

# Queens, Princesses and Mendicants

Close Relations in a European Perspective

edited by

Nikolas Jaspert and Imke Just

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# TESTAMENTS, BURIALS AND BEQUESTS. TRACING THE 'FRANCISCANISM' OF ARAGONESE QUEENS AND PRINCESSES

Nikolas Jaspert

In the course of his long reign, King Peter of Aragon (d. 1387), known as the Ceremonious (ruled 1336-1387), undertook a series of measures in order to ostentatiously enhance his dynasty's self-glorification.<sup>1</sup> One of the central elements of this programme was the restructuring of the Royal Pantheon in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet.<sup>2</sup> Until then, rulers of the House of Barcelona had been buried in a number of churches and monasteries within the realm.<sup>3</sup> Now the king ordered that the members of his family as well as all future monarchs be interred in Poblet which he had chosen as his dynasty's central burial site.<sup>4</sup> His grandfather, King James II (d. 1327), had already converted the near-

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- <sup>1</sup> J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, "Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus". L'escultura al servei de Pere el Cerimoniós, in: S. CLARAMUNT RODRÍGUEZ / M. T. FERRER I MALLOL (eds.), *Pere el Cerimoniós i la seva època* (Anuario de estudios medievales. Anejo 24), Barcelona 1989, pp. 209-243; B. KLEIN, *Der König und die Kunst. Die Genese des aragonesisch-katalanischen 'Panteón' in Poblet unter Pere el Cerimoniós*, in: B. BORNGÄSSER / H. KARGE / B. KLEIN (eds.), *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal* (Ars iberica et americana 11), Frankfurt a. M. 2006, pp. 317-338. Many thanks to Victor Gottesmann, Julian Reichert, Sandra Schieweck and Paul Schweitzer-Martin (Heidelberg) as well as to Alberto Torra and Henry Joseph (Barcelona) for their assistance.
  - <sup>2</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón*, Madrid 1945, pp. 64-92, 264-341, 449-556; F. MARÉS DEULOVOI, *Las tumbas reales de los monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del monasterio de Santa María de Poblet*, Barcelona 1952; J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, "Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus" (note 1 above), p. 215: "L'obra de les tombes reials de Poblet fou l'empresa escultòrica més gran impulsada per Pere el Cerimoniós"; G. GONZALVO I BOU, *Poblet, Panteó Reial* (Episodis De La Història 328), Barcelona 2001; A. BLAT-MACHER, *Grabmäler in katalanischen Zisterzienserklöstern bis 1400. Beispiele aus Santes Creus, Poblet, Vallbona de les Monges und Vallsanta*, in: *Cîteau. Commentarii cistercienses* 56 (2005), pp. 148-198; EADEM, *Grabmäler in katalanischen Zisterzienserklöstern bis 1400. Beispiele aus Santes Creus, Poblet, Vallbona de les Monges und Vallsanta*, in: *Cîteaux. Commentarii cistercienses* 56 (2005), pp. 70-130; B. KLEIN, *Der König und die Kunst. Die Genese des aragonesisch-katalanischen 'Panteón' in Poblet unter Pere el Cerimoniós* (note 1 above). See in general: X. DICTOT, *Les tombeaux des familles royales de la péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge* (Histoires de Famille 7), Turnhout 2009.
  - <sup>3</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above); P. VILADOMIU I CANELA, *Guia de les tombes reials del Casal de Barcelona. Corona d'Aragó, Regne de València, Regne de Mallorca, Regne de Sicília* (del s. XII al XV), Barcelona 2009.
  - <sup>4</sup> M. D. BOFARULL DE SARTORIO (ed.), *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalan Pedro Miguel Carbonell* (Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la Corona de Aragón 27), 2 vols., Barcelona 1864, vol. 1, pp. 183-187; R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real*

by Cistercian monastery of Santes Creus into a royal mausoleum,<sup>5</sup> now Peter initiated the construction of a pantheon which would indeed become the House of Barcelona's focal funeral site.

Peter the Ceremonious's initiative has done much to obscure a fact that is of central importance to this paper: From the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a considerable number of princes and princesses, queens and kings of the House of Barcelona did not choose Cistercian monasteries as their place of burial, but Mendicant convents. The dissolution of many of these friaries in the course of the Spanish secularisation (the "desamortización" of 1835) and other historical events have contributed to concealing this extended network of spiritual ties, because the physical disappearance of many monasteries stripped historians and art historians of valuable sources.<sup>6</sup> This is particularly true for the Franciscan order, the subject of this paper. Despite these losses, there can be no doubt that several members of the House of Barcelona were closely associated to the Minorites. Some of them showed such a close affinity that it might be appropriately termed "franciscanism", as in these cases the Friars Minor played a paramount role within the rulers' pious self fashioning – albeit without ever becoming the exclusive recipient of royal support.

Best known is the "franciscanism" of the Majorcan branch of the dynasty,<sup>7</sup> as best represented by Sancia of Majorca (d. 1345),<sup>8</sup> the daughter of Esclara-

de Aragón (note 2 above), pp. 288-289; J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, "Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus" (note 1 above), p. 220.

- <sup>5</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón (note 2 above), pp. 209-223; J. VIVES I MIRET, Els sepulcres reials del Monestir de Santes Creus, in: *Studia monastica* 6 (1964), pp. 359-379; J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, Enterrament de Jaume II a Santes Creus l'any 1327, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 20-21 (1999-2000), pp. 323-343; A. BLATMACHER, Grabmäler in katalanischen Zisterzienserklöstern bis 1400. Beispiele aus Santes Creus, Poblet, Vallbona de les Monges und Vallsanta (note 2 above); EADEM, Grabmäler als mikroarchitektonische Gehäuse. Die Königsgrabmäler im Zisterzienserkloster Santes Creus (Katalonien), in: C. KRATZKE (ed.), *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter. Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination*, Leipzig 2008, pp. 135-160; T. NICKSON, The Royal Tombs of Santes Creus. Negotiating the Royal Image in Medieval Iberia, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72 (2009), pp. 1-14; F. ESPAÑOL BERTRAN, L'art al servei de Jaume II.: Els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus portaveus aùlics, in: *Lambard* 22 (2010/11), pp. 165-202; El panteó real de Santes Creus. Estudi i restauració de les tombes de Pere el Gran, Jaume II i Blanca d'Anjou i de l'almirall Roger de Llúria [online: [santes-creus.mhcat.cat/ca/el-llibre](http://santes-creus.mhcat.cat/ca/el-llibre) (last access: 28.12.2017)].
- <sup>6</sup> A. ABAD PÉREZ, La desamortización. Exclaustración y restauración, in: M. D. M. GRAÑA CID (ed.), *El Franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica. Balance y perspectivas*, Barcelona 2005, pp. 255-272; P. BESERAN RAMON, Incidències napolitanes a Catalunya. Revisions sobre l'escultura i arquitectura trescentista, in: R. ALCOY / P. BESERAN I RAMON (eds.), *El Trecento en obres. Art de Catalunya i art d'Europa al segle XIV (Emac contextos 1)*, Barcelona 2009, pp. 131-159.
- <sup>7</sup> M. V. HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou während der Höhe des Armutsstreites (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte 38)*, Berlin-Leipzig 1912; J. M. POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (si-*

monda of Foix (d. 1315) and James II of Majorca (d. 1311).<sup>9</sup> The activities of this highly devout and energetic woman in favour of the Franciscan order have been well studied and continue to call historians' attention, notably due to her two Neapolitan foundations of Santa Chiara and Santa Croce, where she ended her days in 1345.<sup>10</sup> Less known is the case of her brother, Prince Philip (d.

glos XIII XV) (Espejo de Clío 9), Alicante 1996; A. OLIVER, Heterodoxia en la Mallorca de los siglos XIII-XV, in: *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Lulliana* 32 (1961), pp. 157-176; N. JASPERT, Els descendents piadosos de una princesa hongaresa. Heretgia i santedat en la casa de Barcelona durant els segles XIII i XIV, in: F. MAKK / M. MIQUEL VIVES / A. ALCOBERRO (eds.), *Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'edat mitjana*, Barcelona 2009, pp. 291-306, here pp. 299-302; M. GREINER, La piété de Jacques de Majorque et les ordres mendiants. Une tradition revisitée, in: *Société Agricole Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales* 108 (2001), pp. 33-115; G. ENSENYAT PUJOL, La espiritualidad de las reinas de la casa real de Mallorca, in: M. GARCIA-FERNANDEZ / S. CERNADAS MARTINEZ (eds.), *Reginae Iberiae. El poder regio femenino en los reinos medievales peninsulares*, Santiago de Compostela 2015, pp. 111-130.

<sup>8</sup> M. v. HEUCKELUM, Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou (note 7 above), pp. 36-91; J. M. POU Y MARTÍ, Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (note 7 above), pp. 128-144; G. ALOMAR ESTEVE, Iconografía y heráldica de Sancha de Mallorca, reina de Nápoles, in: *Boletín de la Societat arqueològica lulliana* 35 (1976), pp. 5-36; R. G. MUSTO, Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans, in: J. KIRSHNER (ed.), *Women of the Medieval World. Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, Oxford 1985, pp. 179-214; IDEM, Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of Naples, 1309-1345. A New Appraisal, in: *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 90 (1997), pp. 419-486, here pp. 454-456; M. GAGLIONE, Sancia d'Aragona-Majorca. Da regina di Sicilia e Gerusalemme a monaca di Santa Croce, in: *Archivio per la storia delle donne* 1 (2004), pp. 28-54; I. HEULLANT-DONAT, En amont de l'Observance. Les lettres de Sancia, reine de Naples, aux Chapitres généraux et leur transmission dans l'historiographie du XIVe siècle, in: F. M. MEYER / L. VIALLET (eds.), *Identités franciscaines à l'âge des Réformes*, Clermont 2005, pp. 73-99; M. GAGLIONE, Sancia d'Aragona-Maiorca tra impegno di governo e "attivismo" francescano, in: *Studi storici. Rivista trimestrale* 49 (2008), pp. 931-984; C. ANDENNA, Secundum regulam datam sororibus ordinis sancti Damiani. Sancia e Aquilina: due esperimenti di ritorno alle origini alla corte di Napoli nel XIV secolo, in: M. ROBSON / J. RÖHRKASTEN (eds.), *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context. Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages* (Vita Regularis. Abhandlungen 44), Berlin 2010, pp. 139-178; M. GAGLIONE, Sancia di Maiorca e la dotazione del monastero di S. Chiara in Napoli nel 1342, in: *Rassegna storica salernitana* Ser. NS 27, 53 (2010), pp. 149-187; N. JORNET BENITO, Sança of Majorca, Queen of Naples. Monastic Foundation Within a Project of Genealogical Awareness and Franciscan Spirituality, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), *Women's Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th 16th centuries)* (IRCVN medieval cultures 2), Rome 2013, pp. 129-145; C. ANDENNA, Zwischen Kloster und Welt. Deutungen eines weiblichen franziskanischen Lebens im 14. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Sanchas von Neapel, in: L. STEINDORFF / O. AUGE (eds.), *Monastische Kultur als transkonfessionelles Phänomen. Beiträge einer deutsch-russischen interdisziplinären Tagung in Vladimir und Suzdal* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Moskau 4), Boston 2016, pp. 145-160; J. P. BOYER, Sancia per la grâce de Dieu reine Jérusalem et de Sicile, in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 129/2 (2017), pp. 1-48 and the article by Cristina ANDENNA in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> S. COINCY-SAINT-PALAIS, *Esclarmonde de Foix. Reine Jayme II de Majorque*, Paris 1968; M. GREINER, *La piété de Jacques de Majorque et les ordres mendiants* (note 7 above).

<sup>10</sup> F. ACETO / S. D'OIDIO / E. SCIROCCO (eds.), *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santa Chiara*.

1340-1343), who was so imbued by the spiritual Franciscan movement that he joined the so-called *fraticelli* and even founded a group of his own, the “Brothers of the Poor Life” or *fratres fratris Philippi Maioricis*, which brought him into conflict with Pope John XXII and probably drove him to an underground existence in Southern Italy, where historians lose trace of him.<sup>11</sup> Philip was not the only Majorcan prince who turned his back on worldly pomp: His brother James (d. 1330) also renounced the throne of Mallorca and became a Franciscan monk in Perpignan.<sup>12</sup> “Franciscanism” can also be attributed to certain members of the House of Barcelona’s Sicilian branch, as most clearly expressed by the daughters of King Frederic II (d. 1337), who joined the convent of Poor Clares at Messina that their grandmother had founded.<sup>13</sup>

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Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d’Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca (Quaderni Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia delle Città Campane nel Medioevo 6), Battipaglia 2014, particularly M. GAGLIONE, *Dai primordi del francescanesimo femminile a Napoli fino agli statuti per il monastero di S. Chiara*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 27-128.

- <sup>11</sup> J. VIDAL, *Un Ascète de Sang Royale, Philippe de Mallorque*, in: *Revue des questions historiques* NS 44 (1910), pp. 361-403; M. V. HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou* (note 7 above), pp. 53-63; A. OLIVER, *Heterodoxia en la Mallorca de los siglos XIII-XV* (note 7 above), pp. 165-170; P. M. D. BARCELONA, *L’ordre franciscà i la casa reial de Mallorca*, in: *Estudis franciscans* 29 (1923), pp. 354-383, here pp. 372-379; R. G. MUSTO, *Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans* (note 8 above), pp. 195-201; J. M. POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes* (note 7 above), pp. 111-128; J. MATEU IBARS, “Philippus de Maiorica” tutor de Jaime III de este reino: noticias diplomáticas según *Lletres Reals* 25, de Real Patrimonio (1325-1328) en el Archivo del Reino de Mallorca, *Documenta et scripta* (Rubrica. Paleographica et diplomatica studia 5), Barcelona 1993, pp. 151-186; N. JASPERT, *Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty. The House of Barcelona in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, in: D. A. AGIOS / I. R. NETTON (eds.), *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers. Trade, Politics and Religion, 650-1450* (International Medieval Research 1), Turnhout 1997, pp. 105-135, here pp. 128-130; R. G. MUSTO, *Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of Naples, 1309-1345. A New Appraisal*, in: *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 90 (1997), pp. 447-453; P. EVANGELISTI, *Relazioni di potere ed etiche per il potere. Clarenò, Filippo di Maiorca e la testualità politica francescana catalano-aragonesa*, in: *Società Internazionale degli Studi Francescani* (ed.), *Angelo Clarenò Franciscano. Atti del XXXIV convegno internazionale, Assisi 5-7 ottobre 2006* (Atti dei convegni della Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani e del Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Francescani N.S., 17), Spoleto 2007, pp. 315-376.
- <sup>12</sup> W. ST CLAIR BADDELEY, *Robert the Wise and His Heirs 1278-1352*, London 1897, p. 232; H. FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. 1291-1327*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1922, vol. 3, p. 131f. (no. 59); M. V. HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou* (note 7 above), pp. 26-36; J. M. POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes* (note 7 above), pp. 236f.; M. AURELL, *Messianisme royal de la Couronne D’Aragon (14e-15e siècles)*, in: *Annales ESC* 52 (1997), pp. 119-155, here pp. 129f.
- <sup>13</sup> J. A. DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon, Zaragoza 1703* (Repr. 1991), vol. 1, p. 96; F. COSTA, *Eleonora d’Angiò (1289-43), Regina franciscana di Sicilia (1303-43)*, in: A. MUSCO (ed.), *I Francescani e la politica (secc. XIII- XVII)*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Palermo, 3-7 dicembre 2002) (Collana franciscana 13), 2 vols.,

As for the Crown of Aragon proper: Of the four sons of Queen Constance of Hohenstaufen (d. 1302), wife to Peter the Great (d. 1285), no less than three – King Alfonso the Liberal (d. 1291),<sup>14</sup> King Frederick II of Sicily<sup>15</sup> and infant Peter (d. 1296)<sup>16</sup> – chose to be buried in a Franciscan convent. Her grandson, King Alfonso the Mild (d. 1336) even decided to break the promise he had given his father to be buried in the Cistercian Abbey of Poblet and acquired an apostolic absolution in order to receive sepulture in the Minorite convent of Lleida.<sup>17</sup> Three of his sons – Frederick (died as an infant), John (1358) and

Palermo 2007, vol. 1, pp. 175-222, here pp. 187-205; F. MILISENDA, I monasteri delle Clarisse in Sicilia nel XIII e nel XIV secolo, in: *Collectanea Franciscana* 70 (2000), pp. 485-519.

- <sup>14</sup> A. M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó. De Guifré Borrell a Joan II (Textos i documents 33), Barcelona 2001, pp. 170-176 (no. 27-29). In his first testament the King only ordered *quod in obitum nostro induamur habito Sancti Francisci* (ibidem, p. 170); later he specified *quod non fiat tumulus regnis [sic] in quo sepeliatur corpus nostrum, sed tumulus fratris minoris in quo sepeliatur* (ibidem, p. 175); J. WEBSTER, Els Menorets. The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death (Studies and Texts 114), Toronto 1993, pp. 92f.; C. R. BACKMAN, The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, Religion, and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296-1337, Cambridge 2002, pp. 186-245. On the King's affinity to the Spiritual Franciscans: J. M. POU Y MARTÍ, Visionarios, begunos y fraticelos catalanes (note 7 above), pp. 147-233.
- <sup>15</sup> C. R. BACKMAN, Arnau de Vilanova and the Franciscan Spirituals in Sicily, in: *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990), pp. 3-29; G. TODESCHINI, Gli spirituali e il regno di Sicilia agli inizi del Trecento, in: S. M. GANCI (ed.), Federico III d'Aragona, Re di Sicilia (1296-1337) (Archivio storico siciliano, Ser. 4, 23), Palermo 1999, pp. 185-204; C. R. BACKMAN, The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily (note 14 above), pp. 186-246.
- <sup>16</sup> *fratrem minorem simpliciter tumuletur [...] Mandamus nichilominus quod cum corpus nostrum deferatur ad locum seu conventum prefatum discoboperte aparteretur, ita quod habitus beati francisci quem induere debemus omnibus aparet manifeste* Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia n. 21[3]. Prince Peter has received a certain degree of attention due to his writings: Martí de Barcelona. El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* XI (1913), pp. 132-136; Martí de Barcelona, El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* XII (1914), pp. 129-141, 434-438; Martí de Barcelona, El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* XIII (1915c), pp. 204-215; J. POU Y MARTÍ, Visionarios, begunos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII-XV), Madrid 1991-1992, pp. 461-561; A. IVARS, Testamento del infante Fr. Pedro de Aragón, O.F.M., in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 15 (1921), pp. 102-113; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar, 2 vols., Barcelona 1948, vol. 1, pp. 158-169; D. GENÍS I MAS, Les profecies de l'infant Pere d'Aragó (1305-1381). El comtat d'Empúries en l'inici del joaquimisme a Catalunya, in: *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos* 35 (2002), pp. 119-140; L. CABRÉ, L'Infant Pere d'Empúries i la tradició familiar. Estampes en el setè centari del seu naixement, in: *Mot so razo* 4 (2005), pp. 69-84; A. BEAUCHAMP, De l'action à l'écriture. Le "De regimine principum" de l'infant Pierre d' Aragon (V.1357-1358), in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 35 (2005), pp. 233-270.
- <sup>17</sup> Soldevila Ferran, El testament d'Alfons el Liberal, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 21 (1963), pp. 149-154; A. M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona (note 14 above), pp. 201-217 (no. 34): *Et eligimus sepulturam nostram in monasterio fratrum minorum civitatis Ilerde, non obstante quod dum monicionibus serenissimi domini regis bone memorie nostri genitoris inducti, voverimus et sollemniter super missale posito in altari in presencia abbatís et monachorum Sanctarum Crucum iuramento ad Sancta Dei Evangelia manibus nostris corporaliter prestito firmaverimus, quod in dicto monasterio nostram eligerimus sepulturam et corpus nostrum saceremus inhibi sepeliri* (ibidem, p. 202). See also A. IVARS, El

Ferdinand (d. 1363, Marquis of Tortosa) – followed the example of their father and requested to be buried in the Franciscan convent of Lleida.<sup>18</sup> To sum up: Between 1250 and 1350, the House of Barcelona – both in the Crown of Aragon proper and in territories governed by its branch lines – can definitely be characterised as a strikingly philo-Mendicant network.<sup>19</sup> This does, of course, not imply that this dynasty exclusively favoured the Friars Minor and Poor Clares: the range of ecclesiastical institutions they backed is extremely wide; it varied from individual to individual and experienced fluctuations during each lifetime.

