

A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of Alfred University

Isabel I of Castile as a Model for the Reign of England's Mary I:  
The Political and Gendered Discussions of a Queen's Succession and Marriage

by

Jennifer Futterman

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Alfred University Honors Program

May 5, 2015

Chair: Dr. Christopher Churchill



Committee Members:

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*Introduction: Defining Monarchy and Queenship*

Isabel la Católica, Bloody Mary, Elizabeth the Virgin Queen, Juana la Loca, and Mary Queen of Scots were all queen regnants, or queens reigning in their own right, of early modern Iberia and the British Isles. Queenship is a transnational theme across these two territories in early modern Europe, and influenced the concept of rule for future monarchs. Isabel I of Castile (r. 1474-1504) and Mary I of England (r. 1553-1558) were two early modern monarchs who inherited the throne in their own right as queen regnants. Isabel was the grandmother of Mary I. Isabel married Fernando II of Aragón (r. 1479-1516), and the two had five children: Isabel, Juan, Juana, Maria, and Katherine. Their youngest, Katherine of Aragon, married King Henry VIII of England; they named their first and only child Mary.<sup>1</sup>

Although Mary was the first queen regnant of England, she could look to her Castilian grandmother as a precedent. Yet the connection between these two monarchs curiously remains for the most part unacknowledged even though they shared many traits as queens.<sup>2</sup> The process

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<sup>1</sup> Katherine of Aragon is referred to differently in a variety of sources. Often in English sources she is Catherine, and Spanish sources, they use her Spanish name, Catalina.

<sup>2</sup> This work is adding to the existing historiography of both Isabel and Mary. The historiography of each of their reigns reflects the national conceptions of both Spain and Britain. For a discussion of Spanish historiography, please consult Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Herencia del Pasado: Las Memorias Históricas de España* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011); and J.N. Hilgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (February 1985): 23-43, accessed September 4, 2014, JSTOR. For a Spanish speaking perspective of Isabel I of Castile please see Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Isabel La Católica* (Madrid: Espasa, 2003); and Joseph Pérez, "Edad Moderna," *Historia de España* (Madrid: Colección Austral, 2003). Some of the most famous Anglophone books on Isabel and Early Modern Spain include Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: The Life and Times, Revised Edition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002); Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (London: Longman, 1991). For the newest Anglophone biography on Isabel, see Kirstin Downey, *Isabella: The Warrior Queen* (New York: Nan A. Talese and Doubleday, 2014).

Meanwhile, English historiography on Mary I of England has transformed from a Whig history to a more progressive approach. For more progressive histories of the late 1980s and the 1990, please consult John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); David Loades, *Mary I: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989); and Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds. *The Mid-Tudor Polity: c. 1540-1560* (Houndmills: The MacMillan Press, 1980). For sources published in the 2000s that have given Mary agency and are more careful with the gendered dynamic of rule, please consult Judith Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (Bloomsbury: London, 2009); and Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (New York: Routledge, 2008). Richards and Whitelock are the two most progressive historians in terms of agency because they both acknowledge only briefly that Mary would have preferred to remain single and chaste, and that she only married because it was her duty as

of royal succession and the marriage negotiations for each of these monarchs exemplify two uncanny similarities between the two queens that need to be examined not just in a comparison, but how one influenced the other. The rites of succession and marriage are two of the most challenging aspects of queenship because they determine if queen could ascend to the throne and remain in power.

Prior to looking at the beginning of each queen's reign closely, it is important to understand the concept of monarchy itself. Monarchy is the abstract concept that a ruler sits on the throne by inherited right, thereby enabling him or her to rule a vast territory. In the context of the early modern period, the position of a monarch was inherited by divine right in that it was popularly understood that the ruler was chosen by God to rule.

Historians continue to ponder the meaning of monarchy. Prior to the late twentieth century, historians studied monarchy primarily as male-kingship. Perhaps one of the most-well known theoretical works on kingship was Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies: A Study of Late Medieval Political Theology*. The book has two major points. First, Kantorowicz explains how the king is simultaneously a body politic and a body natural. Second, Kantorowicz examines how the symbolic significance of the king was tied to the centralization of the early modern state.<sup>3</sup>

Since Kantorowicz published *The King's Two Bodies*, many historians of early modern Castile and England have used his work to look at kingship, and more recently queenship. Many of the historians published in David Boruchoff's *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays*, Theresa Earenfight's *Queen and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*,

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queen regnant. They both portray Mary as English and not as Spanish. In John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), Edwards associates Mary more with her Spanish heritage, but not as a way to demonize Mary. His arguments in this book influenced the discussion in this essay.

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). These arguments are made throughout the entire work.

and Barbara Weissberger's *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, and Persona* cite Kantorowicz's work to identify male kingship as the norm and female rule as abnormal and a reaction against male rule.<sup>4</sup> In early modern Europe, there were quite a few powerful female rulers including Isabel of Castile, Mary I of England, Elizabeth I of England, Mary Stuart of Scotland, Joanna II of Naples, Catherine d'Medici of France, Magaguerite of Navarre, and Juana I of Castile.<sup>5</sup> Although theoretically kingship was considered the norm, there were nonetheless several women in power during the early modern period.

Queens usually occupied the role of a consort or a regent. A queen consort was the king's wife who had symbolic power as his partner in a subordinate position to his own. Consorts would only rule if her king was absent. Meanwhile, a queen regent ruled for her child until he was mature, and old enough to rule the kingdom. A queen regent could also rule temporarily if a king was away from his kingdom for a period of time. Neither the queen consort nor the queen regent could ever be the next legitimate successor to the throne. In contrast, a queen regnant inherited the throne in her own right, and could exercise her power by her own will. A queen regnant ruled both *de jure* and *de facto*. Within the laws of government, she could become the reigning monarch and follow the line of succession written by her predecessor.

Queens faced more strife than male monarchs. In addition to ruling the realm and serving as Kantorowicz's two bodies, the body politic and the body natural, a queen had to serve in both roles traditionally divided by king and queen. This meant running the realm's domestic and

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<sup>4</sup> David A. Boruchoff, ed., *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Barbara F. Weissberger, ed., *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, and Persona* (Suffolk: Tamesis, 2008); and Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Ironically, although many historians on Isabel use Kantorowicz as a source in their work, Kantorowicz barely discusses Iberia. The work primarily focuses on England and France; it only mentions Iberia a couple times by referencing Isidore of Seville. References to Isidore of Seville appear in Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 64, 125, and 161.

<sup>5</sup> M. Lunenfeld, "Isabella I of Castile and the Company of Women in Power," *Historical Reflections* 4, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 57-79, accessed January 27, 2015, JSTOR.

foreign affairs in the traditional male role, and producing an heir to continue her dynasty in the traditional female role. Queens confronted two major challenges particular to their gender when they ascended to the throne: succession and marriage.

The first issue, succession, is the long and enduring process that female monarchs encountered when they were eligible for the throne. Perhaps, the best definition of succession is found in England's *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* when the English ambassadors defined three concrete actions that a queen regnant needed to complete in order for her legitimate succession. The English ambassadors to Spain refer to three actions that Mary took to secure her succession: "The Queen accomplished two regal acts: she was proclaimed, and took possession; the third remaining is the coronation, which will take place as soon as the three necessary steps to succeed."<sup>6</sup> Proclamation, possession, and coronation were necessary for a queen to legitimately take the throne as regnant.

However, when a queen regnant was next in line to the throne, she encountered the distinction between the theory and reality of her ruling the realm. Theoretically, in her predecessor's will, the former king stated that the queen was the next in line to the throne. On the other hand, in reality, the deceased king's wishes may conflict with the future successor and the nobility's perspective. Both often looked for other suitable male heirs instead of having a woman as their leader.<sup>7</sup> How would she ascend to the throne? The line of succession would have to be altered in writing or the next-in-line to throne would have to die before it was his time to govern

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<sup>6</sup> Royall Tyler, ed., *The Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at the Simancas and Elsewhere Vol. 11: Edward VI and Mary* (London: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 151.

<sup>7</sup>Such examples appear in the reigns of Isabel and Mary. Isabel's father, Juan II, wanted Isabel to succeed to the throne, but, on the other hand, Enrique vigorously tried to keep Isabel out of power. The details of these types of events appear in Liss, 50-90; Downey, 71-3; and Fernández Álvarez, 111-175. In the reign of Mary, Henry eventually allowed Mary to succeed. However, Edward VI and the Duke of Northumberland fought to have Lady Jane Grey on the throne instead. The details of this event appear in Loades, *Mary I: A Life*, 171-222; Whitelock, 125-170; and Edwards, 123-158.

the kingdom. If the first-born child of the king was a daughter, she would not always be the next line to the throne. In the cases of both Isabel and Mary, their ascension to the throne was the result of circumstances. The eligible male heir in both the reigns of Isabel and Mary died before they had the chance to reign as kings.

The queen regnant also confronted the ritual of marriage. Fifteenth and sixteenth century Europeans worried about the repercussions of who their queen regnant chose to marry. In Susan Doran's *Monarchy and Matrimony*, Doran summarizes why marriage was problematic for a queen regnant:

Historians have shown that politicians were bound to fear that a female ruler's marriage might jeopardize her authority, since they believed the wife should always defer to her husband when making decisions, given that women were naturally inferior to man and that god had ordained female subordination to men in all private relationships.<sup>8</sup>

According to early modern conventions in Castile and England, women were submissive to men, and this could not be changed.<sup>9</sup> Marriage magnified the relationship between men and women in early modern Europe. When a man married a woman, the woman was subordinate to her husband. She was responsible for taking care of the household, rearing the children, and other domestic duties.<sup>10</sup> If the queen regnant married a subject, she was subject to her husband as his wife. Paradoxically, as a monarch she held power over her husband.

Based upon the examples of Isabel and Mary, in order to maintain the hierarchy of husband and wife in addition to king and subject, a female monarch would have to marry foreign royalty. The king would not be subject to her majesty and the queen could serve as wife to her

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<sup>8</sup> Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth* (Routledge, 1996), 7, accessed November 14, 2013, JSTOR.

<sup>9</sup> Carole Levin, *With the Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 42-5.

<sup>10</sup> For further reading please see Merry E. Wiesner- Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Joan Kelly, *Women, History & Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*, ed. Catharine R. Stimpson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

husband. Therefore, marriage for queens was not only a contract between husband and wife, but also a treaty of alliance between two realms. Despite this logical solution, the queen's subjects feared a marriage between a queen regnant and a foreign prince or king.<sup>11</sup> Questions remained unanswered. Would the foreign husband rule as a regnant king? Would two kingdoms become one? Which realm would her children succeed? Would the queen live abroad? All of these concerns lingered for her people. Both Isabel and Mary overcame the obstacles of marriage and found a solution to their subjects' fears by negotiating a treaty that maintained their statuses as regnants and their husbands as consorts.

