage between his daughter Catherine, and Juan, Prince of Asturias, Fernando and Isabel's only son.⁵² As a former rival claimant to the throne, Edward IV, like Henry, was eager to marry his children to members of Europe's established dynasties. From 1475 until his death in 1483 Edward discussed and negotiated marriages for his two sons and four of his eldest daughters with continental ruling families. By 1480, Edward's focus had shifted away from Spain, and he was negotiating what would have been an advantageous marriage for his heir with Anne of Brittany.⁵³ Eight years later, in April 1488, the Spanish ambassadors Rodrigo de Puebla and Juan de Sepulveda were in London to begin the process of negotiating the marriage of a new heir with the youngest of the Spanish infantas, Catherine. These negotiations resulted in the treaty of Medina del Campo which was ratified on 26 March 1489 by Fernando and Isabel and in September 1490 by Henry VII.⁵⁴ The marriage treaty was renewed and ratified, with some alterations, in 1496.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ John M. Currin, "England's International Relations 1485-1509: Continuities Amidst Change," in *Tudor England and Its Neighbours*, ed. Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 31.

⁵¹ Charles Ross suggests the marriage was discussed in the winter of 1476; Charles Derek Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 246; Anthony Goodman, on the other hand, argues the marriage was first raised in 1477; Anthony Goodman, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages," in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453, Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 93.

⁵² Goodman, "England and Iberia," 93.

⁵³ Ross, *Edward IV*, 246-247.

⁵⁴ "Treaty of Medina del Campo (March 28-29, 1489)," in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 21-24.

⁵⁵ "Treaty between Henry VII, King of England and Fernando II, King of England and Isabel I, Queen of Castile (October 1, 1496)" in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 129-130.

The treaty of Medina del Campo contained twenty-five clauses outlining the marriage, the dowry, and the military alliance and friendship between England, Castile and Aragon. Almost all of the clauses were debated and disputed by either Henry or Fernando and Isabel at some stage during the negotiation process. The dowry and the alliance against France were issues which were frequently raised, and both were to have lasting consequences either for Catherine or the Anglo-Spanish relationship. In a letter dated 6 July 1488, de Puebla wrote to Fernando and Isabel, stating that the marriage portion “is expected to be 200,000 gold scudos, every scudo to be of the value of 4s 2d.”⁵⁶ The amount of money to be paid was obviously discussed at some length by the ambassadors and commissioners, yet despite Fernando and Isabel’s insistence that the marriage portion be as low as possible, in the ratified treaty of 1489, the marriage portion was indeed 200,000 gold scudos. Spanish diplomat Pedro de Ayala recognised Henry’s fascination with money, writing to his employers in 1498 that “he is not a great man. Although he professes many virtues, his love of money is too great.”⁵⁷ It is likely, therefore, that the marriage portion was non-negotiable from Henry’s perspective. The 1496 treaty stated that one half of the marriage portion was to be paid within ten days of the marriage ceremony, with a further 50,000 scudos paid the following year, and the remaining 50,000 the year after that.⁵⁸ Although de Puebla was instructed in 1496 to stipulate the return of the money in case the marriage was to be dissolved for any reason, these details were not included in the treaty.⁵⁹

While the general treaty of alliance proposed between England and the Spanish kingdoms remained, in essence, the same, the clauses relating to France changed significantly from 1489 to 1499. The 1489 treaty, for example, included five clauses relating to France. The clauses established that Henry VII would not conclude peace, an alliance, or develop any treaties with France without the approval of Fernando and Isabel, who promised to do the same on their side. Similarly, the treaty established that whenever Fernando and Isabel were to make war against France, Henry would do the same; the converse was also true, while

⁵⁶ Rodrigo de Puebla to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 6, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 4.

⁵⁷ Pedro de Ayala to Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 25, 1498, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 178.

⁵⁸ “Treaty between Henry VII, King of England and Fernando II, King of England and Isabel I, Queen of Castile (October 1, 1496)” in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 129.

⁵⁹ Fernando II, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla (extract draft), in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 125; “Treaty between Henry VII, King of England and Fernando II, King of England and Isabel I, Queen of Castile (October 1, 1496)” in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 129-130.

neither side would help France in a war against the other.⁶⁰ The exception was clause eight which stated

In case the King of France voluntarily restore Normandy and Aquitaine to England, Henry shall be at liberty to conclude peace with him without the consent of Spain; or in case the King of France restore Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain, then, Fernando and Isabel shall be at liberty to make peace with him without the consent of England.⁶¹

This, of course was exactly what happened, at least as far as Fernando and Isabel were concerned. In January 1493, Charles VIII of France returned Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon on the proviso that Fernando remain neutral during Charles's planned invasion of the Italian kingdoms.⁶² As discussed earlier in this chapter, the return of the territories to Aragon was one of Fernando's principle foreign policy goals in the 1480s and early 1490s. Once they were returned to Aragonese possession, Fernando was, at least for a time, willing to enter into an alliance with France. However, there was no chance that Charles VIII would willingly return Aquitaine and Normandy to English possession. Nor was Henry in any position to fight for their return. Nevertheless, John Currin claims that Henry was honour-bound to attempt to recover the lost territories, while Charles VIII and his successor Louis XII, were equally compelled to protect them. The best Henry could realistically hope for from the French king was compensation, and in 1490 he made financial reimbursement his condition for peace between the two kingdoms.⁶³ By the treaty of Étapes (1492), therefore, the French agreed to pay Henry an annual pension of 50,000 crowns, and to cease support for Perkin Warbeck. In return Henry agreed to recognise French control of Brittany.

The January 1493 treaty of Barcelona which returned Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon also stated that Spain was to enter into an alliance with France against their former allies. The second clause stated that

Fernando and Isabel bind themselves to assist the King of France against all his enemies, without exception, and in particular against the English, who are old foes of the French, and the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip, as long as they shall be at war with the said King Charles.

They further agreed

Not to conclude, or permit to be concluded, any marriage of their children with any member of the Royal family of England, or of the King of the

⁶⁰ "Treaty of Medina del Campo (March 28-29, 1489)," in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 22.

⁶¹ "Treaty of Medina del Campo (March 28-29, 1489)," in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 22.

⁶² A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy, 1483-1789, Volume One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18.

⁶³ John M. Currin, "Persuasions to Peace: The Luxembourg-Marigny-Gaguin Embassy and the State of Anglo-French Relations, 1489-90," *The English Historical Review* 113: 453 (1998): 903-4.

Romans, or in general with any enemy of France, without previously obtaining the express permission and consent of the King of France.⁶⁴

In January 1493, it may have been difficult to imagine the marriage of Catherine and Arthur occurring at all. Yet the Anglo-Spanish alliance survived, and negotiations for the marriage continued, presumably without the permission of Charles VIII who was focused on his Italian plans. The durability of the alliance in the face of changing political circumstances highlights its importance to both parties. Certainly from Henry's perspective, the marriage was indispensable. He had initially sought the union as a means to show continental recognition of his right to rule England, for the marriage to fail before it was solemnised, particularly while there was an active pretender championing his own rights to the throne, would have been catastrophic for Henry's diplomatic ambitions. There was also the financial benefit promised by the outcome of negotiations regarding the Spanish princess's dowry. Further, from the limited range of potential brides available amongst England's traditional dynastic marriage partners, a daughter of the Spanish monarchs was the best option for Arthur. The French king, Charles VIII, had no surviving daughters, and his two sisters, Anne and Jeanne, were both married by 1476. His successor, Louis XII had two daughters, Claude and Renée, but they were too young, born in 1499 and 1510 respectively. Maximilian I had only two legitimate children: Philip and Margaret, who were already betrothed to Fernando and Isabel's children. The Scottish king, James IV, was as yet unmarried, and had no children of his own; he also had no sisters, only two brothers.

Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor were married on 14 November 1501 in Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Deane. The couple had already been married twice by proxy, the first time on 19 May 1499 in England, with ambassador de Puebla acting as proxy for Catherine. From the thirteenth century proxy marriages increasingly became a part of marriage negotiations. Often performed by ambassadors, they were used to ensure marital security, and to provide reluctant parents with peace of mind before they sent their daughters off to be married.⁶⁵ It was not uncommon for more than one proxy marriage to be performed. One would be held at the conclusion of the negotiations, and another, if necessary, when the parties to be married reached a marriageable age. Catherine and Arthur's first proxy marriage was contracted *per verba de prasenti*, and was therefore considered indissoluble.⁶⁶ Despite this, Fernando and Isabel wrote to de Puebla in August 1500 requesting a second proxy marriage once Arthur had reached the canonically

⁶⁴ "Treaty of Barcelona (January 8, 1493)," in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 43.

⁶⁵ Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, 103.

⁶⁶ Witness to the marriage ceremony of Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Catherine, Princess of Wales, (May 19, 1499), in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 209-210.

acceptable age for marriage, and refusing to send Catherine to England until it had been performed.⁶⁷ It is possible that Fernando and Isabel were attempting to delay Catherine's departure for England by requesting another proxy marriage. However, it is more likely that they were hoping to ensure that in the future Arthur's status as a minor at the time of his first proxy marriage could not be used to invalidate the union.

Following their marriage, the young couple travelled together to Ludlow Castle in the Welsh Marches, where they were to live while Arthur performed his duties as the Prince of Wales. It was at Ludlow Castle that Arthur died on 2 April 1502 after less than five months of marriage. Various causes of death including tuberculosis, plague, sweating sickness, influenza, pneumonia, an unknown wasting disease and testicular cancer have all been proposed.⁶⁸ While the cause of Arthur's death is unknown, it is certain that the disease was fast-acting, and he had likely been in good health until a short time before his death. None of the Spanish ambassadors had made any mention of Arthur suffering from ill health in their correspondence with Fernando and Isabel. In 1488, before Arthur had reached his second birthday, the ambassadors, de Puebla and Sepulveda, were invited to view the young prince naked, and later while he slept, so that they might inform the Spanish monarchs of his appearance. De Puebla later wrote that Arthur "appeared to us so admirable that, whatever praise, commendation, or flattery any one might be capable of speaking or writing could only be the truth in this case."⁶⁹ Arthur was only a toddler at this stage so any illness may not yet have been apparent. However de Puebla made no mention in any of his later correspondence of Arthur being weak or ill. Similarly, in September 1497 the Milanese ambassador to England, Raimondo de'Raimondi, wrote to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, describing Arthur as "about eleven years of age, but taller than his years would warrant, of remarkable beauty and grace and very ready in speaking Latin."⁷⁰ Despite his apparent health at the time of his marriage, Arthur died, and with his death the Anglo-Spanish alliance was again imperilled.

⁶⁷ Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Rodrigo de Puebla, August 13, 1500, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 241.

⁶⁸ See for example; Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *The royal doctors, 1485-1714: medical personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 23; Alison Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Pimlico, 1991), 37; Frederick Hepburn, "The Portraiture of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon," in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: life, death and commemoration*, ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 39; David Loades, *Henry VIII and his Queens: Church, Court and Conflict* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000), 19; Robert Hutchinson, *Young Henry: The Rise of Henry VIII* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2012), 60-61.

⁶⁹ Rodrigo de Puebla to Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, July 15, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 241.

⁷⁰ Raimondo de'Raimondi, Milanese ambassador to England, to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, September 8, 1497, in *C. S. P. Milanese*, 322.

Considering the length of time taken to arrange Catherine and Arthur's marriage, the importance Fernando and Isabel placed on the Anglo-Spanish alliance, and the precedent they had established with the Portuguese marriages of Catherine's older sisters, Isabel and María, it is unsurprising that upon hearing of Arthur's death, they immediately suggested a marriage and alliance between Catherine and the new Prince of Wales, Henry. In 1501 the French king, Louis XII, had invaded Italy. The invasion began as a joint Franco-Spanish military operation with the aim of dividing the spoils between Louis and Fernando.⁷¹ However, the monarchs argued over how to divide the territories they had conquered, and by July 1502 Isabel wrote to her ambassador, the Duke of Estrada, that the French king was intending to invade and conquer the county of Roussillon. In what at first glance appeared to be a replay of the diplomatic manoeuvring of the 1480s and 1490s, Isabel reiterated the importance of an alliance with England.⁷² In this case though, it was Henry VII who had the upper hand. Not only was the Spanish infanta in England and not in the custody of her parents, but there were rumours that the French were also seeking an alliance and a dynastic marriage with the young Prince Henry.⁷³ Fernando and Isabel's proposed Anglo-Spanish alliance aimed to safeguard the territories threatened by France, Roussillon and the Spanish territories in Italy, and the former English duchies of Gascony and Normandy in France.

Before any new marriage could be agreed upon, there remained the question of Catherine's dowry. The treaties which preceded Catherine and Arthur's marriage made no mention of what was to happen should Arthur die before the birth of any heirs, a curious oversight considering Fernando and Isabel's son Juan had died in similar circumstances in 1497.⁷⁴ Letters between Fernando and Isabel and their ambassadors, de Puebla and the Duke of Estrada, suggest that the Spanish monarchs were relying on an established precedent based on canon and civil law to secure the return of the 100,000 scudos already paid for Catherine's dowry. In June 1502 they wrote to the Duke of Estrada stating

[t]he marriage being dissolved, the dowry returns to the father and mother who gave it... this is clearly stated both in canon and civil law... Therefore, not only are we not bound to pay the King of England that which still remains unpaid of the dowry, but he is obliged to pay back to us what he has already received of the dowry.⁷⁵

Two months later, in August, Isabel again wrote to Estrada.

⁷¹ Robert Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 128.

⁷² Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, July 12, 1502, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 272.

⁷³ Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 40.

⁷⁴ Suárez Fernández, *Los reyes católicos*, 149-150.

⁷⁵ See, for example; Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, June 16, 1502, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 271.

Of a truth, a thing of such a kind as is asserted by the King of England was never before seen or heard of, or demanded; and it has excited so much surprise in us that we can hardly believe he has said it... If [Henry VII] should refer to the treaty, then you shall say that since all the laws oblige him to make restitution of the marriage portion, and of this there is no doubt, he must point out the article of the treaty which says that, in this case, he is not bound to make restitution of the portion. Such an article is not to be found in it.⁷⁶

It seems likely then, that from Fernando and Isabel's perspective at least, it was not thought necessary to add a death clause to treaty which arranged Catherine and Arthur's marriage. There were already laws and established social expectations which determined what should happen to the dowry if the marriage were to be dissolved by the death of the husband.

In 1488, early in the negotiation process, Fernando and Isabel instructed de Puebla to ensure that Catherine's dower payments, which amounted to one third of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall and Chester, be held for the duration of her life, even in the event that the marriage were to be dissolved by Arthur's death.⁷⁷ Despite this request, neither the 1489 treaty of Medina del Campo, nor any of the subsequent versions of the marriage treaty, made any mention of the payments being held for life. It is likely, considering his love of money and his refusal to repay the marriage portion, that Henry VII was unwilling to make such a commitment. In May 1502, after receiving news of Arthur's death, Fernando and Isabel sent Fernando, Duke of Estrada to London with two sets of instructions. The first set requested Estrada guarantee the return both of Catherine and her marriage portion. He was also to secure Catherine's share of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall and Chester from Henry.⁷⁸ The second set of instructions empowered Estrada to negotiate a second marriage between Catherine and the young Prince Henry, as well as to settle the financial terms of this second union.⁷⁹ For Fernando and Isabel the continuation of the matrimonial alliance with England was of vital importance, especially with Louis XII threatening Spanish territorial interests. Their main aim therefore in sending the Duke of Estrada to England was to negotiate for a continuation of the alliance, and the instructions demanding the payment of one third of the revenue of the agreed-upon regions, and the repayment of the marriage portion was part of a strategy to secure the second marriage.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Isabel I, Queen of Castile, to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, August 10, 1502, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 279.