The prominent case of Sancia of Majorca's life in the service of Poor Clares and Friars Minor and the many other references to royal support of the Minorites in the Crown of Aragon leads us to the topic of this paper: Its objective is to put Sancia's exceptional case into context by providing a broad analysis of other female members of the House of Barcelona. I will attempt to determine which role the Franciscan order played for these women and will therefore focus on both queens and on their offspring, i. e. the princesses or "infantas" (Cat. "infantes"). The exceptional quantities of late medieval documentation preserved in the Spanish, particularly in the Catalan archives allows us to provide an in-depth analysis of these relationships and to comprehensively answer questions that can only be tentatively dealt with in some other European coun-

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mausoleo de la infanta Teresa de Entenza en el convento de S. Francisco de Zaragoza, por el escultor Pedro Moragues, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 25 (1926), pp. 245-250 and the chapter on "La dynastie contre la famille" and "Les choix personnels" in: X. DECTOT, *Les tombeaux des familles royales* (note 2 above), pp. 193-202. King Alfonso's body was first laid to rest in the Franciscan convent of Barcelona and transferred to that of Lleida decades later: R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 259-261; *Crónica del racional de la ciutat de Barcelona (1334-1417)*, in: *Recull de Documents i Estudis* 1 (1921), pp. 113-192, here pp. 142f. (no. 97); J. TRENCHS ÒDENA (ed.), *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional sobre la cultura catalana medieval* (*Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica* 88), Barcelona 2011, p. 379 (no. 1444); A. JAVIERRE MUR, *El último viaje de Alfonso IV de Aragón*, in: *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 2 (1946), pp. 241-256.

<sup>18</sup> Barcelona, *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, RC, Reg. 1532, fol. 75v-78v (Juan); Barcelona, *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Varia 21 (5 and 6): Mary and Ferdinand; R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 261-263. About Jaime y Federico see F. UDINA MARTORELL, *Tombes reials dels nostres reis catalano-aragonesos*, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 47 (1999-2000), pp. 367-376, esp. pp. 373f.

<sup>19</sup> On the religiosity of James II's children see H. FINKE, *Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu den Acta Aragonensia (I-III)*, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 4 (1933), pp. 355-536; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above); N. GIL ROIG, *Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos. Afecto, formalismo o interés*, in: *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14 (1999), pp. 693-707; R. AVERKORN, *König Jaime II. von Aragón († 1327) und seine Töchter im Briefwechsel. Anmerkungen zu Vater-Tochter-Beziehungen im Kontext weiblicher Lebenswelten im Spätmittelalter*, in: G. SEYBERT (ed.), *Das literarische Paar. Intertextualität der Geschlechterdiskurse*, Bielefeld 2003, pp. 29-73.

tries: Which role did Franciscan convents play as a place of burial to royal families, if we extend our perspective and include the wives and daughters of monarchs? Which esteem did the brethren enjoy and which position did they hold within the wide spectrum of ecclesiastical institutions that competed for royal support in the Middle Ages? And finally: What was the type and range of instruments that queens could employ in order to back the monks or nuns and their respective orders?

I will address these questions in three steps. The first focuses on spaces of particular royal devotion, namely those convents that were chosen by queens and princesses as their final resting place. Can one speak of Franciscan Pantheons in the Crown of Aragon? Were certain houses particularly favoured by the female members of the Royal family? Which factors influenced these women's choices? The findings in this paper provide important material for a comparative study of late medieval queens' affinity to the Franciscans on a European level.

A second section attempts to put these findings into context by analysing wills of Aragonese queens and princesses. Contrary to most other European countries, Catalonia and Aragon boast a considerable number of extant testaments. These documents are extraordinary sources that enable us to study medieval noblewomen's spirituality and self-fashioning in immediate view of their passing. Which role do Mendicants in general and Friars Minor in particular play within the wills, and how does the royal support bestowed upon them correlate to that distributed to other ecclesiastical institutions? Can one differentiate between relative neglect of the Minorites, a certain affinity to the order and fully fledged "franciscanism" – that is: a stark preference for the Minorites? It goes without saying that even such decided sympathy was never exclusive, but rather coincided with (minor) support of other ecclesiastical institutions.

Finally, the third section of this article extends our perspective. Its aim is to present a wide array of sources that reflect the diversity of modes, manners and media that medieval queens and princesses employed in order to promote individual friars, the entire Minorite order or specific houses. The rich Catalonian archives, and particularly the fathomless registers of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), allow us to delineate a much more exact and lively image of the concrete steps that female members of a medieval royal family could undertake in favour of ecclesiastics than one based on slimmer textual evidence or on less well documented cases.

## I. Franciscan Convents as Places of Royal Burial

In the roughly one hundred years ranging from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, more than three dozen Franciscan<sup>20</sup> and nearly as many Clarist<sup>21</sup> convents were founded within the territory comprising the Crown of Aragon.<sup>22</sup> Many of these institutions were actively favoured by female members of the Royal family. Some of the houses were even founded by monarchs, their wives or their children – a marked difference to the neighbouring Kingdom of Castile, where such royal foundations are far more seldom.<sup>23</sup> Concentrating on those female members of the House of Barcelona who established, endowed or fundamentally supported convents, one must first name Queen Yolande (Violante) of Hungary (d. 1251), wife of James the Conqueror

<sup>20</sup> Male convents were founded in Balaguer (before 1276), Barbastro (before 1235), Barcelona (ca. 1229), Berga (before 1244), Borja (by 1325), Calatayud (before 1273), Castelló d'Empúries (before 1263), Cervera (early 1220s), Ciutat (= Palma) de Mallorca (1232), Ciutadella (1302), Daroca (before 1237), Ejea (1250), Girona (1232), Huesca (before 1233), Jaca (before 1246), Inca (1325), Lleida (1221-1228), Majorca (before 1235), Molina (before 1286), Montblanc (before 1258), Monzón/Montsó (before 1261), Morella (1232-1249), Morvedre Murviedro (ca. 1250), Perpignan (by 1235), Puigcerdà (by 1315), Sariñena (1282), Tarragona (before 1242), Tarazona (before 1270), Tàrraga (1318), Teruel (ca. 1217), Toliu near Morvedre Murviedro (1402), Tortosa (before 1248), Valencia (before 1238), Vic (1225), Vilafranca del Conflent (by 1301), Vilafranca del Penedès (before 1242) and Xàtiva (1248), Zaragoza (before 1256).

<sup>21</sup> Houses of Sisters Minor were established in Barcelona (around 1233), Balaguer (1347-1351), Calatayud (1240), Castelló d'Empúries (1260), Cervera (1344), Ciutat (= Palma) de Mallorca (1256), Ciutadella (1285), Girona (1319), Huesca (1262-1268), La Seu d'Urgell (first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), Lleida (1241), Manresa (1322), Montblanc (1296), Puigcerdà (1351), Tarragona (1248-49), Tarazona (1240), Tàrraga (before 1368), Teruel (1366/67), Tortosa (1267), Pedralbes (1326), Perpignan (1270), Valencia (1249), Vic (1383), Vilafranca del Penedès (between 1295 and 1303), Vic (1383), Xàtiva (1325), Zaragoza (1234).

<sup>22</sup> Overviews: M. D. CASTRO CASTRO, *Monasterios hispánicos de clarisas desde el siglo XIII al XVI*, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano Ser. 2* 49 (1989), pp. 79-122; A. M. GINÉ TORRES, *Establiments franciscans a Catalunya. Arquitectura franciscana*, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 10 (1989), pp. 125-143; J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 14-73, 223-236; N. JORNET I BENITO, *El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona. L'origen i l'assentament del primer monestir de clarisses a Catalunya* (*Scripta et documenta* 76), Barcelona 2007, pp. 22-30; B. ROEST, *Order and Disorder. The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform* (*The Medieval Franciscans* 8), Leiden 2013, pp. 88-104; N. JORNET BENITO, *Female Mendicant Spirituality in Catalan Territory. The Birth of the First Communities of Poor Clares*, in: J. E. BURTON / K. STÖBER (eds.), *Women in the Medieval Monastic World* (*Medieval Monastic Studies* 1), Turnhout (Belgium) 2015, pp. 185-210, esp. pp. 192-199. For Catalonia, see the new project "Claustra": [http://www.ub.edu/claustra/spa/info/proyeccion\\_de\\_futuro](http://www.ub.edu/claustra/spa/info/proyeccion_de_futuro); B. GARÍ et. al., *CLAUSTRA. Propuesta metodológica para el estudio territorial del monacato femenino*, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), *Monográfico. Espacios de espiritualidad femenina en la Europa medieval* (*Anuario de estudios medievales* 44/1), Barcelona 2014, pp. 21-50.

<sup>23</sup> J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 73-102; M. R. KATZ, *A Convent for La Sabia. Violante of Aragón and the Clarisas of Allariz*, in: J. D'EMILIO (ed.), *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (*MEMIW* 58), Leiden 2015, pp. 812-836, here pp. 824-826.

(d. 1276), who was instrumental in founding the Clair convents of Lleida and Valencia.<sup>24</sup> Mary of Lusignan/Cyprus (d. 1319), wife of James II, strongly endowed the monastery of Santa Clara of Tortosa.<sup>25</sup> The convent of Santa Clara of Zaragoza in turn was reconstructed and Vilafranca del Penedés was greatly favoured by Queen Blanche of Anjou/Naples (d. 1310).<sup>26</sup> Leonor of Sicily (d. 1375) founded the Poor Clares' convent of Teruel and re-founded that of Calatayud.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> O. F. BRACHFELD, Doña Violante de Hungría, reina de Aragón, Madrid 1942; J. MATEU IBARS, El monasterio de Santa Clara de Lérida. Notas para su estudio, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* Ser. 2, 54 (1994), pp. 945-967; N. JORNET BENITO, Female Mendicant Spirituality in Catalan Territory (note 22 above), p. 204; EADEM, El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona (note 22 above), p. 28; B. ROEST, Order and Disorder (note 22 above), p. 92; T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ (eds.), *Butllari de Catalunya. Documents pontificis originals conservats als arxius de Catalunya (1198-1417)* (Fundació Noguera. Diplomataris 73), 3 vols., Lleida 2016, vol. 1, p. 234 (no. 173).

<sup>25</sup> E. SARRABLO, La Reina que vino de Oriente (María de Chipre, esposa de Jaime II, Rey de Aragón), in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 148 (1961), pp. 13-160, here pp. 107-110, 125, 129-131, 149-154 (no. 16); J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278); R. AVERKORN, Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Macht und Religion. Studien zur Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter, in: C. RABASSA VAQUER / R. STEPPER (eds.), *Imperios sacros, monarquías divinas. Primer coloquio internacional del Grupo Europeo de Investigación Histórica Religión, Poder y Monarquía, Castelló de la Plana Vinaròs* (España), 19, 20 y 21 de noviembre de 2001 [Heilige Herrscher, göttliche Monarchen] (Col·lecció Humanitats 10), Castelló de la Plana 2002, pp. 219-268, esp. pp. 242f.; N. JORNET BENITO, Female Mendicant Spirituality in Catalan Territory (note 22 above), p. 204. On this queen see: E. L. MIRON, *Las Reinas de Aragón, sus vidas y sus épocas*, Valencia 1929, pp. 130-141; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 197-273 and the article by Margit MERSCH in this volume. On the convent see E. BAYERRI y BERTOMÉU, *La civilización tortosina-catalana* (siglos XIII-XX), Tortosa 1960, pp. 523-531.

<sup>26</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 34-39 (no. 57): *Item dimittimus ebbatisse et conventui monasterii dominarum minorissarum ordinis Sancte Clare, noviter constructi in Vilafrancha de Panadesio, pro opere et fabrica ecclesie eorundem, centum libras Barchinone* (p. 37). See A. M. GINÉ TORRES, *Establiments franciscans a Catalunya. Arquitectura franciscana* (note 22 above), p. 134; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios*, in: I. BECEIRO PITA (ed.), *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno* (ss. XII-XV), Madrid 2014, pp. 389-422, p. 386. On the convent see M. MIRET NIN, *El convent de Sant Francesc de Vilafranca del Penedés*, in: A. PLADEVALL FONT (ed.), *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura. Catedrals, monestirs i altres edificis religiosos*, 2 sub-volumes, Barcelona 2002, sub-volume 1, pp. 183-185; T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ (eds.), *Butllari de Catalunya. Documents pontificis originals conservats als arxius de Catalunya (1198-1417)* (Fundació Noguera. Diplomataris 74), 3 vols., Lleida 2016, vol. 2, pp. 1039-1040 (no. 767).

<sup>27</sup> S. ROEBERT, Leonor de Sicilia y Santa Clara de Teruel. La fundación reginal de un convento de clarisas y su primer desarrollo, in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 44 (2014), pp. 141-178; IDEM, 'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedificantis'. La política monástica di Eleonora di Sicilia, in: *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 18 (2017), pp. 7-32, esp. pp. 50-52, 59-61.

Some of these women retired to the institutions they had established (after the demise of their husbands). Widowhood substantially altered the status and agency of medieval women, and one option for dowager queens to refashion their lives was withdrawal to a religious institution. Ever since Visigothic times, when dowager queens were advised to enter a monastery,<sup>28</sup> some women had opted for this choice. In the late medieval Crown of Aragon, one can observe some instances in which widowed queens did not actually take the vows and enter a monastery as a nun but continued to reside for many years in close vicinity to a religious community they were spiritually attached to.<sup>29</sup> It is hardly surprising that these pious dowager queens generally chose the respective institution as their final resting place. Several cases within the House of Barcelona prove this case, and they are all closely tied to the Franciscan order.

Queen Yolande (Violante) of Aragon (d. 1301), the eldest daughter of the homonymous Hungarian Princess and wife of Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284), not only founded the Poor Clare monastery of Allariz in Galicia, but also spent the final decades of her life there after her estrangement from Alfonso X, thus evading the family strife that ensued after her husband's demise in 1284.<sup>30</sup> She resided in the immediate vicinity of the monastery until her death. In her last will, Yolande went to great pains to secure that she would find her final rest at Allariz, even specifically revoking previous provisions in order to do so.<sup>31</sup> She

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<sup>28</sup> J. ORLANDIS ROVIRA, *La Reina en la Monarquía visigoda*, in: *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 27/28 (1957/58), pp. 109-135, esp. pp. 112-131; A. ISLA FREZ, *Reinas de los godos*, in: *Hispania. Revista española de historia* 64 (2004), pp. 409-434; M. D. R. VALVERDE CASTRO, *La reina viuda en el derecho visigodo. Religionis habitum adsumat*, in: *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 73 (2003), pp. 389-406; S. OHARA, *La formación de la memoria y la función del derecho consuetudinario en el caso del derecho sucesorio al trono de las mujeres en la Castilla medieval*, in: *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 7 (2006), pp. 101-119; M. R. KATZ, *The Final Testament of Violante de Aragón* (ca. 1236-1300/01). *Agency and (Dis)Empowerment of a Dowager Queen*, in: E. WOODACRE (ed.), *Queenship in the Mediterranean. Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Era*, New York 2013, pp. 51-71, p. 55; see N. JASPERT, *Indirekte und direkte Macht iberischer Königinnen im Mittelalter. 'Reginale' Herrschaft, Verwaltung und Frömmigkeit*, in: C. ZEY (ed.), *Mächtige Frauen? Königinnen und Fürstinnen im europäischen Mittelalter* (11.-14. Jahrhundert) (Vorträge und Forschungen 81), Ostfildern 2015, pp. 73-130, here p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> See similar cases mentioned for other medieval realms in the articles by Ana RODRIGUES, Julia BURKHARDT and Cristina ANDENNA in this volume.

<sup>30</sup> M. R. KATZ, *A Convent for La Sabia* (note 23 above); M. J. FUENTE PÉREZ, *Violante de Aragón, reina de Castilla* (Anejos de la Revista de Historiografía 6), Madrid 2017, here pp. 178-187.

<sup>31</sup> A. LÓPEZ, *Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz* (Siglos XIII y XIV), in: *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial del Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense* VIII 172 (1927), pp. 8-18, here p. 16: *Et mando mio cuerpo enterrar en esse monesteryo de Allaris que yo ffoço de la orden de sancta Clara, en derecho del altar de sancta Maria, dentro en el coro de la duenas*; p. 17: *Et señaladamente la palabra et prometimientos que fhis de me enterrar, do yase mi madre, reuocolo todo [...] E el testamento que fhis de enterrar en Çamora, reuocolo, e otro testamento o carta qualquier que parezca de mio enterramiento, reuocolo todo sinon este que mando que vala*. F. GARCÍA ORO,

forcefully reiterated her desire to be buried in Allariz in the opening passages of her will by repeating this stipulation several times. It is highly probable, but not absolutely sure, that her wish was indeed heeded.<sup>32</sup>

Isabella of Aragon, queen of Portugal (d. 1336) by marriage with King Dimis (d. 1325), not only re-founded the monastery of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra after its rocky first years of existence, but also chose it as her burial site. She built a palace for herself and other members of her family close by and retreated to the monastery as a tertiary at her husband's death in 1325.<sup>33</sup> Her sarcophagus, now kept in Santa Clara-a-Nova within the same town, still proudly shows the royal arms of Aragon as well as those of her husband to-

Francisco de Asís en la España medieval, Santiago de Compostela 1988, pp. 133-148; R. P. KINKADE, Violante of Aragon (1236?-1300?). An Historical Overview, in: *Exemplaria Hispanica* 2 (1992-1993), pp. 1-37; M. R. KATZ, The Final Testament of Violante de Aragón (note 28 above); FUENTE PÉREZ, Violante de Aragón (see note 30).

<sup>32</sup> M. R. KATZ, A Convent for La Sabia (note 23 above), pp. 827-830.

<sup>33</sup> A. RIBEIRO DE VASCONCELLOS, *Evolução do culto de Dona Isabel de Aragão*, 2 vols., Coimbra 1894; F. T. LOPES, *Actividades pacificadoras de S. Isabel de Portugal nos dissídios entre Castela e Arago de 1300 a 1304*, Braga 1967; F. T. LOPES, *Santa Isabel na contienda entre D. Dinis e o filho 1321-1322*, in: *Lusitania Sacra* 8 (1970), pp. 57-80; A. CANELLAS LÓPEZ, *Una carta-relicario de Santa Isabel de Aragón, reina de Portugal*, in: *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB T. 2 (Studia Silensia 4)*, Silos 1977, pp. 137-144; R. FOLZ, *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VIe XIIIe siècles) (Subsidia hagiographica 76)*, Bruxelles 1992, pp. 145-158; I. C. D. SOUSA, *A rainha D. Leonor e a introdução da reforma coletina da ordem de Santa Clara em Portugal*, in: *Archivo-Ibero-Americano* 54 (1994), pp. 1033-1070; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha santa de Portugal, e il monastero di Santa Clara e Santa Isabel di Coimbra (1286-1336)*, in: *Collectanea Franciscana* 71 (2001), pp. 139-169; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Isabella d'Aragona, "Rainha Santa de Portugal", ambasciatrice di pace nella conferenza di Torrellas (1304)*, in: R. NARBONA VIZCAÍNO (ed.), *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII-XVI & VII Centenari de la Sentència Arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004. XVIII Congrès d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, València 2004 (9-14 setembre)*, 2 vols., València 2005, vol. 2, pp. 2205-2214; M. F. CARVALHO ANDRADE, *O processo fundacional dos conventos de clarissas no Portugal medievo*, in: M. I. VIFORCOS MARINAS (ed.), *Fundadores, fundaciones y espacios de vida conventual. Nuevas aportaciones al monacato femenino*, León 2005, pp. 79-102; S. BOISSELLIER, *La 'Vie de S. Isabelle de Portugal' en langue vulgaire. Présentation et traduction annotée du texte original*, in: *Revue Mabillon* 18 (2007), pp. 217-252; M. J. DE AZEVEDO SANTOS, *As chancelarias das rainhas de Portugal na Idade Média (breves notas de investigação)*, in: L. A. D. FONSECA (ed.), *Os reinos ibéricos na idade média. Livro de homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, 3 vols., Porto 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1105-1109; A. M. R. D. OLIVEIRA, *Rainhas medievais de Portugal. Dezasete mulheres, duas dinastias, quatro séculos de história*, Lisbon 2010, pp. 151-211; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha Santa de Portugal, e la diffusione del culto di Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria in Portogallo*, in: M. PELÁEZ DEL ROSAL (ed.), *El Franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica. El viaje de San Francisco por la Península Ibérica y su legado, 1214-2014. Actas III Congreso Internacional, Córdoba 2010*, pp. 478-491; A. M. S. RODRIGUES, *The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor. The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century*, in: T. MARTIN (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture (Visualising the Middle Ages 7/1)*, 2 vols., Leiden 2012, vol. 1, pp. 903-936, esp. pp. 922-931.

gether with depictions of male and female Franciscan saints.<sup>34</sup> Isabella's engagement in favour of the poor and as a mediator in political conflicts as well as the devotion she received after her death in 1336 were the base for her late canonisation in 1625, no doubt the result of contemporary political interests.<sup>35</sup>

Queen Elisenda (d. 1364), the daughter of Peter of Montcada (d. 1352) and Elisenda of Pinós, became the third wife of James II of Aragon in 1322.<sup>36</sup> Even before his death in 1327, Elisenda had initiated the construction of the Clare monastery of Pedralbes just north of Barcelona.<sup>37</sup> Clearly influenced by the

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<sup>34</sup> MACEDO; Francisco José Pires Pato de, *O Túmulo Gótico de Santa Isabel, Imagem de la Reina Santa. Santa Isabel, Infanta de Aragón y Reina de Portugal*, II Estudios, Zaragoza 1999, pp. 93-114; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha Santa de Portugal* (note 33 above), pp. 486, 491; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *O túmulo de Isabel de Aragão, rainha de Portugal. Propostas para uma cronologia antecipada*, in: J. R. D. MELO / L. U. AFONSO (eds.), *O fascínio do gótico. Um tributo a José Custódio Vieira da Silva*, Lisboa 2016, pp. 17-32; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Rainha para sempre. O túmulo de Isabel de Aragão em Coimbra*, O Tesouro da Rainha Santa. Imagem e Poder, Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon 2016, pp. 85-97.