*The Reign of Isabel I of Castile: The Process of Succession and the Marriage Negotiations*

Prior to Isabel's ascension to the throne, other regnants ruled Castile such as Urraca of Castile-León.<sup>12</sup> Even if female heirs were eligible to inherit the throne, the royal family and nobles opposed it. Very few female Iberian monarchs ruled in their own right. The theory of a female monarch ruling Castile was very different than the reality, and often the male nobility and royalty disapproved of a female in power. The queen consorts on the Iberian Peninsula had their own role and also had more power than those in other European countries. On the Iberian Peninsula, queen consorts were responsible for managing the royal households and finances. They also served in war, became patrons of art and religion, participated in charity work, partook in public events and ceremonies, and asserted their authority if their husband died prematurely. These women even succeeded their fathers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Royall Tyler, ed., *The Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at the Simancas and Elsewhere Vol. 11: Edward VI and Mary* (London: Kraus Reprint, 1969). These fears will also be covered in the later documents analyzed in this article.

<sup>12</sup> Theresa Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership," in *Queen Isabel of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2008), 8.

<sup>13</sup> Theresa Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership," in *Queen Isabel of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, edited by Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2008), 8-10; Theresa Earenfight, "Partners in Politics," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early*

Isabel's Castile marked the end of the medieval era and the beginning of the early modern period. In many ways, Isabel's reign was the threshold between eras. From the medieval perspective, Isabel governed Castile, one of several kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, from the early modern perspective, Isabel's Castile would be the start of the developing state that would eventually become the Spanish Empire. Since Isabel's reign served as a precedent for the reign of Mary I, this essay will look at Isabel from the early modern perspective to show how one early modern queen influenced the other.

Isabel successfully assumed the title of queen regnant when she succeeded to the throne in 1474. Her uneasy path to queenship served as a model for Mary to follow in England. Isabel's ascension to the power was the result of circumstance. Isabel was an alternate for succession since her two elder brothers, Enrique and Alfonso, stood before her as future kings. Isabel could succeed to the throne only if each of them died childless. King Juan II of Castile (r. 1406-1454), Isabel's father, arranged the order for succession of his children. Juan's successor was Enrique, his only son from his first marriage to María of Aragón. Alfonso, Juan's son from his second marriage to Isabel of Portugal, was Enrique's alternate in case Enrique died before it was his time for to take the throne or if he died childless.<sup>14</sup> Isabel was Enrique's second alternate. If Alfonso died before he could inherit the throne or died childless, Isabel would inherit the throne.<sup>15</sup> It was unlikely that Isabel would succeed because if one of these brothers produced an heir, she would never rule.

After Juan's death, the now King Enrique IV of Castile (r. 1454-1474) succeeded to throne in 1454. Fourteen years later, Enrique had no legitimate heirs to his kingdom. To make

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*Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), xiii; and Joseph F. Callaghan, "The Many Roles of the Medieval Queen: Some Examples from Castile," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), 23.

<sup>14</sup> Please see Appendix A for the Trastámara genealogy.

<sup>15</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 52-54.

matters worse, Alfonso died in 1468, making Enrique's successor Isabel. Prior to Alfonso's death, he sent a letter to Murcia on July 4, 1468 that proclaimed Isabel as his legitimate heir if he died childless.<sup>16</sup> This reinforced King Juan's wishes for succession. On July 4, Enrique in a letter to Toledo announced that Alfonso was dead, but did not confirm Isabel as his successor in this document.<sup>17</sup> The Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, wanted Enrique to declare Isabel as his successor immediately because Carrillo "did not trust" Enrique as king and feared that he would write Isabel out of the line of succession.<sup>18</sup> Isabel nevertheless continued to secure her succession to the throne. In the same year, Isabel signed a letter to Gonzalo Chacón, one of her advisors, that she would inherit the throne only if Enrique died without an heir.<sup>19</sup>

Enrique now realized that he would have to name an heir to the throne because he had produced no legitimate children. Isabel was his sister and was the closest in line to inheriting the throne. The only other option was Juana "La Beltraneja" whose legitimacy as his daughter was questioned by the clergy, royal family and nobility. No one knew if she was the daughter of Enrique or Beltrán de la Cuerva, hence her nickname, "la Beltraneja. If Juana was Enrique's legitimate daughter, her succession would occur without question, but the skepticism surrounding the legitimacy enabled Isabel to become the preferred candidate to inherit the throne. Since the throne traditionally passed from the father to the eldest son, Enrique had to specifically amend documents that spelled out the order of succession and acknowledged Isabel formally as an heir other than a first born son. Carrillo was right to worry about Enrique proclaiming Isabel as his successor early in his reign because Enrique's choice now allowed him

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<sup>16</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 53.

<sup>17</sup> "Núm CXLVIII," in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 554, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr>.

<sup>18</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 54. From this point on the Archbishop of Toledo will only be referred to as Carrillo.

<sup>19</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 54.

to use Isabel to his advantage. Even though Enrique probably knew Isabel would be the less controversial candidate of the two, he continued to use the existence of Juana to negotiate terms that would enable Isabel to be a queen regnant after his death.

Isabel's fate on whether she would inherit the throne was dependent on which husband she chose to marry. As previously stated, a queen regnant had to marry. It was crucial to legitimize her rule. Hernando de Pulgar, the chronicler for the reign of Isabel and Fernando, echoes this belief in his *Crónicas de Los Señores Reyes Católicos*: "segun su edad le era necesario casar, porque estos Reynos que de derecho le pertencian, no fincasen sin derecho subcesion." [According to her age, it was necessary to marry because she could not have her right to the kingdoms without marriage].<sup>20</sup> In other words, her marriage determined her right to succession, and without marriage she could not establish her right to the throne.

Enrique declared Isabel as his successor instead of Juana in 1468 with the condition that he consented to the consort Isabel married. In 1468, Enrique proclaimed that Isabel was the heir to his kingdom at Toros de Guisando in Avila.<sup>21</sup> The original negotiations for *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* or the Toros Guisando Agreement appears in an exchange of letters between Enrique, Isabel, and the Archbishop of Toledo, Carrillo.<sup>22</sup> The chronicler, Alfonso de Palencia, and fifteenth-century historian, Mosen Diego de Valera, recorded the events at Toros de Guisando in their *Crónicas*. In each, Palencia and Valera describe how Isabel kneeled and kissed

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<sup>20</sup> Pulgar, *Crónica de Los Señores Reyes Católicos, Don Fernando Y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragon*, ed. B. Monfort (Valencia: La Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1680) 14, accessed September 8, 2014, Google Books.

<sup>21</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 54-55. All translations were translated by myself unless otherwise indicated. Some translations are word for word translations while others are paraphrases into modern day English.

<sup>22</sup> Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV Escrita en Latín Por Alonso de Palencia, Transducción Castellana Por D.A. Paz y Melia: Tomo II.*, trans. and ed. D.A. Paz y Melia (Madrid: Tipografía de <<La Revista de Archivos>>, 1905), 184, accessed April 11, 2015, Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León; and Mosen Diego de Valera, *Crónicas de Los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso El Sabio, Hasta Los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, Colección Ordenada Por Don Cayetano Rosell Tomo III*, ed. M. Rivadeneyra (Madrid: Estereotipo y Galvanoplastia de Aribau y Compañía, 1878), 47, Google Books.

Enrique's hand as a sign of loyalty, obedience, and respect.<sup>23</sup> These actions resemble homage in medieval Europe when a vassal was required to swear his loyalty and respect to his lord.<sup>24</sup> In her gesture to Enrique, Isabel established her right to succession, positioning herself as subordinate to her king, not only as a female to a male, but also as a vassal to a monarch.

Enrique and Isabel agreed upon *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* on September 18, 1468; the agreement is recorded in the *Concordia entre el Rey don Enrique y la Infanta doña Isabel, su Hermana, al tiempo de jurarla por Princesa, heredera de Castilla* [The Concord between King Enrique and Princess Isabel, his sister, when Princess swears to be the inheritor of Castile].<sup>25</sup> The Concord or *El Pacto de Torros de Guisando*, in summary, declares Isabel as Enrique's successor to Castile and that she must respect, obey, and follow the customs of the realm which include the government established in Castile and as well at the Catholic ideology.<sup>26</sup>

More importantly relevant to a discussion of marriage, the document explicitly states that Enrique will have to choose her husband for her:

[E]s acordado é asinado que la dicha señora Infanta mediante la gracia de dios, gracias de Dios, aya de casar é case con quien el dicho señor Rey acordare é determinare de voluntad de la dicha señora Infanta, é de acuerdo é consejo de los dichos Arzobispo é Maestre é conde” [By the voluntary action of the Princess, it was agreed and that said princess to the thanks of the gods, will marry whoever the said King agrees and determines and agreed by the said Archbishop and master and the count].<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Alfonso de Palencia was the chronicler for the Reign of King Enrique IV and Diego de Valera was a chronicler of the kings of Castile through to Enrique IV. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 27-28, 40, and 54.

<sup>24</sup>The homage that Isabel paid to Enrique is an example on why is often considered a medieval queen.

<sup>25</sup>“Núm. CLII,” in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 561-6, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr>. The document in this collection is the not called *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando*, but it is the same date it was signed and contains the same terms as stated in the letters between Carrillo and Enrique as well as how Palencia and Valera each detailed the event in their chronicles.

<sup>26</sup>In a predominately Catholic realm, Isabel's devout faith as a Catholic had no role in Isabel's succession to the throne. For an introductory work on the role of Catholicism in early modern Castile and Spain, please see Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>27</sup>“Núm. CLII,” *Memorias de Enrique IV...*, 564.

This item in the agreement is one of the shortest in the document, but yet is the most significant and memorable.<sup>28</sup> This is the part of the treaty that Isabel would defy, causing the succession disputes, and, later, the War of Castilian Succession (1474-9). Isabel's defiance of the treaty contrasts with her voluntary action to agree to marry with Enrique's consent because it was her decision to marry according to the agreement in the first place.

