



***Extension of a Royal House: Servants
of the Last Trastámara.
The Infants of Castile and Aragon
(1470–1504)***

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Extension of a Royal House: Servants of the Last *Trastámara*. The *Infants* of Castile and Aragon (1470–1504)

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Abstract: The reign of the Catholic Monarchs is possibly the most important reign and, therefore, the most studied in the history of our country. However, this reign had a defect in the form of its offspring, not because of the absence of children but because of their tragic end. The lives of the children of Catholic Monarchs were studied to an unequal extent, with Juana and Prince Juan being the characters who have most attracted the attention of historians. This article examines how the house of each of the last Trastámaras *infants* was created, what the composition of their house was, and who their servants were. In so doing, we can understand what led the Catholic Monarchs to build their children's houses in a particular way and why the monarchs educated their eldest children more lavishly and publicly than they did their little brothers. Finally, we will answer the following question: what happened to the servants of *infants* who died when they were young? In this case, the examples of the deaths of the eldest daughter Isabel and Prince Juan are essential to solving this question. As an epilogue, we will recount how Juana once again had the same servants of her childhood in her house when she settled down in Tordesillas in 1509.

Keywords: queenship; Castile; Aragon; *infantas*; political project; house; servants

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An interesting investigation issue and the problem of source of information

This article will analyze the houses of singular persons like the Catholic Kings' offspring during their court's transition in the Renaissance. These key figures have been chosen because they were protagonists of a great political project, devised by their parents. Fernando II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile negotiated the marriages of their children in order to secure their diplomatic and strategic goals.³ There are also a significant number of account sources for the house and court of the last Trastámara *infants*, such as the books prepared by the treasurers, delivery notes for rations, withdrawals, and other documents related to its organization, including court lists and epistolary correspondence.⁴ Another exception to this documentary lack is the Castilian court of Isabel I, which is very well documented. However, investigating the house and court of the five *infants* has an advantage over the maternal one: its brevity, which allows us to approach it in as a whole without falling into excessive prolixity.

The political challenge for both monarchs was to dispel misgivings about their legality by forming a lavish court and strict etiquette. This could be achieved if they placed the house and court of their children at the level of other royal courts, rivals, and subjects, who would grant great importance to the court of the Catholic Monarchs as a result.⁵ In addition, it was a bet on the future, guaranteeing the survival of all its territories.

The court of Isabel la Católica was not simple, for there was no court in the strict sense given the itinerant nature of the monarchy.⁶ In this case, we must add the

³ Adriana Báez, "Corte, casa y capilla real de Isabel la Católica, un programa político," *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales*, 10 (2016): 62–80.

⁴ Antonio de la Torre and Engracia Alsina de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica, Volume I and II* (Madrid: CSIC, 1955–1956); Rosana de Andrés Díaz, *El último decenio del reinado de Isabel la Católica a través de la tesorería de Alonso de Morales* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2004); Paula Martínez Hernández, *El tesorero vitoriano Ochoa de Landa. Las cuentas de la casa de Juana I de Castilla (1506–1531)* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2020).

⁵ Álvaro Fernández de Cordova Miralles, "Sociedad cortesana y entorno regio," in *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica: la sociedad castellana a finales del siglo XV*, ed. Miguel Ángel Laredo Quesada (Madrid: Dykinson, 2004), 49–78; José Manuel Nieto Soria and Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, *Casa y corte: ámbitos de poder en los Reinos Hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019).

⁶ Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro, *La casa de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: CSIC, 1954); Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel La Católica: estudio crítico de su vida y su reinado* (Madrid: Católica, 1964).

houses of each of her children within the Queen's household, with their own officers and officials, both the crown prince and the *infantas*. The best evidence of this complexity is found in the accounts of the treasurer Gonzalo de Baeza, the main source for the study of their house and court, where the service personnel of the monarchs were mixed, and the houses of their children and grandchildren.

The largest amount of original materials pertaining to the house and court of the *infants* can be found in the documentation of the house of Isabel I. For much of their lives, the *infants* belonged to the Queen's house; the periods for which they had their own were insufficient to generate archived documentation independently.⁷ For this reason, the available data is partial.

The exception to this norm was the crown prince. He had his own house from an early age, but he remained attached to his mother's; even once he became independent in 1495, he did not separate from his mother's house. Thus, the accounts and payrolls associated with the *infants* never formed a corpus worthy of being ordered and preserved separately.

House and Court

At this point, it is necessary to distinguish between the King's House and the King's Court. It must be remembered that we are referring specifically to the House of the Catholic Monarchs children—that is to say, we are talking about *infants* and not monarchs, so their arrangement will have some variations in content and form. The only exception was Prince Juan who, as the male heir destined from birth to occupy the throne, was surrounded by servants who accompanied him in his daily life to satisfy his needs. In addition, Juan had servants at his disposal who made up the court of the future leader and, when he had reached an appropriate age, he was introduced to his tasks of imparting justice.

The *Partidas*, a Castilian legal code from the thirteenth century, indicates that the officers can be: “los unos que sirven en casa del Rey e los otros fuera.”⁸ With this

⁷ The large number of people accompanying Queen Isabel were required to meet her needs and those of her children. Their responsibilities ranged from providing security to cleaning. Isabel also included the children of the nobles in her house, with the aim of educating them in an appropriate environment of sociability.

⁸ *Partidas, Códigos Españoles*, IV (Madrid, 1848), Book 2, Title 9, Law 1.

definition it is possible to distinguish that they designated different realities, since the House here is an executive body of the monarch that does not make any reference to the geographical scope, The court, on the other hand, is a body of its advice and refers to a specific and geographical place:

- King's House: The definition of a royal house in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is very different from its composition in the thirteenth century. This change was caused by the late medieval transformation that consisted of the separation between the domestic and the kingdom—that is, between the private and the public. The King's House can be defined as a team of assistants and intimate servants who were linked exclusively to the monarch.⁹
- King's Court: the laws drafted in the reign of Alfonso X “El Sabio” clarified that “the Court is the place where the King is with his vassals and his officials and they have to advise and serve him.”¹⁰ In addition, the *Espéculo* (another Castilian legal code from the thirteenth century) added: “The Court is the place where the greatest lord meet as weel as apostolic, emperor or kings or anather great lord. The Court name comes from the place where all the sovereignties of the evils done must be abided by.”¹¹

The court can therefore be defined as the place where the King resided and where he was required to go in order to claim or defend a right. In addition, it refers to the group of people with institutional and social representation, such as the

⁹ Jaime de Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey de Castilla y León en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000): 20–43.

¹⁰ “Corte es llamado el lugar do es el Rey e sus vassallos e sus oficiales con el que le han comidamente de conseyar e de servir.” *Las siete partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio: cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2008), Title 9, *Cuál debe ser el rey con sus oficiales, y con los de su casa y de su corte, y ellos con el*, Law 27, 82. This fragment provides the key to configure the definition of court, because it establishes a duality of meanings that includes the physical place where it resided, as well as the group of people who made it up and who held power. This dichotomy came from the classical world, where there were two different words for these concepts (*curia* and *cohors*), and which indicates the importance of space in its definition and conjugation.

¹¹ “Corte decimos que es logar o son los mayores señores asi como apostoligo o emperador o rey o gran señor. E a nombre corte [...] es logar o se deven catar todas las sebeianias de los males fechos.” *Espéculo, Códigos Españoles*, VI (Madrid, 1849), Book 2, Title 14, *Como deben guardar la corte del Rey, y porque deben ser mas honrada y más guardada que otro lugar*, Law 1.

bishops and knights, who were there to advise the monarch and to help him in government. Therefore, the court was not only a geographical space marked by the pilgrim character of the sovereign, but also a social space.¹²

Indeed, one of the biggest contradictions perceived in the evolution of the Hispanic Monarchy is the definition of its Royal House as a model of political organization and service to the monarch. For this reason, José Martínez Millán highlights the importance that was given during the Late Middle Ages to establishing the ordinances that would support and characterize the houses of the European monarchs, and the tendency of the chroniclers of the time to identify the royal house with the court (the institutional origin of the monarchy).¹³

Isabel, eldest daughter (b. 1470–1498)

Isabel did not have her own house until she became a princess of Portugal in 1490.¹⁴ Before this date, the Castilian royal accounts offer generic references often in a general epigraph calling “for infant service.”¹⁵ That is why, until that year, Isabel shared instructors and servitude with her sisters Juana, María, and Catalina. When she was in Moura, due to the *Tercerías*, there were thirty-six people who accompanied her, twenty-six of whom belonged specifically to the house of the first-born.