⁷⁷ Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, to Rodrigo de Puebla, 1488, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 13.

⁷⁸ Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, May 10, 1502, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 267.

⁷⁹ Fernando I, King of Aragon and Isabel I, Queen of Castile, to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, May 10, 1502, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 267.

⁸⁰ Loades, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 17.

The fact that the matrimonial alliance endured beyond Arthur's death, despite the mistrust which developed between Henry, Fernando and Isabel during the negotiations for the second marriage, suggests how important the alliance was for the Spanish monarchs' anti-French coalition. From Henry's perspective an Anglo-Spanish marriage was also valuable, both as a means to secure Catherine's outstanding dowry payment and to maintain the alliance between the two kingdoms. Yet it also points to the shifting motivations for unions between ruling families. It seems likely that by this point Henry was no longer using dynastic marriage with Spain as means to gain recognition of his right to rule from an established dynasty. By 1502, Henry had ruled England for seventeen years and his reign had managed to withstand the threat posed by two pretenders in the previous century. Further, the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, and the Scottish king, James IV had just been arranged and the French had expressed interest in a marriage alliance with the new Prince of Wales, indicating that his tenure of the English throne was already well established.

On 11 February 1503, her thirty-seventh birthday, Elizabeth of York died as a result of complications from the birth of her seventh child. Shortly after her death a rumour reached Fernando and Isabel in Spain that a marriage had been suggested, possibly by de Puebla, between Catherine and the newly widowed Henry VII. While the idea may have appealed to Henry, it shocked Isabel, who wrote to the Duke of Estrada advising him to ensure it did not take place. She wrote

[T]his would be a very evil thing, - one never before seen, and the mere mention of which offends the ears, - we would not for anything in the world that it should take place... You must likewise say very decidedly that on no account would we allow it, or even hear it mentioned.⁸¹

Isabel argued that the match with Henry, Prince of Wales would be jeopardised if Henry VII were to persist with the idea of marrying his former daughter-in-law. It was the younger Henry with whom Catherine was to marry and no other. While Henry VII's actions can be described as unusual, they do add weight to Catherine's assertion that her marriage to Arthur was never consummated. It is unlikely that Henry would agree to a marriage with his deceased son's wife if he believed there was a chance they had consummated their union, unless of course Henry was willing to again contravene canon law in order to keep Catherine's dowry. Marrying his son's widow however, does seem like an extraordinary step to take. The idea was quickly dropped and negotiations continued for Catherine's marriage to Prince Henry.

⁸¹ Isabel I, Queen of Castile to Fernando, Duke of Estrada, April 11 and 12, 1503, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 295.

On 23 June 1503, a new treaty and marriage alliance between Henry VII and Fernando and Isabel was agreed upon. The treaty of Richmond allowed for the betrothal of Catherine with Henry, Prince of Wales and several days later, despite Henry still being a minor, the couple were married by proxy.⁸² However, there was still the problem of the dispensation from the pope. The first clause in the marriage treaty stated that by her union with Arthur, Catherine was now related to Henry, Prince of Wales, within the first degree as “her marriage with Prince Arthur was solemnised according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and afterwards consummated.”⁸³ The clause contradicts both Henry VII’s actions in suggesting that a marriage between himself and Catherine was possible, and Fernando and Isabel’s articulated belief that the union had not been consummated. In a 1503 letter to Francisco de Rojas, his ambassador in Rome, Fernando wrote

[A]lthough they were wedded, Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine never consummated the marriage. It is well known in England that the Princess is still a virgin. But as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated... The right of succession depends on the undoubted legitimacy of the marriage.⁸⁴

Pope Julius II was also unsure as to whether or not Arthur and Catherine had managed to consummate their marriage, as the dispensation he granted stated that the union had “perhaps” been consummated. Despite this lack of certainty, the dynastic alliance between England and the Spanish kingdoms was again renewed.

In November 1504, Isabel of Castile died, and her throne was inherited by her eldest surviving child, Juana. Catherine’s status was lowered from that of a princess of Spain, to a princess of Aragon. Then, in June 1505 Henry, Prince of Wales protested his betrothal. He stated that as the proxy marriage had been contracted during his minority, he would not ratify it and it was therefore void.⁸⁵ Catherine was unaware of the protest and Henry continued to refer to her as his wife. Henry A. Kelly suggests that the protest was in case there was a dispute over Catherine’s dowry.⁸⁶ However, considering it came less than a year after the death of Isabel, it is possible that it was a reaction to Catherine’s reduced status as a sister, rather than a daughter, of the queen of Castile. Catherine later wrote to her father about a delay in paying the marriage portion, which he attributed, in part, to Isabel’s death.

⁸² Currin, “England’s International Relations,” 32.

⁸³ “Treaty of Richmond (June 23, 1503),” in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 306.

⁸⁴ Fernando II, King of Aragon to Francisco de Rojas, August 23, 1503, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 309.

⁸⁵ Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2004), 105.

⁸⁶ Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials*, 105.

She argued that “as long as the marriage portion is not paid, [Henry VII] does not think himself and the Prince bound by the marriage contract.”⁸⁷ By 1508 Fernando was also having second thoughts about the marriage and Henry VII’s worth as an ally. Henry’s constant demands that the remaining 100,000 scudos of Catherine’s dowry be paid, must have been a source of irritation for Fernando.

In 1508 and 1509 before the death of Henry VII, it seemed unlikely that Catherine and Henry’s marriage would ever occur. Mistrust had developed between King Henry and Fernando, and with Spain now allied with the French against Venice, the anti-French alliance was no longer relevant. However, in April 1509, Henry VII died of tuberculosis and was succeeded by his son as Henry VIII. Finally, in June 1509 Henry and Catherine married. From Henry’s perspective, and that of his councillors, it was imperative that he marry quickly, as he had neither brothers, nor sons to continue his line should he perish. Catherine though, was not the only potential bride on offer for Henry. The Emperor Maximilian, for example, had been promoting a marriage with his granddaughter, the eleven-year-old Eleanor of Austria. Two major theories have been proposed as to why Henry chose to marry Catherine instead of any other bride. Firstly, Henry wanted to establish an anti-French alliance with Fernando, and secondly, that he had fallen in love with Catherine and he married her because he wanted to.⁸⁸ While kings generally married for political reasons, there were instances, as discussed in Chapter One, of monarchs and their heirs marrying for love or lust. Henry’s grandfather, Edward IV provided one example. Henry’s later marriages to Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr suggest that love might have featured as prominently in his selection of marriage partners as much as a need for civil stability and diplomatic considerations. It is therefore not unlikely that he married Catherine because he desired her. Further, given the need to marry to ensure the succession through the birth of an heir, the age of Eleanor of Austria would have been a concern. In contrast, on the basis of age at least, Catherine was perfectly capable of producing an heir.

Henry VII and Fernando and Isabel, therefore, each attempted to further their diplomatic interests through the dynastic marriages of their children. Henry’s aims were less complicated than those of his Spanish counterparts, and he was ultimately successful in securing them, despite the political setbacks caused by the death of his eldest son. Henry intended to use the dynastic marriages of his children Arthur and Margaret, and later Henry,

⁸⁷ Catherine, Princess of Wales, to Fernando II, King of Aragon, September 7, 1507, in *C. S. P. Spanish*, 426.

⁸⁸ David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: Random House, 2002), 34; Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 69-70.

in order to achieve five main aims. Firstly, he needed the recognition of his continental contemporaries of his right to rule England. Secondly, Henry wanted a general alliance with a strong western European power. Thirdly, he needed an alliance against the pretender to the throne, Perkin Warbeck, or at the very least, a refusal by the other European monarchs to recognise him as the rightful heir to the throne. The fourth motivation was peace with Scotland. Finally, Henry evidently intended to profit financially from the unions.