<sup>35</sup> G. ROSSI VAIRO, *II protagonismo d'Isabel d'Aragona, regina del Portogallo, nella guerra civile alla luce delle fonti portoghesi, aragonesi e dei Regesta Vaticana (1321-1322)*, in: M. GARCÍA-FERNÁNDEZ / S. CERNADAS MARTÍNEZ (eds.), *Reginae Iberiae. El poder regio femenino en los reinos medievales peninsulares*, Santiago de Compostela 2015, pp. 131-150; E. SERRANO, *La canonización de Isabel de Aragón, reina de Portugal*, in: E. SERRANO / A. L. CORTÉS / J. L. BETRÁN (eds.), *Discurso religioso y contrarreforma 2005*, pp. 79-100.

<sup>36</sup> J. E. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Biografía de Elisenda de Montcada "regina de Pedralbes"*, Barcelona 1953; E. BALASCH / F. ESPAÑOL (eds.), *Elisenda de Montcada. Una reina lleidatana i la fundació del Reial Monestir de Pedralbes* (Dia de la Seu Vella 1996), Lleida 1997; F. ESPAÑOL, *Un cert perfil d'Elisenda de Montcada*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 11-39; E. P. MCKIERNAN GONZALEZ, *Reception, Gender, and Memory. Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, in: T. MARTIN (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Visualising the Middle Ages 7), 2 vols., Leiden 2012, vol 1, pp. 309-352; A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, *Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes. A Model for Female Spiritual Promotion in the 14th Century*, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), *Women's Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (IRCVM Medieval Cultures 2), Rome 2013, pp. 107-128; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), pp. 399-407; A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, *El projecte fundacional del monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes i el palau de la reina Elisenda de Montcada a través de dos inventaris del 1364*, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), *Monográfico. Espacios de espiritualidad femenina en la Europa medieval* (Anuario de estudios medievales 44/1), Barcelona 2014, pp. 103-139, esp. pp. 110-114.

<sup>37</sup> E. BALASCH / F. ESPAÑOL, *Elisenda de Montcada* (note 36 above); A. CASTELLANO I TRESSERRA, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana. Història d'un monestir femení* (Biblioteca Abat Oliba 198), Barcelona 1998; P. BESERAN RAMON / A. CUBELLES BONET / J. M. JULIA CAPDEVILA, *El convent de Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, in: A. PLADEVALL FONT (ed.), *L'art gòtic a Catalunya* (note 26 above), pp. 193-200; R. ALCOY PEDRÓS, *Clarisse, monarchia e mondo francescano nella Capella di San Michele nel monastero de Pedralbes ed oltre*, in: *Ikon* 3 (2010), pp. 81-94; C. SANJUST I LATORRE, *L'obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes des de la seva fundació fins al segle XVI. Un monestir reial per a l'orde de les Clarisses a Catalunya* (Col·lecció Cum Laude 3), Barcelona 2010, esp. pp. 19-43; E. P. MCKIERNAN GONZALEZ, *Reception, Gender, and Memory* (note 36 above); A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, *Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes* (note 36 above); F. ESPAÑOL BERTRAN,

model of her husband's cousin, Queen Sancia of Majorca, and the latter's foundation of Santa Chiara in Naples,<sup>38</sup> Elisenda resided at Pedralbes for 37 years. She was so closely associated with the monastery that the famous Catalan humanist Bernat Metge termed her "the Queen of Pedralbes" (*la regina de Pedralbes*) in the lines he dedicated to Elisenda in his *Lo Somni*.<sup>39</sup> Despite her semi-religious form of life and similar to Queen Isabella and Queen Yolande, she never took the vows and did not permanently live within the monastery compound strictly speaking, but rather created a residential setting adjacent to the community where she lived the life of a pious dowager queen. She is however known to have left this complex and travelled to Barcelona on special occasions such as christenings or religious celebrations.<sup>40</sup> Elisenda stipulated that her body should be buried in the choir of her foundation.<sup>41</sup> The sarcophagus, an unusual work of art, is still preserved: It shows a double image of the recumbent queen, one side open to the public, the other only to be seen by the Poor Clares in the Choir.<sup>42</sup> Elisenda of Montcada's public body was displayed

L'univers d'Elisenda de Montcada i el seu patronatge sobre el monestir de Pedralbes, in: *Lambard* 25 (2013/14), pp. 9-35.

- <sup>38</sup> The role of Italy as a model for Franciscanism in Catalonia is pointed out by P. BESERAN RAMON, *Incidències napolitanes a Catalunya. Revisions sobre l'escultura i arquitectura trescentista* (note 6 above); R. ALCOY PEDRÓS, *Clarisse, monarchia e mondo francescano* (note 37 above): "Bisogna rendersi conto che la storia di una Catalogna francescana medioevale non si può fare senza unire in certa misura arte italiana e mondo francescano" (*ibidem*, p. 81). In fact, there were personal ties between both monasteries: Margarita of Montcada, Queen Elisenda's niece, joined the convent of Santa Chiara and lived there for 25 years before requesting papal permission to transfer to the monastery of Pedralbes; Pope Clement VI granted it in 1347, A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, *Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes* (note 36 above), p. 126. A similar case is that of two Sicilian Poor Clares who allegedly transferred to the monastery in Teruel that Queen Leonor of Sicily (d. 1375) had founded there – see the yet unpublished dissertation by S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem qualis et quanta a domino nobis est commissa. Funktionen und Wirkungen der Königin in der Krone Aragon am Beispiel Eleonores von Sizilien (1349-1375)*, Diss. Phil., Leipzig 2016, p. 100.
- <sup>39</sup> L. BADIA (ed.), Bernat Metge. *Lo somni* (Mínima minor 86), Barcelona 1999, p. 154 (book 4, chapter 6): *¿Qui es poria suficientment dir l'bonestat gran e maturitat de la regina de Pedralbes, muller del rei En Jaume d'Aragó? La qual, vivent aquell, fou molt graciosa e contínua intercessora totstemp per sos pobles, jamés no girà los ulls a coses desbonestes, la sua almoina nulltamp no fou denegada als pobres, e après la mort del dit rei acabà lo monestir de Pedralbes, que en vida d'aquell havia començat, en lo qual honestament morí e finí sos dies.*
- <sup>40</sup> F. ESPAÑOL, *Un cert perfil d'Elisenda de Montcada* (note 36 above), pp. 36f.; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), p. 400.
- <sup>41</sup> M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, *Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya. Monacato femenino medieval. Colección documental, Lleida 2011*, pp. 344-350 (no. 87): *Éligimus corpori nostro sepulturam apud dictum monasterium Sancte Mariae de Petra Alba in ecclesia videlicet eiusdem monasterii coram altari scilicet maiori eiusdem ecclesia in monumento quod nos ibi habemus* (p. 345).
- <sup>42</sup> E. P. MCKIERNAN GONZALEZ, *Reception, Gender, and Memory* (note 36 above); F. ESPAÑOL BERTRAN, *L'univers d'Elisenda de Montcada* (note 37 above), p. 22-32; J. L. HERNANDO GARRIDO, *Los Franciscanos en los viejos reinos de Castilla y León. De la pobreza espontánea a la promoción nobiliaria*, in: *Biblioteca. Estudio e investigación* 31 (2016), pp. 157-195, here pp. 171-173. Her tomb stands out precisely because Catalonia cannot compare to the impres-

in royal attire, whilst her private one is depicted as a Poor Clare (or possibly as a widow).<sup>43</sup>

Apart from these three spectacular cases of dowager queens who spent the last years of their lives in close spatial vicinity to a Poor Clare monastery they not only had founded, but also chose as their final place of rest, a number of other members of the House of Barcelona were buried in Minorite convents. If we do not consider Berenguera Alfons (d. 1272), King James the Conqueror's formal concubine, who was interred in the friary of Narbonne and established a chaplaincy at the Poor Clare monastery of Valencia in her will (1272),<sup>44</sup> the first

sive array of Royal female tombs still extant in Naples: L. ENDERLEIN, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266 1343* (Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 12), Worms am Rhein 1997; T. MICHALSKY, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 157), Göttingen 2000; A. H. LOCONTE, *Constructing Female Sanctity in Late Medieval Naples. The Funerary Monument of Queen Sancia of Majorca*, in: E. L'ESTRANGE / A. MORE (eds.), *Representing medieval genders and sexualities in Europe. Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530*, Farnham 2011, pp. 107-126; J. GARDNER, *Clarifications. Poverty, Lineage and Display in S. Chiara at Naples*, in: F. ACETO / S. D'OVIDIO / E. SCIROCCO (eds.), *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santa Chiara. Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca* (Quaderni Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia delle Città Campane nel Medioevo 6), Battipaglia 2014, pp. 195-226, esp. pp. 200-209.

<sup>43</sup> Art historians have not quite decided if the queen's attire is that of a nun or not (despite the Franciscan cord she is wearing): A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, *Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes* (note 36 above), pp. 121-122; see E. P. MCKIERNAN GONZALEZ, *Reception, Gender, and Memory* (note 36 above); F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), p. 402. This double tomb appears to have been the model for the two statues of King James the Conqueror commissioned by Peter the Ceremonious on 3 September 1370: *Primerament lo dit Jaume es tengut de fer e obrar dues ymages de pedra a estatura del rey en Jaume besavi del senyor rey, qui conqueri los regnes de Mallorques e de Valencia de mans de infels, ço es, una a figura de a manera de rey coronat en la una part del seu vas, e altra a figura e manera de monge ab son abit vestit e qui jau tinent corona royal en son cap en l altre part del dit vas posadora*, A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH (ed.), *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*. (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica Institut d'Estudis Catalans 54), 2 vols., Barcelona 2000 (Orig. 1908), vol. 1, p. 226; see M. D. C. GARCÍA HERRERO, *El entorno femenino de los reyes de Aragón*, in: J. A. SESMA MUÑOZ (ed.), *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia (1208-1458). La monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona* (Colección Garba 4), Zaragoza 2010, pp. 327-350, here p. 344.

<sup>44</sup> R. I. BURNS (ed.), *Unifying Crusader Valencia. The Central Years of Jaime the Conqueror, 1270-1273* (Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. The Registered Charters of its Conqueror, Jaime I, 1257-1276 4), Princeton, NJ 2007, pp. 405-409 (no. 1351) and pp. 415f. (no. 1358). On Berenguera Alfons see C. L. CHAMBERLIN, *The 'Sainted Queen' and the 'Sin of Berenguela'*. Teresa Gil de Vidaure and Berenguela Alfonso in Documents of the Crown of Aragon, 1255-1272, in: P. E. CHEVEDDEN / L. J. SIMON (eds.), *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J* (The medieval Mediterranean 4), Leiden 1995, pp. 303-321; C. L. CHAMBERLIN, *The 'Sainted Queen' and the 'Sin of Berenguela'* (note 44 above); E. VARELA RODRÍGUEZ, *Les relations amoroses d'Elo Álvarez, Aurembiaix d'Urgell, Blanca de Antillón, Teresa Gil de Vidaure, Berenguera Alfonso, Sibil-la de Saga. Amistances, concubines o amants de Jaime I*, in: M. T. FERRER MALLOL (ed.), *Jaume I. Commemoració de viii centenari del naixement de Jaume I*

queen to seek sepulture in a Minorite church was Constance of Hohenstaufen, wife of Peter the Great.<sup>45</sup> In her will, she stipulated that her body should be buried in the main Mendicant convent of the territory in which she would happen to die – in the convent of Barcelona if she passed away in Catalonia or in Valencia or Saragossa if this occurred in the Kingdom of Valencia or Aragon.<sup>46</sup> She also ordered a chapel to be built wherever she found her last resting place.<sup>47</sup> In fact, Constance was finally buried in the Minorite convent of Barcelona. As we shall see, hers is a particularly interesting and momentous case of female medieval “franciscanism”. No less than three of her four children chose the Franciscan convent of Barcelona where she was buried as their own places of interment, one of them, King Alfonso, specifically stating that he wanted to lie next to his mother.<sup>48</sup> Constance personally committed herself before the Pope (and against King James II) in order to see her son’s wish fulfilled.<sup>49</sup>

(Memòries de la Secció Histórico-Arqueològica Institut d’Estudis Catalans 91), 2 vols., Barcelona 2011, vol. 1, pp. 577-598.

- <sup>45</sup> E. L. MIRON, *Las Reinas de Aragón, sus vidas y sus épocas* (note 25 above), pp. 97-109; M. VANLANDINGHAM, *The Hohenstaufen Heritage of Constanza of Sicily and the Mediterranean Expansion of the Crown of Aragon in the Later Thirteenth Century*, in: D. A. AGIOS / I. R. NETTON (eds.), *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers. Trade, Politics and Religion, 650-1450* (International Medieval Research 1), Turnhout 1997, pp. 87-104; R. AVERKORN, *Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis* (note 25 above), here pp. 231-233; N. JASPERT, *Zwei Mal Konstanze. Die staufisch-aragonesischen Verbindungen und die Möglichkeiten regionaler Herrschaft in der Fremde*, in: P. CORDASCO (ed.), *Civiltà a contatto nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Economia, società, istituzioni*, Bari 2018, pp. 131-167.
- <sup>46</sup> S. CINGOLANI (ed.), *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1. Cartes i Pergamins (1258-1285)* (Diplomatari 62), Barcelona 2011, pp. 30-40 (App. 4), esp. p. 30: *In primis eligimus nobis sepulturam si contingat nos mori in Cathalonia in domo fratrum Minorum civitatis Barcinone; si autem contingeret nos mori in regno Aragonie, volumus sepeliri apud fratres minores civitatis Cesarunguste; si vero contingeret nos decedere infra regnum Valencie eligimus sepulturam nostram in domo fratrum minorum civitatis Valencie.*
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31: *Item, dimitimus pro capella edificanda in illo loco ubi contingeret nos sepeliri centum uncias auri.*
- <sup>48</sup> Alfonso the Liberal: *fratrem minorem simpliciter tumuletur...Mandamus nichilominus quod cum corpus nostrum deferatur ad locum seu conventum prefatum discoboperte apoteretur, ita quod habitus beati francisci quem induere debemus omnibus aparet manifeste*, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia n. 21[3], 5-IV-1296; Infant Peter: A. M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona* (note 14 above), pp. 170-176 (no. 27-29), especially no. 29, p. 175: *quod non fiat tumulus regnis [sic] in quo sepeliatur corpus nostrum, sed tumulus fratris minoris in quo sepeliatur*; King Frederick of Sicily: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Perg. Alfons III, doc. 794; G. LA MANTIA, *Il testamento di Federico II aragonese, re di Sicilia*, in: *Archivio storico per la Sicilia* 2-3 (1936-1937), pp. 13-50; see also N. JASPERT, *Indirekte und direkte Macht iberischer Königinnen im Mittelalter* (note 28 above), p. 117.
- <sup>49</sup> T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, *Butllari de Catalunya* (note 24 above), vol. 1, p. 722 (no. 582). King James attempted to transfer his brother’s body to the monastery of Santes Creus. Such transfers of royal corpses were not specific to the House of Barcelona, as many other cases in Castile show: “Stasis was not a feature of Christian burial practice” M. R. KATZ, *A Convent for La Sabia* (note 23 above), p. 829.

Mary of Cyprus, queen of Aragon by her marriage with James II, chose her foundation, the Franciscan convent of Tortosa, as her final resting place.<sup>50</sup> In her will, written on 2 April 1319, she ordered that she should be buried there in the middle of the monastery's choir, dressed in the Franciscan habit. If however she should die elsewhere, she should be buried (in the same fashion) in the local Franciscan convent, as it indeed occurred, for Mary of Cyprus was finally interred in the friary of Barcelona.<sup>51</sup>

Therese of Entenza (d. 1327), wife to King Alfonso the Mild, was buried in the Franciscan convent of Zaragoza with her two prematurely deceased children Sancho and Isabella.<sup>52</sup> Therese's daughter-in-law, Mary of Portugal (d. 1370), chose the Minorite friary of Lleida and the tomb of her deceased husband as her final resting place, installing four chaplaincies in order to uphold the couple's liturgical *memoria*.<sup>53</sup> Leonor (d. 1417), Prince Peter of Aragon's daughter and queen of Cyprus, thanks to her marriage with King Peter (d. 1369) in 1360, was not only devoted to the Franciscan order, dedicating herself to the care of the poor and captives towards the end of her life, but also decided to be buried next to her father and other members of the Royal family at the high altar of the Franciscan convent of Barcelona.<sup>54</sup>

As mentioned above, King Alfonso the Mild needed an explicit papal absolution in order to receive sepulture in a Mendicant convent instead of in the

<sup>50</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278): *In primis eligimus sepulturam nostram in ecclesia fratrum Minorum Dertuse, et volumus sepeliri in medio cori eorum et in habitu eorum, et assignamus et conferimus eidem ecclesie capellam nostram et quitquid pertinent ad eandem capellam et cum crucibus ac libris et calicibus et alia ornamentis et reliquiis ipsius capelle* (p. 198); E. SARRABLO, La Reina que vino de Oriente (note 25 above), pp. 129f., 149-154 (no. 16); R. AVERKORN, Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis (note 25 above), pp. 243; F. ESPAÑOL, Formas artísticas y espiritualidad (note 26 above), pp. 392-399. On Mary of Cyprus see J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 197-274, on her death and testament esp. pp. 263-274.

<sup>51</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278): *volumus tamen quod si nos in alio loco preter civitatem Dertuse mori contingerit quod sepeliatur nostrum corpus in domo fratrum Minorum illius loci ubi obierimus* (p. 198).

<sup>52</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12); R. D. ARCO GARAY, Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón (note 2 above), pp. 230-233; J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus (note 1 above), p. 225f.

<sup>53</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (6), fol. 1v: *Subsequenter eligimus sepulturam nostri corporis in domo fratrum minorum civitate Ilerdae in tumulo ubi corpus dicti domini infrascriptis est sepultum*. On the will see below, notes 141 to 144. It is however not clear if the Portuguese princess's ruling was heeded. E. CANTARELL BARELLA M. COMAS VIA, Maria de Portugal, una dona amagada per la Història, in: Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia 23-24 (2002-2003), pp. 557-574.

<sup>54</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón (note 2 above), pp. 242-244; see also the references in note 202.

Cistercian monastery he had initially promised to be buried in.<sup>55</sup> His homonymous uncle had stipulated that he be buried at the Franciscans, but his brother James II attempted – albeit without success – to change this ruling in favour of the Cistercian monastery of Santa Creus.<sup>56</sup> In contrast, Aragonese queens seem to have been more flexible in their choice and bestowed their favour upon less traditional orders. Some of them explicitly requested and gained papal permission to freely choose their place of sepulture. Yolande of Aragon received authorisation to do so by Innocent IV in 1251.<sup>57</sup> Ruling Aragonese kings were evidently expected to follow a practice established in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, their wives and children were less strictly controlled and created traditions of their own. Tellingly, whilst Peter the Ceremonious not only constructed the Royal Pantheon of Poblet, but was also buried there, his last wife Sibyl of Fortià (d. 1406) chose the Franciscan convent of Barcelona.<sup>58</sup> And even in those cases in which queens opted for prominent Cistercian monasteries as their place of burial, sometimes their bodies were provisionally interred in a Franciscan convent before finally being moved to their final destination. For example, the bodies of Blanche of Anjou, Leonor of Sicily and Martha (Matha) of Armagnac (d. 1378) were all kept in the Minorite convent of Barcelona for several years before being transferred.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See note 17.

<sup>56</sup> T. SCHMIDT/R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, *Butllari de Catalunya* (note 24 above), vol. 1, p. 722 (no. 582).

<sup>57</sup> T. SCHMIDT/R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, *Butllari de Catalunya* (note 24 above), vol. 1, p. 386 (no. 316).

<sup>58</sup> *Crónica del racional de la ciutat de Barcelona (1334-1417)* (note 17 above): *Die jovis, circa VIII<sup>am</sup> horam post meridiem, XXV<sup>a</sup> die novembres, anno predicto [1406], migravit ab hoc seculo domina Sibilla de Furtiano regina Aragonum, domini regis Petri, alte recordations, relicta; et fuit sepulta in ecclesia monasterii Fratrum Minorum Barchinone, die dominica, duodecima die decembris eiusdem anni, cum maxima luminaria et magno honore*. R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 280-282, *Fuit sepulta in Ecclesia fratrum Minorum iuxta Altare S. Nicolai in sepulcro ubi jacuerat Rex Alfonsus [Alfonso the Mild] qui translatus fuerat in conventum fratrum minorum Ilerdae* (ibidem, p. 280). See F. UDINA MARTORELL, *Tombes reials dels nostres reis catalano-aragonesos* (note 18 above), p. 373; N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Money Isn't Everything. Concubinage, Class, and the Rise and Fall of Sibilla de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377-87)*, in: T. EARENIGHT (ed.), *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, New York 2010, pp. 67-88, here p. 81.