The stay in this Lusitanian city can be reimagined thanks to a document emanating from the Castilian Royal Chancellery in October 1482. This record provides information from all of the individuals who were within the walls of that fortress. It is difficult to affirm which of those at the service of the *infanta* would be part of the trip, but the document keeps a specific section with the title “people who have toe at form the ynfante lady’s plate,”¹⁶ differentiating the specific house of the Castilian

¹² David Torres Sanz, *La administración central castellana en la Baja Edad Media* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1982): 45–47.

¹³ Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, Rubén González Cuerva, and Andra M. Navaro Ed. *El príncipe, la corte y sus reinos. Agentes y prácticas de gobierno en el mundo hispano (ss. XIV–XVIII)* (San Miguel de Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 2016), 15–16. See also Richard L. Kagan, *Los cronistas y la Corona: la política de la historia en la España medieval y moderna* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010).

¹⁴ Ruth Martínez Alcorlo, *Isabel de Castilla y Aragón: princesa y reina de Portugal (1470–1498)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2021).

¹⁵ Para el servicio de las *infantes*.

¹⁶ “Personas que han de comer del plato de la señora ynfante.”

elderly with that of the Portuguese prince.¹⁷ In some instances the document mentions people only by name and not by the services they provided; for others, their positions are listed but the subject is not known. These omissions mean it is not possible to be certain of every individual at Isabel's service.

The pre-nuptial agreement was written in 1489 and the wedding took place in Seville during the Easter of 1490, but there is no evidence of the formation of her home. For her trip to Portugal, Isabel was accompanied by important individuals from her mother's court. She was met in Estremoz by King Juan and Prince Alfonso, and the marriage was ratified in Évora on November 27.

The little we know about Isabel's second stay in Portugal for her marriage to Prince Alfonso originates from a document written in March 1491.¹⁸ In this record, we can see how three *trompetas* who served the princess in Portugal were ordered to cross the border.¹⁹

The seven years that passed from Isabel's first marriage in 1490 and her second one in 1497 were used to form her own household. This was governed by the *contable* Alfonso Patiño, the *camarera mayor* Juana de Mendoza, and the *secretario* Salinas, the most important members of Isabel's household. However, there was an increase in servants between 1495 and 1497, which relates to Isabel's new assignment: her reign in the kingdom of Portugal.²⁰

In 1496, the greatest number of servants appears. This was the year in which the household of her younger brothers, Prince Juan and the Archduchess Juana, was organized, as they broke off from their mother's house.

¹⁷ Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro and Luis Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos* (Valladolid: CSIC, 1960), 255–259.

¹⁸ Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "Un episodio más de las relaciones político-familiares hispano-portuguesas durante la Edad Media: el matrimonio de la *infanta* Isabel de Castilla, primogénita de los Reyes Católicos, y el príncipe don Alfonso, heredero de Portugal (1490)," in *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média: livro de homenagem ao professor doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, 2 (2003), 539–550; Begoña Alonso Ruíz, "Doña Isabel de Castilla, entre la magnificencia castellana y portuguesa. Ceremonias del enlace con el príncipe Don Alfonso," in *La reina Isabel I y las reinas de España: realidad, modelos e imagen historiográfica* (Madrid: Actas de la VIII Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, 2005), 105–121.

¹⁹ Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Registro General del Sello, Legs. 149103, 73 and 382.

²⁰ Table 1.

Like her sisters, Isabel lacked her own court. However, her house was organized into two main areas: the interior and the outer house.²¹ The inner house stands out for having a very high number of trades around the chapel, whereas the outer house was mostly made up of the palace guard.²² This result was a characteristic of the already-Queen of Portugal, who prioritized her religious life and private service.

Prince Juan (b. 1478–1497)

In 1487, Prince Juan and his servants appeared diffused from his mother's house. The description of the Prince's house seems sometimes less well organized, because its way of working was like an embryonic headquarters that barely began to function by itself when the heir to the throne died.²³ However, the public character of his house was far more predominant than his sister's due to the presence of court trades, such as justice and war.

Though heir to the throne, Prince Juan never reigned, which explains the relatively small number of individuals who formed his court. With regard to the public sphere, he managed the resources of his own manors, his government, and judicial appeals. Likewise, organizing and composing the household of the prince in the village of Almazan (Soria) in 1496 meant the culmination of the stabilization in a certain Castilian urban nucleus.²⁴ Therefore, when the prince was seven years old in 1485, his house primitively existed within the queen's house. That is the reason for the Castilian structure of his house, the place and headquarters of the successor of the two Crowns, and the exclusivity of his etiquette.

²¹ We have used this terminology base on the work of José Damián González Arce, *La Casa y Corte del príncipe don Juan (1478- 1497). Economía y etiqueta en el palacio del hijo de los Reyes Católicos* (Sevilla: SEEM, 2016), and also Rafael Domínguez Casas, "División de espacios hombres-mujeres en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos," in *La(s) casa(s) en la edad moderna*, ed. Margarita Birriel Salcedo (Zaragoza: IFC, 2017), 155–192.

²² Figure 1.

²³ Santiago Fabregat Barrios, ed., *Libro de la Cámara Real del Príncipe don Juan, oficios de su casa y servicio ordinario* (Valencia, PUV, 2006).

²⁴ María Isabel del Val Valdivieso, "¿Hacia el fin de la itinerancia? Isabel I de Castilla," *E-spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 8, (2009), accessed 23 August 2022: <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/18889>.

The house and court of Prince Juan in Almazán was organized around four large areas, each of which had a specific purpose.

The first was judicial activity. The prince had the responsibility of developing some activities of sovereignty, especially those territories that were granted to him by his parents, the monarchs, such as the Principality of Asturias and Girona. He also participated in some war activities, although judicial work was better adjusted to his authority and his adolescence; in this way divine justice was exercised in the world.

The second section of the house and court of the prince was the sentry, made up of the palace guard, essential to ensuring the safety of the heir. The third section pertained to administrative tasks, which were the basis of the estate, and the last consisted of the domestic staff.

The second figure details the distribution of the Prince's servers by sectors.²⁵ In it, we can see that the external house stands out by far: this was because the sumptuousness surrounding the prince was a guarantee that the aristocracy would accept the orders of the next king—regardless of whether or not he had a weak personality. This outer house was necessarily large in number, due in part to the many pages the prince had at his service. This was a matter of course in the house of a teenage prince: it enabled Juan to create essential ties with the sons of the most powerful characters of the kingdom and neighboring courts to prepare him for his future political functions. That these individuals were present at the court of the prince from time to time demonstrates how important the external image was for the heir.

Juana (b. 1479–1555)

The household of Juana was established in 1496. Prior to that point, Queen Isabel had selected members of her court to take care of Juana and her sisters. Juana's childhood ended when she left for the Netherlands at the age of sixteen. Up to that time, she had the opportunity to cultivate a few loyal servants, as can be seen in the second table.²⁶

When she was six years old, Juana's house consisted of eleven members, among which the servants who were able to form lasting bonds with Juana were "canaries of

²⁵ Figure 2.