From an English perspective, the marriage of Catherine and Arthur was initially a success. Henry VII did indeed achieve recognition of his right to rule, and he was able to maintain an alliance with the Spanish monarchs. Perkin Warbeck was captured and executed after the eventual refusal by Charles VIII, Maximilian I, Philip of Burgundy, and James IV to recognise or assist him. Peace with Scotland was secured, at least for Henry VII's lifetime and the marriage of James Stuart and Margaret Tudor ultimately led to the union of England and Scotland under their great-grandson, James I and VI. Finally, Henry managed to secure a dowry of 200,000 scudos from Fernando and Isabel, 100,000 of which were paid before Arthur died. He managed to retain the money following the dissolution of the first marriage, although the 100,000 which had been paid was transferred to Catherine's second dowry. Further, he managed to avoid paying Catherine her dower of one third of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall and Chester, forcing her to sell some of her possessions to pay her staff in England.⁸⁹ None of the motivations for the marriages of Arthur, Margaret and Henry were unusual. As shown in Chapter One, the creation or maintenance of alliances was by far the most common aim of dynastic marriage. Further, marrying to achieve the recognition of a new dynasty was common whenever an unmarried monarch from a new dynasty, or the heir if the monarch was already married, gained the throne. Securing peace was also a frequent motivation. While marrying solely in order to profit financially was apparently rare (there were no examples in the sources examined for the English, Castilian or Aragonese marriages analysed in the first chapter), Henry VII's insistence upon Catherine's dowry figure and terms, and his reluctance to relinquish the money, demonstrates that wealth was most definitely a consideration when choosing a bride.

Fernando and Isabel arranged dynastic marriages for their children both to solve their immediate political problems and further their long-term aims of territorial protection and expansion, and to counteract French power in Western Europe. They suffered setbacks in creating peace and in neutralising the French as a result of the deaths of their eldest children,

⁸⁹ Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 56.

Isabel and Juan. Nevertheless they ultimately managed to achieve all of the political advantages they aimed for, although occasionally only in the very short-term. Fernando and Isabel had five main goals in mind when they arranged the marriages of their children. Their most immediate concern was to establish peace with Portugal and, secondly, to have the Portuguese recognise Isabel's right to the throne of Castile. In both cases they were successful, although it ultimately took three marriages to secure the Portuguese peace. Their third aim was territorial protection and expansion. Initially they demanded the return of the disputed duchies of Roussillon and Cerdagne, and later they aimed to expand and consolidate territory in Italy. In this aim they were successful, at least within their lifetimes, however, Roussillon and Cerdagne were returned to French rule in the seventeenth century and the Italian possessions were lost during the War of Spanish Succession in the eighteenth century. Fernando and Isabel's fourth aim was the establishment of a military alliance to protect themselves and their territories, and in this they were partially successful. They were able to create the alliance, but it wasn't always effective. The rulers they allied with, Henry VII and Maximilian I, in particular, had their own interests and they were not always willing, or able to come to the aid of their Spanish allies. Finally, the Spanish monarchs hoped to create an anti-French coalition which would act as a counterbalance to French power. Again, they were partially successful, an alliance was created, but it was not strongly adhered to and at times each of the allies created a separate alliance with France against the other powers.

This analysis of the Tudor-Trastámara marriages establishes that dynastic marriages played an important role in late medieval European diplomacy. They were tools frequently employed by monarchs to strengthen alliances and promote peace with neighbouring realms. Such marriages could be used to secure territory, or to publically establish the right of a new monarch to rule. These aims were not always successfully accomplished. Occasionally dynastic marriages failed to achieve much beyond the production of an heir, and, sometimes, not even that. Paula Sutter Fichtner argues that the difficulties in creating successful dynastic marriage alliances was due to the inadequate "arrangements designed to implement these pacts" rather than the system of dynastic marriage itself.⁹⁰ Certainly the lengthy arrangements for Catherine and Arthur's marriage show that such arrangements needed to be flexible and to take into consideration a political situation which was constantly changing. It is likely that their marriage would not have occurred had the parties involved not been capable of redrawing the marriage treaty to accommodate the shifting political landscape. In

⁹⁰ Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *The American Historical Review* 81:2 (1976): 257.

many cases, monarchs may have believed it was easier to simply seek another alliance which more accurately reflected the new circumstances.

Conclusion

This thesis had several aims. The first was to establish what motivated Aragonese, Castilian and English monarchs in the medieval period to contract marriages with other ruling houses. The second was to determine whether Heinz Duchhardt's theory regarding the geographic element of dynastic marriage could be applied to these three kingdoms. Finally, the last chapter of this thesis aimed to use the marriages of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur and Henry Tudor as a case study to apply the theories discussed earlier and to reinforce their validity.

The first chapter established that with the exception of producing a legitimate, preferably male heir, monarchs from each of the three kingdoms were more likely to marry to create or maintain alliances than for any other reason. For the English and the Castilians, territorial expansion or the protection of previously acquired territory was the second most common motivating factor, while the Aragonese aimed to gain control over foreign crowns by marrying royal heiresses. Peace treaties and the recognition of a new dynasty by an already established royal house were circumstantial motivations which arose occasionally in each kingdom. Other factors such as marrying specifically to avoid a consanguineous union were rare, but highlight the complicated array of considerations which monarchs, and their advisers, took into account when arranging dynastic unions. Non-dynastic factors such as the appearance, behaviour and personalities of potential spouses were also found to be relevant to royal marriage arrangements, suggesting that individual motives and desires might be just as significant in certain contexts.

Considering therefore, that the majority of dynastic marriages were arranged with alliance building, peacemaking and territorial interests as the main motivations it is unsurprising that monarchs commonly intermarried with neighbouring dynasties. Duchhardt's theory of regional marriage circles was indeed found to be applicable to dynastic marriage in England, Aragon and Castile, with over seventy-five percent of marriages following this pattern. There were exceptions, as Duchhardt found in his period, but those marriages aimed to fulfil specific criteria relevant at the time of the union.

The case study of the marriages of Catherine of Aragon and Arthur and Henry Tudor establishes the political motivations their parents considered when arranging the unions. The negotiations confirm that multiple factors were taken into consideration including alliance

building, peace between kingdoms and dynastic recognition. J. N. Hillgarth argues that Fernando and Isabel were the first Spanish monarchs to systematically create alliances outside the Iberian Peninsula and the discussions regarding the marriages of their children Juan and Juana confirm this. Each of the marriages of the Tudor and the Trastámara siblings, including Catherine of Aragon's two unions, follow an established pattern of dynastic marriage. There was not the space in this thesis to consider whether the marriages of the daughters and younger sons of each of the monarchs of England, Castile and Aragon, also adheres to this pattern of marriage circles and alliance building. Future studies may be able to confirm or contradict this.