<sup>59</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 79-81, 330f.; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 18f.; A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, *Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona*, Madrid 1930, p. 184; S. M. CINGOLANI, *La Reina María y los funerales de su madre Brianda D'Agout, condesa de Luna, en Zaragoza (1399-1401). Aproximación al estudio de los rituales funerarios de los monarcas de la Corona de Aragón*, in: *Aragón en la edad media* 24 (2013), pp. 71-90, here p. 82. Similarly, the corpses of Martha's daughter Leonor spent several years in the Minorite convent of Zaragoza, that of her son James was kept in the Franciscan convent of Barcelona and that of her son Juan in Minorite convent of Valencia (for seven years) before being

To sum up, between 1280 and 1412, ten queens and princesses of the House of Barcelona took the decision to be buried in a Franciscan or Poor Clare convent: Constance of Hohenstaufen, Mary of Cyprus, Isabella of Aragon, Elisenda of Montcada, Saint Isabella of Portugal (d. 1336), Therese of Entenza (and her prematurely deceased daughter Isabella), Mary of Portugal, Sibyl of Fortià, Leonor of Cyprus. One should note that this list excludes the Majorcan or Sicilian branches of the family.<sup>60</sup> No other order or ecclesiastical institution apart from the Cistercians could compare with the Friars Minor during this period. Arguably, the devotion of the Royal Aragonese family to the Minorites as expressed by their choice of sepulture equaled or even surpassed that of the most famous philo-Franciscan dynasty of the Middle Ages, the Anjou of Naples.<sup>61</sup>

As indicated above, many of the Mendicant royal burial sites no longer exist. The Franciscan convent of Barcelona disappeared at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>62</sup> that of Zaragoza was destroyed in the Napoleonic wars, Lleida had

transported to Poblet: *ibidem* and A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, *Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona* (note 59 above), p. 126.

<sup>60</sup> One must therefore correct and extend the useful genealogical table in P. EVANGELISTI, *I Francescani e la costruzione di uno stato. Linguaggi politici, valori identitari, progetti di governo in area catalano-aragonese* (Fonti e ricerche 20), Padova 2006, who marks four burials. Similar additions must be made to the regesta of royal wills in: R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales existentes en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Trabajo presentado por dicho Archivo al III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón en la sesión celebrada el día 4 de julio de 1923, Valencia 1924*, also in: *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols., Valencia 1925, vol. 1, pp. 37-64 or the references in J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 92-94.

<sup>61</sup> Apart from the studies mentioned in note 8: É. G. LÉONARD, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris 1954, pp. 394, 432f.; J. BOYER, *La "foi monarchique". Royaume de Sicile et Provence (mi-XIIIe mi-XIVe siècle)*, in: P. CAMMAROSANO (ed.), *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento*, Trieste 2-5 marzo 1993 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 201), Rome 1994, pp. 85-110; N. JASPERT, *Santos al servicio de la Corona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo (1416-1458)*, in: G. D'AGOSTINO (ed.), *Atti del XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona*, 2 vols., Napoli 2000, vol. 2, pp. 1839-1858, here pp. 1839-1858; N. JASPERT, *Wort, Schrift und Bild im Dienste der Außenbeziehungen. Die Anjou in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: D. BERG / M. KINTZINGER / P. MONNET (eds.), *Auswärtige Politik und internationale Beziehungen im Mittelalter. 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Europa in der Geschichte 6), Bochum 2002, pp. 273-316; M. GAGLIONE (ed.), *Donne e potere a Napoli. Le sovrane angioine. Consorti, vicarie e regnanti (1266-1442)*, *Soveria Mannelli* 2009. For a comparison within the Iberian peninsula: J. M. NIETO SORIA, *Franciscanos y franciscanismo en la política y en la Corte de la Castilla trastámara (1369-1475)*, in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 20 (1990), pp. 109-131; F. REVILLA GARCÍA, *El franciscanismo en la Castilla del siglo XIII. Una aproximación bibliográfica*, in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 27 (1997), pp. 281-313; M. NARBONA CÁRCELES, *La educación de las infantas navarra a cargo de las monjas clarisas de Estella. Un ejemplo de "franciscanismo" en las cortes europeas de fines del siglo XIV*, in: E. BANÚS IRUSTA (ed.), *Actas del VI Congreso "Cultura Europea"*: Pamplona, 25 al 28 de octubre de 2000, Pamplona 2002, pp. 77-99; as well as the contribution by María DEL MAR GRAÑA CID in this volume.

<sup>62</sup> A. M. GINÉ TORRES, *El convent de Sant Francesc de Barcelona. Reconstrucció hipotètica*, in:

by then already fallen victim to the so-called “Guerra dels Segadors” (1640-1652).<sup>63</sup> But these calamities should not obscure the fact that the Franciscan convents of Zaragoza,<sup>64</sup> of Lleida<sup>65</sup> and most of all of Barcelona<sup>66</sup> can justly be considered important royal pantheons. The Poor Clare convents of Pedralbes and Valencia as well as the Franciscan convent of Balaguer, which also housed the remains of members of the royal family, should be added to these.<sup>67</sup>

In view of the losses of material evidence, it is admittedly very difficult and often enough impossible to say where the queens’ and princesses’ tombs actually were located, let alone how they were fashioned. But even if most of these convents no longer exist and none of them has preserved its medieval interior fittings unaltered, the extant documentation reveals some clues concerning the spatial settings, the visual presentation or even the artistic decorations of vanished burial sites. Francesca ESPAÑOL BERTRÁN has recently made convincing propositions as to the distribution and appearance of some of the disappeared royal tombs in Barcelona, Lleida and Zaragoza.<sup>68</sup> Her research reveals that the tombs of Elisenda of Montcada, Therese of Entenza and her daughter Isabella as well as those of Leonor of Castile (d. 1359, wife of Alfonso the Mild) and Leonor of Cyprus were all fashioned as monumental sarcophagi which depicted the deceased queens (or princess) dressed in the habit of Poor Clares.<sup>69</sup> Ran-

Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia 9 (1988), pp. 221-241; A. CONEJO DA PENA, El convent de Sant Francesc de Barcelona, in: A. PLADEVALL FONT (ed.), *L’art gòtic a Catalunya* (note 26 above), pp. 180-182.

<sup>63</sup> A. PLADEVALL FONT (ed.), *L’art gòtic a Catalunya* (note 26 above); F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above).

<sup>64</sup> The convent in Zaragoza housed the remains of Peter, a son of Peter the Great (d. 1213), Therese of Entenza (d. 1327), her son Sancho and daughter Isabella. See R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), p. 60; J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 31f.; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), pp. 407-410.

<sup>65</sup> Burial site of King Alfonso the Mild, his son Fernando and the latter’s wife Mary of Portugal: R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), p. 60; J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 26f.

<sup>66</sup> Where Constance of Sicily, King Alfonso the Liberal, prince James (son of James II and Blanche of Anjou/Naples, Mary of Lusignan/Cyprus, Sibila of Fortià, the Princes Frederick and James (sons of Alfonso the Mild and Therese of Entenza) and Prince Peter (son of Peter the Ceremonious) as well as his daughter Leonor of Cyprus were buried. See J. COLL, *Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cataluña, de la regular observancia de nuestro padre S. Francisco, Barcelona 1738*, pp. 48-59; R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), p. 60; J. WEBSTER, *Dos siglos de franciscanismo en Cataluña. El convento de San Francisco de Barcelona durante los siglos XIII y XIV*, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 41 (1981), pp. 223-256; J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 25f.; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), pp. 389-392.

<sup>67</sup> Places of sepulture for Elisenda of Moncada (Pedralbes), Mary, wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous (Valencia), Prince Alfonso, son of Alfonso the Mild and Therese of Entenza (Balaguer) R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), p. 61.

<sup>68</sup> F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above).

<sup>69</sup> J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, “Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus” (note 1 above),

dom notes can furnish some further details concerning the appearance and representation of these monuments. For example, the initial royal sarcophagus of Constance of Sicily at the Franciscan convent in Barcelona was apparently indeed as humble as the queen stipulated, for in 1311 King James II ordered that a rich covering be manufactured for it,<sup>70</sup> and in his will of May 28<sup>th</sup> 1327, he ordered that the original tombs should be substituted by new ones.<sup>71</sup> Thus, both textual and material evidence corroborate that Minorite convents were powerful places of female liturgical memory and courtly representation in late medieval Aragon and Catalonia. This conclusion will be substantiated by the following analysis of royal testaments.

## II. The Last Wills of Aragonese Queens and Princesses

It is well known that testaments can provide fascinating, indeed often unique information about women's piety, learning, family and social networks, economic means, material settings as well as a wide array of other facets of medieval life.<sup>72</sup> However, not very many wills written by medieval European queens are preserved.<sup>73</sup> Unfavourable scriptural customs, historical calamities and many

p. 223-225; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), pp. 409, 412, 416; R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 255, 256-258. Leonor of Castile was however not buried in the Franciscan convent of Lleida which housed her sarcophagus. Documentary references to such prescriptions are rare, J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), p. 93.

<sup>70</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH (ed.), *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* (*Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 54), 2 vols., Barcelona 2000 (Orig. 1921), vol. 2, p. 37; F. ESPAÑOL, *Formas artísticas y espiritualidad* (note 26 above), p. 383.

<sup>71</sup> A. M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona* (note 14 above), pp. 180-200 (no. 32).

<sup>72</sup> *Actes à cause de mort = Acts of last will* (*Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'Histoire Comparative des Institutions* 60), 4 vols., Bruxelles 1993, vol. 2: *Europe médiévale et moderne*; J. CASAMITJANA I VILASECA, *El testamento en la Barcelona bajomedieval. La superación de la muerte patrimonial, social y espiritual*, Pamplona 2004; B. KASTEN (ed.), *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter* (Norm und Struktur 29), Cologne 2008; M. T. BROGLIS / A. ZONCA (eds.), *Testamenti di donne a Bergamo nel Medioevo. Pergamene dall'archivio della Misericordia maggiore (secoli XIII-XIV)*, Selci-Lama (Perugia) 2012; K. PAJČIĆ, *Frauenstimmen in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt? Testamente von Frauen aus Lüneburg, Hamburg und Wien als soziale Kommunikation* (*Epistemata* 768), Würzburg 2013; F. SORELLI (ed.), *'Ego Quirina'. Testamenti di veneziane e forestiere (1200-1261)* (*Festi Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezia* 1) 2015. See the article by Julia HÖRMANN-THURN and TAXIS in this volume.

<sup>73</sup> B. KASTEN, *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter* (note 72 above); X. HÉLARY / A. MARCHANDISSE (eds.), *Autour des testaments des capétiens*, Bruxelles 2013; M. A. KEANE, *Material culture and queenship in 14th-century France. The testament of Blanche of Navarre (1331-1398)* (*Art and material culture in medieval and Renaissance Europe* 5), Boston 2016.

other reasons are responsible for this relative dearth. In this respect, the number of extant testaments written on behalf of queens and even princesses of the House of Barcelona is indeed quite exceptional.<sup>74</sup> Many of the original charters seem to have been kept for centuries at the royal archive, but were then lost at an unknown point in time.<sup>75</sup> Fortunately, however, in some cases transcripts of the originals were drawn up in the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century, in others the wording of the testament was copied into the royal registers.

This article is based on a close reading of fourteen such documents: The wills of Queen Yolande of Hungary, wife of James the Conqueror;<sup>76</sup> her daughter, Queen Yolande of Aragon, wife of Alfonso X of Castile;<sup>77</sup> Queen Constance of Sicily;<sup>78</sup> her daughter Queen Elizabeth of Aragon, better known as St Isabella of Portugal,<sup>79</sup> Queen Blanche of Anjou (James II's first wife);<sup>80</sup> Queen Mary of Lusignan (James II's second wife);<sup>81</sup> Princess Yolande (d. 1352), daughter of James II and wife of Lope (d. 1360), count of Luna;<sup>82</sup> Queen Isabella (d. 1330), daughter of James II, wife of Frederick of Habsburg (d. 1330);<sup>83</sup> Queen Elisenda of Montcada (James II's third wife);<sup>84</sup> Queen Therese of En-

<sup>74</sup> Hitherto on the wills of Aragonese rulers: R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above); A. M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona* (note 14 above); J. CASAMITJANA I VILASECA, *El testamento en la Barcelona bajomedieval* (note 72 above).

<sup>75</sup> R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above).

<sup>76</sup> A. HUICI MIRANDA, *Colección diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador. Años 1217 a 1253*, 2 vols., Valencia 1916-1918, vol. 3, pp. 50-52 (no. 585).

<sup>77</sup> A. LÓPEZ, *Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz* (note 31 above), edition on pp. 15-18; O. GALLEGO DOMÍNGUEZ, *Santa Clara de Allariz. Séptimo centenario de la Fundación* (Boletín auriense. Anexo 5), Ourense 1986, pp. 11-15.

<sup>78</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (4); R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above), pp. 8f.; S. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1* (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4).

<sup>79</sup> A. C. D. SOUSA / M. L. D. ALMEIDA / C. PEGADO (eds.), *Provas da história genealógica da casa real portuguesa T. 1,1: Livros I e II*, Coimbra 1946, pp. 144-147 (1314), 148-153 (1327).

<sup>80</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (3); R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above), pp. 15f.; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 34-39 (no. 57).

<sup>81</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (13); R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above), p. 16; E. SARRABLO, *La Reina que vino de Oriente* (note 25 above), pp. 149-154 (no. 16); J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278).

<sup>82</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Perg. Pedro IV, 1783 and 1785; R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, *Relación de testamentos reales* (note 60 above), p. 17; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 334-338 (no. 462).

<sup>83</sup> J. MAURER, *Zwei Wohltäterinnen der Minoriten*, in: *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereines zu Wien* 26 (1889), pp. 41-47, here pp. 43-45.

<sup>84</sup> M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, *Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya* (note 41 above), pp. 344-350 (no. 87).

tenza (Alfonso the Mild's first wife);<sup>85</sup> Mary (d. 1375), Princess of Portugal, wife of Prince Ferdinand (son of Alfonso the Mild);<sup>86</sup> Queen Mary of Navarre (d. 1347, Peter the Ceremonious's first wife);<sup>87</sup> Princess Joanne (d. 1385), daughter of Peter the Ceremonious and Mary of Navarre, wife to Count John of Empuries (d. 1398);<sup>88</sup> Queen Leonor of Sicily.<sup>89</sup>

Hardly surprisingly, support for the Franciscans is particularly prominent on the side of those queens and princesses who also chose friaries as their places of final rest. Repeatedly, lavish donations were meted out to these houses. Astonishing as the intense support conveyed upon the Friars Minor and Poor Clares might appear at first glance, one nevertheless needs to correlate it with that bestowed upon other ecclesiastical institutes or religious brethren in order to draw a more comprehensive picture of the testators' preferences. As the following overview will show, some testaments, even while not stipulating burial in a Minorite convent, do contain donations and endowments to Poor Clares or Franciscans; others again reveal the names of individual brethren who were particularly close to the legator – men or women who received single donations, were chosen as the executors or witnesses of the wills.

Queen Yolande of Aragon dictated her testament in 1292 and corroborated it three years later.<sup>90</sup> This document is so emphatically pro-Minorite that it can safely be termed an astonishing case of female “franciscanism”. The testator states that she intends to join the order of Saint Clare as a nun (which she apparently did not)<sup>91</sup> and reiterates her devotion to St Francis and St Clare. She

<sup>85</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12). See R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (6). See R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 20.

<sup>87</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, 1531, fol. 3r-8v. See R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 28.

<sup>88</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (7); A. JAVIERRE, Testamento y codicilo de la infanta Juana de Aragón, condesa de Ampurias, in: Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón 5 (1953-1955), pp. 449-466, here pp. 452-462, codicil pp. 463-466; R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 29.

<sup>89</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, 1537, fol. 139r-155r: S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, pp. 65-67 (no. 50, regest). Codicil: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, 1537, fol. 156v-177v; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, pp. 67-85 (no. 51, edition). R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 28f.

<sup>90</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (note 31 above), edition on pp. 15-18; O. GALLEGO DOMÍNGUEZ, Santa Clara de Allariz. Séptimo centenario (note 77 above), pp. 11-15 contains the text of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century transcription of the will. It omits a donation of 3000 *morabatin* two each of the Franciscan convents in Castile: M. R. KATZ, The Final Testament of Violante de Aragón (note 28 above), p. 65.

<sup>91</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (note 31 above), p. 15: *otorgo et prometo de tomar la orden de santa Clara en el monasterio de Allariz, que yo [fago] y, quando*

endowed a chaplaincy to secure prayers for her soul as well as for that of her husband, her children and her parents.<sup>92</sup> Apparently, Yolande had initially stipulated to be buried at the side of her mother, the Hungarian Princess Yolande, founder of the Franciscan monastery of Lleida. In her will however, Yolande now changed this ruling (as well as a later one, according to which she was to be buried in the Poor Clares convent of Zamora) in favour of her foundation, the Poor Clare convent of Allariz in Galicia.<sup>93</sup> She did not extend her donations broadly and strategically across many institutions as other queens often did, but rather took the deliberate decision to leave the bulk of her estate (totalling 260,000 *maravedis*) as well as all her worldly goods (her bed and all her clothing) to the community of Allariz as well as to certain trusted members of the Mendicant orders.<sup>94</sup> The abbess of Allariz, Sancha Eanes, and two Franciscan friars – García Blandes (her confessor) and Alfonso Domínguez – were singled out with donations of 3000 to the first two and another 2000 for Alfonso. All three as well as the Franciscan provincials of Galicia and Castile were named executors of her will.<sup>95</sup> A later document from 1295 reiterates the stipulations of her testament, threatening anyone who attempted to impede it and commanding that neither her children or her grandchildren nor their heirs contradict the gifts and bequests.<sup>96</sup>

The will of Queen Constance of Sicily is of prime importance for the object of this article, not least due to the above mentioned, strong influence this queen exerted upon her children. Daughter to Manfred of Hohenstaufen (d. 1266) and betrothed to Peter of Aragon in 1262, Constance showed a marked preference for the order of St Francis. She founded several Poor Clares monasteries, amongst them that of Santa Clara in Huesca between 1262 and 1268 (*quod mon-*

*me la Dios guysare, a mi honra et a pro del monasterio, a loor de Dios et de santa Maria su madre et de santa Clara, e de acabar en ella mi vida.*

<sup>92</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (note 31 above), p. 16: *Otrosí mando para comprar heredamiento para vn capelan que cante y misa cada día por siempre jamas por mi alma et por la del Rey, mjo padre, et por la de la Reyna, mj madre, et por la del Rey, mjo marido, et por mjos fijos et por los otros mjos deuedores, sseys mill mrs.*

<sup>93</sup> See note 31.

<sup>94</sup> Main donation: *Et mando conmigo a esse monasterio sobredicho, do me mando enterrar, para la obra et para comprar heredamiento, porque puedan beuir las duenas y fueren en este monesteryo, dosientas veses mill mrs. et las çient veses mill para la obra, de las otras çien mill para heredamiento*, A. LÓPEZ, Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (note 31 above), p. 16. The only other endowments were directed to the Dominicans of Galicia (2000 *maravedis*) and to the hospital of Villafranca Montes de Oca on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela that the queen had founded (20000 *maravedis*).

<sup>95</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz (note 31 above), pp. 15, 18.

<sup>96</sup> Though not a will in technical terms, the document must be interpreted as a codicil to her testament of 1292: M. R. KATZ, The Final Testament of Violante de Aragón (note 28 above), pp. 58-60.

*asterium nos construi et bedificari fecimus in honorem Dei et in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum*)<sup>97</sup> and of Messina in Sicily.<sup>98</sup> Her will was written on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1300.<sup>99</sup> As we have seen, the queen ordered that her body should be buried either in the Franciscan convent of Barcelona, of Valencia or of Saragossa in a chapel to be built specifically for this purpose.<sup>100</sup> Although she prominently termed herself a “humble maid of Christ” (*humilis ancilla Christi*) in the opening passages of her testament, Constance lavishly fostered Minorite institutions with this very document: She endowed two hospitals (in Barcelona and Valencia) that should be founded and run by Franciscans,<sup>101</sup> and made bequests to no less than ten convents of Poor Clares: Barcelona, Huesca, Tarragona, Lleida, Tortosa, Calatayud, Zaragoza, Valencia, Castelló de Ampuries y Montblanc.<sup>102</sup> Of the 500 gold *uncias* reserved for anniversaries and masses, the bulk was destined for Franciscan recipients: the order’s general and provincial chapter, the convent where her body was to be buried and the other friaries within the province of Aragonia were to receive 324 *uncias*, whilst the rest was distributed between the Dominicans and the Carmelites, all destined for pittances and three individual anniversaries.<sup>103</sup> The queen’s liturgical artefacts (crosses, chalices, censers), which formed a “major” and “minor chapel”, were also distributed between two friaries.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> A. UBIETO ARTETA, Documentos para el estudio de la historia aragonesa de los siglos XIII y XIV. Monasterio de Santa Clara, de Huesca, in: Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón 8 (1967), pp. 547-701, here pp. 44, 576-577 (no. 25).