²⁶ Table 2.

the *infanta*.” These individuals could have been enslaved people from the Canary Islands,²⁷ or *guanches* from Almazan who took care of the *infanta*. In 1496, the accounts of Gonzalo de Baeza indicate that Juana’s entourage included four maids, three of whom had been slaves.²⁸ Unlike the other servants, these enslaved people lacked status; they owed their position to the queen and were dependent on Juana.

The rest of the household was made up of the *repostero de camas* Martín de Moxica, who had been in the post since 1485, and six *mozos de espuelas*, among whom Antón de Molina and Alfonso Pacheco appear in the list of 1496 that made up the house of the archduchess. Throughout her childhood, Juana’s house varied very little.

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Sometimes, relevant events and occurrences can demonstrate who the *infanta*’s servants were and how their composure varied over time. When Juana prepared for her trip to Flanders in August 1496, the monarchs formed her house and acquired the goods, supplies, and equipment necessary for her daily life, luxury, and dignity. This included both economic and human resources, especially from Castile.³⁰

The mobilization was general in Castile and the displacement of Juana to the Netherlands a very important naval operation, due in part to fear of a possible French attack.³¹ Thus, if we look at the third figure, the presence of the *rey de armas* during the trip can be understood.³² This office was natural to the court, but Juana was not instructed to carry out this work to govern; moreover, the *rey de armas* returned on the return journey with the princess of Castile, Margarita.³³

As evidenced by the graph, like her brother’s, Juana’s external house stands out. From the point of view of the author, what is most striking is the high number of

²⁷ “Canarias de la infanta.”

²⁸ *Cuentas de Gonzalo Baeza*, Volume I, 111–197.

²⁹ Bethany Aram, *La reina Juana. Gobierno, piedad y dinastía*, (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), 59.

³⁰ Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez, *Vida cotidiana y arte en el palacio de la reina Juana I en Tordesillas* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2000) and *Juana I. Arte, poder y cultura en torno a una reina que no gobernó* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, 2010).

³¹ Miguel Ángel Larado Quesada, *La armada a Flandes. Un episodio en la política naval de los Reyes Católicos (1496–1497)* (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2003).

³² Figure 3.

³³ Memorial for officers of the household of the Lady Archduchess [1496]. AGS, Estado, 26–164.

external offices in the house of the archduchess, and not in those of her older siblings, who were educated and primed to rule.

This enigma can be explained by taking into account Juana's future husband, Archduke Felipe, who resided and governed in Flanders, a center of high court etiquette and protocol much greater than that of the French kings. For that reason, within Juana's household there was a large display of people, vital to conveying the worthiness of the second daughter of the Catholic Monarchs.

María (b. 1482–1517)

The role of María, third daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, was reserved for the possibility that one of her brothers' political agenda would fail—and indeed it did. To understand María's childhood, the servants who were in her care, and how her house was formed, we must keep in mind the joint formation of María's household with that of her sister Catalina, the last daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, during the final three years of her childhood, from the year 1497 to 1500. In 1500, Prince Miguel de la Paz (1498–1500), son of the king of Portugal, Manuel I, and the queen-princess of Portugal, Isabel, died, truncating the possibility of uniting the three great peninsular kingdoms in a single crown.

If we look at the fourth table of the people who served María during her childhood in the territories of Castile and Aragon, it is possible to understand the level of interests exhibited by the monarchs with regards to their eldest children, Isabel, Juan, and Juana.³⁴ In 1496, these three offspring were being carefully prepared for their respective marriages. Despite the difference in their positions, far from being neglected, María had the best care and servants at her disposal. Furthermore, between 1490 and 1491, when María was eight years old, she joined the Latin classes of Andrés de Miranda, teacher of the *infanta* Juana, and was thus provided with the same education as her sister.

³⁴ Table 3.

When Prince Juan died, many of his servants served in the house of Queen Isabel and others in the house of his young sisters.³⁵ In addition, when Princess Margarita's army arrived from Flanders, some members of her house were redirected to the house of the *infanta* María. It was in the year 1500 that the largest number of servants was recorded in the house of the Queen of Portugal, María. This was due to the death of Prince Miguel de la Paz and, consequently, María's marriage to the widowed King Manuel I of Portugal.³⁶

Despite the fact that María was queen of Portugal in the year 1500, there was no presence of offices referring to the court. This was because María was not educated to govern like her older sister Archduchess Juana. Archival sources from the period show that etiquette and good behavior in public at the Portuguese court was very significant; before Queen María traveled to Portugal in the summer of the year 1500, Ochoa Isasaga, the Treasurer of the Portuguese King, asked the Catholic Monarchs to instruct the young queen to behave appropriately with the characters of the court, and also with King himself.³⁷ This was the reason Manuel I initially refused to marry María and chose the first-born Isabel instead. The eldest daughter had lived in the Portuguese court, was older, and spoke the language perfectly, making her the ideal candidate to be queen. Isabel's death meant that María was required to adopt a role that she had never practiced or been prepared for—that of Queen Consort.

Catalina (b. 1485–1536)

Since 1489, Catalina had been the Princess of Wales.³⁸ This is recorded in the diary of Roger Machado, a member of the English embassy who traveled to Medina del Campo to negotiate, among other things, the marriage union between the crown prince of

³⁵ José Martínez Millán, "De la muerte del príncipe Juan al fallecimiento de Felipe el Hermoso (1497–1506)", in *La corte de Carlos V*, ed. José Martínez Millán and Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales (Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), 45–72.

³⁶ Isabel Dos Guimarães Sá y Michel Combet, *Rainhas consortes de D. Manuel I* (Lisboa: Circulo de Leitores, 2012).

³⁷ Letter from Ochoa de Isasaga to the Catholic Monarchs with news from the Portuguese court and from Queen Maria. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, leg. 367, f. 17.

³⁸ Capitulation of the Catholic Monarchs and Henry VII on the Alliance against Charles VIII of France and the marriage of the *Infanta* Catalina with Prince Arthur, AGS, Patrimonio Real, Leg. 52, 23, 1489. III.27, <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/2207745?nm>.

England, Arthur Tudor (1486–1502), and the last and youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, Catalina, who were of similar ages.³⁹ However, as table five, documenting the servants in the house of Catalina, shows, it does not seem that the title of Princess of Wales was a sufficient reason for there to be more servants in her household.⁴⁰

On 30 January 1496, Catalina's journey to England and the payment of her dowry were negotiated; on October 1, these terms were definitively agreed. In 1497, the previous clauses were ratified and the betrothal was celebrated on August 15 in the Vuodestk palace. This act closed with the symbolic solemnity of a handshake between the Prince of Wales and Ruy Gonzalez de Puebla, ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs. This was the same ritual performed during the betrothal *per verba de praesenti* in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley on 9 May 1499, at 9 o'clock in the morning, which involved the taking of the right hands and a declaration of acceptance of the marriage.⁴¹

In spite of this, the Princess of Wales did not have many servants at her service. If we compare Catalina with her sister Juana, both travelled by ship to fulfil the commitment of their predecessors. Another essential difference was the substantial number of servants in the inner house of the princess, far more than in the outer house. Again, the outward projection of magnificence was essential: the Catholic Monarchs provided much luxury for their young daughter to live in England until she died.⁴²

Throughout her life in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, the servants of the inner house of Catalina could have rotated. Therefore, the figure that reflects the

³⁹ Juan Manuel Bello León and María Beatriz Hernández Pérez, "Una embajada inglesa a la corte de los Reyes Católicos y su descripción en el «Diario» de Roger Machado. Año 1489," *En la España Medieval*, 26 (2003): 167–202.

⁴⁰ Table 4.

⁴¹ Garrett Mattingly, *Catalina de Aragón* (Buenos Aires: Sudamérica, 1958); Luis Ulargui, *Catalina de Aragón* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janes, 2004); Giles Tremlett, *Catalina de Aragón* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2013).