Historians emphasize that Isabel said that she would not marry without approval from the king even though it is a miniscule point in the agreement.<sup>29</sup> Palencia and Valera recount their version of the Toros de Guisando, and their recount of the marriage concessions. In his *Crónica*, Palencia writes:

La princesa, sin embargo, se había dejado ya convencer por las promesas del Maestre que la había asegurado sería única heredera del trono, con asentimiento de D. Enrique; certificando además que, aún en vida de su hermano, todos los derechos de la corona recaerían en ella [...] propiase seguir su inveterada costumbre [...] mientras ella, casada con algún poderos Principe, podría consagrarse con él á la reforma de las costumbres y á velar por la obediencia de las leyes. [The princess, however, had let herself be convinced already by the Master's promises that had a claim that she could be the only inheritor of the throne with the approval from King Enrique; certifying also that in the life of her brother, all of the crown's rights would fall on her [...] she will continue his well-established custom [...] while she marry with some powerful prince and would devote herself to the reform of the customs and watch over for the obedience of the laws].<sup>30</sup>

According to Palencia's chronicle, the marriage was only one of many of the terms of the agreement. The brevity of the sections reveals that at the moment of agreement, Palencia and most likely others were not concerned with this aspect of the treaty. In Valera's *Crónica*, he omits any discussion of Isabel having to marry Enrique's choice in Chapter XLII where he describes *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando*. Valera only starts to detail how Isabel preferred to marry Fernando against her father's wishes in the following chapter, Chapter XLIII, where he

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen* 55; Downey, 68; and Fernández Álvarez, 113-122.

<sup>30</sup> Palencia, 179.

continues the narrative after Isabel and Fernando married in 1469. Palencia and Valera's original disinterest in the marriage aspect of the treaty also is evident in their citations. In the chapters, both cite and quote sections from the same letters of the negotiations. The cited letters only explain Isabel's legitimacy and her obedience to Enrique and Castile, but not marriage.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* only becomes relevant after Isabel broke the agreement.

Enrique's stipulation for marriage never stopped an influx of suitors taking an interest in this future Castilian queen. Isabel caught the eye of many foreign kings and princes such King Louis XI "the Spider King," the future King Fernando II of Aragón (also King of Sicily), King Edward V of England, King Richard III of England, and Afonso VI of Portugal. Each suitor offered different political opportunities for Castile; each would make Castile alliances and enemies.<sup>32</sup> King Enrique already wanted Isabel to marry Afonso for his "personal reasons."<sup>33</sup> Since Enrique already set his mind on Afonso and agreed upon *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* with Isabel, there was no other possible suitor she could marry.<sup>34</sup>

The primary and secondary sources suggest that Enrique never intended Isabel to inherit Castile's throne because of Enrique's plan for marriage. Biographer Kirsten Downey argues that even though Enrique said that Isabel would inherit the throne if she married Afonso, Isabel would never have been a queen regnant if it were up to Enrique. Historian Peggy Liss also agrees with Downey's argument and uses Pulgar's *Crónicas* as evidence. She states that Pulgar agreed

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<sup>31</sup> Palencia, 184-88; and Valera, 47-8.

<sup>32</sup> For a comprehensive summary of each of the benefits to the marriage see. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 51-68; Downey, 74-9; and Fernández Álvarez, 111-180.

<sup>33</sup> Downey, 72. Afonso is also spelled as "Alfonso" or "Alonso," in the primary and secondary sources.

<sup>34</sup> Palencia and Valera's Chronicles cite the same section from correspondences between the Archbishop of Toledo, Carrillo, and Enrique. Palencia, 184-88; and Valera, 47-8. The fact that they cite the same letters is incredibly important showing that this is one of the important aspects that they center on in the document. However, interestingly enough the passage that both of these documents cite does not mention that Isabel had to marry whoever Enrique chose for her to marry.

that if Isabel chose to marry Afonso, Enrique would disinherit Isabel, and marry him to Juana.<sup>35</sup> Pulgar emphasizes the concern Enrique had for Juana's marriage as well as for Isabel's marriage.<sup>36</sup> In order to ally Castile with Portugal, Enrique used the two possible successors, Isabel and Juana, as consorts for an arranged marriage to a foreign prince or king. In addition to Isabel's marriage to Afonso, Enrique also hoped to arrange for Juana to marry Prince João of Portugal. João was Afonso's successor to the Portuguese throne.<sup>37</sup> Once Afonso died, João would become the king of Portugal and Juana would be his queen consort. Under the marriage arrangements between Afonso and Isabel, Castile and Portugal would likely become united under their crowns.<sup>38</sup> In an era of patriarchy, Castilians assumed Isabel would be more of a consort queen rather than a regnant. Therefore, once Afonso died, João would rule both Portugal and Castile. His heirs would be the future kings of the united Castile and Portugal, and Isabel's heir's would never rule Castile.<sup>39</sup> This is evident in the chronicles. For example, in Pulgar's *Crónicas*, he states that Enrique postponed sending Juana to Portugal before Isabel's agreement to marry Afonso was complete.<sup>40</sup> Enrique was concerned for Juana's marriage to Prince João as much as he was for Isabel's marriage to Afonso. Enrique's plan for conquest and rule was part of the typical gender dynamics in Castile. As previously stated, the concept of a queen ruling as a regnant was accepted theoretically, but the reality was much different. In a written document, *El Pacto de Torres Guisando*, Isabel would unquestionably inherit the throne, but Enrique's plan for Juana's marriage to João complicated the matter because it changed Isabel's position in

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<sup>35</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 57.

<sup>36</sup> Pulgar, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 57-8; Downey, 72-3; and Pulgar, 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Pulgar, 10-11.

power. Enrique planned to use the two eligible queen regnants instead as consorts for an alliance to have a male king of Castile.

While Enrique advocated for Afonso, Isabel received advice from her advisors, nobles, confessor, and bishops. Carrillo, one of the closest to Isabel, suggested that Isabel should marry the future King Fernando II of Aragón.<sup>41</sup> Although he attended the agreement in Avila, Carrillo distanced himself from *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* because he distrusted Enrique. Nevertheless, Carrillo remained by Isabel's side and proposed that Isabel should not marry the King of Portugal, but rather the Aragonese prince. In Palencia, Valera, and Pulgar's *Crónicas*, they write that Carrillo disagreed with the terms at Toros de Guisando, that Carrillo believed that Fernando was the right match for her, and that he was the heir to both the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.<sup>42</sup> Carrillo's suggestion may seem pointless, but the agreement at Toros de Guisando stated that Isabel's marriage had to be approved by the archbishop, master, and count.<sup>43</sup> As the Archbishop of Toledo, the city with the greatest religious power in Castile, Carrillo was very influential, and could influence Isabel's decision. However, Enrique's power as the "impotent" monarch cannot be discounted. It would still be a risk to take even with Carrillo's status.

Isabel and Enrique corresponded on the subjects of legitimacy and marriage through letters. Isabel tried to show Enrique that she remained loyal to him and Castile even though she chose to ignore the article on marriage in *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando*. If Isabel changed her mind about the marriage or if she never planned to marry Enrique's choice in the first place, Isabel still disobeyed the current king's wishes and needed to make amends. On September 8,

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<sup>41</sup> Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 60-7; and Downey, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Palencia, 180. Even modern day historians and biographers believe that Fernando and Isabel were the perfect match for each other. In Downey's recent biography, she states that Isabel and Fernando had an actual romantic relationship. Downey, 79.

<sup>43</sup> Núm. CLII," in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 561-4, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr>.

1469, Isabel sent Enrique a letter that justified the reasons why she planned to marry Fernando instead of Afonso, and also asked for his approval in the letter. In the letter, Isabel reasoned that Fernando was a better choice for her because of his connection from their family lineage:

“considerada la edad y unidad de nuestro antigua progenie” [considered the age and unity of our family lineage].<sup>44</sup> Fernando’s family lineage evolved from the Castilian Trastámaras. King Juan I of Castile had two sons. His first born, Enrique III, became king of Castile, and his second born, Fernando de Antequera became king of Aragón.<sup>45</sup> Isabel, like in the other documents, professes her loyalty to Enrique and asks for his approval, explaining that Fernando would follow and honor Enrique and that he came from a direct line of kings from Castile.<sup>46</sup>

In the same letter to Enrique, Isabel also explains she made the choice to marry Fernando, and that her advisors did not make the decision for her. It was her choice, and it should not affect her eligibility as Enrique’s successor.<sup>47</sup> She declares herself the legitimate heir: “el dicho Rey don Alonso mi hermano ante de su muerte avia conseguido [...]; a qual asismesmo conociendo que la sucesion verdadera de todos los dichos vuestros regnos pertenecia y pertence á mi como á legítma sucesora y heredera dellos.” [The said King Alonso, my brother, before his death had achieved [...] at the same time knowing that all of true/real successors of the said king belong to as the legitimate successor and heir].<sup>48</sup> By starting with this statement, Isabel articulates that she was the legitimate heir whether Enrique declared it or not. It is important that

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<sup>44</sup> Núm. CLXVIII,” *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 607, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr> .

<sup>45</sup> Peggy K. Liss, “The Royal Relationships of Isabel of Castile,” in *Isabel the Queen: The Life and Times, Revised Edition* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2004), xv.

<sup>46</sup> Núm. CLXVIII,” *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 605-9, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr>.

<sup>47</sup> “Núm. CLXVIII,” 605.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

she still considered herself heir because she signed a document that said she had to marry Afonso to declare herself as the heir even though she disobeyed the treaty.<sup>49</sup>

Isabel portrays herself and Fernando as loyal to Enrique's reign. The word, *obedecer*, or "to obey," appears many times throughout the letter. The reference to obeying Castilian law is important because this was a fear many had with a female monarch marrying. Given that nobles and subjects feared royal foreign marriages because they worried that a foreigner would be their leader rather than their queen, Isabel had to justify why Fernando made a good match.

On October 12, 1469, Isabel contacted Enrique again stating that she would go through with the marriage and that she was advised to marry Fernando, showing that there was outside support for this marriage.<sup>50</sup> While Isabel felt she had the right to choose her husband, Enrique felt he had the right to wage war on Isabel if she failed to marry his choice.<sup>51</sup>

Isabel took Carrillo's advice and on October 18, 1469, Isabel and Fernando married, allying the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Isabel secured the right to succession because she already married Fernando. In his *Crónicas*, Pulgar celebrates the marriage of Isabel and Fernando in a section called *Los Tratados* or the treaties: "Y todos aquellos que consultó acordaron que debia tomar por marido al Rey de Sicilia Príncipe Aragon, ántes que Rey de Portugal, porque era mozo y de buena discreción, y esperaba heredar tos Reynos de Aragon y de Sicilia." [Isabel consulted them and they agreed that Isabel should marry King of Sicily and Prince of Aragon instead of the king of Portugal because Fernando was a gentleman and of good

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> "Núm. CLXX," in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 610-1, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr> .