England

Reference Number	Year	Monarch / Heir	Spouse	Spouse Country of Origin	Reasons for Marriage
E.1	1049-52	William I	Matilda of Flanders	France	Alliance Increase in the influence of Normandy Public acceptance of William's right to rule Normandy by an established ruler
David Charles Douglas, <i>William the Conqueror</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 76-77. Mark Hagger, <i>William: King and Conqueror</i> (London: I B Tauris, 2012), 14.					
		William II	N/A		
E.2	1100	Henry I	Matilda of Scotland	Scotland	Alliance either with Scotland or Matilda's maternal family, the House of Wessex To appease his English subjects who wanted the marriage Strengthen his claim to the throne through a marriage with a descendant of England's Anglo-Saxon kings
Charles Warren Hollister, <i>Henry I</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 126-127. Lois L. Huneycutt, <i>Matilda of Scotland: A Study of Medieval Queenship</i> (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 26-28.					
E.3	1121	Henry I	Adeliza of Louvain	Low Countries	Alliance
Charles Warren Hollister, <i>Henry I</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 180-181. Eljas Oksanen, <i>Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1216</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25. Heather J. Tanner, <i>Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c.879-1160</i> (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2004), 162.					
E.4	1119	William Adelin	Margaret of Anjou	France	Alliance against France
Charles Warren Hollister, <i>Henry I</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 230-231. Charles Warren Hollister and Thomas K. Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," <i>Journal of British Studies</i> 12:2 (1973): 5-6 and 9.					
E.5	1125	Stephen	Matilda of Boulogne	France	Alliance for Henry I with Boulogne Marriage with a descendant of England's Anglo-Saxon kings Marriage with an heiress

	Heather J. Tanner, <i>Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c.879-1160</i> (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2004), 163-164. Judith A. Green, "Henry I and the Origins of the Civil War," in <i>King Stephen's Reign, 1135-1154</i> , ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 13.				
E.6	1152	Henry II	Eleanor of Aquitaine	France	Territorial expansion To stop anyone else from marrying Eleanor and threatening the Angevin lands in France
	Ralph V. Turner, <i>Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 19. Wilfred L. Warren, <i>Henry II</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 42-45.				
E.7	1172	Henry, the Young King	Margaret of France	France	Territorial expansion (the Vexin)
	Anne J. Duggan, "Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154-76," in <i>Henry II: New Interpretations</i> , ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 169. Jean Dunbabin, "Henry II and Louis VII," in <i>Henry II: New Interpretations</i> , ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 55-56.				
E.8	1191	Richard I	Berengaria of Navarre	Navarre	Alliance Territorial protection
	John Gillingham, <i>Richard I</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 126. Nigel Saul, <i>The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II and Richard III</i> (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), 139.				
E.9	1189	John	Isabel of Gloucester	England	Marriage with an heiress
	Graham E. Seel, <i>King John: An Underrated King</i> (London: Anthem Press, 2012), 13 and 44. Wilfred L. Warren, <i>King John</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 30.				
E.10	1200	John	Isabella of Angoulême	France	Lust Territorial expansion
	Desmond Seward, <i>Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Mother Queen of the Middle Ages</i> (New York: Pegasus Books LLC, 2014), 236. Nicholas Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel," in <i>King John: New Interpretations</i> , ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 172.				
E.11	1236	Henry III	Eleanor of Provence	France	Counteract the advantages gained by France by Louis IX's marriage with Margaret of Provence Alliance against Capetian France
	Björn K. U. Weiler, <i>Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216-1272</i> (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 56-57. Margaret Howell, <i>Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England</i> (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 9-12.				

E.12	1254	Edward I	Leonor of Castile	Castile	Territorial protection
	John Carmi Parsons, <i>Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England</i> (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), 7-14. Michael Prestwich, <i>Edward I</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 8-9.				
E.13	1299	Edward I	Margaret of France	France	Peace Territorial protection
	Lisa Benz St. John, <i>Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England</i> (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1. Michael Prestwich, <i>Edward I</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 129.				
E.14	1308	Edward II	Isabella of France	France	Peace Territorial protection Alliance
	Jennifer Ward, <i>Women in Medieval Europe: 1200-1500</i> (New York: Routledge, 2014), 114. Roy Martin Haines, <i>King Edward II: His Life, His Reign and Its Aftermath, 1284-1330</i> (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 19-20.				
E.15	1328	Edward III	Philippa of Hainaut	Low Countries	Alliance
	Lisa Benz St. John, <i>Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England</i> (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5. W. Mark Ormrod, <i>Edward III</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 127.				
E.16	1361	Edward, the Black Prince	Joan of Kent	England	Love (clandestine marriage)
	David Green, "The Hundred Years War, Colonial Policy and the English Lordships," in <i>The Hundred Years War (Part III): Further Considerations</i> , ed. L. J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 244. Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Clandestine Marriages of the Fair Maid of Kent," <i>Journal of Medieval History</i> 5:3 (1979): 217-218.				
E.17	1382	Richard II	Anne of Bohemia	Holy Roman Empire	Alliance
	Anthony Tuck, "Richard II and the House of Luxembourg," in <i>Richard II: The Art of Kingship</i> , ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 217 and 229. Nigel Saul, <i>The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II and Richard III</i> (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), 142-145.				
E.18	1396	Richard II	Isabella of Valois	France	Peace
	Michael J. Bennett, "Richard II and the Wider Realm," in <i>Richard II: The Art of Kingship</i> , ed. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 197. Robert Knecht, <i>The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589</i> (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 48.				
E.19	1381	Henry IV	Mary de Bohun	England	Marriage with an heiress
	Bryan Bevan, <i>Henry IV</i> (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 7-8. Alison Weir, <i>Katherine Swynford: The Story of John of Gaunt and His Scandalous Duchess</i> (London: Random House, 2011), 164.				
E.20	1403	Henry IV	Joanna of Navarre	Navarre	Recognition of Henry's right to rule / legitimation of

					his dynasty
	Ian Mortimer, <i>The Fears of Henry IV: The Life of England's Self-Made King</i> (London: Vintage, 2008), 247. Paul Strohm, <i>England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 158.				
E.21	1420	Henry V	Catherine of Valois	France	Peace Territorial expansion
	Sandra Logan, "Thrice Royal Queen: Katherine de Valois and the Tudor Monarchy in Henry V and England's Heroicall Epistles," in <i>The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe</i> , ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Campaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 160. Craig Taylor, "Henry V, Flower of Chivalry," in <i>Henry V: New Interpretations</i> , ed. Gwilym Dodd (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 219.				
E.22	1445	Henry VI	Margaret of Anjou	France	Peace (general truce)
	Ralph Alan Griffiths, <i>The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 485. Bertram Percy Wolffe, <i>Henry VI</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 170.				
E.23	1464	Edward IV	Elizabeth Woodville	England	Love / lust (clandestine marriage)
	David Loades, <i>The Tudor Queens of England</i> (London: Continuum, 2009), 43. Charles Derek Ross, <i>Edward IV</i> (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 85-86.				
E.24	1470	Edward of Westminster	Anne Neville	England	Alliance between Henry VI's supporters and Richard Neville, Duke of Warwick, Anne's father
	Peter D. Clarke, "English Royal Marriages and the Papal Penitentiary in the Fifteenth Century," <i>The English Historical Review</i> 120:488 (2005), 1020. David Hipshon, <i>Richard III and the Death of Chivalry</i> (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), 156.				
		Edward V	N/A		
E.25	1472	Richard III	Anne Neville	England	Marriage with an heiress
	Peter D. Clarke, "English Royal Marriages and the Papal Penitentiary in the Fifteenth Century," <i>The English Historical Review</i> 120:488 (2005), 1022-23. Nigel Saul, <i>The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II and Richard III</i> (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), 147.				
E.26	1485	Henry VII	Elizabeth of York	England	Peace between the two families contending for the English throne
	Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton, "Introduction: Arthur Tudor, the Forgotten Prince," in <i>Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: life, death and commemoration</i> , ed. Steven Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 1. P. R. Cavill, <i>The English Parliaments of Henry VII, 1485-1504</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 31.				
E.27	1501	Arthur Tudor	Catherine of Aragon	United Spain	Recognition of Henry VII's right to rule England by an