⁴² Emma Luisa Cahill Marrón, "Veritas Temporis Filia: Catalina de Aragón y la transformación de la educación regia femenina," *Atalaya: Revue d'études médiévales romanes*, 20 (2020) accessed 23 August 2022, <http://journals.openedition.org/atalaya/5031>.

servers divided by areas of the household that Catalina had since 1488 was not the same as in the year 1501, when she departed for England.⁴³

María and Catalina: shared servants

Lastly, and as discussed previously, Catalina's house must be studied together with the house of her sister María in order to understand its evolution over time, on account of the fact that they shared many of the same servants. Table six shows the total number of servants who served at the same time in the houses of María and Catalina, until each was required to travel to their respective destinations.⁴⁴ This data establishes the fact that eleven servants worked in unison for both *infants*: six of them corresponded to the external house and four of them belonged to the internal house. The main position that each had was that *mayordomo mayor*, the person with economic control of both houses who was required to know what the sources of income were, how much money was available, and how the money was spent. In addition, he was the head of the house and was responsible for ensuring that the servants properly performed their domestic duties.

The *mayordomo mayor* of the house of both *infantas* was Lope de Valdivieso, who held this position since 1497. This appointment was not by chance: Prince Juan had died in 1497, at which point many of his servants became part of the house of the *infantas*; specifically, twenty new servers in María's house and fifteen new servers in the house of Catalina.

María and Catalina, within their households, were expected to act as the representatives of the Catholic Kings outside their realm, to fulfil the demands of their parents, and to serve the political interests to the State. This required them to take leave of the ones they love; they shared many experiences throughout their childhood.

These movements were not uncommon in the life of royalty, and both María and Catalina were accustomed to the continuous movements of the wandering court.⁴⁵ The *infantas* made many trips, but we would like to highlight the one made by

⁴³ Figure 4.

⁴⁴ Table 5.

⁴⁵ Antonio Romeu de Armas, *Itinerario de los Reyes Católicos, 1474-1516* (Madrid: CSIC, 1974).

the eldest daughter Isabel in 1480 bound for Moura. In 1490, she made a new trip to Évora on the occasion of her marriage to the prince of Portugal, but was forced to return the following year when her husband fell from a horse and died. Isabel was the daughter most accustomed to making these trips; the other sisters made their journeys under the care of their mother, but never made such long and important trips until they got married.

Archduchess Juana and the Princess of Wales were not instructed to travel by ship to Flanders and England, respectively. To understand María's journey to Portugal and Catalina's to England, it is necessary to study both houses together and to take into account the fact that the sources indicate that the retinue which accompanied both *infantas* when undertaking these trips to the court, chosen by their parents, the Catholic Monarchs, returned to Castile, to relocate them in the queen's house. What is more, in both María and Catalina's households, the number of servants was reduced once they arrived at their destination.

When Catalina arrived in England, thirty-six people returned to Castile—without taking account of the sailors, pilots, and various people hired by the monarchs to make the sea voyage, as well as her sister, the Archduchess Juana. It is interesting to note how the sources indicate that only six of María's servants returned to Castile, because the trip to Portugal was made across all of Andalusia, due to the fact that they left the Alhambra and took a break from the journey in the city of Seville. This trip was much less difficult than the one carried out by Catalina, who first had to cross the entire Iberian Peninsula from south to north, leaving Granada until disembarking in the port of A Coruña on 25 August 1501.⁴⁶ The Aragonese historian of the sixteenth century, Jerónimo Zurita, wrote in his *Historia del rey don Hernando el Cathólico* that, during her trip, they stopped in places like Salamanca or Zamora.⁴⁷ Subsequently, Catalina sailed from Galicia, making a stop in the port of Laredo due to the strong winds that hit the shore before disembarking in the port of Plymouth on 2

⁴⁶ Letter from the Catholic Monarchs to Doctor Puebla to inform King Henry VII of the departure of the *Infanta* Catalina to England, which they did not accompany Catalina on so that the trip would be faster, AGS, Patrimonio Real, Leg. 53, 39, 1501.V.21.

<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/2207957?nm>.

⁴⁷ Jerónimo Zurita, *Historia del rey don Hernando el Cathólico. De las empresas y ligas de Italia* (Zaragoza, 1580): 127, accessed 23 August 2022, <https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=477009>.

October of that same year.⁴⁸ For this reason many servants who accompanied the princess of Wales returned when they arrived at the English port.

Conclusion: comparison of the *infants*' houses

In this last section, we will use table six as a summary of this work and the final considerations that we have proposed as a synthesis.⁴⁹

The greatest efforts were intended for their natural heir, Prince Juan, who had a similar model—although smaller—to that of his parents. Sumptuousness was a guarantee that the nobility would faithfully obey the instructions and orders of the next sovereign and submit to his authority, even being a king with many weaknesses. Therefore, the presence of many officials in the external house of the second daughter of the Catholic Monarchs can be justified, since she traveled to a place full of luxuries and royal etiquette. For this reason, Isabel's parents had to configure an excellent house, to match the house of her husband, Archduke Felipe.

What happened to the other daughters of the Catholic monarchs? Except María, whose house was very well balanced, the houses of the eldest Isabel and of Catalina stood out for a configuration in which the domestic service of their inner house dominated. This was contrary to the precepts and rules followed by the Catholic Monarchs, with very high external advertising of their royal magnificence. In other words, we have to keep in mind that Catalina traveled to a faraway kingdom, where she was required to be the representative of her parents in the game of alliances planned by her parents, to support the interests of the monarchs against the chosen kingdom. In the case of María and with regard to the Portugal's kingdom, the treasurer of King Manuel I voiced the ruler's concerns in a letter to the Catholic Monarchs. Before María traveled to the Portuguese kingdom, it was essential that she be instructed in courtesy and good manners.

⁴⁸ Salem Carpio Mercedes, "Las entradas reales de las hijas de Castilla en las cortes nórdicas: recepción de Catalina de Aragón en Londres y de Juana de Castilla en Bruselas," *Actas de las XIV Jornadas Interescuelas/Departamentos de Historia*, Mendoza, Departamento de Historia de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 2013), accessed 23 August 2022, <https://www.aacademica.org/000-010/110>.

⁴⁹ Table 6.

Only two options are possible at this point: the first one and most likely is that the education of the *infants*—a matter that has not been dealt with exhaustively in the work—did not contemplate the idea of ruling their house, that is to say, in the instruction of the *infantas* their parents decided that they should obey orders and not give them.⁵⁰ The second option refers to the fact that the compiled data is incomplete; this omission in the documentation means it is not possible to analyze in detail the evolution of the different areas and sections of the houses of the *infants* throughout their childhood.

Epilogue

Studying events of special relevance or complexity allows a better explanation of the set of structures, values, and possibilities generated in a historical moment—in this case, the marriages and protagonists examined. The previous pages have been devoted to decode an important diplomatic event related to marriage alliances devised by the Catholic Monarchs in the last decade of the fifteenth century, involving all their sons and daughters. Moreover, Isabel, Juan, Juana, María, and Catalina each received their houses as a prelude to their respective marriages.

We have alluded to the death of Prince Juan and the many servants subsequently registered in the year 1497 in the María and Catalina's house. There is an exception to the evidence we have discussed, in the form of Fernando and Isabel's eldest daughter, Isabel. Only one servant who accompanied her to Moura castle between 1481 and 1483 was part of her house: Isabel Velázquez, who was in her household until 1496. Only four people who served the Queen of Castile, and who were later appointed to serve her daughter Isabel, can be identified: Isabel Cuello, Cristóbal

⁵⁰ Antonio de la Torre, "Maestros de los hijos de los Reyes Católicos," *Hispania*, 63, (1956): 256–266; María Isabel del Val Valdivieso, "La educación del príncipe y las infantas en la corte castellana al final del siglo XV," *Acta Lauris*, 1, (2013): 7–21; Ruth Martínez Alcorlo, "Pullae doctae en la corte de los Reyes Católicos (1470–1555): educación, literatura y mecenazgo," *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes* (2020), accessed 23 August 2022, <http://journals.openedition.org/atalaya/4896>; Diana Peláz Flores, "Aprendiendo el oficio de reinar. Formación cultural e infancia de las hijas de Isabel la Católica," *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes* (2020), accessed 23 August 2022, <http://journals.openedition.org/atalaya/4906>.

de la Concha, Rodrigo Mansilla, and Luis de Montalvo.⁵¹ It is not possible to be certain that the rest of the servants were part of the house of the princess, either when she traveled to Portugal in 1490 or when she went there for the second time as queen.

