

## PRINCELY POWER IN LATE MEDIEVAL FRANCE

Jeanne de Penthièvre (c.1326–1384), duchess of Brittany, was an active and determined ruler who maintained her claim to the duchy throughout a war of succession and even after her eventual defeat. This in-depth study examines Jeanne's administrative and legal records to explore her co-rule with her husband, the social implications of ducal authority, and her strategies of legitimization in the face of conflict. While studies of medieval political authority often privilege royal, male, and exclusive models of power, Erika Graham-Goering reveals how there were multiple coexisting standards of princely action, and it was the navigation of these expectations that was more important to the successful exercise of power than adhering to any single approach. Cutting across categories of hierarchy, gender, and collaborative rule, this perspective sheds light on women's rulership as a crucial component in the power structures of the early Hundred Years War, and demonstrates that lordship retained salience as a political category even in a period of growing monarchical authority.

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PRINCELY POWER IN LATE  
MEDIEVAL FRANCE

*Jeanne de Penthievre and the War for Brittany*

ERIKA GRAHAM-GOERING



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*To Jeanne*

*To all the other Jeannes*

*And to my parents and grandparents, who are not called Jeanne, but  
still deserve it most of all*

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## A NOTE ON NAMES

‘Jeanne de Penthièvre’ did not, as such, exist. In her documents, Jeanne, duchess of Brittany and countess of Penthièvre, referred to herself by first name and/or title(s), or occasionally as ‘Jeanne de Bretagne’. For our purposes, however, this does nothing to distinguish her from the many other Jeannes of Brittany, and because it has become usual to refer to her as Jeanne de Penthièvre, I adopt this tradition for clarity’s sake without implying any dissociation from the Breton ducal line. I considered extending this principle to her children, who were likewise known as ‘de Bretagne’ at the time; however, to increase transparency in relation to later usage which has variously identified them with first one then the other parental lineage, I have referred to them as ‘de Blois-Penthièvre’ in defiance of medieval toponymic (or, for that matter, patronymic/matronymic) conventions. As for given names, I have modernized these according to French orthography, save for actors whose primary historical context lay outside the limits of what is now France, where I have preferred the English form of the name.

# ABBREVIATIONS

ADCA	Archives départementales des Côtes-d’Armor, Saint-Brieuc
ADHV	Archives départementales de la Haute-Vienne, Limoges
ADIV	Archives départementales d’Ille-et-Vilaine, Rennes
ADLA	Archives départementales de Loire-Atlantique, Nantes
ADML	Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, Angers
ADPA	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Pau
ADTG	Archives départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban
<i>AJIV</i>	Jones, M. (ed.) <i>Recueil des actes de Jean IV, duc de Bretagne</i> . Rennes, 1980–2001
AN	Archives nationales (France), Paris
BmN	Bibliothèque municipale, Nantes
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Bouchart	Bouchart, A. <i>Les Grandes Croniques de Bretagne</i> . Ed. M.-L. Auger, G. Jeanneau, and B. Guenée. Paris, 1998
<i>Chr. Brioc.</i>	[Le Grant, H.?). <i>Chronicon Briocense</i> . In <i>Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l’histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne</i> , ed. H. Morice. Paris, 1742, 1, 7–102
<i>Chr. St-Brieuc</i>	[Le Grant, H.?). <i>Chronicon Briocense: Chronique de Saint-Brieuc (fin 14<sup>e</sup> siècle)</i> , éditée et traduite d’après les manuscrits BN 6003–BN 8899. Ed. and trans. G. Le Duc and C. Sterckx. Vol. 1. Rennes, 1972
d’Argentré	d’Argentré, B. <i>L’Histoire de Bretagne</i> . Rennes, 1583
<i>Documents</i>	Graham-Goering, E., M. Jones, and B. Yeurc’h (eds.) <i>Aux origines de la guerre de succession de Bretagne: documents (1341–1342)</i> . Rennes, 2019
Du Chesne	Du Chesne, A. <i>Histoire de la maison de Chastillon sur Marne</i> . Paris, 1621

### List of Abbreviations

Froissart Amiens	Froissart, J. <i>Chroniques: Livre 1, le manuscrit d'Amiens</i> . Ed. G. T. Diller. Geneva, 1991–8
Froissart B	Froissart, J. <i>Chroniques de J. Froissart</i> . Ed. S. Luce. Paris, 1869–99
Froissart Rome	Froissart, J. <i>Chroniques: dernière rédaction du premier livre, édition du manuscrit de Rome Reg. lat. 869</i> . Ed. G. T. Diller. Geneva, 1972
<i>Inventaire (1384)</i>	La Borderie, A. L. M. de (ed.) <i>Inventaire du mobilier de Jeanne la Boîteuse, duchesse de Bretagne (1384)</i> . Nantes, 1854
<i>Inventaire (1393)</i>	Denis, L.-J. (ed.) 'Inventaire de Jeanne de Penthhièvre, duchesse de Bretagne, femme de Charles de Blois (1393).' <i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques</i> , 1917, 194–205
Le Bel	Le Bel, J. <i>Chronique de Jean Le Bel</i> . Ed. J. Viard and E. Déprez. Paris, 1904
Lettres Clément VI	Déprez, E., J. Glénisson, and G. Mollat (eds.) <i>Clément VI (1342–1352): lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France</i> . Paris, 1901–59
MPC	Sérent, A. de (ed.) <i>Monuments du procès de canonisation du bienheureux Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne, 1320–1364</i> . Saint-Brieuc, 1921
PDB	Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.-A. <i>Les Papes et les ducs de Bretagne: essai sur les rapports du Saint-Siège avec un État</i> . 1928. Reprint, Spézet, 2000
<i>Preuves</i>	Morice, H. (ed.) <i>Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne</i> . Paris, 1742–6
Prose Guesclin A	Ménard, C. <i>Histoire de messire Bertrand du Guesclin, connestable de France</i> . Paris, 1618
Prose Guesclin B	Buchon, J.-A.-C. (ed.) 'Chronique anonyme de sire Bertrand du Guesclin.' In <i>Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France</i> . Paris, 1839, iv, 1–95
RACJ	Jones, M. (ed.) <i>Recueil des actes de Charles de Blois et Jeanne de Penthhièvre, duc et duchesse de Bretagne (1341–1364), suivi des actes de Jeanne de Penthhièvre (1364–1384)</i> . 1996. Rennes, 2016
Rymer	Rymer, T. (ed.) <i>Foedera, conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica</i> . 2nd ed. London, 1726–35
<i>Somnium</i>	[Trémaugon, É. de?]. <i>Somnium viridarii</i> . Ed. M. Schnerb-Lièvre. Paris, 1993
<i>Songe</i>	[Fèvre, J. L.?]. <i>Le Songe du vergier</i> . Ed. M. Schnerb-Lièvre. Paris, 1982
TAC	Planiol, M. (ed.) <i>La Très Ancienne Coutume de Bretagne</i> . Rennes, 1896