					established dynasty Anti-French alliance Financial gain
John M. Currin, "England's International Relations 1485-1509: Continuities Amidst Change," in <i>Tudor England and its Neighbours</i> , ed. Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 19. Garrett Mattingly, <i>Renaissance Diplomacy</i> (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2010), 141-143.					
E.28	1509	Henry VIII	Catherine of Aragon	United Spain	Henry VIII claimed that his father had asked him, on his deathbed, to marry Catherine Alliance
Garrett Mattingly, <i>Catherine of Aragon</i> (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1941), 14. J. J. Scarisbrick, <i>Henry VIII</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 12.					
E.29	1533	Henry VIII	Anne Boleyn	England	Love / lust Desire for a male heir
George W. Bernard, <i>The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4. Retha M. Warnicke, <i>The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6-8.					
E.30	1536	Henry VIII	Jane Seymour	England	Desire for a male heir Docile, calm personality – opposite to Anne Boleyn
David Loades, <i>The Six Wives of Henry VIII</i> (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 87-88. Elizabeth Norton, <i>Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's True Love</i> (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 11.					
E.31	1540	Henry VIII	Anne of Cleves	Holy Roman Empire	Desire for a male heir Anti-Papal alliance To offset the Franco-Imperial rapprochement
David Potter, <i>Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540-47</i> (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 49-51. Retha M. Warnicke, <i>The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8.					
E.32	1540	Henry VIII	Catherine Howard	England	Love / lust
Alison Weir, <i>The Six Wives of Henry VIII</i> (London: Pimlico, 1991), 431. Lacey Baldwin Smith, <i>A Tudor Tragedy: The Life and Times of Catherine Howard</i> (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961), 117-118 and 122.					
E.33	1543	Henry VIII	Catherine Parr	England	Catherine had a very different personality to Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard – spotless reputation Nursemaid skills

					Linda Porter, <i>Katherine the Queen: The Remarkable Life of Katherine Parr</i> (London: Pan Macmillan, 2010), 129. Susan James, <i>Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love</i> (Stroud: The History Press, 2010), 95.
		Edward VI	N/A		
E.34	1554	Mary I	Philip of Spain	United Spain	Foreign / Catholic alliance, in part to help Mary secure her throne
					John Edwards, <i>Mary I: England's Catholic Queen</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 144. Sarah Duncan, <i>Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 42-43.
		Elizabeth I	N/A		

Castile

Reference Number	Year	Monarch / Heir	Spouse	Spouse Country of Origin	Reasons for Marriage
C.1	1032	Fernando I	Sancha of León	León	Aggrandisement of the realm Territorial expansion Peace
Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, <i>Castilla y León en el siglo XI: estudio del reinado de Fernando I</i> (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999), 73-82. Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 7-8.					
C.2	1070/ 1071	Sancho II	Alberta	Unknown origin – probably foreign	Prestige / recognition from a foreign dynasty of Sancho's right to rule
Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 45-48.					
C.3	1073/ 1074	Alfonso VI	Agnes of Aquitaine	France	Alliance Prestige
Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 79-80. Marcus Graham Bull, <i>Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 87.					
C.4	1079	Alfonso VI	Constance Burgundy	of France	Alliance
Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 11-12. Marcus Graham Bull, <i>Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 87.					
C.5	1094	Alfonso VI	Berta of Italy	Italy	Probably an attempt to moderate the influence of the Burgundians Alliance
Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 25. Szabolcs de Vajay, "Reflexiones en torno a Berta, tercera mujer de Alfonso VI," in <i>Anales de la Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, Volumen II</i> (Madrid: Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealógica, 1996), 341.					
C.6	1090s	Alfonso VI	Zaïda	Muslim Spain	Alliance Territorial gain

	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 235. Francisco García Fitz, <i>Relaciones políticas y guerra. La experiencia castellano-leonesa frente al Islam. Siglos XI-XIII</i> (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 74.				
C.7	1102	Alfonso VI	Elisabeth of France	France	Probably some form of alliance
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 33.				
C.8	1108	Alfonso VI	Beatrix of France	France	Unclear – presumably to secure some diplomatic or political advantage for the Crown
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 345-346.				
C.9	1080s	Urraca	Raymond of Burgundy	France	To reinforce the alliance created by Alfonso VI's marriage to Constance of Burgundy
	María del Carmen Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela, <i>La Reina Urraca</i> (San Sebastián: Editorial Nerea, 2006), 29-30.				
C.10	1109	Urraca	Alfonso I of Aragon	Aragon	Military alliance To protect the Crown from foreign and domestic claims, and from Alfonso himself
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 357. Simon Barton, <i>The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 12. Therese Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," <i>Speculum</i> 80: 4 (2005): 1159.				
C.11	1127	Alfonso VII	Berengaria of Barcelona	Aragon	Alliance
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 19-20. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Historia de España antigua y media, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1976), 562.				
C.12	1152	Alfonso VII	Rica of Poland	Poland	Imperial connection
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 114.				
C.13	1151	Sancho III	Blanca of Navarre	Navarre	Territorial claims
	Ángeles Masiá de Ros, <i>Relación Castellano-Aragonesa desde Jaime II a Pedro el Ceremonioso, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 30-31. Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in Northern Spain, c.950-c.1250," in <i>Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300</i> , ed. Elizabeth Van-Houts (London: Routledge, 2013), 161.				
C.14	1177	Alfonso VIII	Eleanor of England	England	Alliance To settle a territorial dispute (over Gascony)

	Anthony Goodman, "England and Iberia in the Middle Ages," in <i>England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453, Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais</i> , eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 79.				
C.15	1215	Enrique I	Mafalda of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance profitable for Enrique's regent (Álvaro Núñez)
	Janna Bianchini, <i>The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 116. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Historia de España antigua y media, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1976), 6.				
C.16	1197	Berenguela	Alfonso IX of León	León	Peace
	H. Salvador Martínez, <i>Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography</i> , trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 23. Miriam Shadis, <i>Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 62-63.				
C.17	1219	Fernando III	Beatrice of Swabia	Holy Roman Empire	Avoidance of consanguinity
	H. Salvador Martínez, <i>Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography</i> , trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 35-36.				
C.18	1237	Fernando III	Joan of France	France	Avoidance of consanguinity Concern for chastity
	H. Salvador Martínez, <i>Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography</i> , trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 40-41. Janna Bianchini, <i>The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 242-243.				
C.19	1249	Alfonso X	Violante of Aragon	Aragon	Alliance Friendship
	H. Salvador Martínez, <i>Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography</i> , trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 104. Melissa R. Katz, "The Final Testament of Violante de Aragón (c.1236-1300/01): Agency and (dis)Empowerment of a Dowager Queen," in <i>Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras</i> , ed. Elena Woodacre (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 52.				
C.20	1268	Fernando de la Cerda	Blanche of France	France	Alliance
	H. Salvador Martínez, <i>Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography</i> , trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 184-185. Manuel González Jiménez, <i>Alfonso X el Sabio</i> (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004), 209.				
C.21	1282	Sancho IV	María de Molina	León	Love
	Harlan Sturm, "Historical and Textual Underpinnings," in <i>Heavenly Bodies: The Realms of La estrella de Sevilla</i> , ed. Frederick A. de Armas (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), 94.				
C.22	1302	Fernando IV	Constance of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance against the Moors

					Peace
	Joseph F. O'Callaghan, <i>The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle for the Strait</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 97. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Sobre la evolución de las fronteras medievales hispánicas (siglos XI a XIV)" in <i>Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV)</i> , eds. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Pascal Buresi and Philippe Josserand (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez and Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2001), 38.				
C.23	1328	Alfonso XI	Maria of Portugal	Portugal	International recognition of his dynasty Peace on the western frontier Alliance against the Moors
	Joseph F. O'Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 408. Teofilo F. Ruiz, <i>Spain's Centuries of Crisis, 1300-1474</i> (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 61-62.				
C.24	1353	Pedro I	Blanche of Bourbon	France	Alliance To further the Franco-Castilian friendship
	L. J. Andrew Villalon, "Spanish Involvement in the Hundred Years War and the Battle of Nájera," in <i>The Hundred Years: A Wider Focus, Part I</i> , eds. L. J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2005), 10-11. Paulino García Torano, <i>El Rey Don Pedro el Cruel y Su Mundo</i> (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales, 1996), 112.				
C.25	1353	Pedro I	María de Padilla	Castile	Love (There is some debate over whether or not Pedro actually married María, or whether she remained his mistress) Legitimise their children
	Clara Estow, <i>Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369</i> (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1995), 87. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 420.				
C.26	1354	Pedro I	Juana de Castro	Castile	Unclear reasons – possibly an alliance to appease Pedro's Castilian detractors Possibly an alliance with Juana's powerful family
	Clara Estow, <i>Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369</i> (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1995), 147-148. Vicente A. Álvarez Palenzuela and Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Historia de España VI: La consolidación de los reinos hispánicos (1157-1369)</i> (Madrid: Gredos, 1988), 154.				
C.27	1350	Enrique II	Juana Manuel	Castile	Alliance with a powerful noble family for protection Link to the legitimate royal line
	Clara Estow, <i>Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369</i> (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1995), 22-24. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Historia de España antigua y media, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1976), 296.				