However, it is possible to delve deeper into Juana's house, whose study presents a unique and completely different mode from that of her brothers and sisters. Juana's servants owed loyalty and respect to the Catholic Monarchs and others members of the royal family; when Juana arrived in Flanders, most of her servants returned to Castile with the Princess of Castile, Margarita. From that time until her husband died in 1506, Felipe and her advisers ruled the house of the archduchess. The inability to govern her house and, therefore, her servants, was the essence of Juana's incompetence in matters of governance.

Juana was tutored from a very young age and received an apprenticeship that would help her, but it would also be an obstacle for her. She acquired abilities such as proficiency in Latin, dance, and theology. Her parents knew that these skills could serve in any European court as the prerequisite of perfect wives and a consort queen. Compared to her older sister and brother, Juana received a modest education in public rituals; Isabel and Fernando devoted more attention to the ceremonial trainings of their first descendants. The Catholic Monarchs maintained their authority over court servants throughout their daughter's childhood and adolescence.⁵² Isabel and Fernando chose, rewarded, and ruled Juana's servants, which limited her ability to exercise her patronage and win personal supporters. In conclusion, the domestic influence of Juana and her sisters depended entirely on their husbands.

In the Netherlands, many of the servants who cared for Juana owed their allegiance to Felipe; their remit was to protect his personal interests and not those of the Archduchess. After his death in 1506, it was Fernando el Católico and the future Emperor Carlos V who controlled the house of the Queen of Castile.

⁵¹ María del Cristo González Marrero, *La casa de Isabel La Católica. Espacios domésticos y vida cotidiana* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2005); and "Las mujeres de la Casa de Isabel la Católica," in *Las relaciones discretas entre las monarquías hispana y portuguesa: Las Casas de las reinas (siglos XV-XIX)*, ed. José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço (Madrid: Polifermo, 2009), 841–886, and also Vicenta Márquez de la Plata y Ferrándiz, *Mujeres renacentistas en la corte de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Castalia, 2005).

⁵² Carmen Alicia Morales Castro, "La niñez en la corte itinerante de Isabel la Católica," *Fundación*, 10, (2010–2011): 124–131.

Despite the fact that the house of the queen was formed in 1509 in Tordesillas, when the archduke died two chaplains who traveled with Juana to Flanders in 1496 reappeared, Juan Dellorto and Alonso Fernández de Luque. Likewise, between the years 1507 and 1508 it can be observed that sixteen servants returned to the service of the Queen. Her father Fernando knew that his daughter and heiress roamed around Castile with the decomposing body of her husband, bound for Granada; he made the decision to put her in the care of officers with whom she had been familiar many years before, such as Alonso Pacheco, who was his *mozo de espuelas* and later he would hold the position of *apostentador*; Hernando de Hellín, her former *mozo de espuelas* who in 1507 would become *mozo de la plata* and would be with her until 1531 (in addition, he changed his job twice, in 1519 he was *copero* and *repostero de camas* in 1531); Gonzalo Pacheco was her *mozo de espuelas*, the *capellanes* Juan de Ortega, and Pascual Muñoz; or Juan de Anchieta, *maestro de capilla* of her late brother Juan, who would be part of the queen's retinue until 1524.

It is possible to distinguish a stabilization of those people who once served Juana after finally forming the queen's house in Tordesillas. Moreover, there is a decline in these original servants from the year 1520 and until 1531 due to the advanced age of those who held these positions.⁵³

Two people did not occupy their position in the service of the queen of Castile in 1509. In 1515, the *escribano de cámara* San Juan de Olano joined, serving the queen on her trip to Flanders. There is no indication that on his return he served the Queen Isabel or her daughters. There are only two possible hypotheses to explain this event: it may be that he carried out his work in another place and with other conditions that were not inside a royal house, or it is possible that he entered to serve King Fernando. Alonso Gallego also returned to serve Queen Juana, but in 1518. It is possible that he served the Catholic King in the last years of his life and later served the queen—but these are questions yet to be answered.

Family continuity was crucial and Juana's house continued when she was retired in Tordesillas, at least in its beginnings, as a reminiscence of her first servants who, a little more than ten years later, had to serve the same physical person, but one

⁵³ Table 7.

who was no longer symbolic or divine, and therefore far from those diplomatic and strategic objectives that they should represent abroad.

In short, the Catholic Monarchs used instruments such as the education of their sons and daughters, fashion, or celebrations to create an image of power around the figure of the Hispanic Monarchy and to enable their offspring to become role models. Their households became a place of reference inhabited by ecclesiastics, intellectuals, and great artists, achieving the goal of being praised both by their subjects and by other European monarchies.