<sup>98</sup> F. MILISENDA, I monasteri delle Clarisse in Sicilia nel XIII e nel XIV secolo (note 13 above), pp. 494-498.

<sup>99</sup> S. CINGOLANI, Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1 (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4).

<sup>100</sup> See note 47.

<sup>101</sup> S. CINGOLANI, Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1 (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4), here p. 32: *Item volumus et mandamus quod per manumissores superius nominatos dentur quadringente uncie auri procuratori fratrum minorum Barchinone, qui de predicta pecunia, iuxta consilium ministri fratrum Minorum provincie Aragonie et guardiani conventus Barchinone, bedificet in Barchinona unum hospitalet pro pauperibus recipiendis [...] Et volumus ut dictum hospitalet sit semper sub ordinatione et custodia procuratoris predicti, qui de ipso disponat et ordinet iuxta consilium dicti guardiani conventus Barchinone. [...] Volumus etiam et ordinamus bedificare consimilis hospitalet in civitate Valencie, sub forma, modo predicti hospitalet quod fieri mandamus in civitate Barchinone predicta.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33. On the financial and administrative problems that impeded realising these charitable bequests see J. R. WEBSTER, La reina doña Constanza y los hospitales de Barcelona y Valencia, in: Archivo Ibero-Americano Ser. 2 51 (1991), pp. 375-390; J. WEBSTER, Els Menorets (note 14 above), pp. 87f., pp. 94-97.

<sup>103</sup> S. CINGOLANI, Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1 (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4), here pp. 32f.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34: *Item, legamus monasterio dominarum ordinis sancte Clare civitatis Osce capellam nostram minorem cum cruce magna de argento et calice de argento et turibulo parvo de argento. Item, legamus capellam nostram maiorem ili loco ubi corpus nostrum contingeret sepeliri.*

An intriguing sentence in the will reveals that Queen Constance was surrounded by a group of pious women on a daily basis:<sup>105</sup> She made donations to five “sisters” – *sorori Benigne, Jacobe, Constance, Berengarie, Margarite* – who might have resided with her at court (*sorores nobiscum commorantes*). These women appear to have been Poor Clares, for they are named immediately after the list of poor Clare convents and are later termed *moniales*.<sup>106</sup> We already encountered this group of pious women in a permission issued by Pope Celestine V in 1294 on behalf of “six other religious women who spend their time with you in a familiar fashion”, so that they, the queen and her daughter might hear mass together for a certain period of time.<sup>107</sup> In her will of 1300, the queen admonished these women to decide if they preferred to enter the Second Order of St Francis or to continue a semireligious, chaste form of life: *Monemus et ortamur quod intrent aliquid monasterium ordinis sancte Clare in quo servant Deo et rogent Deum pro anima mea vel vivant in castitate et penitentia sicut nobiscum usque modo vixerunt*.<sup>108</sup> The pious group at court also comprised a friar by the name of Romeu (Ortiz?).<sup>109</sup> Considering this circle of Mendicant companions, it is hardly surprising that half the individuals who witnessed the queen’s will were Friars Minor, including two of its executors, Friar Romeu Ortiz and Friar Arnau Oliba.<sup>110</sup>

Mary of Cyprus, queen of Aragon due to her marriage with James II, dictated her will on 2 April 1319.<sup>111</sup> All her rulings were to be executed in accordance with her Franciscan confessor Arnold (*com consilio et assensu religiosi et honesti fratris Arnulfi, ordinis minorum, confessoris nostri*) and included substantial monetary donations to the provincials of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carmelites that were to be distributed to the individual convents. Summing up and comparing these pious endowments, Queen Mary’s partiality to the Franciscans becomes apparent: Her entire *capella* with its liturgical objects was to go to the

<sup>105</sup> *Item, legamus sorori Benigne triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Iacobe triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Constance triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Berengarie triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Margarite quadraginta uncias auri.* *Monemus et ortamur in Domino predictas quinque sorores nobiscum commorantes quod intrent aliquid monasterium ordinis sancte Clare in quo serviant Deo et rogent Deum pro anima nostra, vel saltem vivant in castitate et penitentia sicut nobiscum usque modo vixerunt*, S. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1* (note 46 above), pp. 33f. (App. 4).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35: [...] *ordinamus quod ante omnia satisfiat de legatis factis monialium nobiscum commorantibus et aliis de familia nostra*.

<sup>107</sup> T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, *Butllari de Catalunya* (note 24 above), vol. 1, p. 602 (no.): *Tue humilitatis igitur pia desideria favore benivolo presequentes, ut tu presentibus tantum Iolanta filia et sex aliis mulieribus religiosis familiariter tecum degentibus, officia valeas audire divina, tibi auctoritate presentium indulgemus, presentibus post triennium minime valituris*.

<sup>108</sup> S. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1* (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4), here p. 34.

<sup>109</sup> *Item, legamus fratri Romeu de provincia Castelle qui moratur in domo nostra quinque uncias auri*, S. CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1* (note 46 above), pp. 30-40 (App. 4), here p. 34.

<sup>110</sup> On them see J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 204-216.

<sup>111</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278).

Franciscan convent of Tortosa, where she was to be buried, together with 3000 byzants.<sup>112</sup> Further 2000 were to be distributed amongst the Franciscan convents of her realm, conveying particular prominence to the House of Barcelona, and another 100 byzants were willed to the Poor Clare convent of Tortosa. Possibly, Mary of Cyprus, too, was surrounded by a semireligious female community, for she donated 2000 byzants to a certain *soror Fina* and 100 byzants *fratri Balagnario Vasconis, socio confessoris nostri*, who also signed the will as a Franciscan *frater*; 2000 further byzants were to be distributed to “certain people, to whom I am obliged”, whose names Queen Mary had passed in secret to her Franciscan confessor Arnau.<sup>113</sup>

Elizabeth of Aragon, better known as St Isabella of Portugal, issued two testaments – one in 1314, the second in 1327.<sup>114</sup> A comparison between both documents reveals that, during the thirteen years between them, the queen underwent a stark shift towards “franciscanism” in general and the Poor Clares in particular. In her second will, she overruled an earlier provision that foresaw her burial in the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça in favour of the monastery of St Clare and St Elizabeth she had founded in Coimbra: [...] *e mando soterrar o meu corpo em o meu mosteiro de Santa Clara, e de Sancta Isabel de Coimbra, em o meo gẽdo Coro [...]*.<sup>115</sup> She also bestowed large donations upon the monastery and se-

<sup>112</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278): *Item, dimittimus por sepultura nostra facienda, et construenda tria millia bisanciorum* (p. 199).

<sup>113</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, pp. 197-200 (no. 278): *Item, volumus quod dentur ad mandatum fratris Arnulfi, confessoris nostri, duo millia bisanciorum ad satisfaciendum aliquibus certis personis, quibus sumus obligate, quas in nostro secreto sibi declaravimus [...]* *Item, dimittimus Ministro, provinciali fratrum Minorum Aragonie mille bisancios quos dividat per conventus provincie ad missas celebrandas pro anima nostra, et specialiter dei plus conventui fratrum Minorum Barchinone quam alicui alii conventui. Item, dimittimus fratri Belagnario Vasconis, sacio confessoris nostri, ad emendum libros centum bisancios* (p. 199).

<sup>114</sup> A. C. D. SOUSA / M. L. D. ALMEIDA / C. PEGADO, Provas da história genealógica da casa real portuguesa (note 79 above), pp. 144-147 (1314), 148-153 (1327).

<sup>115</sup> A. C. D. SOUSA / M. L. D. ALMEIDA / C. PEGADO, Provas da história genealógica da casa real portuguesa (note 79 above), p. 148. Several women in the House of Barcelona showed marked devotion to St Elizabeth of Hungary, for example by dedicating Clarist convents to her or by naming a daughter Isabella and thus stressing their family ties to a prestigious saint: N. JASPERT, Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty (note 11 above), p. 119; F. ESPAÑOL BERTRAN, La Beata Stürps en la Corona de Aragón. Santa Isabel de Hungría y San Luis de Tolosa, culto e iconografía, in: F. ESPAÑOL / F. FITÉ I LLEVOT (eds.), Hagiografía peninsular en els segles medievals, Lleida 2008, pp. 135-168; N. JASPERT, Els descendents piadosos de una princesa hongaresa. Heretgia i santedat en la casa de Barcelona durant els segles XIII i XIV, Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'edat mitjana, Barcelona 2009, pp. 291-306, here pp. 294-297. On the relation between Franciscans, Isabella of Hungary and Isabeline devotion see U. JOHN / D. BLUME (eds.), Elisabeth von Thüringen. Eine europäische Heilige. 3. Thüringer Landesausstellung Wartburg Eisenach, 7. Juli bis 19. November 2007, Petersberg 2007; M. WERNER, Influencia de los franciscanos sobre santa Isabel de Hungría, in: Verdad y vida 65 (2007), pp. 641-653; C. BERTELSMEIER-KIERST (ed.), Elisabeth von Thüringen und die neue Frömmigkeit in Europa (Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträ-

veral legates upon other Franciscan and Poor Clare institutions.<sup>116</sup> It is true that her munificence far extended the limits of the Mendicant orders, for she also donated large sums to a number of other monastic and ecclesiastic institutions within the realm as well as to the needy, captives etc. But the Minorites clearly received the bulk of her donations,<sup>117</sup> and she stipulated that the monastery of St Clare and St Elizabeth of Coimbra should receive all that remained of her possessions once her donations and other legates had been meted out: [...] *pagando os ditos testamenteiros meus o dito meu testamento, como aqui he conteudo, mando que todelas cousas, que mi acharem à minha morte, que fiquem ao dito meu mosteiro de Sancta Clara, e de Sancta Isabel [...]*.<sup>118</sup> It is only consequent that the queen chose Franciscan courtiers and the abbess of the monastery of St Clare and St Elizabeth in Coimbra as the executors of her will.<sup>119</sup>

St Isabella's niece, one of James II's daughters, was also named Isabella and married Frederick of Habsburg in 1314.<sup>120</sup> Her last will dates from April 24<sup>th</sup>

ge zum Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit 1), Frankfurt am Main 2008; J. R. WEBSTER, The Importance of the Aristocrats and the Wealthy Bourgeoisie in the Foundation and Development of the Monasteries of the Order of Saint Clare. Valencia, Jática and Gandía, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), Women's Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th 16th centuries) (IRCVM Medieval Cultures 2), Rome 2013, pp. 89-105, here p. 92.

<sup>116</sup> *Item mando ao dito meu mosteiro de Sancta Clara, e de Sancta Isabel doze mil libras pera a obra desse mosteiro, e pera mantimento da Abbadessa, e das Donas desse mosteiro e se mais ficarem de trinta e sex mil libras que en ey daver depos minha morte [...]* ibidem, p. 151.

<sup>117</sup> Each Dominican and Franciscan convent within the realm was to receive 50 pounds, whilst the Poor Clares of Lisbon and Santarem received 200 and 100 pounds respectively, ibidem p. 149.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, p. 151.

<sup>119</sup> [...] *e Frej Francisco de Evora, e Frej Salvado que anda em caça delRey e frey Affonso Vebegas, e a Abadesa do dito mosteiro de Sancta Clara, e de Sancta Izabel de Coimbra, que esse tempo for Abadeça [...]* ibidem, p. 150.

<sup>120</sup> H. V. ZEISSBERG, Das Register Nr. 318 des Archivs der aragonesischen Krone in Barcelona, enthaltend die Briefe König Jakobs II. von Aragón an Friedrich den Schönen und dessen Gemahlin Elisabeth samt einigen verwandten Stücken aus den Jahren 1314-1327 (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 140/1, Wien 1898; H. V. ZEISSBERG, Elisabeth (Isabella) von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Österreich (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 137), Wien 1898; J. SCHRADER, Isabella von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Österreich (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neuere Geschichte 58), Berlin/Leipzig 1915; J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 151-158; W. KÜCHLER, Zur Hochzeit der Infantin Isabella von Aragón mit Herzog Friedrich dem Schönen von Österreich. Kosten, Aussteuer, Mitgift, in: Spanische Forschungen der Goeresgesellschaft, Reihe 1: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 22 (1964), pp. 176-187; W. KÜCHLER, Zur Hochzeit der Infantin Isabella von Aragón mit Herzog Friedrich dem Schönen von Österreich, in: Spanische Forschungen der Goeresgesellschaft Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 22 (1965), pp. 176-188; R. SABLONIER, Die aragonesische Königsfamilie um 1300, in: H. MEDICK / D. W. SABEAN (eds.), Emotionen und materielle Interessen. Sozialanthropologische und historische Beiträge zur Familiengeschichte, Göttingen 1984, pp. 284-317; R. AVER-

1328, just two years before her death.<sup>121</sup> It betrays a marked affinity to her family of origin as well as to the Minorites. She not only chose the Franciscan convent of Vienna as a place of burial, but expressly stipulated that she be interred in the chapel she had completed in honour of St Louis of Toulouse, her relative and recently canonised Franciscan saint, whom she felt deeply devoted to – *do vi bin erwählen ze liegen von besonderer lieb und Andacht, die wir dazu haben*. She also bequeathed 400 silver marks to the Poor Clares of Vienna, stipulated that the local Franciscans should receive new clothing every year and ordered both the male and the female religious to conduct anniversaries for her soul and in honour of St Louis at the place of her sepulture. Furthermore, she bestowed extensive donations upon the Poor Clare convent of Königsfelden and instituted annual prayers there for her soul. Further donations were meted out to no less than 111 ecclesiastic institutions, of which 27 were Franciscan and Clare convents. Princess Isabella's is a fine case for distinguishing between the stark "franciscanism" of Queen Yolande or Queen Constance with their striking preference for the Minorites and the less intensive, but undeniable affinity to the Poor Friars shown by other female members of the House of Barcelona such as Isabella.

In contrast, Queen Elisenda of Aragon's last will is arguably one of the most salient examples for royal female "franciscanism" in medieval Iberia. It was penned on 1 April 1364, tellingly in the Clarist convent of Pedralbes and in the presence of five Franciscan brothers, a priest and a scribe.<sup>122</sup> The queen, who had already spent 37 years residing in the immediate vicinity of the monastery, ordered her will to be executed according to the advice given by her Minorite step-son Peter and by the Order's provincial minister in Aragon.<sup>123</sup> She bequeathed her body and possessions to Pedralbes, the convent her husband and she had founded many years before due to the devotion they felt towards Saint Francis and Saint Clare (*ob devotionem quam erga beatum Franciscum et sanctam Claram gerimus*).<sup>124</sup> It was to be laid to rest in the choir in a *monumentum* she had

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KORN, König Jaime II. von Aragón († 1327) und seine Töchter im Briefwechsel (note 19 above). Also see the article by Julia HÖRMANN-THURN UND TAXIS in this volume.

<sup>121</sup> J. MAURER, Zwei Wohltäterinnen der Minoriten (note 83 above), pp. 43-45; A. FÖBEL, Testamente römischer Königinnen im mittelalterlichen deutschen Reich, in: B. KASTEN (ed.), Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter (Norm und Struktur 29), Köln 2008, pp. 393-414, here pp. 396-408. On pp. 413-414, the author edits Isabella's second, shorter will, dated 3 July 1330. It mainly contains donations to individual members of her household.

<sup>122</sup> M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya (note 41 above), pp. 344-350 (no. 87), here p. 350.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem, p. 344: [...] *et exequantur hoc nostrum testamentum cum consilio incliti domini infantis Petri ordinis minorum, et venerabilis et religiosi fratris Bernardi Bruni nunc ministri provincialis Fratrum Minorum Provinciae Aragoniae in sacra pagina professoris vel alterius eorum si fuerint in civitate Barbinonae et non aliter.*

<sup>124</sup> See below, note 132.

had fashioned, in a solemn act and in the presence of 100 male and 30 female religious from the city of Barcelona.<sup>125</sup> Clearly, the tomb described above<sup>126</sup> was designed to be an object of worship both for the nuns and for lay people who visited the church. Further legates were donated and endowments made to ecclesiastical institutions in Tortosa, Berga, Torroella de Montgrí, Pals, Burriana, Valldaura, Avinganya and above all in Barcelona.<sup>127</sup> Friaries in particular were lavishly endowed: The Franciscans and the Poor Clares of Barcelona, Tortosa and Berga received individual donations for pittances, clothing and sick care, whilst certain male and female brethren obtained individual financial donations.<sup>128</sup> The queen also ordered masses to be held for her soul at the general meeting and at the provincial meeting of the Franciscans.<sup>129</sup> The bulk of Elisenda's possessions, including her *capella* (liturgical objects, relics, clothing etc.), her bedclothes, crockery and *omnia utensilia* went to the monastery of Pedralbes.<sup>130</sup> The nuns and monks there received 2000 *sous*, and an anniversary was endowed in her honour.<sup>131</sup> The queen repeated that her foundation should maintain 40 nuns and six Franciscan brothers accompanied by seven secular priests; the community should live according to the conditions she had stipulated in the ordinances she had issued on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1363, reiterating that the community should follow the Poor Clare rule of Pope Urban IV.<sup>132</sup> Finally,

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<sup>125</sup> M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, *Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya* (note 41 above), pp. 344-350 (no. 87), pp. 344, 345: *Volumus etiam quod sepultura nostra centum fratres religiosi civitatis Barchinonae, et triginta domina religiosa eiusdem civitatis et plus per praedictos manumissores convocentur.*

<sup>126</sup> See above, note 42.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 346-348: *fiat in sede Dertusa et in ecclesiis Berge, Turricellae de Monte Nigro, de Pals et de Burriana unum anniversarium pro anima dicti domini Regis viri nostri et nostra et pro animabus parentum suorum pariter et nostrorum* (p. 346).

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 346f.: *Item dimittimus sororibus et fratribus et presbiteris dicti monasterii duos mille solidos qui dividantur inter eos ad cognitionem Abbatisse dicti monasterii et thesaurariam dicti monasterii. Et domui fratrum minorum Barchinone quadringentos solidos in pitantia conventus eiusdem domus convertendos ad mensam et eidem domui fratrum minorum pro emendis pannis ad ipsius infirmariae eiusdem domus centum solidos. [...]. Item dimittimus domui sororum minorum Barchinonae pro pitantia trecentos solidos. Item domui sororum minorum civitatis Dertusa centum solidos pro pitantia. Item dimittimus domui fratrum minorum Dertusa centum solidos et pro emendis pannis ad opus infirmariae eiusdem domus, alios centum solidos; et monasterio fratrum minorum villa Berge quinquaginta solidos et monasterio monialium dictae villae centum solidos [...]. Religiose sorori Francisce Ça Portella abbatissae dicti monasterii Sancte Marie de Petra Alba trecentos solidos.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 347f.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 348: *cortinae de pando aureo et de sindone et panni iscoriati, reliquas et arnesia capella nostra dent et dare teneantur incontinenti post obitum nostrum sacristiae dicti monasterii et eius sacristane que quidem omnia deservant ecclesia dicti monasterii quamdiu subsistant.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 344-350 (no. 87), p. 345: *faciant fieri unum anniversarium generale pro anima nostra in ecclesia sedis Barchinonae [...]. Item volumus et ordinamus quod in capite anni obitus nostri fiat unum anniversarium in ecclesia dicti monasterii per presbiteros et beneficiatos dicti monasterii et quod dicta die sint in dicto anniversario centum religiosi presbiteri sive presbiteris dicti monasterii* (p. 348).

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 349f.: *Debent tenere in dicto monasterio numerum quadraginta monialium et sex fratrum minorum et septem presbiterum secularium sub certis pactis et conditionibus inter nos et abbatissam et conven-*

Elisenda stipulated that her residence was to be destroyed once she died, with the exception of its main hall.<sup>133</sup> Thus the monastery and her carefully fashioned mausoleum were all that was to be left of the compound to posterity. The trans-Mediterranean ties between this devout queen and similarly minded relatives might be exemplified by the report according to which both an *infanta* of Naples and an *infanta* of Portugal are said to have attended Queen Elisenda's funeral when she died in 1364.<sup>134</sup>

Compared to the “franciscanism” shown by the “Queen of Pedralbes”, the remaining wills in this survey at best reflect an affinity to the Minorites, in other cases only a certain sympathy for them. Therese of Entenza, wife to Alfonso the Mild, dictated her will on 23 October 1327. The queen to be (she died before her husband was actually crowned) stipulated that she should be buried in the Franciscan convent of Lleida,<sup>135</sup> but in fact she was finally laid to rest in Zaragoza, where her two prematurely deceased children Sancho (d. 1327) and Isabella (d. 1327) had already been interred.<sup>136</sup> In her testament, the queen provided the convent of Lleida with an anniversary and a pittance – donating 1000 gold *morabatins* – and stipulated that a Poor Clare convent was to be founded in Chalamera<sup>137</sup> as well as a male and a female Minorite house on Sardinia.<sup>138</sup> On

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*tum dicti monasterii initis et conventis prout de hiis apparet per instrumentum publicum inde factum per Petrum Borrelli notarium publicum infrascriptum octava die decembris anno a nativitate Domini Millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo tertio [...] Item cum nos ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei et gloriosissima virginis Marie matris eius et ob devotionem quam erga beatum Franciscum et sanctam Claram gerimus puro corde instituerimus et dotaverimus per dictum monasterium sanctae Mariae de Petra Alba ad divini nominis gloriam adque laudem et quod sorores dicti monasterii vivant et regulerentur secundum ordinem sororibus minoribus datam a domino Urbano papa quarto et ipsam teneant et observant, ideo volumus quod dictum monasterium sit de sororibus dicta regula et quod in dicto monasterio non possint poni aliae personae regulares nec seculares nisi tantum modo sorores minores regulam dicti Urbani tenentes et observantes [...].*

<sup>133</sup> Ibidem, p. 349: *Item, volumus et mandamus quod post obitum nostrum, totum hospitium familis nostra et palatium eiusdem familia, dirnatur usque ad palatium nostrum in quo comedimus, usque ad januam ipsius, que est coram januam dicti palatii, et postea ipsa janua claudatur et peradatur, et etiam janua portualis maioris familiae nostrae*; A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, El projecte fundacional del monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes (note 36 above), p. 111.