C.28	1375	Juan I	Leonor of Aragon	Aragon	Alliance Peace Recognition of the new Trastámara dynasty
Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Juan I de Trastámara: 1379-1390</i> (Burgos: Editorial la Olmeda, 1994), 12. Teofilo F. Ruiz, <i>Spain's Centuries of Crisis, 1300-1474</i> (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 82-83.					
C.29	1383	Juan I	Beatrix of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance To disrupt the Anglo-Portuguese alliance
Joseph F. O'Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 204-205. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, "Relations between Portugal and Castile in the Late Middle Ages (13 th -16 th Centuries), <i>e-Journal of Portuguese History</i> 1:1 (2003): 12.					
C.30	1388	Enrique III	Catherine of Lancaster	England	Peace To remove a pretender to the throne (Catherine's father, John of Gaunt abandoned his claims to the Castilian throne)
Anthony Goodman, <i>John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe</i> (London: Routledge, 2013), 128. P. E. Russell, <i>English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 490.					
C.31	1418	Juan II	María of Aragon	Aragon	Alliance
Santiago González Sánchez, <i>Las relaciones exteriores de Castilla a comienzos del siglo XV: La minoría de Juan II (1407-1420)</i> (Madrid: Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas, 2013), 85-86. Theresa Earenfight, <i>The King's Other Body: Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 28.					
C.32	1447	Juan II	Isabel of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance
Diana Pelaz Flores, "Queenly Time in the Reign of Juan II of Castile (1406-1454)," in <i>Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras</i> , ed. Elena Woodacre (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 177. Townsend Miller, <i>Henry IV of Castile, 1425-1474</i> (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1972), 58-59.					
C.33	1440	Enrique IV	Blanca of Navarre	Navarre	Alliance Peace
Elena Woodacre, <i>The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 112. José Luis Martín Rodríguez, <i>Enrique IV de Castilla: Rey de Navarra, Príncipe de Cataluña</i> (Hondarribia: Editorial Nerea, 2003), 30.					
C.34	1455	Enrique IV	Juana of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance

	José Luis Martín Rodríguez, <i>Enrique IV de Castilla: Rey de Navarra, Príncipe de Cataluña</i> (Hondarribia: Editorial Nerea, 2003), 94. Nicasio Salvador Miguel, <i>Isabel la Católica: Educación, mecenazgo y entorno literario</i> (Madrid: Centro Estudios Cervantinos, 2008), 123.				
C.35	1469	Isabel I	Fernando II of Aragon	Aragon	Alliance with a strong husband capable of helping Isabel win and secure her throne Future union of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile - to unite the Trastámaran territory
	Barbara F. Weissberger, <i>Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power</i> (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 42. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Los Reyes Católicos: La Conquista del Trono, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1989), 32. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Los Trastámara y los reyes Católicos</i> (Madrid: Gredos, 1985), 207.				
C.36	1497	Juan of Asturias	Margaret of Austria	Holy Roman Empire	Anti-French alliance
	Bethany Aram, <i>Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe</i> (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 35. Garrett Mattingly, <i>Renaissance Diplomacy</i> (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2010), 140.				
C.37	1496	Juana I	Felipe of Burgundy	Holy Roman Empire	Anti-French alliance
	Bethany Aram, <i>Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe</i> (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 35. Elena Gascón Vera, “Juana I of Castile, Catherine of Aragon, and the Failure of Feminine Power in the Construction of Empire,” in <i>Juana of Castile: History and Myth of the Mad Queen</i> , ed. María A. Gómez, Santiago Juan-Navarro and Phyllis Zatlin (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2008), 51. Garrett Mattingly, <i>Renaissance Diplomacy</i> (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2010), 140.				

Aragon

Reference Number	Year	Monarch / Heir	Spouse	Spouse Country of Origin	Reasons for Marriage
A.1	1036	Ramiro I	Gisberga / Ermisenda of Bigorre	France	Alliance
	Ana Isabel Lapeña Paúl, <i>Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón (¿1064?–1094) y Rey de Navarra (1076-1094)</i> (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2004), 21. Clay Stalls, <i>Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134</i> (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 21.				
A.2	1060s	Sancho Ramírez	Isabel of Urgell	Catalonia	Alliance Territorial consolidation and expansion
	Ana Isabel Lapeña Paúl, <i>Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón (¿1064?–1094) y Rey de Navarra (1076-1094)</i> (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2004), 59. Janice Mann, <i>Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities</i> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 108-109.				
A.3	1076	Sancho Ramírez	Felicia of Roucy	France	Military alliance
	Ana Isabel Lapeña Paúl, <i>Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón (¿1064?–1094) y Rey de Navarra (1076-1094)</i> (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2004), 62. Lynn H. Nelson, "The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon," <i>Speculum</i> 53: 4 (1978): 697.				
A.4	1086	Pedro I	Agnes of Aquitaine	France	Alliance
	Carlos Laliena Corbera, <i>Pedro I de Aragón y de Navarra, 1094-1104</i> (Burgos: La Olmeda, 2000), 147. Marcus Graham Bull, <i>Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 87.				
A.5	1097	Pedro I	Berta	Unknown origin	Prestige of having a foreign wife
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 283.				
A.6	1109	Alfonso I	Urraca of Castile	Castile	Political and military alliance
	José Ángel Lema Pueyo, <i>Instituciones Políticas del Reinado de Alfonso I "El Batallador," Rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134)</i> (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1997), 48. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 214.				
A.7	1135	Ramiro II	Agnes of Poitou	France	Agnes's proven fertility Need for an heir
	Bernard F. Reilly, <i>The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 53-54.				

	William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronilla of Aragon," in <i>Queens, Regents and Potentates</i> , ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge: Academia Press, 1993), 50.				
A.8	1150	Petronilla	Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona	Barcelona	Secure the throne for Petronilla, especially from Castile and Navarre Union of Aragon and Barcelona
	Silvia Orvietani Busch, <i>Medieval Mediterranean Ports: The Catalan and Tuscan Coasts, 1100 to 1235</i> (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2001), 3. William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronilla of Aragon," in <i>Queens, Regents and Potentates</i> , ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge: Academia Press, 1993), 50-51.				
A.9	1174	Alfonso II	Sancha of Castile	Castile	Alliance
	Ángeles Masiá de Ros, <i>Relación Castellano-Aragonesa desde Jaime II a Pedro el Ceremonioso, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 31. Damian J. Smith, <i>Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 21.				
A.10	1204	Pedro II	Marie of Montpellier	France	Territorial gain Increased influence in southern France Control over a rich commercial centre
	Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch, "Unwilling Partners: Conflict and Ambition in Marriage of Peter II of Aragon and Marie de Montpellier," in <i>Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 4 and 6. Ernest E. Jenkins, <i>The Mediterranean World of Alfonso II and Peter II of Aragon (1162-1213)</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 93-94.				
A.11	1221	Jaime I	Leonor of Castile	Castile	To provide stability for Aragon through a powerful alliance Possibility of an immediate heir
	John C. Shideler, <i>A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: the Montcadas, 1000-1230</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 150. José Luis Villacañas Berlanga, <i>Jaume I El Conquistador</i> (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2003), 93-94.				
A.12	1235	Jaime I	Violante of Hungary	Hungary	The pope offered two possible candidates for Jaime to choose from to avoid a future annulment based on consanguinity
	Marta van Landingham, "Royal Portraits: Representations of Queenship in the Thirteenth-Century Catalan Chronicles," in <i>Queenship in Medieval and Early Modern Spain</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 114-115. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, "La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico," <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 202.				
A.12	1255	Jaime I	Teresa Gil de Vidaure	Navarre	To legitimise any children and include them in the line of succession Love – Teresa had been Jaime's mistress before she