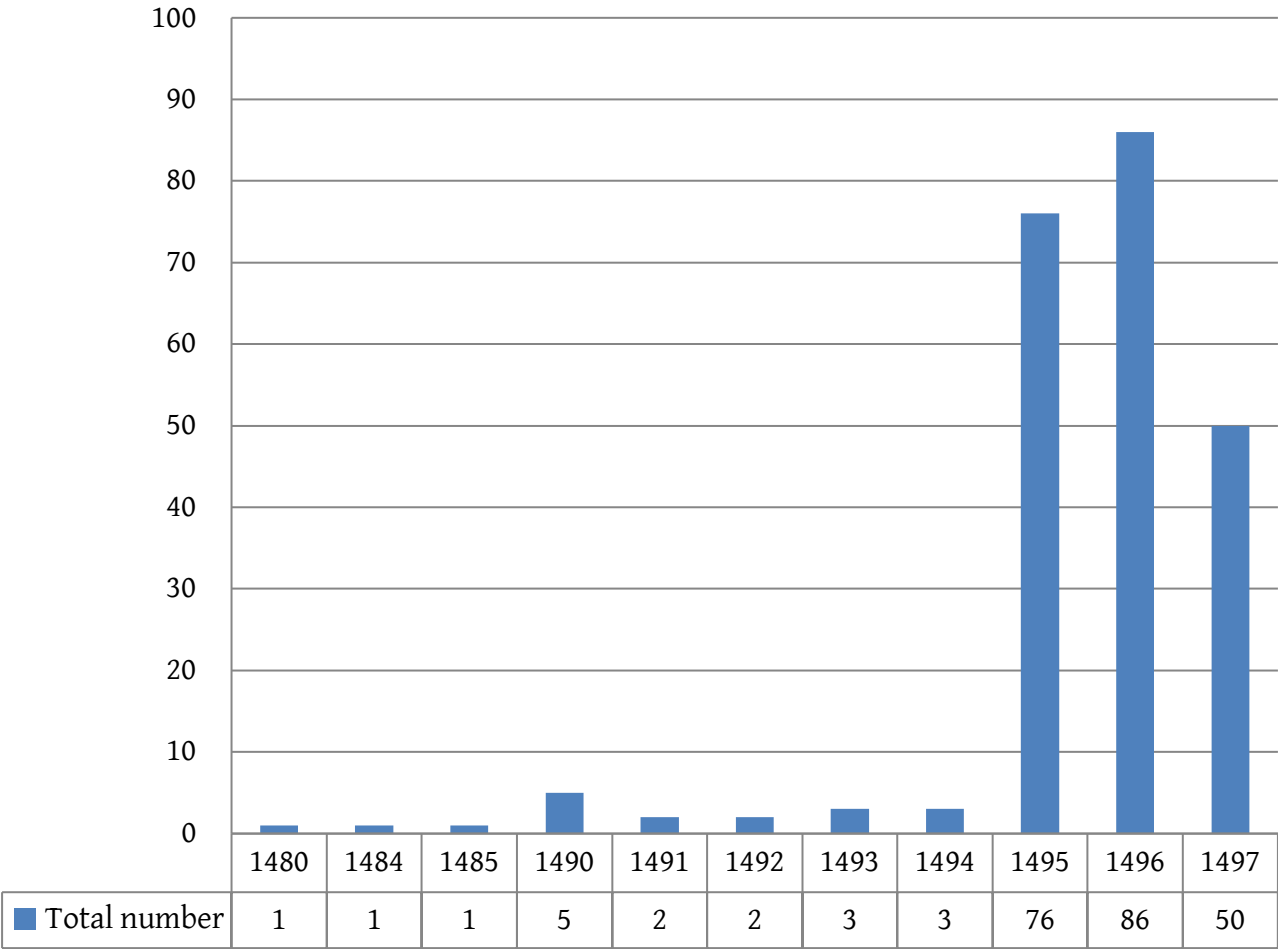


Table I. People who served Princess Isabel of Portugal, 1480-1497.

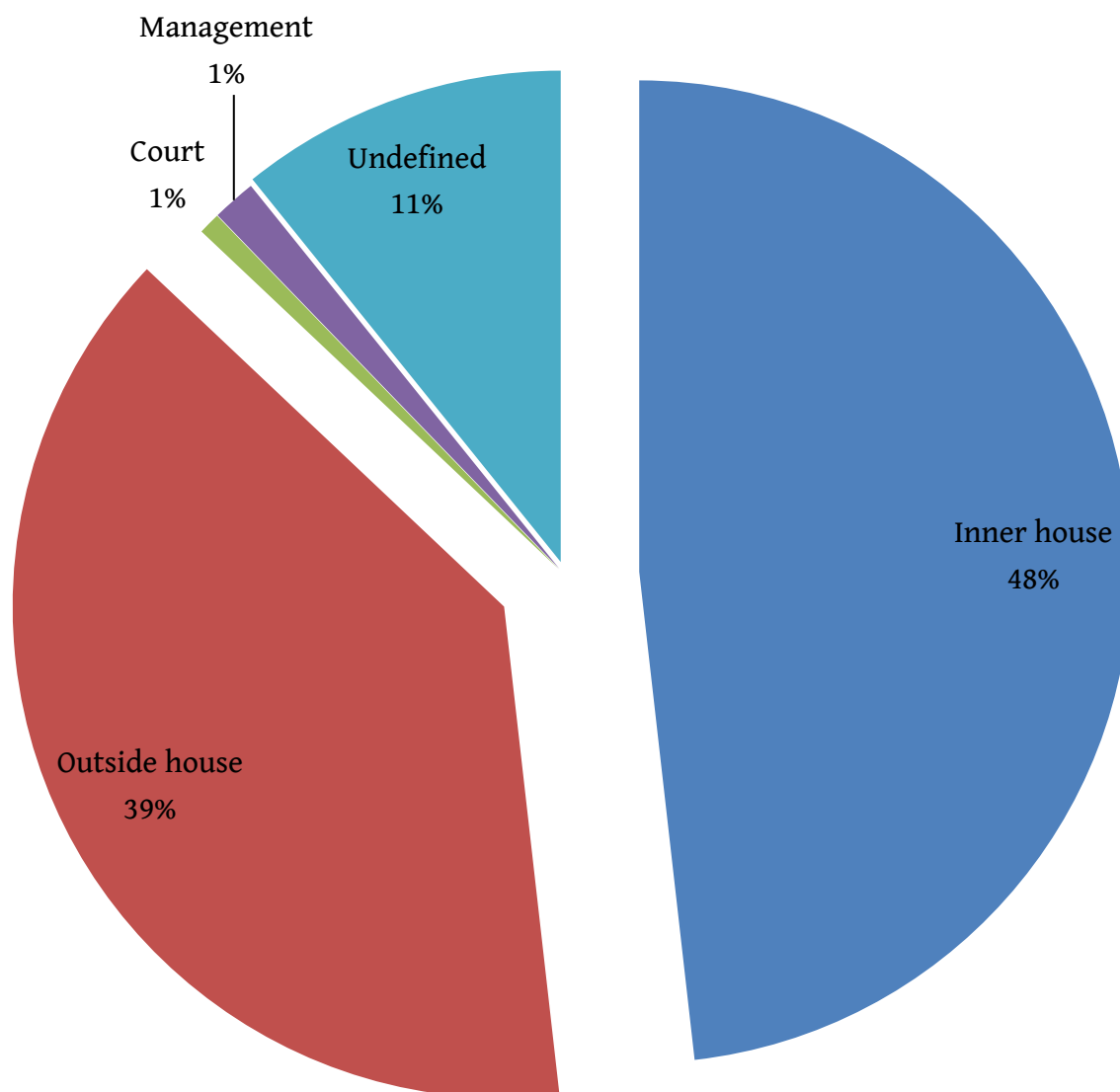


Figure 1. Distribution of the *infanta*'s household by service area.