<sup>134</sup> A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes (note 36 above), p. 128

<sup>135</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12), fol. 1v: *Item eligimus sepulturam nostrum in monasterio fratrum minorum civitatis Ilerdensis*. On this queen see E. L. MIRON, Las Reinas de Aragón, sus vidas y sus épocas (note 25 above), pp. 142-150; A. IVARS, El mausoleo de la infanta Teresa de Entenza (note 17 above).

<sup>136</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón (note 2 above), pp. 230-233; J. BRACONS CLAPÉS, “Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus” (note 1 above), p. 225f.

<sup>137</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12), fol. 7r.

<sup>138</sup> Ibidem: *Item volumus et iubemus quod fiant duo monasteria in dicto Regno Sardiniae quorum unum sit fratrum minorum et aliud minorissarum ubi et secundum quod prefato viro et domino nostro carissimo videbitur expedire nam ad hoc tenemur ex voto per nos, nostro et dicti domini infantis nomine facto dum eramus in dicti Regni acquisitione una cum eadem personaliter constituta.*

the day of her funeral, the Franciscans and Poor Clares in Lleida (as well as many other ecclesiastical institutions in the town) received a payment (of 200 *sous*).<sup>139</sup> But the bulk of Therese of Entenza's endowments and donations went to a number of different – not necessarily Mendicant – ecclesiastical institutions in order to maintain the memory of her family, particularly of her parents: For this end, she founded chaplaincies and anniversaries in Alcolea, in Bellpuig de les Avellanes, Santa Maria de Sales (near Huesca), Santa María de Casbas, Santa María del Pilar in Zaragoza and Santa Maria de Montserrat.<sup>140</sup>

Therese's daughter-in-law, Princess Mary of Portugal, married Prince Ferdinand of Aragon and dictated her will in 1370.<sup>141</sup> Mary concentrated her bequests on ecclesiastical institutions situated in the region where her husband's possessions were centred – in Lleida, Tortosa and Fraga – and here particularly on Minorite houses. She chose burial in the Franciscan habit and in her husband's tomb in the convent of Lleida and endowed chaplaincies at the convent as well as four anniversaries. These were to be celebrated *per omnes fratres presbiteros dicti monasterii fratrum minorum* for her soul and that of her deceased husband on the respective obits (as well as on All Souls Day and the day thereafter).<sup>142</sup> Following mass, *an absolutio generalis super tumulum nostrum et dicti domini infantis* was to be celebrated, and the testator bestowed all the ornaments of her chapel upon the convent.<sup>143</sup> 2000 *sous* annual rent were to be purchased and handed to the Guardian of the Lleidatan convent in order to finance these memorial services.<sup>144</sup> Further bequests to the Friars Minor and Poor Clares included a donation of 100 pounds to the Clares of Tortosa *pro suis necessitatibus supportandis [...] et quod teneantur orare ad dominum Ihesum Christum pro anima nostra et dicti domini infantis viri nostri*.<sup>145</sup> The Franciscans of Tortosa received 25 pounds under the same conditions, while 50 pounds went to the Poor Clares of Lleida for pittancies and *in opera dicte ecclesiae*.<sup>146</sup> 50 pounds went to an individual nun (*soror Guiomar*) of Tortosa,<sup>147</sup> a Poor Clare (*Constancia*) from the convent of Santarem in Portugal received an individual donation of 50 pounds, the princess' Franciscan confessor John was given 3000 *sous* and four of his brothers who were to travel to Jerusalem were paid 500 *sous* each.<sup>148</sup> Besides these Francis-

<sup>139</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12), fol. 2r-3v, fol. 7v.

<sup>140</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (12), fol. 2r-3v, fol. 7r-7v.

<sup>141</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 21 (6); See E. CANTARELL BARELLA / M. COMAS VIA, Maria de Portugal, una dona amagada per la Història (note 53 above).

<sup>142</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 1v.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 1v, 7r.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 2r.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 3v.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 6r.

cans and Poor Clares, over 60 individuals (mostly from her household) were named as recipients of donations. Further chaplaincies were instituted at Lleida cathedral, at the church of Camarasa and that of Fraga, and at convents and monasteries of Lleida, while charitable donations were extended for clothing and food for 200 *pauperes* on the day of Mary's funeral, as well as in order to finance the marriage of young girls, the liberation of captives, the subvention of shamed poor, and finally as a payment for hospitals in Lleida, Barcelona, Tortosa and Fraga.<sup>149</sup>

Apart from these seven prominent cases of testaments issued by Aragonese princesses and queens who chose a Minorite convent as their final place of rest and who consequently endowed Franciscans and Poor Clares more or less lavishly in these documents, there are a number of other extant wills which merit our attention. The testators did not choose a Minorite convent as their place of burial, but generally laid down provisions concerning Franciscans and Poor Clares. For example, in her will issued on 12 October 1251, Yolande of Hungary bequeathed 200 *morabatins* to the monastery *dominarum sancti Damiani in Valencia* and 50 more to that of the *dominae Sancti Damiani* of Lleida.<sup>150</sup> She chose the female Cistercian monastery of Vallbona as her place of sepulture and extended important donations to female houses of the Hospitallers and Cistercians, thus showing a marked sympathy for institutions of religious women. Amongst the more novel forms of religious life, and despite her donation of her silk cloak to the Dominicans of Lleida, she clearly favoured the Minorites: Apart from the above-mentioned donations to the Damianites of Valencia and Lleida, she also donated 100 *morabatins* to each of the Franciscan convents of Montpellier, Perpignan, Barcelona, Majorca, Tarragona, Lleida, Saragossa and Valencia. Her affinity to the contemporary poverty movement can also be discerned by her stipulation for the clothing of 1000 and the feeding of 30,000 poor.

Other queens also considered the Friars Minor and Poor Clares, if not quite as splendidly. Queen Blanche of Naples/Anjou, a sister of the Franciscan Saint Louis of Toulouse and wife to James II, appears to have clearly favoured the Dominicans: Both her confessor and the executor of her will were Friars preachers, and in her will of 1308, she bestowed large amounts of money on Dominican houses (particularly the monasteries of female religious), extending further donations to the liberation of Christian slaves, financial support for the poor and ill, for young virgins who wanted to marry as well as for students of Arabic and Hebrew. But she did bequeath 500 Barcelonese pounds to the

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<sup>149</sup> Ibidem, fol. 2r-4v.

<sup>150</sup> A. HUICI MIRANDA, Colección diplomática de Jaime I (note 76 above), vol. 3, pp. 50-52, esp. p. 51 (no. 585); she also provided their house in Valencia with her cloak (ibidem). R. AVERKORN, Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis (note 25 above), pp. 229f.; N. JORNET I BENITO, El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona (note 22 above), p. 138; B. ROEST, Order and Disorder (note 22 above), p. 92.

Franciscan convents of her realm (as much as to the Dominican houses), a further 100 pounds to the newly constructed Poor Clare convent of Vilafranca del Penedés and another 150 pounds on the other Poor Clare convents in the realm.<sup>151</sup>

Mary of Navarre, Peter the Ceremonious's first wife, dictated her will on 9 April 1347.<sup>152</sup> She chose sepulture at the Cistercian monastery of Poblet and spent much money and trouble in endowing chaplaincies of secular priests at the royal palaces of Barcelona, Zaragoza and Valencia. But she also donated 200 *sous* to the Barcelonese Franciscans *pro pictantiis* and half that amount to the houses of the other Mendicant orders, including the Poor Clares, stipulating that anniversaries should be held on her behalf.<sup>153</sup> Brother Peter of Cumbis, the queen's confessor, was to be consulted in all matters concerning these bequests,<sup>154</sup> and both he and brother John, *de ordine fratrum minorum, qui nos docuit litteris*, received major personal donations of 2000 and 1000 *sous* respectively.<sup>155</sup> Still, considering the many dozens of non-Franciscan household officials the queen donated money to and comparing her legates, one cannot term Queen Mary of Navarre a prominent adherent of the Franciscans.

In contrast, Queen Leonor of Sicily, Peter the Ceremonious' third wife, shows an obvious pro-Franciscan profile.<sup>156</sup> Her testament was written on 12 June 1374<sup>157</sup> and an extensive codicil was added to it the very same day.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>151</sup> J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 2, p. 37 (no. 57), see above, note 26. On Blanche of Anjou see J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 3-20; R. AVERKORN, Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis (note 25 above), pp. 241f.; N. JORNET I BENITO, El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona (note 22 above), p. 29.

<sup>152</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1531, fol. 3r-8v, see R. ANDRÉS Y ALONSO, Relación de testamentos reales (note 60 above), p. 28.

<sup>153</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1531, fol. 4r-4v.

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem, fol. 5r.

<sup>155</sup> Ibidem, fol. 6r.

<sup>156</sup> On this queen see U. DEIBEL, Leonor von Sizilien. 1349-1375. Studien zu Aragons Politik und Hofhaushalt, Diss. Phil. Freiburg 1923; M. ANGLADA CANTARELL, Els quatre llibres de la reina Elionor de Sicília a l'arxiu de la catedral de Barcelona (Textos i documents 26), Barcelona 1992; S. ROEBERT, Leonor de Sicília y Santa Clara de Teruel (note 27 above); IDEM, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above); IDEM, 'Que nos tenemus a dicto domino rege pro camera assignata.' The Development, Administration and Significance of the Queenly Estate of Elionor of Sicily (1349-1375), in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 46 (2016), pp. 231-268; S. ROEBERT, 'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedifficantis' (note 27 above).

<sup>157</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 139r-155v; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, p. 65-67 (no. 50, regest). See S. ROEBERT, Leonor de Sicília y Santa Clara de Teruel (note 27 above), p. 157.

<sup>158</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 156v-177v; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, p. 67-85 (no. 51, edition). See S. ROEBERT, Leonor de Sicília y Santa Clara de Teruel (note 27 above), p. 157.

Queen Leonor did not choose a Franciscan convent as her burial site, but she did stipulate that the executors of her will should follow the advice of her Franciscan confessor Nicolau of Termens.<sup>159</sup> Whilst the testament proper mainly consists of an exact distribution of the queen's jewellery, relics, clothing and other mobile possessions, the codicil contains explicit rulings concerning ecclesiastic institutions and the queen's liturgical memory – such as the festivities she ordered to be held on the anniversary of her demise in Barcelona (including the brethren who were to participate and size of the candles that were to be used on the occasion).<sup>160</sup> The male and female communities of all four Mendicant orders, the Mercedarians, the Cistercians nuns, female Benedictines and the nuns of Santiago were all expected to participate and celebrate anniversaries in their houses for the soul of the queen, thus betraying Leonor's partiality towards institutions of female religious. The queen particularly supported the Poor Clares, more precisely the convent of Teruel that she had founded several years before.<sup>161</sup> She furnished it with important annual income as well as with an extraordinary payment of 20,000 *sous* for construction work. The community of 15 to 20 nuns was to continuously say prayers (*continue orent*) in favour of Leonor's parents (Peter II of Sicily, d. 1342, and Elizabeth of Carinthia, d. 1352) as well as for herself and her husband (after their passing) in the fashion the queen had stipulated when she founded the monastery.<sup>162</sup> The similarity to Queen Elisenda's rulings of 1364 are evident.<sup>163</sup> Two secular priests and two *scolares* were instituted to assist them in this office, and the entire community was furnished with means to buy clothing and food or anything else they needed. 5000 shillings annual rents were set apart for this purpose.<sup>164</sup> Queen

<sup>159</sup> *Et in hiis que occurrerint eis dubia vel obscura requirant et habeant consilium religiosi fratris Nicolai de Termini sacre theologie magister et confessori nostri*, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 152v.

<sup>160</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 164v-165r, 169v-171v; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, pp. 73, 76f. (no. 51).

<sup>161</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 166r-170r; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 4, p. 74-76. See M. D. C. GARCÍA HERRERO, *El entorno femenino de los reyes de Aragón* (note 43 above), pp. 349f.; S. ROEBERT, *Leonor de Sicilia y Santa Clara de Teruel* (note 27 above), p. 167; IDEM, 'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedifficantis' (note 27 above), p. 60f.

<sup>162</sup> *Faciaturque celebrari divina officia per dictas sorores et per dictos presbiteros et scolares juxta formam eis per nos traditam et contentam in quadam carta donationis*, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 152v.

<sup>163</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 167r; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), p. 157, Quellentranskriptionen 4, p. 74f. (no. 51). On these rulings see S. ROEBERT, *Leonor de Sicilia y Santa Clara de Teruel* (note 27 above), pp. 164-166. The stipulations were very similar to those laid down eight years earlier by the queen for the Poor Clare convent of Calatayud (cf. note 242)

<sup>164</sup> In 1368, the queen had already conferred an annual rent of 2000 *sous* upon the monastery, S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 1, p. 491-494 (no. 897); S. ROEBERT, *Leonor de Sicilia y Santa Clara de Teruel* (note 27 above), p. 154.

Leonor also provided the Poor Clare convent of Calatayud that she had re-founded several years before with 5000 shillings.<sup>165</sup> Similar to Queen Constance three generations before, Leonor also seems to have been accompanied by pious women, for in her will she specifically set apart sums of money for two members of her household (Marie Nanelle and Francische Nanelle) in case they wanted to enter religious life.<sup>166</sup> In a recent article, Sebastian ROEBERT has comprehensively studied and quantified the queens religious endowments in favour of the Mendicants in general and the Franciscans and Poor Clares respectively, correlating them to the favours the queen bestowed on other forms of religious life.<sup>167</sup> The results are striking: of 58,000 *sous* Leonor donated to religious institutions, around 25,000 *sous* were destined to the Minorites (4129 *sous* to the Franciscans and 21,092 *sous* to the Clares), substantially more than to any other order.<sup>168</sup> Considering the strong support she conveyed upon Poor Clares in her testament, it appears quite fitting that Queen Leonor's corpse was kept at the Poor Clare convent of Barcelona for several years before it was finally transferred to the Royal Pantheon of Poblet in fulfilment of her will.<sup>169</sup>

Princess Joanne, a daughter of Peter the Ceremonious who was betrothed to John, Count of Empuries in 1372, dictated her will on August 12<sup>th</sup> 1384.<sup>170</sup> She reserved 100,000 shillings for her funeral, for donations and for endowments. Although she chose burial in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet according to her father's wishes, she also meted out extensive donations to the Franciscans: 50 shillings for pittances and some of her golden and felt clothing *ob reverenciam Beati Nicholai* to the local Guardian; the Poor Clare monasteries of Pedralbes, Castelló d'Empuries (which received additional payments for repairs to the monastery), Huesca and Barcelona (where an additional chaplaincy was estab-

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<sup>165</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 169v: *Item dimittimus operi monasterii sororum minorum civitatis Calataiubii quinque mille solidos Jaccenses convertendos per dictos manumissores nostros seu per illum vel illos, quos ipsi voluerint, in opere monasterii supradicti* – S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), p. 76.

<sup>166</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, Reg. 1537, fol. 175r: *Item dimittimus Marie Nanelle domestice nostre, si religionis ordine intraverit, mille solidos Barchinonenses, sed si ordine religionis ordinis intrare noluerit ipso causa ipsam guadere nolumus legato presenti, sed volumus, quod comittatur et recomendetur inclite infantisse Mathe ducisse Gerunde. Item dimittimus Ffrancische Nanelle domestice nostre mille solidos Barchinonenses causa quo religionis ordinem intrare, velit alia ipsam presenti legati privari volumus et inclite Marie comitisse de Luna comendarí; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), p. 82f.*

<sup>167</sup> S. ROEBERT, 'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedificantis' (note 27 above).

<sup>168</sup> The Hospitallers of Sigena received the important sum of close to 14,500 *sous*, followed by the Dominicans (ca. 4000 *sous*), the Cistercians (3077 *sous*), the Carmelites and Augustinian's (both around 1000 *sous*) – *ibidem*, pp. 66-69.

<sup>169</sup> R. D. ARCO GARAY, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (note 2 above), pp. 79-81.

<sup>170</sup> A. JAVIERRE, *Testamento y codicilo de la infanta Juana de Aragón, condesa de Ampurias* (note 88 above), pp. 452-462.

lished) as well as the Franciscan convents of Tarragona, Valencia, Vilafranca del Penedés, Montblanc and Zaragoza received payments. Princess Joanna fostered a wide array of ecclesiastical institutions, particularly those situated in her husband's most important urban centre, Castelló d'Empuries. But she also clearly expressed her affinity to the Mendicants, both to the Dominicans and to the Minorites. The codicil to the princess's will is telling,<sup>171</sup> because it names a Franciscan (Francesc Rafart, her husband's confessor) and two Poor Clares amongst her immediate personnel (Violant Salzet, from Saint Daniel in Barcelona, and Nava of Fontanes, a Minoressa from Perpignan).

Finally, the testaments of some queens are no longer extant, but single stipulations can be gleaned from later records concerning the fulfilment of certain clauses. The will of infanta Martha of Armagnac and of Queen Mary of Luna (d. 1406) are two such cases.<sup>172</sup> Both testators named Franciscans as executors to their will – Martha of Armagnac chose brother Jaume Lledó,<sup>173</sup> whilst Mary of Luna named three Franciscans and donated a rent of 5000 *sous* to the Franciscan monastery of Toliu (Gilet) she had founded, adding an annual endowment of 1500 *sous* for living expenses and a further 500 *sous* for the maintenance of the church and the convent.<sup>174</sup>

Summing up: a close analysis of Aragonese queens' and princesses' wills reveals that not all, but many of them showed a pronounced inclination towards the Mendicants in general and the Franciscans in particular. Some were particularly close to the Poor Clares, others favoured both the female and the male branch of the order. Royal funerals and the endowment of anniversaries in particular made this special relationship visible in the public sphere for many years and decades after the testator's death. Most of these liturgical celebrations appear to have been financed by the bequests of the deceased; additionally, the registers of the royal finance officials contain payments provided by the King's chamber to fund particular funerals and anniversaries of queens and princesses.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> A. JAVIERRE, Testamento y codicilo de la infanta Juana de Aragón, condesa de Ampurias (note 88 above), pp. 463-466.

<sup>172</sup> N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship. Maria de Luna, New York, NY 2008, p. 225.

<sup>173</sup> A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona (note 59 above), p. 182.

<sup>174</sup> A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón doña María de Luna (1396-1406), in: Archivo Ibero-Americano Ser. 2/42 (1982), pp. 81-123, here pp. 118-123 (no. 76-79); N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, Power, Piety, and Patronage (note 172 above), pp. 123f.

<sup>175</sup> J. R. WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real a la historia de los frailes menores durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV, in: Archivo Ibero-Americano 53 (1993), pp. 525-548, here pp. 533, 535, with archival references to payments for the funerals of Blanche of Anjou (1310), as well as notes on the funding of anniversaries for Blanche of Anjou (1321, 1326, 1333), Queen Constance (1316, 1327), Mary of Cyprus (1323), Isabella of Portugal

Even though the wills studied above provide us with exceptional information, they are not the only relevant sources that inform us about royal “franciscanism” and less prominent forms of affinity to the Minorites in the Middle Ages. Neither do they cover the entire spectrum of modes noble women could employ in order to foster the Poor Friars. The final section of this article will attempt to broaden our perspective to demonstrate the impressive range of possibilities that the queens and princesses of Aragon mustered in favour of the Minorites during a century of royal support.