<sup>51</sup> Downey, 73; Shima Ohara, "La Propaganda en La Guerra Sucesoria de Enrique IV (1457-1474)," *Edad media: Revista de Historia* 5 (2002): 117-133, accessed April 10, 2015, <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffdialnet.unirioja.es%2Fdescarga%2Farticulo%2F625751.pdf&ei=tsUnVcT9LIGQsAXz9YHoCg&usg=AFQjCNFzWLvkTrtv-gA3JensFQmybUDr9A>.

discretion, and that he hoped to inherit the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily].<sup>52</sup> In this document, Pulgar compares the two suitors next to each other, showing that Fernando was the better choice. Pulgar also discusses the territory Isabel would inherit. Instead of the one kingdom of Portugal, Isabel would be able to have a consort's power in Sicily and Aragon. According to Pulgar, it appears that the Fernando as person and the territory he owned made him a better husband for Isabel.

On January 7, 1470, Isabel and Fernando signed a *Las Capitulaciones* for marriage, a document that limited Fernando's power, positioning him as a consort and Isabel as a regnant. By protecting Isabel's role as the queen regnant, Isabel and Fernando addressed their subjects' fear that the foreign husband would control his wife's political decisions. Specifically, the sixth, tenth, and eleventh terms in this agreement solidify Isabel's power in Castile. In the sixth article, Fernando complies to "[observar] e [guardar] s los establecimientos e loables consuetudines leyes, fueros e priuilegios dessos dichos Reynos y Señoríos" ["Fernando complies to observe and maintain established ways and the laudable customs, laws, *fueros*, and privileges of these kingdoms and domains"].<sup>53</sup> This point eliminates the possibility that Aragonese customs and laws would change Castilian life. Castilian culture would remain independent from Aragonese law and culture. It was not unusual for the Castilians to fear Aragonese influence on Castile because Aragon was the dominating Christian power in medieval Iberia.<sup>54</sup> Castile would not become the

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<sup>52</sup> Hernando de Pulgar, *Crónica de Los Señores Reyes Católicos: Don Fernando Y Doña Isabel de Castilla y Aragon Escrita por su Cronista Hernando del Pulgar Cotexada con Antiguos Manuscritos y Aumentada de Varias Ilustraciones y Enmiendas* (Valencia: La Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780), 12, Google Books.

<sup>53</sup> "Capitulaciones del Matrimonio Entre La Princesa Doña Isabel y Don Fernando, Rei de Sicilia, Ajustadas en Cervera a 7 de Enero de 1469, y Confirmadas por el Rei Don Juan de Aragon en Zaragoza a 12 del Mismo Mes y Año," in *Isabel de Castilla, Reina Católica de España*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, 229. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1964. The translation is found in Jon Cowans, ed., "Marriage Concessions (1469)," in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 8. I edited some of the verbs in the original Spanish text to make it flow with the prose.

<sup>54</sup> Julio Valdeón "Edad Media," in *Historia de España* (Madrid: Colección Austral, 2003), 111.

power in Iberia until years into Isabel's reign and not in Europe until the Hapsburgs succeeded to the throne.

In the tenth article, Fernando also conceded to “[ir] personalmente a essos dichos Reynos sin consentimiento suyo e voluntad.”[Fernando conceded to “go personally to these kingdoms [Castile and León] to reside and be in them with Her Highness the princess, and [...] will not leave them without her will and counsel, and [...] will not move them without her consent and will”].<sup>55</sup> Isabel and Fernando clarified that the queen would live in her homeland, and Fernando would have to travel.

Fernando concurred with Isabel that their children would only be heirs to Castile, and not to Aragon. This is stated as the eleventh term in the marriage concessions: “dándonos Dios alguna generación assí fiyo como fija, según no menos se deue esperar, que nunca los apartaremos della, ni los sacaremos dessos dichos Reynos... [“If God should give us children, either sons or daughters, as we may hope, we will never remove them from her, nor will we take them from those kingdoms...”].<sup>56</sup> The children were only eligible to succeed to the throne of one kingdom, preventing kingdoms of Castile and Aragon from unifying into one state. Each kingdom was able to retain its own customs, ideologies, and law. The document also emphasizes that Fernando was only a consort to Castile. The law, government, and inheritance rested within Isabel and her children as future kings of Castile.

In a letter notifying King Enrique of her marriage to Fernando, Isabel pledges her loyalty to Enrique to show that she is doing what she feels is best for her kingdom. The document

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<sup>55</sup> “Capitulaciones del Matrimonio,” 229. The translation is from Cowans, 8. I edited some of the Spanish verbs in the original text to flow better with prose.

<sup>56</sup> “Capitulaciones del Matrimonio,” 229-230.

pronounced her loyalty to the King and explained some of the concessions of the marriage.<sup>57</sup> She also assured her King and brother that “Los tales hijos é hijas nunca los apartará de ella, ni los sacará fuera de estos Reynos [...] sin su licencia y expreso consentimiento.” [Her sons and daughter will never part from Isabel nor will they be taken from her kingdoms [...] without her expressed permission and consent].<sup>58</sup> This, in essence, restates directly the concessions for marriage that Fernando signed. The same points are commented upon, showing that Castile would not be absorbed into Aragon. It also specifically addresses the King Enrique to show Isabel remained loyal to Castile because she never agreed to adhere to Aragonese customs nor allow her future children to succeed to the Aragonese throne. Castile was her priority.

The document also separates the possessions of each kingdom by stating what possessions belonged to each territory.<sup>59</sup> In the introduction to the document, it shows how the marriage would encourage the continuation of two dynasties which were falling apart because of the lack of successors: “en estos Reinos ocurrieran grandes peligros por la falta de los subcesores, nuestro Señor Dios, que en las tales cosas nuestra su grand poder así lo tenia ordenando.”<sup>60</sup> [In these kingdoms, the dangers occurred for the lack of successors that the great power ordered]. The document calls it a *peligro* or a danger to the kingdom; it was harmful. The direct line of succession was extremely important to maintaining the hierarchy, and when the successor is not from that direct line, it becomes harder to define who would be declared the next legitimate heir. Indirect lines of succession often erupted into war for the crown.

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<sup>57</sup>“Notificacion Hecha por Don Fernando y Doña Isabel al Rey Don Enrique IV, del Matrimonio que Habian Celebrado y de Las Capitulaciones Otorgadas,” in Isabel de Castilla, Reina Católica de España. Edited by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, 199-201. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1964.

<sup>58</sup> “Notificacion del Matrimonio...,” 201.

<sup>59</sup> “Notificaciones del Matrimonio...,” 203. “Los quales lugares siempre fueron dados a las Reynas de Aragón antepasadas.”

<sup>60</sup> “Notificaciones del Matrimonio...,” 199.

The document is also concerned with maintaining each realm's own customs, laws, and identity. As mentioned earlier, one of the principal concerns with a foreign marriage was that the queen would succumb to the customs and law of her consort's country. This first announcement, emphasizes Castile would keep its independence. In the document, it states that the customs of each land will be protected:

Iten, que todo su leal poder será unánime y conforme con el dicho señor Rey Don Enrique, para facer guardar la justicia é todos los buenos usos é costumbres destos sus Reynos é Señoríos, y que así en él fuere lo cumplirá é guardará, é será así mesmo en que se guarden los establecimientos é leyes destos sus Reynos. [All of the loyalty power will unify and conform to the said King Enrique to maintain justice and all of the good uses and customs of these kingdoms].<sup>61</sup>

This section shows how Isabel intended to follow the customs set by Enrique during his reign as king. Although Isabel chose to not marry Afonso, she planned to be obedient to Enrique by following Castilian customs rather than Aragonese ones.

Isabel and Fernando signed this document as “YO EL PRINCIPE. YO LA PRINCESA,” to show that they ruled the realms together as a team.<sup>62</sup> This is how they would both sign as king and queen, “Yo el rey and Yo la reina.”<sup>63</sup> Even though the marriage unified the kingdoms, they retained their own identities, and only showed a mere symbolic presence in their consort's kingdoms. Since Fernando also signed the documents, Isabel would have assistance if she needed it.

Once Isabel and Fernando publicized the marriage, the conflict broke out when Enrique retracted Isabel's right to succession and declared Juana as the “true” heir. Juana would still be eligible to marry Afonso of Portugal to secure Enrique's desired alliance between Castile and

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<sup>61</sup> “Notificaciones del Matrimonio...,” 201.

<sup>62</sup> “Notificaciones del Matrimonio...,” 205.

<sup>63</sup> Downey, 147.

Portugal.<sup>64</sup> A year later in October 1470, a document was formally published officially revoking Isabel's title as heir to the queen and gave it to Juana "La Beltraneja."<sup>65</sup> In the document, Enrique explains how Isabel disobeyed him and chose to marry without his consent. He calls her "infanta" or a princess who is not in the direct line to inherit the throne.: "nunca mas intiutlaremos nin llamaremos nin avremos nin ternemos á la dicha Infanta doña Isabel por Princesa nin heredera nin subcesera de estos dichos regnos é señoríos en manera alguna." [The *infanta* can never be called neither an inheritor nor successor of these kingdoms].<sup>66</sup> This takes away some of her status as queen. Despite Isabel's proclamation of her loyalty and obedience to his kingdom, Enrique sees this more as treason and an insult to his power. He counted on the alliance with Portugal and continued forth with his plan by deposing Isabel as his pawn and used Juana to his advantage.

The conflict would continue for another four years until Enrique's death in 1474. In a 1474 Confederación notifying Castile of Enrique's death, it states that Isabel was the natural queen of Castile, and that her marriage to Fernando was officially legitimate.<sup>67</sup> Isabel was proclaimed as the queen in Segovia. The Castilians shouted: "¡Castilla, Castilla por la el Rey Don Fernando é por la Reyna Doña Isabel su muger propietaria destes Reynos" [Castile, Castile for King Fernando and Queen Isabel his wife and ruler of these kingdoms].<sup>68</sup> This often cited

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<sup>64</sup> An alliance with Portugal was constantly discussed in the early modern era. Under the annexation during the reign of Felipe II, Portugal and the kingdoms of Spain would be reunited. For information on the annexation of Portugal, see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 269-277.

<sup>65</sup> "Núm. CLXXIX," in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 619, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr> .

<sup>66</sup> "Núm CLXXIX," 620.

<sup>67</sup>"Núm CCVII," in *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla Tomo II, Contiene La Colección Diplomática del Mismo Rey, Compuesta y Ordenada Por la Real Academia de La Historia*, ed. Fidel Fita and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet), 706, accessed February 25, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/memoriasdedonhen02madr> .

<sup>68</sup> Pulgar, 32. This quote often appears in the secondary sources. Some its meaning to fit the text the secondary source next For example, in Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Isabel La Católica* (Madrid: Espasa, 2003), 182;

quotation in biographies of Isabel shows how the Castilian subjects welcomed Isabel to her throne, showing that she had popular support. Although Enrique never reinstated her as successor to his kingdom after he gave Juana the right to the throne, Castilians still proclaimed her as the heir because the nobility and clergy recognized *El Pacto de Toros de Guisando* as proof of her legitimacy. The events leading to the War of Castilian Succession (1474-9) differed from than other rivalries to the throne and from other historical periods when a female monarch was eligible to succeed to the throne. The central issue was not that a female monarch would assume the throne, but which female was the legitimate heir.