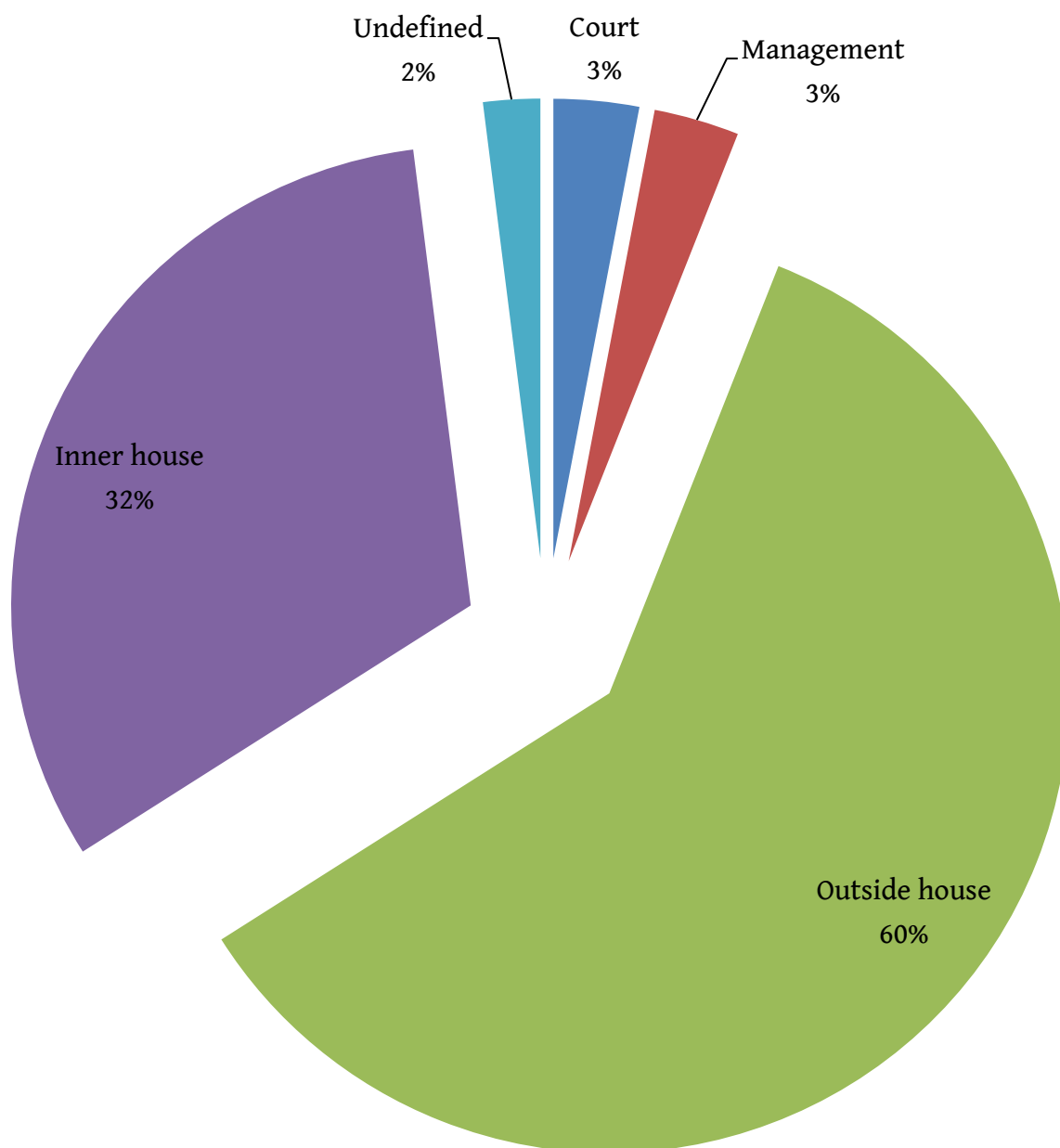


Figure 2. Distribution of Prince Juan's household by service area.

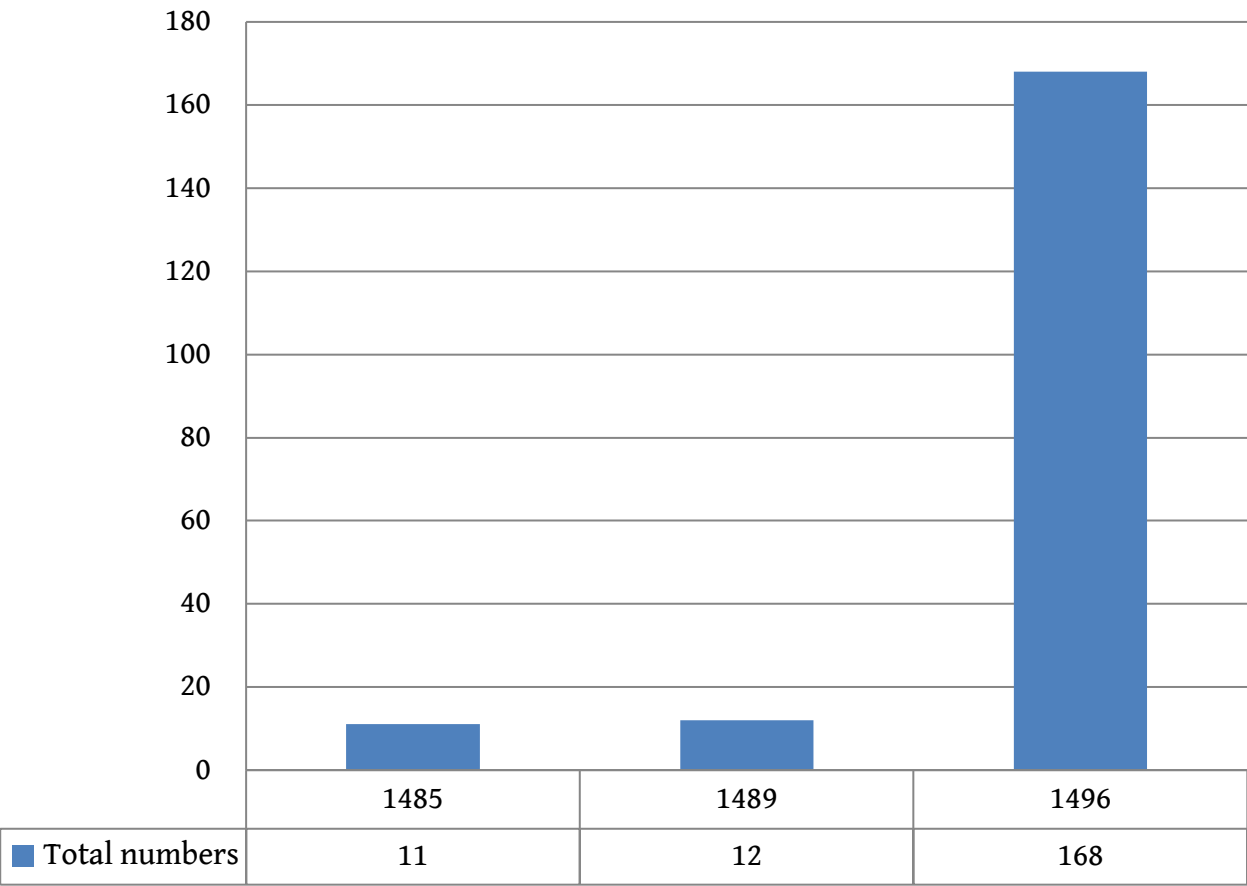


Table 2. People who served Juana, 1485-1496.

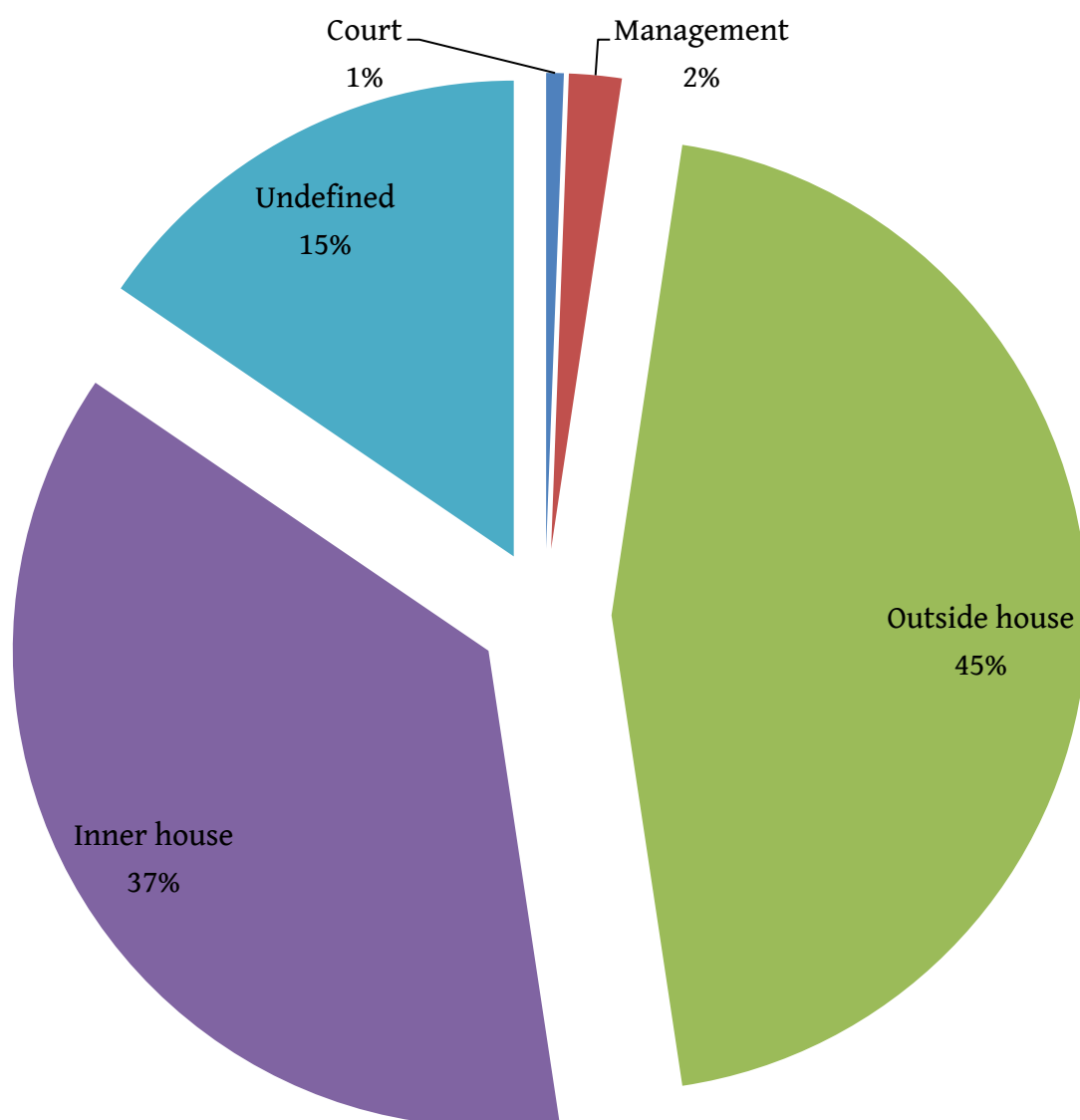


Figure 3. Distribution of Juana's household by service area.