### III. Diverse Modes of “Franciscanism”

It is well known that the Franciscan order and its members could exert a considerable influence on medieval ruling families. The analysis of royal testaments has shown, that Franciscan friars and nuns provided spiritual assistance to kings and queens, princes and princesses. But their influence went further than that, as they also elaborated a theologically based political theory and effective guidelines for monarchical rule.<sup>176</sup> The well-known abundance and wealth of documentation housed at the famous Archivo de la Corona de Aragón and other Catalonian archives might furnish additional data about the modes and intensity of cooperation between medieval courts and Mendicants. To date, no complete analysis of the abundant royal registers of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – both of the Chancery section and those of the fiscal and financial administration – has been undertaken in order to precisely determine the role friars played at the Aragonese court.<sup>177</sup> A recent study has identified 56 Franciscans at the court from 1276 to 1458.<sup>178</sup> This naked figure needs to be substantiated, and indeed, an

(1330), Isabella, wife of Frederick of Habsburg (1330) and Therese of Entenza (1344), *ibidem*, pp. 534-538, 543. See the excerpts from a book of anniversaries in the convent of St Francis of Barcelona: J. COLL, *Chronica serafica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña* (note 66 above), pp. 50f.

<sup>176</sup> N. JASPERS, El perfil trascendental de los reyes aragoneses, siglos XIII al XV. Santidad, franciscanismo y profecías, in: J. Á. SESMA MUÑOZ (ed.), *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia (1208-1458). La monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona* (Colección Garba 4), Zaragoza 2010, pp. 183-218; R. RAMIS BARCELÓ, El pensamiento político franciscano de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV). Modelos, paradigmas e ideas, in: *Mirabilia. Revista Electrónica de Historia Antiga e Medieval* 21 (2015), pp. 110-131.

<sup>177</sup> Despite some thorough modern studies: J. BAUCELLS I REIG, Documentación franciscana en el Archivo Capitular de Barcelona. Los franciscanos de la diócesis de Barcelona en los siglos XIII y XIV, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 40 (1980), pp. 339-381; J. R. WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real (note 175 above); J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 81-102.

<sup>178</sup> P. EVANGELISTI, I Francescani e la costruzione di uno stato (note 60 above), pp. 10f. and tab. 6f; Cf. The methodological reflections in: J. DÍAZ IBÁÑEZ / J. M. NIETO SORIA, Élités y clientelas eclesiásticas en los siglos XIII al XV. Una propuesta metodológica a partir del caso castellano, in: F. T. BARATA (ed.), *Élités e redes clientelares na idade média. Problemas metodológicos* (Biblioteca. Estudos & colóquios 2), Lisbon 2001, pp. 109-139; N. JASPERS, *Mendi-*

exhaustive reading of the most relevant editions and *regestae* would doubtlessly produce such ample findings that a general picture could safely be drawn. This article is not the result of such a systematical survey of the many tomes that make up these collections, but rather a much more arbitrary collection of references gathered from editions or publications of regesta. It could and should be extended by further findings. But even in this incomplete form, the Aragonese material presented here allows us to substantiate results of similar studies in other European countries, providing exemplary and comparatively precise data.

The Crown Archives' holdings can be complemented by further sources. For example, by chance the register of the royal almoner Guillem Deudé for the years 1378 to 1385 has been preserved in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, where Guillem was a monk.<sup>179</sup> The high number of Franciscans and Dominicans mentioned in this manuscript – brethren who approached the court and received money there for a new habit or for other needs – conveys the impression that no form of regular life was more numerous and frequently present at the Aragonese court than the Mendicants. The Dominicans and Franciscans appear to have been what German medievalism has coined as “*herrschaftsnah*”: both physically and functionally close to the ruler and his power.<sup>180</sup> Such proximity could well be functionalised politically, as a letter that the Franciscan provincial wrote to King Martin of Aragon (d. 1410) in 1393 demonstrates, in which he openly prided himself with having employed the regard that King John I (d. 1395) and his wife Yolande of Bar (d. 1431) had for their Minorite confessor to further the then King of Sicily's interests.<sup>181</sup>

We also know that at the King's Court, Mendicants in general and Franciscans in particular acted as officials or at least regular members in several functions: They emerge from the records as chancellors and other administrative experts and are sometimes referred to as royal counsellors.<sup>182</sup> In other cases

cants, Jews and Muslims at Court in the Crown of Aragon. *Social Practice and Inter-Religious Communication*, in: M. V. D. HÖH / N. JASPERT / J. R. OESTERLE (eds.), *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages (Mittelmeerstudien 1)*, Paderborn 2013, pp. 107-147, here pp. 115-118.

<sup>179</sup> A. ALTISENT, *L'Almoína Reial a la cort de Pere el Cerimoniós. Estudi i ed. dels mss. de l'amoïner fra Guillem Deudé (1378 85) (Scriptorium Populeti 2)*, Poblet 1969.

<sup>180</sup> G. ORO, *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*, Santiago de Compostela 1988, pp. 461-476; P. SANAHUJA, *Historia de la seráfica provincia de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1959, pp. 105-132.

<sup>181</sup> N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), p. 126, generally *ibidem*, pp. 122-130.

<sup>182</sup> G. ORO, *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval* (note 180 above), pp. 474-476; F. DIAGO, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores. Desde su origen y principio hasta el año de mil y seysciento*, Barcelona 1599 (Repr. 1999), 15r, 159r. On the Chancellor see I. JAUME, *Leyes Palatinas*, ed. L. PÉREZ MARTÍNEZ / G. LLOMPART / M. DURLIAT / M. PASCUAL PONT (*La Isla de la calma Serie mayor 17*), Palma de Mallorca 1991, pp. 100f., 157f.

they appear as members of the royal chapel,<sup>183</sup> and some friars were employed to work as chroniclers charged with elaborating the House of Barcelona's official memory and textual representation.<sup>184</sup> The friars' activities transcended the physical setting of the court on other occasions too: They served as diplomats, as ambassadors to other rulers, sometimes even as envoys to Muslim sovereigns.<sup>185</sup> In many more cases, Mendicants fulfilled liturgical and clerical duties by acting as preachers at court. The illustrations to the Majorcan court ordinances of 1337 – the *Leges Palatinae* – for example specifically show Mendicants holding sermons before the king.<sup>186</sup>

Mendicants were considered the archetypical royal confessors. Prosopographical studies corroborate this and show that many royal Mendicant confessors were often elevated to bishoprics in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>187</sup> Tellingly, the Majorcan court ceremonials show an illustration titled “directors of the King's conscience”, where one can discern a bishop, a priest and a friar.<sup>188</sup> More prominently, the chapter dedicated to the king's confessor is preceded by a

<sup>183</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional (note 17 above), p. 108 (no. 176, Martí de Eixea, OFM).

<sup>184</sup> Such is the case of the Dominican Pere Marsili, the translator of the *Llibre dels Fets*: A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval (note 43 above), vol. 1, p. 58 (no. 47), or his brothers Jaume Domenech and Antoni Ginebreda, charged with a *compendi històric* by Peter the Ceremonious: A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval (note 43 above), vol. 1, pp. 328f. (no. 363-364), p. 333 (no. 370), for which Ginebreda incidentally used Ramón Martí's *Pugio fidei*: *ibidem* 333f. (no. 371).

<sup>185</sup> J. A. DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Crònica de la província franciscana de Aragó (note 13 above), vol. 1, pp. 95-114; J. COLL, Crònica seràfica de la Santa Província de Catalunya (note 66 above), pp. 149-151; A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, Franciscanisme de la reina de Aragó (note 174 above), pp. 83-123; J. WEBSTER, Els Menorets (note 14 above), pp. 81f., 90-92, 175-177; J. R. WEBSTER, La contribució de los registros del Patrimonio Real (note 175 above); N. JASPERS, Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court (note 178 above).

<sup>186</sup> I. JAUME, Leyes Palatinas (note 182 above), p. 170: *Plane religiosi quicumque in mensa nostra sedeant comedentes, illis diebus quibus coram nobis contigerit praedicare ... merito honore magis quam diebus ceteris decorantur.*

<sup>187</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragó, in: Archivo Ibero-Americano 16 (1929), pp. 145-240, here pp. 152, 167: “Los confesores franciscanos de D. Pedro el Ceremonioso han sido varios, y todos ellos fueron después promovidos a la dignidad episcopal”; J. R. WEBSTER, Un repertorio biogràfic i bibliogràfic de los frailes menores de la Corona de Aragó. Método y ejemplos, in: M. D. M. GRANA CID (ed.), El Franciscanisme en la Península Ibèrica. Balance y perspectivas, Barcelona 2005, pp. 403-418. Similarly, in the case of Dominicans: R. J. E. VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragó (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Ser. 4/74), Cambridge 2009, p. 85.

<sup>188</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169, fol. 38v. Despite this article's focus on Mendicants, the court ceremonials and other sources demonstrate that many different religious experts frequented the royal court or were even employed there with fixed positions. The Cistercians for example were represented by the chief almoner who traditionally was a monk from the Cistercian abbey of Santes Creus; secular priests acted as chaplains, and later in the Middle Ages other regular institutions such as the Celestines were charged with further at the royal chapel.

miniature showing the king confessing to a Franciscan.<sup>189</sup> This specific assignment was formalised at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1398), when King Martin decreed that all confessors of the Aragonese kings and queens, both present and future, should be members of the Franciscan order.<sup>190</sup>

Turning from the monarchs to their wives and daughters, we can observe Franciscans serving as confessors to Aragonese queens and princesses at an early date. While they generally appear to have chosen secular clergymen as chaplains, they habitually relied on Minorites when it came to naming a confessor: At least twelve queens and princesses made this choice.<sup>191</sup> Friar García Blandes served as confessor to Queen Yolande and later became provincial general of the Franciscans in Galicia.<sup>192</sup> A Franciscan called Arnau served Mary of Cyprus as a confessor, as a counsellor and as an envoy,<sup>193</sup> Therese of Entenza had Sancho López of Ayerbe as her confessor, Leonor of Castile appointed Juan Monfort; Queen Leonor of Sicily employed the Franciscans Arnau Batlle, Nicolás of Termens and Joan of Montfort; Mary of Navarra (Peter the Ceremonious's wife) confessed to Ombert Messeguer, whilst Sibyl of Fortià did the same to Arnau of Pelegrí and Arnau Renardes; infanta Martha of Armagnac had Francisco Rafart as her confessor,<sup>194</sup> Yolande of Bar chose Nicolás Sacosta.

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<sup>189</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169, fol. 41r.

<sup>190</sup> J. COLL, *Chronica serafica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña* (note 66 above), pp. 66-68 (text); A. LÓPEZ, *Confesores de la familia real de Aragón* (note 187 above), pp. 209-212 (trans.).

<sup>191</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the following enumeration of royal confessors is based on: J. A. DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon*, vol. 1 (note 13 above), pp. 98, 101, 112f.; J. COLL, *Chronica serafica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña* (note 66 above), pp. 149-151; A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* (note 43 above), vol. 1, p. 257 (no. 274), p. 325 (no. 359-360); A. LÓPEZ, *Confesores de la familia real de Aragón* (note 187 above); G. ORO, *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval* (note 180 above), pp. 474-476; D. J. VIERA, *Francesc Eiximenis and the Royal House of Aragon. A Mutual Dependence*, in: *Catalan Review* 3 (1989), pp. 182-189; N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), p. 126; R. J. E. VOSE, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (note 187 above), pp. 82, 84; J. TRENCHS ÒDENNA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 134 (no. 328), p. 155 (no. 446), p. 226 (no. 777), p. 453 (no. 1793), p. 591 (no. 2437).

<sup>192</sup> A. LÓPEZ, *Apuntes históricos sobre el convento de Santa Clara de Allariz* (note 31 above), pp. 15, 17-19; M. R. KATZ, *A Convent for La Sabia* (note 23 above), p. 823. On the beatification of García Blandes and the attempts to canonise him see *ibidem*.

<sup>193</sup> E. SARRABLO, *La Reina que vino de Oriente* (note 25 above), pp. 124, 158 (no. 23); J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, p. 182 (no. 257); p. 194 (no. 272), p. 240 (no. 324), p. 284 (no. 389); A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, *Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón* (note 174 above), pp. 84f. (no. 4, 6). Mary of Cyprus expressly requested that the Franciscan monk Aimeric accompany her to Catalonia when she married James II in 1315: J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 2, p. 142 (no. 205).

<sup>194</sup> A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, *Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona* (note 59 above), p. 78.

Finally, Princess Leonor had a Franciscan confessor in 1367,<sup>195</sup> as did her namesake, the Queen of Cyprus,<sup>196</sup> Princess Joanne<sup>197</sup> and Queen Mary of Luna.<sup>198</sup>

The Aragonese kings in turn could actively back individual Mendicants and convents in a variety of fashions. Most conspicuously, they would make monetary donations to specific houses or communities, but their means of support were much more diverse and individualised than that: Ruling Aragonese kings favoured certain Franciscans going abroad by issuing safe conducts, they recommended them to open positions in other countries, they invited single brethren to meals at the royal palace or bought them new habits. Many such rulings are preserved in the documentation issued by the royal chancery.<sup>199</sup> In the cases of these royal writs, one can safely surmise that female members of the court might have voiced recommendations and suggestions to the king which he then passed on to the Chancellor without this leaving a trace of the respective wife's or daughter's initiative in the source. In other cases, however, female agency is still apparent.

For even though the activities of Aragonese queens are not as well documented as those of their husbands, many of the forms of support mentioned above can also be identified on their behalf. Monetary donations in favour of Franciscan and Poor Clare convents abound. Yolande of Hungary supported the convent of La Puridad in Valencia, initially dedicated to her sister Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and to Saint Clare.<sup>200</sup> Her homonymous daughter made donations of property to the Franciscans of Valladolid in the 1260s before turning her attention to the Poor Clare monastery of Allariz.<sup>201</sup> Leonor of Aragon,

<sup>195</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 363 (no. 1366).

<sup>196</sup> N. COUREAS, *The Latin Church in Cyprus. 1313 - 1378* (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus / Cyprus Research Centre 65), Nicosia 2010, p. 342; see the article by Margit MERSCH in this volume.

<sup>197</sup> A. JAVIERRE, *Testamento y codicilo de la infanta Juana de Aragón* (note 88 above), pp. 463-466.

<sup>198</sup> N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), p. 119-121; Joan Eiximeno.

<sup>199</sup> J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 79-100; *ibidem*, pp. 89f.

<sup>200</sup> A. IVARS CARDONA, *Año de fundación y diferentes advocaciones que ha tenido el monasterio de la Puridad o Purísima Concepción de Valencia*, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 19 (1932), pp. 435-464; R. AVERKORN, *Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis* (note 25 above), pp. 226-230; A. HUICI MIRANDA, *Colección diplomática de Jaime I* (note 76 above), vol. 3, pp. 50-52 (no. 585): will; p. 66 (no. 591): confirmation of her foundation of the monastery. See also A. ALDEA HERNÁNDEZ, *El Real Monasterio de las monjas Clarisas de la Puridad de Valencia*, in: F. J. CAMPOS FERNÁNDEZ DE SEVILLA (ed.), *La clausura femenina en España. Actas del simposium* (Colección del Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas 20), 2 vols., San Lorenzo del Escorial 2004, vol. 2, pp. 1103-1126.

<sup>201</sup> M. R. KATZ, *A Convent for La Sabia* (note 23 above), p. 819.

queen of Cyprus – daughter of an Aragonese prince turned Franciscan – allegedly was a generous supporter of the Franciscans,<sup>202</sup> as was her namesake, Peter the Ceremonious's Sicilian wife: Queen Leonor of Sicily financed the construction of a chapel dedicated to St Michael in the Poor Clare convent of Barcelona in 1362.<sup>203</sup> Queen Mary of Luna made a remarkable donation of 11,000 *sous* to the Poor Clares of the convent of Santa Maria de la Serra in Montblanc in 1404.<sup>204</sup> Most donations were issued as payments, others consisted in single items like the textiles and jewellery Queen Blanche gave the Friars Minor of Saragossa in 1304,<sup>205</sup> the two paintings Queen Leonor commissioned for the convent of Calatayud,<sup>206</sup> the breviary she presented to the Poor Clares of Teruel in 1375<sup>207</sup> or the missal, the censer (incense holder) and many other liturgical ornaments donated by Mary of Luna to the Franciscan monastery of Santo Espíritu she had founded in Toliu (Gilet) near Morvedre in 1402.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> J. COLL, *Chronica serafica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña* (note 66 above), pp. 116-118; E. BAGUÉ, *Notes sobre la reina Elionor de Xipre, des del seu retorn a Catalunya fins a la seva mort*, in: *Estudis universitaris catalans* 22 (1936), pp. 547-554; M. T. FERRER MALLOL, *La cort de la reina Elionor de Xipre a Catalunya*, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 25 (2003/04), pp. 347-373; EADEM, *La reina Leonor de Chipre y los Catalanes de su entorno*, in: D. COULON (ed.), *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard (Byzantina Sorbonensia 20)*, 2 vols., Paris 2004, vol. 1 pp. 311-332; E. AYENSA PRAT, *Entre cel i infern. La meravellosa història d'Elionor d'Aragó, reina de Xipre (c. 1333-1416)*, in: *Estudi general* 23 (2004), pp. 83-96; IDEM, *Eleonor de Aragón, Reina de Chipre, en la tradició historiogràfica franciscana*, in: *Hispania sacra. Revista española de historia eclesiástica* 56 (2004), pp. 103-134, who compares the laudatory vision of Franciscan chroniclers with the far less flattering tales related by Cypriot authors and corroborated by Aragonese chancery records. See the article by Margit MERSCH in this volume, who takes a more cautious stand as to Queen Leonor's Franciscanism.

<sup>203</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, pp. 138f. (no. 140). She is also known to have used her direct contacts to the papal court so that the abbess of the Poor Clares of Barcelona be given the right to use a crosier, T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, *Butllari de Catalunya* (note 24 above), vol. 2, pp. 1579f. (no. 1142). On this queen's endowments for the needy see S. ROEBERT, *'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedificantis'* (note 27 above), pp. 55f.

<sup>204</sup> N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), p. 123.

<sup>205</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 154 (no. 443).

<sup>206</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (note 43 above), vol. 1, pp. 213f. (no. 218): Payment to an artist for two paintings of St Nicholas and St Catherine for the Poor Clare convent of Calatayud.

<sup>207</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 424 (no. 1659).

<sup>208</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, p. 369 (no. 382); A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, *Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón* (note 174 above), pp. 89f. (no. 16, 17), pp. 94f. (no. 29), pp. 96f. (no. 34). Further (monetary) donations to the monastery of Murviedro / Morvedre: A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, *Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón* (note 174 above), p. 84 (doc 5), p. 85 (no. 8a).

Several queens personally issued documents on behalf of Franciscans going abroad. Queen Isabella of Castile (James II's wife) wrote a letter of recommendation in favour of Friar Gil of Navarra in 1329-1336,<sup>209</sup> but most of our sources originated in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when registers of queens became more habitual. Leonor of Sicily provided the friars Francesch Eiximenis, Arnau Renardes and Tomàs Olzina with 25 florins each for their studies (1370, 1371, 1372).<sup>210</sup> She also donated minor sums: In 1374, she gave Nicolau Martí 12 florins he needed in order to host a festivity in Barcelona to celebrate his title of a *magister*.<sup>211</sup> In the same year, Arnau Saplana and Guerau Destorrent received five florins each from the queen's coffers in order to travel to Paris, and Felip of Castro was paid 15 florins to finance his studies in England.<sup>212</sup> Queen Leonor also financed Francesch Eiximenis' studies at Toulouse in 1373, and Martha of Armagnac recommended him as Chancellor of the entire *studium* there one year later.<sup>213</sup> The latter financially supported Juan of Juça's entry into the Franciscan order,<sup>214</sup> Yolande of Bar actively intervened on behalf of several Franciscans to cover vacant positions: She lobbied in favour of Joan of Penguera in 1385 so that he be named bachelor at the *studium* of the Franciscan convent of Barcelona.<sup>215</sup> She wrote similar letters to the king of France, his wife, to the dukes of Burgundy and Bar as well as to the Chancellor of the Parisian *studium* in favour of Berenguer of Guànecs in 1387<sup>216</sup> and she campaigned

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<sup>209</sup> EADEM, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 84f.

<sup>210</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 380 (no. 1445), p. 390 (no. 1498), p. 397 (no. 1530); A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, pp. LXXXIX, XC.

<sup>211</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 414 (no. 1609).

<sup>212</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, pp. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

<sup>213</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (note 43 above), vol. 1, p. 248 (no. 262), pp. 254f. (no. 270). See the laudatory letter she wrote requiring the presence of *lo religios i amat nostre frare Francesc Eixemenis* when he achieved the title of magister in 1374: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, RC, 1811, fol. 4v, mentioned *ibidem*, pp. 416f. (no. 1618, 1623).

<sup>214</sup> A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, *Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona* (note 59 above), p. 121.

<sup>215</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 536 (no. 2171). On the Studium of Barcelona see C. SCHABEL / G. M. SMITH, *The Franciscan Studium in Barcelona in the Early Fourteenth Century*, in: K. EMERY (ed.), *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts. Acts of the XVth Annual Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale*, University of Notre Dame, 8-10 October 2008 (*Rencontres de philosophie médiévale* 15), Turnhout 2012, pp. 359-392, esp. pp. 367-392.