Isabel's coronation ceremony took place on December 17, 1474 in Segovia, further securing her reign.<sup>69</sup> After the coronation, Isabel and her court continued to further establish her legitimacy in Hernando de Pulgar's *Crónicas de Los Reyes Católicos*. The first few chapters discuss Isabel's heritage and succession to the throne. Pulgar had to prove through writing that Isabel was the legitimate queen of Castile. He opens the *Crónicas* with: "Con la ayuda de Dios é de la Reyna celestial, entendemos escribir la Crónica de la muy alta é muy excelente Princesa Doña Isabel..." [With the help of God and the Celestial queen, we understand to write the chronicle of the very high and excellent Princess Isabel].<sup>70</sup> The discussion of the celestial bodies and God refers to the divine right theory and that God hand-picked Isabel to serve as his representative on Earth. Pulgar shows that Isabel was supposed to have the title of a queen regnant and Isabel was connected with a celestial queen as an icon. Isabel represented the

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Fernández Álvarez writes that the Castilians shouted: "¡Castilla, Castilla, por la reina la reina doña Isabel, y por el rey Fernando, su legítimo marido! [Castile, Castile for Queen Isabel and for King Fernando, her legitimate husband!]. While the quote in Pulgar's emphasizes Fernando, Fernández Álvarez emphasizes Isabel.

<sup>69</sup> Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Earenfight, 12. Earenfight calls some of the practices as Isabel's coronation as masculine. In the ceremony, Isabel came out from a church. She wore a gown and rode on horseback with her nobles following her on foot to carry her gown's train.

<sup>70</sup> Pulgar, 1.

Catholic religion, hence how historians call her Isabel *la Católica*.<sup>71</sup> Pulgar also followed Juana's role in the conflict and her position through the War of Castilian Succession to show that she was always illegitimate.<sup>72</sup> The discussion of lineage was a decisive factor in legitimizing Isabel's reign.

However, there were those who stood loyal to Enrique and Juana, especially in Portugal, opening up the War of Castilian Succession.<sup>73</sup> The causes of the conflict began before the physical war broke out. Since this analysis mostly focuses on the negotiations relating to succession and the treaties, agreements, and *cédulas* (documents), the actual War of Castilian Succession remains tangential to this discussion. Yet, the outbreak of war shows how difficult it was for a female monarch to succeed to the throne even after Castilian officials signed the document. The War of Castilian Succession would just be another episode in the ongoing struggle for a female monarch to rule as a regnant.

Isabel successfully ascended to the throne after she confronted the challenges of succession and marriage. Her succession was tied to her marriage. After Isabel refused to comply with Enrique's decision for her to marry King Afonso of Portugal, she had to convince Enrique to declare her the legitimate heir for the second time. In order to convince Enrique not to disinherit her, through marriage concessions with Prince Fernando of Aragón, and letters to Enrique, Isabel stated that she remained loyal to Castile and to Enrique. Nevertheless, Enrique

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<sup>71</sup> Examples of comparing Isabel to religious symbols can be found in a variety of scholarly essays: Peggy K. Liss, "Myth and History," in *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essay*, ed. David A. Boruchoff (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 57-78; Elizabeth Teresa Howe, "Zenobia or Penelope? Isabel la Católica as Literary Archetype," in *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essay*, ed. David A. Boruchoff (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 91-102; Chiyo Ishikawa, "*La lave de palo*: Isabel la Católica as Patron of Religious Literature and Painting," in *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essay*, ed. David A. Boruchoff (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 103-120; and Peggy K. Liss, "Isabel of Castile (1451-1504), Her Self-Representation and Its Context," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 145-162.

<sup>72</sup> Pulgar 1-31.

<sup>73</sup> For more information on the War of Castilian Succession, please see Joseph Pérez, "Edad Moderna," in *Historia de España* (Madrid: Colección Austral, 2003), 163-5; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 15-23; Kamen, 1-10; Fernández Álvarez, 181-259; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 113-130; and Downey, 130-149.

disinherited her and gave Juana “La Beltraneja” the right to the throne, but after his death, the nobility and clergy still proclaimed her the Queen of Castile. The kings before Isabel wrote her into the line of the succession, but her struggle to actually become a queen regnant shows that a woman had to prove that she was worthy to sit on the same throne as kings who ruled before her. Her predecessor had to acknowledge her legitimacy and she had to marry the right consort. Isabel’s succession and marriage negotiations were not unique to her reign. The next section looks at the reign of Mary I. Mary also faced the process of succession and marriage negotiations at the beginning of her reign. The following will look closely at Mary’s succession and then, separately, at Mary’s marriage to King Felipe II of Spain in light of Isabel’s accomplishments as queen.

#### *Mary I’s Ascension to the Throne of England*

Isabel’s Castile set new rules for early modern monarchs. Mary ruled England during the 1550s at a time of political upheaval. This was the period of the Reformation and the expanding power of the Spanish Empire. If England’s recent history and customs set the political climate for Mary’s eligibility to inherit the English throne, she also looked to Castile and Spain’s history for a precedent in legitimatizing her rule.

The establishment of Parliament and the English Church were unique qualities of the English monarchy. England’s monarchy was not absolute at the turn of sixteenth century as a result of the nobility’s fight for a voice in politics during the medieval era. King John signed the Magna Carta in 1215, giving Parliament or, then, the Magnates more of a say in the government. The king embodied the state but needed Parliament’s support to rule effectively. Parliament was an important influence in political decisions during the Tudor period, especially when females ascended to the throne. England’s monarchy also was directly connected with the Church. After

King Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) divorced from the Catholic Church, he established the Church of England, placing the monarch at the head of the Church. The English monarch was the head of secular and religious power in England.<sup>74</sup>

England's monarchy was patriarchal like other European monarchies. Before Jane Grey and Mary Tudor fought for the throne of England, a female queen regnant never sat on the English throne. In the twelfth century, Matilda, King Henry I's daughter, was an eligible heir to the throne, but her cousin Stephen won the title of King, and Matilda was left to only be called "The Lady of the English."<sup>75</sup> Matilda never ruled England in her own right.

Mary had to secure the throne for herself in the summer of 1553 after the death of King Edward VI (r. 1547-1553), similar to what Isabel had accomplished in the late 1460s and early 1470s. Isabel's ascension to the throne was a model for Mary to follow whether acknowledged or not. Before Mary could succeed to the throne, she had to secure it: the nobility and church had to proclaim her queen; she had to possess the throne, and had to be anointed by the clergy for a traditional English coronation.

King Henry VIII, Mary's father, tried everything possible to prevent Mary from obtaining the throne. In the *First Act of Succession*, Henry VIII writes Mary out of the will, and establishes his marriage with Queen Katherine as "utterly void and annulled."<sup>76</sup> The document also states: "Katherine shall be from henceforth called and reputed only dowager to Prince Arthur, and not queen of this realm."<sup>77</sup> If the marriage between Katherine and Henry never happened, Mary could never inherit the throne because the king considered her illegitimate. By calling Katherine

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<sup>74</sup> For more information see on the Reformation, the monarchy, and its connection to the English Church please see Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Random House, 2003); and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

<sup>75</sup> Whitelock, 2.

<sup>76</sup> "The First Act of Succession (1544)," in *Select Document of English Constitutional History*, ed. George Burton Adams and H. Morse Stevens (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 236, accessed October 4, 2013, Google Books.

<sup>77</sup> "The First Act of Succession," 236-7.

only a dowager queen, Katherine would always just be a widow to Arthur, Henry's older brother, and never an ex-wife to Henry.<sup>78</sup> Since Arthur never lived long enough to rule after the death of King Henry VII (r. 1485-1509) Katherine would never have been a queen consort. Henry VIII later revised the line of succession in *The Act Fixing the Succession* (1544) after he only had one male heir and needed to have another plan in case Edward died without a child. If Edward's wife produced no heirs, Mary had royal permission to succeed to him the throne. Henry's third daughter, Elizabeth, would follow Mary if she produced no heirs.<sup>79</sup>

The background to Mary's situation is remarkably similar to Isabel's own succession disputes. Mary's ascension to the throne relied heavily on her brother not having a child. The similar background these two queens share suggests the possibility of Isabel being an important precedent for Mary. They each faced a similar conflict and if Mary needed a guide to see how to rule and operate in such a situation, her grandmother could serve as a model.

When Mary finally was able to inherit the throne in July 1553, she faced another candidate: Lady Jane Grey, Henry VIII's Protestant great-niece.<sup>80</sup> Her brother, King Edward VI, died at fifteen years old of a terminal illness before he could produce heirs. However, when Edward inherited the throne as a boy-king at the age of nine, with overbearing help of his regents, worked to establish Protestantism as the official religion of England and to keep Catholic heirs such as Mary out of the line of succession.<sup>81</sup> Edward VI and the Duke of Northumberland, one of Edward's regents, sought Jane out as a candidate because she was a Protestant, thus making Henry VIII's *Act of Fixing the Succession* null and void. In Edward VI's

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<sup>78</sup> Please see Appendix A for a genealogy of the Tudor Dynasty.

<sup>79</sup> "Act Fixing the Succession (1544)," in *Select Document of English Constitutional History*, ed. George Burton Adams and H. Morse Stevens (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 264-7, accessed October 4, 2013, Google Books. Notice how the order of succession rearranging is a transnational theme in early modern Europe. Spain and England are just two examples.

<sup>80</sup> Please see Appendix A to locate Lady Jane Grey's genealogy.

<sup>81</sup> For more information on Edward VI, please see John Guy, "Politics, Religion, and War," and "Reformation and Counter-Reformation," in *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 178-249.

*Device for Succession*, he proclaims Jane as the heir and delegitimizes Mary's right to the throne.<sup>82</sup> During Jane's so-called nine day reign, the Holy Roman Emperor, Carlos V, and the English ambassadors to Spain discussed why Edward would make Mary illegitimate and Jane the legitimate heir: "The Lady Mary [...] was not fit to succeed because of the divorce, and stated that Lady Mary was unable to administer the kingdom, being a woman and of the old religion."<sup>83</sup> Of course, this excerpt refers to three of the many problems that Mary confronted as queen fighting for the throne: her status as a woman, her adherence to the Church in Rome, and the divorce of her parents. In spite of noting that Mary was a woman, the statement had little significance to this particular succession crisis because Jane Grey was also a woman. The English would have preferred a male heir, but either faction who sought the throne could not provide a male heir. The second issue related to the English Reformation, and how Mary as a Catholic would not rule. This is probably one of the most well-known topics of this succession dispute, but being Catholic in a divided country could not officially prevent Mary from taking the throne.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps the most important aspects of this discussion was that she was illegitimate because of Henry and Katherine's divorce. This was used to Jane's advantage. In Edward's *Device for Succession*, he even makes this a specific term in the document, noting that both Mary and Elizabeth were children of marriages before Henry and Jane Seymour. This made Henry's two other children, Mary and Elizabeth, automatically illegitimate to the throne.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Edwards, 77-8.