					became his common-law wife
	Stefano Maria Cingolani, <i>Historia y mito del rey Jaime I de Aragón</i> (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2008), 361.				
A.13	1262	Pedro III	Constance of Sicily	Sicily	Anti-Angevin alliance Future acquisition of the Sicilian Crown Commercial ambitions
	Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 202-203. Stephen P. Bensch, <i>Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096-1291</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 290.				
		Alfonso III	N/A		
A.14	1291	Jaime II	Isabel of Castile	Castile	Alliance against the Moors
	Ángeles Masiá de Ros, <i>Relación Castellano-Aragonesa desde Jaime II a Pedro el Ceremonioso, Volumen I</i> (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 40. Joseph F. O’Callaghan, <i>The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle for the Strait</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 97-98.				
A.15	1295	Jaime II	Blanche of Anjou	France	Peace Territorial dispute
	Karen Stöber, “Monks and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Wales and Catalonia,” in <i>Thirteenth-Century England XIV</i> , eds. Janet Burton, Phillipp Schofield and Björn Weiler (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 93-94. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 205.				
A.16	1315	Jaime II	Marie of Lusignan	Cyprus	Attempt to claim the crown of Cyprus Link to the eastern Mediterranean
	Joseph F. O’Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 405. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 206.				
A.17	1322	Jaime II	Elisenda of Montcada	Catalonia	Unknown reasons, possibly her youth, piety and beauty made her an attractive prospect for her aging husband
	José Hinojosa Montalvo, <i>Jaime II y el esplendor de la Corona de Aragón</i> (San Sebastián: Nerea, 2006), 255.				
A.18	1319	Jaime	Leonor of Castile	Castile	Peace
	H. T. Sturcken, “The Unconsummated Marriage of Jaime of Aragon and Leonor of Castile (October 1319),” <i>Journal of Medieval History</i> 5:3 (1979): 200.				
A.19	1314	Alfonso IV	Teresa d’Entenca	Aragon	Marriage with an heiress – Alfonso was the second son

	Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 210-211.				
A.20	1329	Alfonso IV	Leonor of Castile	Castile	To repair the damage done by Leonor’s earlier marriage to Alfonso’s brother, Jaime, and his repudiation of her Peace
	H. T. Sturcken, “The Unconsummated Marriage of Jaime of Aragon and Leonor of Castile (October 1319),” <i>Journal of Medieval History</i> 5:3 (1979): 197. José Hinojosa Montalvo, <i>Jaime II y el esplendor de la Corona de Aragón</i> (San Sebastián: Nerea, 2006), 82.				
A.21	1338	Pedro IV	María of Navarre	Navarre	Alliance
	Núria Silleras-Fernández, “Money Isn’t Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87),” in <i>Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 68. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 214.				
A.22	1347	Pedro IV	Elinor of Portugal	Portugal	Alliance
	Núria Silleras-Fernández, “Money Isn’t Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87),” in <i>Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 68. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 214.				
A.23	1349	Pedro IV	Eleanor of Sicily	Sicily	Alliance
	Núria Silleras-Fernández, “Money Isn’t Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87),” in <i>Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 68. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 214.				
A.24	1377	Pedro IV	Sibilla de Fortià	Catalonia	Love To legitimise their daughter
	Núria Silleras-Fernández, “Money Isn’t Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87),” in <i>Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 72. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, <i>Societat, cultura i món mediterrani a l’Edat Mitjana. Recull d’articles</i> (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2014), 451-452.				
A.25	1373	Juan I	Martha of Armagnac	France	Alliance

	Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 219-220.				
A.26	1380	Juan I	Violant of Bar	France	Alliance – against his father’s wishes
	Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Los Trastámara y los reyes Católicos</i> (Madrid: Gredos, 1985), 46. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 219-220.				
A.27	1373	Martín I	María de Luna	Aragon	Heiress – Martín was a second son at the time of his marriage
	Núria Silleras-Fernandez, “Spirit and Force: Politics, Public and Private in the Reign of Maria de Luna (1396-1406), in <i>Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 80. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 222.				
A.28	1409	Martín I	Margaret of Prades	Aragon	Need for an immediate heir
	Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 224-225.				
A.29	1309	Martín the Younger	Maria, Queen of Sicily	Sicily	Regain control over Sicily To resolve the contest of the Sicilian succession
	D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, <i>The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520</i> (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 284. Teofilo F. Ruiz, <i>Spain’s Centuries of Crisis: 1300-1474</i> (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 75.				
A.30	1402	Martín the Younger	Blanca of Navarre	Navarre	Alliance
	Elena Woodacre, <i>The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 85-86.				
A.31	1393	Fernando I	Leonor of Alburquerque	Castile	Leonor was an heiress wealthy in land, money and connections
	Ana Echevarria-Arsuaga, “The Queen and the Master: Catalina of Lancaster and the Military Orders,” in <i>Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain</i> , ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 96. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 226.				
A.32	1415	Alfonso V	María of Castile	Castile	Alliance
	Theresa Earenfight, <i>The King’s Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 5.				

A.33	1420	Juan II	Blanca I, Queen of Navarre	Navarre	Marriage with an heiress – Juan was the second son Attempt to gain control of the kingdom of Navarre To prevent Blanca from marrying someone else
	Elena Woodacre, <i>The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership, 1274-1512</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 91-94. Santiago González Sánchez, <i>Las relaciones exteriores de Castilla a comienzos del siglo XV: La minoría de Juan II (1407-1420)</i> (Madrid: Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas, 2013), 117-120.				
A.34	1447	Juan II	Juana Enrique of Castile	Castile	Alliance
	Alan F. C. Ryder, <i>Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 270. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, “La Política Matrimonial de la Casa Condal de Barcelona y Real de Aragón Desde 1213 Hasta Fernando el Católico,” <i>Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia</i> 23:24 (2002): 232.				
A.35	1469	Fernando II	Isabel I, Queen of Castile	Castile	Alliance Future union of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile - to unite the Trastámaran territory To stop the Castilians from allying with France
	Joseph F. O’Callaghan, <i>A History of Medieval Spain</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 574. Luis Suárez Fernández, <i>Los Trastámara y los reyes Católicos</i> (Madrid: Gredos, 1985), 207. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, <i>Societat, cultura i món mediterrani a l’Edat Mitjana. Recull d’articles</i> (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2014), 471.				
A.36	1506	Fernando II	Germaine of Foix	France	To break the friendship of Philip of Burgundy and the French monarchy Alliance to counteract Philip’s Castilian ambitions Strengthen Fernando’s claim to Navarre
	John Lynch, <i>Los Asturias, 1516-1700</i> (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2007), 45. Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, <i>Societat, cultura i món mediterrani a l’Edat Mitjana. Recull d’articles</i> (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2014), 471.				
A.37	1497	Juan of Asturias	Margaret of Austria	Holy Roman Empire	Anti-French alliance
	Bethany Aram, <i>Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe</i> (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 35. Garrett Mattingly, <i>Renaissance Diplomacy</i> (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2010), 140.				

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