<sup>216</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 558 (no. 2271).

for Francesc Sacosta before the Pope in 1389.<sup>217</sup> Finally, in 1390 and 1395, Yolande of Bar wrote to the Franciscans in Paris so that brother Pere Cirer, a son of her loyal servant Bernat Cirer, might become a magister there.<sup>218</sup> Her successor, Mary of Luna, issued dozens of letters on behalf of individual Franciscans – a recent edition has presented 75 writs issued between 1401 and 1406 – recommending them for higher ecclesiastical offices, donating sums to celebrate the first mass they had held, providing payments to travelling brethren on their way to European *studia*, subsidising festivities of those who acquired the title of Master of theology, buying their habits, paying her confessor; she also sponsored the feeding of needy men and women at certain Franciscan convents, provided for the expenses of holding a provincial chapter and bestowed monetary donations upon male and female Minorite houses of Barcelona, Chelva, Toliu, Tortosa, Valencia and Zaragoza.<sup>219</sup>

The documents not only reveal such cases of selective support bestowed upon single monasteries or individuals by the queens and princesses, but also provide information about the very personal relations noblewoman could maintain with certain communities or nuns. Several members of the House of Barcelona entered Franciscan convents as female religious – similar to the Sicilian branch of the family, which showed a clear preference in this respect for the convent of St Clare in Messina.<sup>220</sup> Mary (d. 1347) and Blanche (d. 1348), two daughters of King James II and Blanche of Anjou, lived in the Poor Clare monastery of Santa Isabel in Valencia in 1336,<sup>221</sup> their niece took the veil at the

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<sup>217</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 573 (no. 2344).

<sup>218</sup> J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional* (note 17 above), p. 582 (no. 2389); A. RUBIO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, p. LXXXVI. On the franciscanism of Yolande's homonymous daughter see Z. E. ROHR, *Yolande of Aragon (1381-1442). Family and Power. The Reverse of the Tapestry*, Houndsmill 2016, pp. 100f., 134-145, 198.

<sup>219</sup> A. RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* (note 43 above), vol. 2, p. LXXXVIII; A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, *Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón* (note 174 above), pp. 83-118 provides an appendix comprising the 75 documents issued by the queen on behalf of the Franciscans. See also N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), pp. 125f.

<sup>220</sup> C. R. BACKMAN, *Arnau de Vilanova and the Franciscan spirituals in Sicily* (note 15 above); G. TODESCHINI, *Gli spirituali e il regno di Sicilia agli inizi del Trecento* (note 15 above); C. R. BACKMAN, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily* (note 14 above), pp. 186-246.

<sup>221</sup> They were obliged to transfer to Sigena, a House of the order of St John. However, when it had to undergo repairs, they requested permission to return to the monastery of La Puridad, if only temporarily, J. VINCKE, *Documenta selecta mutuas civitatis arago catalaunicae et ecclesiae relationes illustrantia*, Barcelona 1936, p. 378 (no. 512); J. R. WEBSTER, *La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real* (note 175 above), pp. 528, 531, 539; J. R. WEBSTER, *The Importance of the Aristocrats and the Wealthy Bourgeoisie* (note 115 above), pp. 95f. On Mary and Blanche see J. M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (note 16 above), vol. 1, pp. 107-126 and pp. 169-178.

convent of Vienna after her husband's death in 1338,<sup>222</sup> while the niece of Elisenda of Montcada became second abbess of her aunt's foundation of Pedralbes.<sup>223</sup>

Other members of the royal family regularly visited monasteries and entered the cloister in person. Random notes provide references to visits of kings and princesses to Mendicant convents.<sup>224</sup> In 1559, the archivist of Barcelona's Poor Clare monastery of St Anthony wrote a "book of things worthy of the monastery's memory" (*Llibre de coses dignes de memoria del monestir*). Probably drawing on earlier administrative records, he relates that Leonor of Sicily, Peter the Ceremonious's wife, would spend many feast days at the monastery, which she endowed with anniversaries and *molta terra* and where she was buried close to the high altar. She and the king as well as their daughters would also spend nights in the monastery, where the expenses for their accommodation and hosting were duly marked.<sup>225</sup>

Other documents mention more personal reasons for such visits. In 1237, Pope Gregory IX granted Queen Yolande of Hungary (wife of King James the Conqueror) and her daughters the permission to enter the monastery of Zaragoza in company of two "honourable women" three times a year for devotional purposes.<sup>226</sup> Three years later, he repeated the same authorisation for the con-

<sup>222</sup> E. ENGLISH, Zur Geschichte der franziskanischen Ordensfamilie in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zum Einsetzen der Observanz, in: H. KÜHNEL (ed.), 800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters (Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung 122), Wien 1982, pp. 289-306, esp. p. 305.

<sup>223</sup> A. CASTELLANO-TRESSERRA, Queen Elisenda de Montcada and the Monastery of Pedralbes (note 36 above), p. 125; a further niece Margaret of Montcada was abbess in Balaguer: M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya (note 36 above), p. 347 (no. 87).

<sup>224</sup> A. L. JAVIERRE MUR, Matha de Armanyach, duquesa de Gerona (note 59 above), p. 120. See in general on permissions for lay people to visit convents: C. ANDENNA, Zwischen Kloster und Welt (note 8 above), pp. 146-148 and the articles by Cristina ANDEANNA, Julia HÖRMANN-THURN UND TAXIS and Julia BURKHARDT in this volume.

<sup>225</sup> N. JORNET I BENITO, El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona (note 22 above), p. 139. On the diverse functions of Mendicant monasteries, including that of a meeting place for lay people, see I. W. FRANK, Bettelordenskirchen als multifunktionale Kulträume. Ein Beitrag zur Bettelordenskirchenforschung, in: Wissenschaft und Weisheit 59 (1996), pp. 93-112; G. SCHWERHOFF, Sakralitätsmanagement. Zur Analyse religiöser Räume im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: S. RAU / G. SCHWERHOFF (eds.), Topographien des Sakralen. Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne, Munich 2008, pp. 38-71; G. MELVILLE / L. SILBERER / B. SCHMIES (eds.), Die Klöster der Franziskaner im Mittelalter. Räume, Nutzungen, Symbolik (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 63), Berlin 2015; J. SONNTAG / P. BSTEH / B. PROKSCH / G. MELVILLE (eds.), Geist und Gestalt. Monastische Raumkonzepte als Ausdrucksformen religiöser Leitideen im Mittelalter (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 69), Berlin 2016.

<sup>226</sup> S. DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ (ed.), Documentos de Gregorio IX (1227 1241). Referentes a España (Colección Monumenta hispaniae pontificia 1), León 2004, p. 233 (no. 682), pp. 728f. (no. 938).

vent of Sant Antoni de Barcelona.<sup>227</sup> Similarly, her homonymous daughter was permitted to visit the Damianites of Salamanca *causa devotionis* twice or three times a year accompanied by five or six “honest matrons”,<sup>228</sup> and in 1290, Pope Nicholas IV explicitly allowed the queen and her ladies-in-waiting to enter the monastery of Allariz.<sup>229</sup> Queen Constance of Sicily and her daughter Yolande received a similar permission for a period of three years by Pope Celestine in 1294,<sup>230</sup> and Mary of Navarre successfully requested a more general permission from Pope Clement VI in 1342, who allowed her to visit any monastery of her choice independently of its affiliation with up to twelve *honestis mulieribus sive matronis*, as long as she did not eat or spend the night there.<sup>231</sup>

Not all queens were capable of visiting Franciscan monasteries, in which case they received religious brethren in their places of residence. Towards the end of her life, Leonor of Sicily was not able to travel to the monasteries any more, but she successfully requested permission of the Pope in 1371 to be visited by two nuns (Caterina Melona and Francesca Romana) from the Poor Clare convent she had founded in Teruel so that they might pray with her.<sup>232</sup> One can safely suppose that these nuns formed part of the queen’s entourage, similar to the semireligious female companions mentioned in Constance of Sicily’s last will and in the papal permission of 1294.<sup>233</sup>

A particularly far-reaching way of attaching oneself to a religious institution and shaping its future was by writing ordinances that stipulated the activities and behaviour of the religious brethren in any one institution. Queen Sancia of

<sup>227</sup> S. DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Documentos de Gregorio IX (1227 1241). Referentes a España (note 226 above), p. 495 (no. 1128); T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, Butllari de Catalunya (note 24 above), vol. 1, pp. 233 (no. 172). See N. JORNET I BENITO, El monestir de Sant Antoni de Barcelona (note 22 above), p. 138; B. ROEST, Order and Disorder (note 22 above), pp. 95f.; N. JORNET BENITO, Female Mendicant Spirituality in Catalan Territory (note 24 above), p. 203.

<sup>228</sup> M. D. M. GRAÑA CID, Queens, Infantas and Court Ladies at the Origin of Castilian Mendicant Nuns (c. 1222-1316). Spiritual Sponsorship and Female Religious Movement, in: B. GARÍ (ed.), Women’s Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th-16th centuries) (IRCVM medieval cultures 2), Rome 2013, pp. 19-41, here p. 24; B. ROEST, Order and Disorder (note 22 above), p. 96.

<sup>229</sup> M. R. KATZ, A Convent for La Sabia (note 23 above), p. 822.

<sup>230</sup> T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, Butllari de Catalunya (note 24 above), vol. 1, p. 602 (no. 490).

<sup>231</sup> T. SCHMIDT / R. SABANÉS I FERNÁNDEZ, Butllari de Catalunya (note 24 above), vol. 2, p. 1355 (no. 982).

<sup>232</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Documentos sobre el monasterio de Santa Catalina de Teruel, in: Archivo Ibero-Americano 4 (1915), pp. 429-431; M. D. C. GARCÍA HERRERO, El entorno femenino de los reyes de Aragón (note 43 above), p. 350; S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), p. 125.

<sup>233</sup> See above, note 99 and 107.

Majorca did so for her foundation in Naples.<sup>234</sup> So did Saint Isabella of Aragon for the monastery she instituted in Coimbra<sup>235</sup> and Elisenda of Montcada for the Poor Clare convent of Pedralbes.<sup>236</sup> The latter's rulings date from July 12, 1327. They stressed that the community should follow the rule of Pope Urban IV, thus establishing a less radical form of religious life than Queen Sancia chose for her foundation in Naples.<sup>237</sup> The ordinances then went on to lay out the norms for the nuns' daily life, stipulating exactly which stipend the abbess, each nun, but also the male and female officials of the convent should receive. Furthermore, precise stipulations were laid down concerning the nuns' intercessory prayers for the queen and her husband, both on a daily basis and on the anniversaries of their respective demise.<sup>238</sup> The foundress reserved the right to accept new nuns and to veto any new novice, which effectively weakened the abbess's authority. In the following years, Elisenda redacted three further *ordinacions* in which she specified further points concerning the number of nuns and priests as well as the monastery's possessions.<sup>239</sup>

Less known than the ordinances of Queen Sancia and Queen Elisenda are those of Queen Leonor of Aragon. In 1366, she and her husband personally

<sup>234</sup> M. GAGLIONE, *Francescanesimo femminile a Napoli. Dagli statuti per il monasterio di Sante Chiara (1321) all'adozione della prima regola per santa Croce di Palazzo*, in: *Frate Francesco Ser. NS 79* (2013), pp. 29-95; M. GAGLIONE, *Dai primordi del francescanesimo femminile* (note 10 above).

<sup>235</sup> B. ROEST, *Order and Disorder* (note 22 above), p. 103; G. ROSSI VAIRO, *Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha santa de Portugal, e il monastero* (note 33 above). In fact, these rulings were part of the codicil of the queen's testament (*ibidem*).

<sup>236</sup> J. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets* (note 14 above), pp. 233-235; A. CASTELLANO I TRESSERRA, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana. Història d'un monestir femení* (note 37 above), pp. 52-56, 200-202.

<sup>237</sup> Precisely Pope Urban IV's rule facilitated the form of spiritual association that Queen Elisenda and Queen Yolande exercised in Pedralbes and Allariz respectively, because it foresaw the existence of an "exterior family" consisting of chaplains, servants and *familiars*: M. D. C. GARCÍA HERRERO / A. DEL CAMPO GUTIÉRREZ, *Indicios y certezas. 'Mulieres religiosae' en Zaragoza (siglos XIII-XVI)*, in: *Acta Mediaevalia 26* (2005), pp. 345-362; G. ANDENNA, *Urbano IV e l'istituzione dell'ordine delle clarisse*, in: C. ANDENNA / G. MELVILLE (eds.), *Regulae – Consuetudines – Statuta. Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 25)*, Münster 2005, pp. 539-568; C. ANDENNA, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt* (note 8 above); B. ROEST, *Order Matters, Exceptions Rule. The Poor Clares as a Historiographical Problem*, in: K. PANSTERS / A. PLUNKETT-LATIMER (eds.), *Shaping Stability. The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages (Disciplina Monastica 11)*, Turnhout 2016, pp. 263-275 and the article by Christina ANDENNA in this volume.

<sup>238</sup> The stipulations are cited in A. CASTELLANO I TRESSERRA, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana. Història d'un monestir femení* (note 37 above), pp. 200f.

<sup>239</sup> A. CASTELLANO I TRESSERRA, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana. Història d'un monestir femení* (note 37 above), p. 56. The queen explicitly referred to the ordinances of 1363 in her will written in 1364: M. TRINITARIAS DE SUESA, *Monjas Trinitarias de Avinganya* (note 36 above), p. 347 (no. 87).

inaugurated the restored Franciscan convent of Calatayud.<sup>240</sup> The queen, who stressed her particular devotion to the Poor Clares (*nos, que ordine sancte Clare, ob eius reverentiam ultra alios ordinis terre nostre in maxima et superna devotione gestamus...*),<sup>241</sup> was considered the new foundress of the monastery and took it upon herself to provide it with ordinances, which were to be deposited on a table in the choir.<sup>242</sup> These rulings were very similar to those of Elisenda of Montcada and centred on the intercessory prayers the nuns were expected to hold on behalf of the foundress and her husband, but also for the souls of her parents.<sup>243</sup>

In the Crown of Aragon and within its ruling dynasty, a certain change of posture can be observed from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards: The forms of liturgical celebration in the royal house began to be oriented towards new monastic orders and towards liturgical service provided by secular clerics. There is a marked difference between the royal affinity to the Franciscans in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the increasing prominence of alternative recipients of queenly and kingly generosity in its second half. But despite this shift, even the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is marked by notable examples of philo-Franciscan culture in the Aragonese court, especially in the time of Martin the Humane and his wife Mary of Luna: Both showed a distinct tendency towards the Friars Minor, demonstrated by the founding of the convent of Santo Spirito de Murviedro/Morvedre, their close relationship with Francesc Eiximenis and their ruling that in future all royal confessors should be Franciscans.<sup>244</sup> A host

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<sup>240</sup> A. LÓPEZ, Monasterio de Santa Inés de Calatayud, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 10 (1918), pp. 161-184; S. ROEBERT, 'Idcirco ad instar illius Zerobabell templum domini rehedificantis' (note 27 above), pp. 50-52, 59-60.

<sup>241</sup> Regests in J. TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional (note 17 above), p. 356 (no. 1335); edited: S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 1, p. 393-398 (no. 718), esp. p. 393.

<sup>242</sup> S. ROEBERT, *talem et tantam potestatem* (note 38 above), Quellentranskriptionen 1, pp. 396-398 (no. 718). See M. D. C. GARCÍA HERRERO, El entorno femenino de los reyes de Aragón (note 43 above), pp. 346-348: *El Senyor Rey con la dita Senyora Reyna ensemble personalment con grand procession posieron las ditas duenyas menoretas en el dito monasterio. E porque la dita senyora era nuena fundadera del dito monasterio fizo las ditas ordinaciones dyus scriptas, las quales mando seer scriptas en II o III libros daquellos que mas continuament usasen en la esgleya en el choro.*

<sup>243</sup> ...*ob reverentiam beate Clare beatique Nicholai episcopi et totius celestis curie necnon in suffragium animarum dicti domini Regis et nostre ac etiam dominorum Regis et Regine Sicilie, parentum nostrorum, damus et conferimus ac assignamus domino Deo et vobis...*, *ibidem*, p. 394.

<sup>244</sup> A. IVARS, Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón doña María de Luna, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 34 (1931), pp. 568-594; A. IVARS, Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón doña María de Luna, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 36 (1933), pp. 255-281, 416-432; A. IVARS / J. R. WEBSTER, Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón (note 174 above); N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, Power, Piety, and Patronage (note 172 above), pp. 117-119; N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, Spirit and Force. Politics, Public and Private, in the Reign of Maria de Luna (1396-1406), in: T. EARENIGHT (ed.), *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, Aldershot 2005, pp. 78-90, pp. 91f.

of larger and smaller donations, endowments and other records of support demonstrate Mary of Luna's staunch backing of Franciscans and Poor Clares.<sup>245</sup> This affinity did not cease when the House of Barcelona came to an end in 1412: The subsequent dynasty of the Trastámara picked up the tradition established over the course of the preceding century. By way of example, Mary of Castile (d. 1458), wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous (d. 1458) established the convent of La Trinidad in Valencia, where she was buried dressed in the habit of a Poor Clare, and other members of her family were also ardent sponsors of the Franciscans.<sup>246</sup> The Trastámara thus both continued to maintain traditions and obligations established by their ancestors and established others of their own.

#### IV. Conclusion

The aim of this article was to highlight the prominent support provided by female members of the House of Barcelona in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries to both the male and female branch of the Franciscan order. It goes without saying that not all convents were fostered in the same way and that other ecclesiastical institutions and orders also benefitted from the royal family. The Cistercians in particular – officially favoured by most Aragonese kings – received a certain degree of support, particularly as places of burial. The Aragonese monastery of Hospitallers nuns at Sigüenza was another prominent recipient of reginal support.<sup>247</sup> One should also be wary of rashly presupposing “national” traits of female devotion, for as this article has shown, some of the Aragonese queens hailed from foreign countries. One can however corroborate that queens and princesses of the House of Barcelona – as foreign consorts and as offsprings of the royal family – often showed a noticeable preference for the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is also a matter of course that the Minorites received substantial backing from other societal groups not considered in this article. Many convents were the result of initiatives on the part of the local aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie and continued to be fostered by them in the course of the Middle Ages.<sup>248</sup> But the role of queens and princesses

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<sup>245</sup> N. SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, Piety, and Patronage* (note 172 above), pp. 122-129.

<sup>246</sup> A. IVARS CARDONA, *Año de fundación y diferentes advocaciones* (note 200 above), pp. 46-57; F. HERNÁNDEZ LEÓN DE SÁNCHEZ, *Doña María de Castilla, esposa de Alfonso V el Magnánimo*, Valencia 1959, pp. 155f.; T. EARENFIGHT, *The King's Other Body. María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon*, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 129f.

<sup>247</sup> R. SÁINZ DE LA MAZA LASOLI, *El Monasterio de Sigüenza*. Catálogo de documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Anuario de Estudios Medievales. Anejos 29 & 32), 2 vols, Barcelona 1994/1998.

<sup>248</sup> J. BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Documentación franciscana en el Archivo Capitular de Barcelona. Los franciscanos de la diócesis de Barcelona en los siglos XIII y XIV*, in: *Archivo Ibero-*

within the general context of late medieval devotion and support of the Mendicant orders merits being highlighted.

Contrary to the queens, the ruling kings of the House of Barcelona and the Trastámara were more obliged to following the example of their predecessors. Most of them chose Cistercian monasteries as their places of sepulture and limited their support of the Franciscans to donations and privileges. Possibly, the double crisis of Aragonese-Papal relations provoked by the struggle over Sicily and Franciscan Spiritualism made the monarchs wary of championing the Franciscans all too blatantly. In the Crown of Aragon, “franciscanism” did not contribute to monarchical sacralization and self-representation as it did in the case of the Capetians, the Piasts or Arpads.<sup>249</sup> The queens and princesses of the House of Barcelona in contrast were not tied to such strategic deliberations or monarchic obligations. If we choose to understand monarchic rule as a joint venture of kings and queens in which each part fulfilled certain functions and covered specific fields of action, then the prominent support of the Mendicants in general and the Minorites in particular might even be interpreted as a division of labour between the kings and queens.

But female agency was more than simply complimentary to that of their male counterparts: Queens and princesses in the medieval Crown of Aragon actively formed networks and customs of female “franciscanism” which were marked by a number of factors: by personal piety, but also by strategic thoughts and by personal family traditions. As much as each of these factors deserves to be calibrated and evaluated with all due caution, they sum up to an impressive array of beneficiary activities that the princesses and queens of the Crown of Aragon meted upon the medieval Minorites in the heyday of Aragonese “franciscanism”.

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Americano 40 (1980), pp. 339-381; J. R. WEBSTER, *The Importance of the Aristocrats and the Wealthy Bourgeoisie* (note 115 above); B. ROEST, *Order and Disorder* (note 22 above), pp. 88-104.

<sup>249</sup> G. KLANICZAY, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge 2002; S. L. FIELD, *Isabelle of France Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century*, Notre Dame 2006; E. MÜHLE (ed.), *Monarchische und adlige Sakralstiftungen im mittelalterlichen Polen (Stiftungsgeschichten 9)*, Berlin 2013; see also the articles by Gábor KLANICZAY and Julia BURKHARDT in this volume.