<sup>83</sup> Royall Tyler, ed., *The Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at the Simancas and Elsewhere Vol. 11: Edward VI and Mary* (London: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 78. Hereafter, this source will be referred to as *CSP Vol. 11*.

<sup>84</sup> For more information see on the Reformation, the monarchy, and its connection to the succession of Mary Tudor please see Christopher Haigh, "Catholic Restoration, 1553-1558," *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); 203-18; and John Guy, "Reformation and Counter-Reformation," in *The Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 212-249.

<sup>85</sup> Loades, *Mary I: A Life*, 172-3 and 183; Edwards 76-9; and Whitelock, 161-166.

Although Mary claimed the title of queen, she still had to possess it and have a coronation to legitimize her right. Proclaiming Mary as queen was not enough; the struggle for the crown would be negotiated and end in war. Similar to how Juan and Alfonso's proclamations for Isabel as queen were not enough for Isabel to secure the throne under Enrique, Henry's *Act Fixing the Succession* was not enough under Edward VI. Mary, in the midst of the Catholic Reformation, faced complications to the throne.

As a result of the emphasis on Henry's first marriage, Henry and Katherine's divorce immediately became a topic when Mary, her advisors, and foreign allies, worked together to put Mary on the English throne. For a female monarch, her choice of advisors was important because the male advisors provided expertise on how to rule. Even if the female monarch was intelligent, it eased the nobles' fears of having a woman in power. Mary interestingly interacted with foreign allies more than with English advisors. In the *Calendar of State Papers Relating Spain*, Mary corresponds with Carlos V and Simon Renard, the Spanish Ambassador to England, more than with the English ambassadors to England.<sup>86</sup> This, perhaps, suggests that Mary received advice on how to rule from the Spanish and it had a profound impact on Mary's decisions as queen. The presence of Carlos V and Renard cannot be ignored in looking at how Mary came to the throne.

The Ambassadors discussed the divorce between Henry and Katherine in July 1553 because Henry's divorce caused Henry to declare her a bastard.<sup>87</sup> The Ambassadors needed evidence that Mary was legitimate to claim her right to the throne. The Ambassadors wrote to Felipe that in Henry's will, Henry stated that if Edward did not provide heirs, then Mary could

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<sup>86</sup> CSP. Vol. 11.

<sup>87</sup> CSP Vol. 11, 98-105.

become Queen.<sup>88</sup> This was their best source of evidence to make the English consider Mary as the legitimate heir.

Jane Grey was legally queen for only nine days. Historians frequently debate whether she really ruled. Whether it was legal or not, she certainly made it difficult for Mary to be considered the legitimate monarch. Since the rival claimants were both women, the central issue in this succession was not that a female monarch would rule as regnant, but the legitimacy of that particular queen. While most historians recognize the foremost conflict as between Catholics and Protestants, the central importance was actually her legitimacy in relation to her father. In a country divided so much by religion, overthrowing the queen on the grounds of religion was not enough. Therefore, in order for Jane Grey's Protestant advocates to successfully form a coup, they would need to bastardize Mary. The only reason Mary had a claim to the English throne was because Henry arranged it in the act of succession. However, Edward saw it differently because if Mary was legitimate, he would become a bastard. The only legitimate child with Henry had to be with his legitimate wife. By proclaiming Mary as illegitimate, Jane's supporters would be able to place their Protestant heir to the throne. Even though the ideology surrounding it related to the Reformation, the techniques they used to try to get Jane to rule relied on a daughter's legitimacy.

In addition to Katherine's divorce, the foreign influence on Mary's succession was vital to Mary's ultimate succession to the throne. Carlos claimed that all men declared Mary as "legitimate," and that she was not a bastard.<sup>89</sup> Carlos was another one of Isabel's grandchildren and supported Mary's interests. On July 22, 1553, the English ambassadors to Spain reported to Carlos that the Council determined that Mary was the true and sovereign monarchy and that "the

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<sup>88</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 101-105.

<sup>89</sup> *CSP Vol. 11.*, 97-100.

Lady Mary has been so well proclaimed and published Queen of England, that [she] is now true and lawful sovereign without difficulty, doubt, or hindrance.”<sup>90</sup>

Rebellion broke out between the two factions, Mary and Jane Grey. It was not safe for Mary to be on the throne in a country recently ruled by Protestants. Throughout the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, Mary’s advisors and the Ambassadors continuously debated when it would be safe for Mary to enter London.<sup>91</sup> The last thing they needed was for the heir to be killed before she was crowned. It was not safe for Jane Grey to rule either since the will was recently changed and there were staunch Catholic supporters of Mary’s succession.

Isabel’s reign served as model for Mary’s struggle to become the legitimate heir for succession. Whereas no female heir was ever eligible for the throne in England, there had been one in Castile, now Spain. Since Mary was half-Iberian, she could take the precedent from her mother’s side. Like Isabel, Mary succeeded her brother to the throne as the result of no other eligible heirs. Thus, she, like Isabel, faced numerous opponents to the throne and had to handle how she would rule with so many adversaries. In both reigns, the current king found another heir that was not as direct. In Castile, King Enrique looked toward his supposedly illegitimate daughter as his successor. In England, Edward sought out his Protestant cousin. The predecessor, Henry VIII, conflicted with the current king, Edward VI, regarding the document, *The Act Fixing the Succession*. Edward and Enrique both looked in their family lines to look for the heir they preferred. The two female monarchs were the only candidates to the throne and it centered on legitimacy. However, Isabel and Mary had been already considered legitimate once in their life. Their issue centered on convincing the nobility and other members of the royal family that they were the right choice for the throne.

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<sup>90</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 111-6.

<sup>91</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 94-259.

The dialogue among Carlos, the English ambassadors, and Mary is evidence that Mary worked with the nobility to succeed to the throne. As previously stated, Carlos and the ambassadors discussed when would be an appropriate time for Mary to enter London. Mary had support from some nobles, as had Isabel. The conflict would eventually erupt into violence as it did for Castile, but England would become calm enough in September that Mary could return to England. Similar to Isabel, Mary allied with nobles and advisors who wanted her to become the next reigning monarch. She and Isabel both already had documents legitimizing their marriage. All they needed was the support to help them possess the throne. Mary's coronation ceremony was held on September 30, 1553, formally recognizing Mary's legitimacy to the throne and the last of the three steps to succession: proclamation, possession, and coronation. Mary's coronation occurred after a physical war for succession, unlike Isabel's. However, the English would continue to scrutinize Mary's position in power, especially with her upcoming marriage,

*Mary I and Marriage: Finding a Consort*

Isabel provided a model for Mary in terms of a queen regnant's marriage. Mary, like her grandmother, had no choice but to marry. Remaining single was not an option for a woman in power. At thirty-seven years old, Mary was not the most desired wife because the chance of having children was limited. There were two possibilities for marriage: the future King Felipe II and Edward Courtenay.<sup>92</sup>

Similar to Isabel and Fernando's marriage concessions, the queen's subjects feared a foreign marriage.<sup>93</sup> Simon Renard, the Spanish Ambassador to England, even acknowledged this

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<sup>92</sup> For a detailed discussion for marriage negotiations please see Jennifer Futterman, "Ending the Myth of Bloody Mary: The Marriage Negotiations between England's Mary I and Spain's Felipe II," *The Kanakadea Review* 3 (Spring 2015): 15-24.

<sup>93</sup> I am using Spanish here and not Castilian because the concept of Spain begins to exist because the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon only united when Carlos I (Holy Roman Emperor, Carlos V) took the throne after Fernando died with no heirs to his kingdom with his second marriage to Germaine. For more information on the Hapsburg Succession please see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 135-144; Kamen, 65-70; and Pérez, 177-189.

issue during the marriage negotiations with Mary in 1553: “The English are folk of changeable and contradictory temper, seekers after innovation and vindictive, be it because they are islanders...”<sup>94</sup> For Renard, the English separated themselves from the rest of Europe because they are on an island, and this why such xenophobia existed. English sources frequently demonized Mary’s decision to marry, especially the historians after the reign of Elizabeth. Based upon the Calendar of State Papers, it was obvious that Mary always knew that she would have to marry a foreigner to keep her status as queen. The notion that she would marry an English subject was comical to her. Renard recounts in a letter: “When I mentioned marriage she began to laugh, not once but several times, giving me a look that plainly said how agreeable the subject was to her, which made it clear to me that she had no wish to wed an Englishman, but rather a foreigner; besides which she repeated our declarations to the Council.”<sup>95</sup> In Mary’s *Oration in the Guildhall*, she expresses how she wants to marry a foreigner:

And certainly, if I ever did think or know that this marriage of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen I promise you that if shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then I will abstain from marriage while I live.<sup>96</sup>

Mary presents it as a necessity not just to marry, but to marry a foreigner. This precedent was also established in Isabelline Spain.

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<sup>94</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 301.

<sup>95</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 165. This correlates with the concept of a chaste virgin queen. In the text Mary also states that she only would marry because it was her duty as queen. If she was not the queen regnant, she would have preferred to live the rest of her life in “chastity.” *CSP Vol. 11*, 132. This is similar to how historians depict Elizabeth as the Virgin Queen. For more information on how Mary and Elizabeth were similar to each other please see Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, eds. *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>96</sup> Mary I, “The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhall, on the First of February, 1554,” in *Norton Anthology of English Literature Vol. B: The Sixteenth Century and Early Seventeenth Century*, Ninth Edition, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 727.

Most remember the story of Elizabeth I, England's Virgin Queen, who refused to marry a husband, but instead married her kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Few recount how Mary never really wanted to marry. Historians in the last decade such as Anna Whitelock and Judith Richards only briefly explore this notion.<sup>98</sup> Mary only agreed to marry because she felt it was her duty as queen. Mary was queen regnant, embodying traditional roles as both king and queen. Part of the queen's duty was to produce a legitimate heir, but this could not be done without marriage. The English ambassadors to England wrote to Carlos on how Mary felt about marriage: "The Queen relied that she considered it would be necessary for her to marry for the good of the country, though it was contrary to her own inclination."<sup>99</sup> It shows to Carlos the Emperor that the marriage negotiations were for political purposes. The prospect that a queen could rule without a husband was not even considered.

Unlike Isabel, Mary was still single when she inherited the throne, and had no male consort. Although Isabel's marriage to Fernando conflicted with Enrique's plan for Isabel's role on the Iberian Peninsula, it liberated Isabel from any scrutiny as an unmarried monarch inheriting the throne. Before Isabel ascended to the throne in 1474, she already gave birth to her daughter Isabel I in 1470. The birth of her daughter signified that she was able to have children (and legitimate heirs) early in order to continue the Trastámara dynasty.<sup>100</sup> Mary did not have this advantage, but always was preoccupied with marriage. Throughout the *Calendar of State Papers*, letters were exchanged discussing the importance that Mary should have a child. As the marriage negotiations progressed, Mary's advisors, England's ambassadors, and Spanish ambassadors to the English worried and tried to hurry along the negotiations. Renard writes to

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<sup>97</sup> For information on Elizabeth's refusal to marry please see Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth* (Routledge, 1996), accessed November 14, 2013. Herrick Memorial Library E-Library.

<sup>98</sup> Whitelock, 203. Richards, 143.

<sup>99</sup> *CSP Papers Vol. 11*, 171.

<sup>100</sup> Downey, 150-151; and Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 71.

Carlos to hurry the marriage negotiations because of producing more heirs: “We judge that it is necessary she lose no more time now, because it is important that she have heirs, and still more someone may be at her side to assist her in the conduct of her affairs.”<sup>101</sup>

Like Isabel, Mary learned the importance of securing her state from a foreigner and in both the *Treaty of Marriage* and *Act for Marriage* she secured England’s sovereignty as separate from Spain. If Mary had no heir, Spain and Felipe would not inherit England. The circumstances under Isabel and Mary showed how they both were successful in securing the realm from a foreign takeover. Mary had seen the importance of Isabel marrying a foreigner. It was not even considered that Isabel should wed a subject. Mary also saw how her grandmother was able to keep her kingdom independent and become a successful queen.

The Spanish were major participants in the marriage negotiations between Mary and Felipe. This factor cannot be overlooked while comparing Isabel and Mary’s reigns. Carlos V took the initiative in organizing the marriage negotiations. In the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, the majority of correspondences recorded include conversations between the ambassadors for England and Carlos.

The connection between Isabel and Mary is embodied in Carlos V’s involvement in the negotiations between Mary and Felipe. As the Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain and a lord of the Low Countries, Carlos’s opinion weighed heavily because he already was a significant figure in European diplomatic relations.<sup>102</sup> Carlos was also connected personally to both Felipe and Mary. Felipe was his first born son and heir to Spain, the Low Countries, and Sicily. Mary was Carlos’s cousin and both of them were grandchildren of Isabel. In his correspondence with Mary

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<sup>101</sup> *CSP Vol. 11*, 282.

<sup>102</sup> For detailed information on Carlos V’s role in Europe and Spain, please see Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V: Un Hombre para Europa* (Madrid: Espasa, 2010); Jose Antonio Maravall, *Carlos V y El Pensamiento Político del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1960); Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 164- 211; Kamen, 65-127; and Pérez, 189-225.

and the English court, he stated that he loved Mary because he thought her as equivalent to his daughter.<sup>103</sup> Mary probably would not have even considered marrying Felipe if Carlos had not suggested it.<sup>104</sup> Carlos's reign also depended on Isabel's marriage treaty because Carlos inherited the throne only because Isabel set aside Castile for her heirs. Carlos's important presence in the negotiations strongly suggests that Isabel's and Mary's marriage arrangements are not just comparable, but that Castile was a model for England to follow.

Prior to Mary's coronation, Carlos wanted accounts of all events that happened regarding the succession.<sup>105</sup> He was preoccupied with England while he was in charge of ruling Spain, the Low Countries, and the Holy Roman Empire. The opportunity to form an alliance with England was too much of a great opportunity that Felipe, Carlos, and Spain could never give up.

In addition to the negotiations, Isabel and Fernando's matrimonial agreements became a model for Queen Mary to follow as the first queen regent of England. Mary and Felipe married on July 25, 1554 after a year of marriage negotiations. The marriage negotiations resulted in two documents: *The Treaty of Marriage* and the *Act for the Marriage*. *The Treaty of Marriage* was the foreign agreement between the two realms and the *Act for the Marriage* was Parliament's approval.

The *Treaty of Marriage* established the marriage between two foreign powers, England and Spain. Carlos V administered the settlements made between the two realms, serving as the mediator in the negotiations. The treaty limited Felipe's power to only a consort king, and he had to obey the laws and customs of Tudor England.<sup>106</sup> The treaty proclaims that any children

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<sup>103</sup> CSP Vol. 11; and Loades, *Mary I: A Life*, 201-4.

<sup>104</sup> Loades, *Mary I: A Life*, 201-4.

<sup>105</sup> CSP Vol 1, 119-120.

<sup>106</sup> Royall Tyler, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at the Simancas and Elsewhere Vol. 12: Mary, January-July 1554* (London: Kraus Reprint, 1949), 2. The document hereafter will be referred to as CSP Vol. 12.

that Mary and Felipe produced would become heirs to England, and not to Spain: “The males or females to be born of the marriage are to succeed to their mother’s right to the kingdom of England according to the English law that regulates succession.”<sup>107</sup> This prevented the children becoming heirs to the Spanish throne. Their children could not occupy two kingdoms, but rather they would remain separate. The writers of the treaty also specify that males *and* females can become heirs to the throne, preventing the throne from going to a Protestant heir of England or a Spanish relative. There was no reason to find another candidate for the throne if a female could inherit it. In a realm as patriarchal and hierarchical as sixteenth-century England, the right for a female to serve as the monarch had to be stated explicitly.

English Parliament approved the marriage as well and passed the *Act for the Marriage*. England’s monarchy was less absolute than other Early Modern European realms because of the establishment of Parliament. Parliament approved affairs of state, and if Mary’s marriage was not approved by Parliament she could make enemies within her own country who would want in turn to oust her from power. She also needed Parliament on her side for any appropriations she may need for domestic reforms or defense abroad. Many of the points made in the treaty were the same as in *The Treaty of Marriage*. Felipe would not become a regnant of England, but only a consort. This would ensure England’s separation from Spain. The *Act* explicitly states:

“Customs of the same realms and the dominions being nevertheless preserved and maintained.”<sup>108</sup> This addresses the domestic concern in England that England would not become Spanish property culturally or politically. Both Mary and Felipe were to share equally: “the style, honour and kingly name of the realms and dominions unto the said most noble queen

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<sup>107</sup> *CSP Vol. 12*, 3.

<sup>108</sup> “The Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain,” in *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, ed. George Burton Adams and H. Morse Stephens. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914): 284, accessed October 4, 2013, Google Books.

appertaining.” Symbolically, both Mary and Felipe were able to say they were monarch of this territory and of lord of that realm. Felipe, in addition, “shall aid her Highness, being his wife, in happy administration of her Grace’s realms and dominions.”<sup>109</sup> The diplomats chose the word, “aid” carefully because it shows that Felipe was only there as a consort, but was not actually to reign as king. Since no queen ever ruled England as a regnant before, nobles and subjects feared that she could not rule alone, but they also dreaded foreign rule. By simply aiding Mary, Felipe would not be a regent and rule, but be by her side if she needed assistance.

The fear of their queen marrying a foreign prince was widespread in England. Correspondences regarding the marriage and the *Act* itself try to provide a remedy for this xenophobia. In a letter to Felipe, Renard advises that Felipe should travel to Spain immediately, suggesting Felipe’s presence in Spain is important to the English and his new Queen.<sup>110</sup> Although the *Act* never specifies that Mary must remain in England, it suggests that Felipe must come to England to sign government documents because he needs the signature of the queen regnant and her consort king. The proof that these documents caused Mary to spend all of her time in England is evident in that after Mary and Felipe married, Mary never left her country, and Felipe was the one who travelled.

The *Treaty of Marriage* and *Act for the Marriage* reiterate the terms made in Isabel and Fernando’s own agreement for marriage. The line of succession and status of the foreign king were two major controversies in the agreements. The terms regarding the queen’s children and heirs to the throne are essentially the same in Isabel’s and Mary’s reigns. The details of this in multiple documents are significant for two reasons: first, the documents declare the order of succession to prevent other royal family members from claiming the throne; second, they

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 284.

<sup>110</sup> *CSP Vol. 12*, 18-19.

maintain each realm's independence from the other in order to preserve each realm's laws and customs.

First, having a specific order of succession relates especially to Isabel and Mary's reigns because they each inherited the throne only after succession disputes. Since each of their claims to the throne was questioned, it was necessary that both Isabel and Mary make a strong claim for their successors. Mary witnessed the trouble and conflict that her father Henry caused when he changed the order of succession several times for each wife. Mary likely also saw the necessary measures she had to take from Isabel's Spain. Isabel's first two children died before they could inherit the Castilian throne, and her third daughter, Juana, was less prepared to rule than the other two.

Second, by stating that their children would be their heir to their respective kingdom rather than their husbands, Isabel and Mary kept their realms independent from foreign rule. Each of their children would succeed to her position and not her husband's position as king. Their marriage agreements also made put their husbands in the role of a consorts rather than regnant, making each of these monarchs capable of ruling on their own. Each of their husbands was only to assist his wife in her attempts to reign. The king participated in events in his respective realm, but the queen never or rarely travelled to her husband's realm, showing how her focus was on her native realm as regnant.

The agreements for marriage also structure the royal government as a "composite monarchy." The composite monarchy is a form of monarchy where two rulers of separate realms govern the same kingdom.<sup>111</sup> In the case of Isabel and Mary, the composite monarchy was

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<sup>111</sup> H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe, 1500-1789* (London: Longman, 1987), 48-9; J.H. Elliott. "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present, The Cultural and Political Construction of Europe* 137 (November 1992): 48-71, JSTOR. Elliott also identifies the concept without calling it a composite monarchy or state in Elliott, J.H. *Imperial Spain*, 18-19 and 82.

composed of themselves and their husbands. This enabled both the king and queen to work together to rule her realm, while the queen kept her status as a queen regnant. It was unusual that Isabel and Mary were able to become queen regnants while other queens who inherited the throne were consorts. More memorable and successful queens ruled without a husband.<sup>112</sup> The composite monarchy in essence allows the queen to rule as regnant, but she had her husband by her side to maintain gendered structures of power in their appearance to the public. Such an example is provided in Mary's *Treaty of Marriage* where it states Felipe "shall assist his consort in the task of government."<sup>113</sup> While Mary is called a consort, her actual duties were those of a regnant, as previously explained. The *Treaty*, here, focuses on Felipe's role as king, and Mary's as consort. This shows that a male presence lingered in in the England's government, but still gave Mary the power as a regnant. The same concept of public appearance exists when Isabel's and Mary's consorts were required to sign government documents alongside the queen's name, showing a male presence in politics. These similarities also suggest more than just a comparison, but further circumstantial evidence that Isabelline Spain was a model for Marian England.

The male consort would prove to be essential to the reigns. The only other option that would not suppress the queen's power was to not marry at all. However, this was not supported. Historian Bethany Aram argues that women could inherit the throne, but they needed a male consort, a husband, to maintain the balance of males and females in government.<sup>114</sup> Aram cites this as evidence of why Isabel's marriage to Fernando maintained her power while for her successor, Juana, widowhood did not.<sup>115</sup> The role of Fernando and Felipe as consorts was vital to

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<sup>112</sup> This is why Elizabeth is so important to early modern history and is why historians do not present Mary or Isabel in the same light.

<sup>113</sup> *CSP Vol. 12*, 2.

<sup>114</sup> This information can be found in Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty & Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005). Aram attributes Juana's failure to exist as a regent Queen because she refused to marry after Philip I died while Isabel was married during her entire reign.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

both Isabel's and Mary's reigns as queens. Their appearance in the government as a consort or as part of a composite monarchy eased the worries of the Castilian and English subjects.

Mary's marriage ceremony occurred in July 1554, formalizing her marriage.<sup>116</sup> Although Mary's marriage negotiations were finished and she sat on the throne as regnant, Mary continued to struggle as a monarch. Mary kept her position of power until she died in 1558, repeatedly demonstrating her agency as queen.

### *Conclusion*

Though Mary I of England was the first queen regnant in English history, Mary ruled with the precedent of Isabelline Castile. While Isabel and Mary are typically not compared to each other, the two queens both shared in the struggle of royal succession and in marrying a consort king. When each queen succeeded to the throne, the problem was not that a woman would be the monarch, but whether she was legitimate. The queen who had the most legitimate connection to the current king became the next reigning monarch. Isabel fought with Juana "la Beltraneja" over the Castilian throne while later, Mary and Jane Grey fought for the English throne. Isabel and Mary also created marriage agreements that secured their statuses as regnants and their husbands only as consorts. They each successfully secured these treaties for marriages that kept them in power for the remainder of their reigns.

Yet Isabel and Mary cannot only be compared, but analyzed in how Isabel influenced Mary: Isabelline Castile set an example for Marian England. Emperor Carlos V and Katherine of Aragon were two figures in Mary's life who suggest that there were more direct connections between Isabel and Mary. Carlos V was one of the significant figures in the process of

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<sup>116</sup> The gendered dynamics are analyzed in Alexander Samonson, "The Marriage and Royal Entry of Phillip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 761-784, accessed October 26, 2013, JSTOR.

succession and the marriage negotiations in the reign of Mary I. Carlos V was affected his mother, Juana I, and his grandmother, Isabel I. He, in turn, influenced Mary's reign. In the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, Carlos's name is one of the more frequent individual names listed in the correspondences. Mary's mother, Katherine, almost certainly influenced how Mary would succeed to the throne. Katherine and Mary were both pushed aside so Henry could rewrite the order of succession to have a male succeed to the throne. Watching the repercussions for her mother and herself shaped how Mary would rule and what she had to do to legitimize her claim to the throne.

The study of how Isabelline Castile served as model for Marian England also adds to the existing historiography.<sup>117</sup> While previous references to the Mary's Spanish heritage have identified her with the Black Legend. Deriving from Bartolome de Las Casas's criticism of the Spaniard's treatment of the Taínos on Hispaniola, the Black Legend portrays the Spanish as tyrannical because of both their merciless conquest of the Americas and the ill-treatment of the indigenous peoples there. The Black Legend also depicts Spaniards in this manner because of their conquest in Europe. The English propagated the Black Legend and it continues to exist in the historical literature. The reference to the Black Legend has instead emphasized Mary's agency in terms how she may have looked to Isabel's precedence.<sup>118</sup> This analysis also associates Isabel with Mary, which previously has been avoided in the previous historical works. Most English sources on Isabel compare her with Elizabeth, a non-blood relative.<sup>119</sup> However, based

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<sup>117</sup> Refer to note number two for the details on the historiography of Isabel and Mary.

<sup>118</sup> For example an example of a work that demonizes marry see H.F. M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London: Phoenix, 1940).

<sup>119</sup> Such examples can be found books of essays: David A. Boruchoff, ed., *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Barbara F. Weissberger, ed., *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, and Persona* (Suffolk: Tamesis, 2008); and Theresa Earenfight. , ed, *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

upon the examples of succession and marriage, Isabel's legacy provided an example for Mary to follow when she ascended to the throne.

Queen regnants in early modern Europe were able to assume the highest position of power, just as Isabel and Mary successfully managed at the beginning of their reigns. Queenship was a controversial form of rule in the early modern era. A queen had to fight to have her family and her subjects proclaim her as the monarch, have her allies help her possess the throne, and to have the Church and State crown her a queen. Isabel and Mary completed all three of these tasks through negotiations, compromises, and war. Maintaining the throne was a different story for each of these monarchs. There would always be controversy regarding to who could serve as a king or a more legitimate queen.

Neither Isabel nor Mary ever smoothed the path for a woman inheriting the throne. From a transnational perspective, Mary faced the same difficulties as her grandmother. In each of their realms future early modern women would struggle to become or remain queen. In Castile, Juana I became Isabel's successor only to be removed from power for madness. Juana's father, husband, and son all were connected to ousting Juana from power. Juana also refused to marry a second husband after the death of her first, Felipe I (r. June– September 1506), giving her opponents more of a reason to keep her out of power after Felipe I's death.<sup>120</sup> In England, Elizabeth faced the same prejudices against a queen inheriting the throne. There would be no male candidates, but the same issues of legitimacy would arise and her nobility would continuously criticize her for not taking a husband.<sup>121</sup> Despite the actions that Isabel and Mary took to legitimize their reigns, their female successors faced similar struggles. Although a female

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<sup>120</sup> For more information on Juana I of Castile please see Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty & Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005).

<sup>121</sup> For more information on Elizabeth's refusal to marry please see Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth* (Routledge, 1996), accessed November 14, 2013, JSTOR.

could legally ascend to the throne as a queen regnant, the royal family and nobility often prevented her from obtaining this right. The struggle often ended in defeat, proving that it was extraordinary that Isabel and Mary were able to hold a position that usually kings held in early modern Europe.

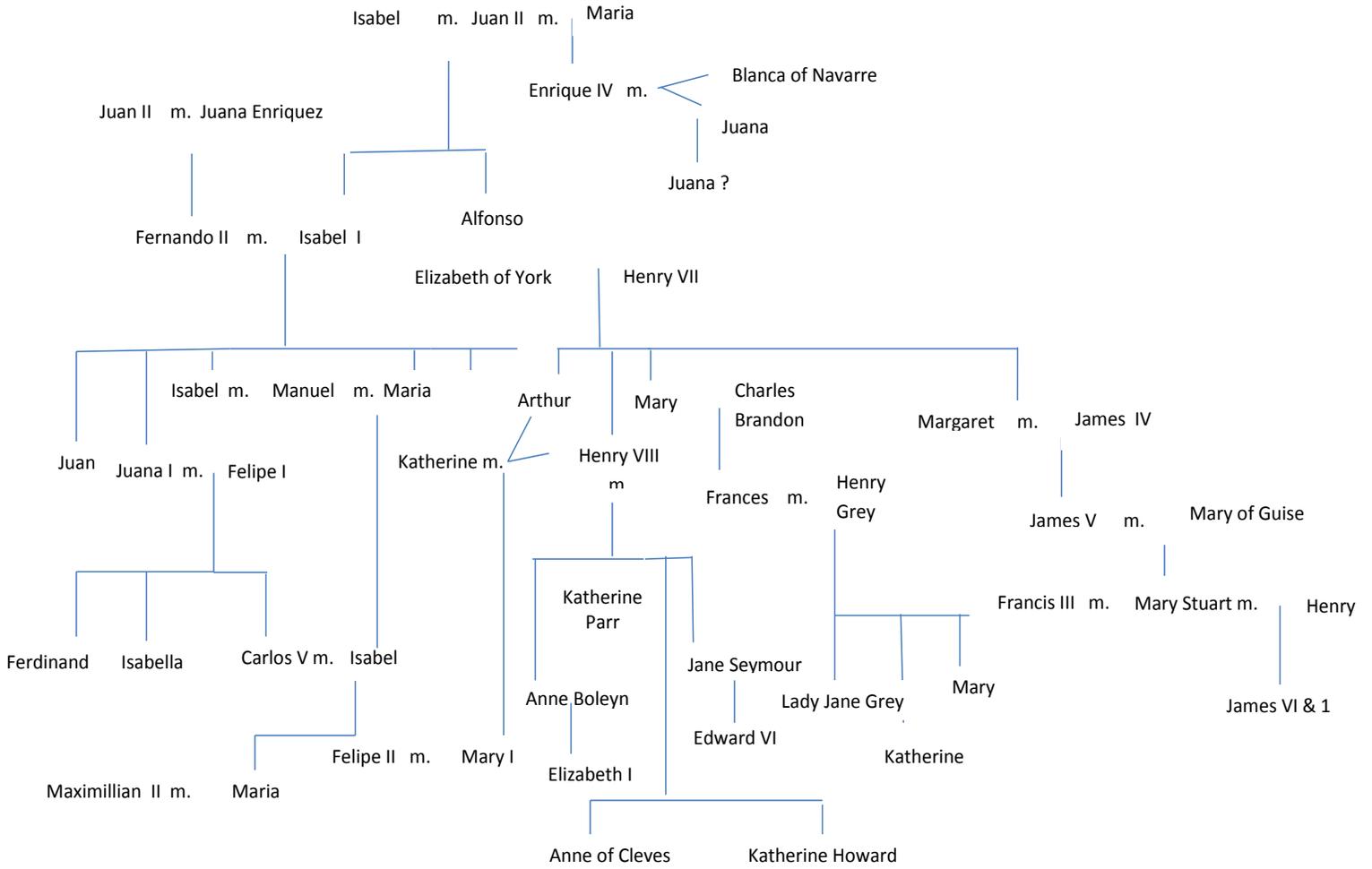
### A Note on Translation

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All documents from late fifteenth century Castile were translated by myself unless otherwise indicated. Some translations are word for word translations while others are paraphrases into modern day English.

Appendix A

Tratámara and Tudor Geneolgy



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