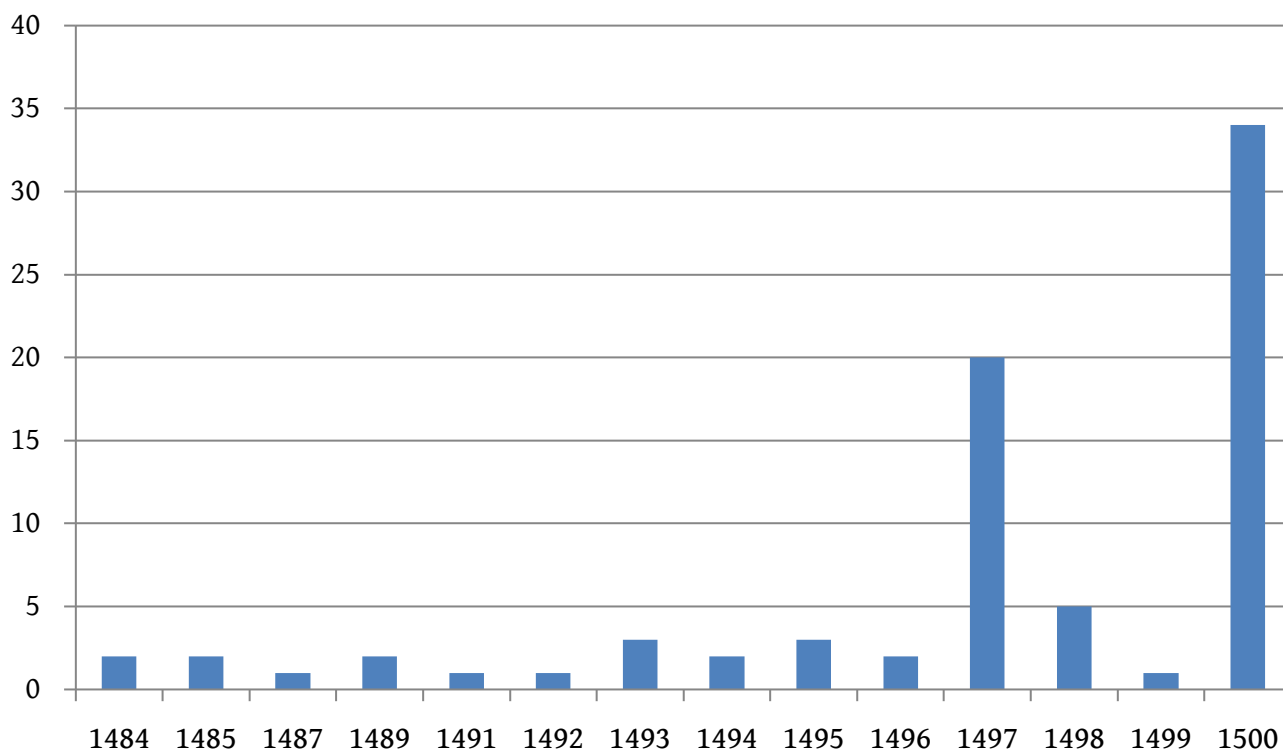


Table 3. People who served María, 1484-1500.

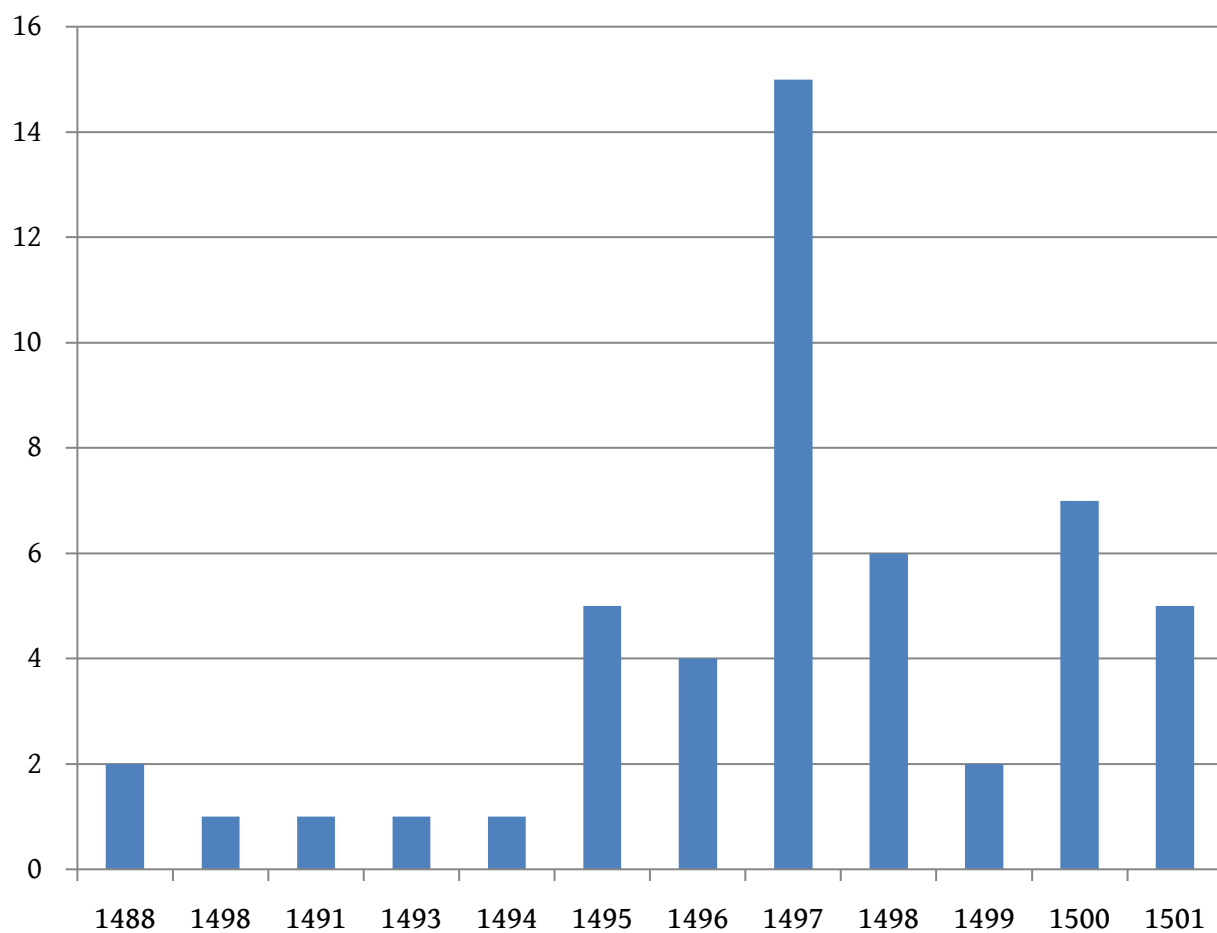


Table 4. People who served Catalina, 1484-1500.

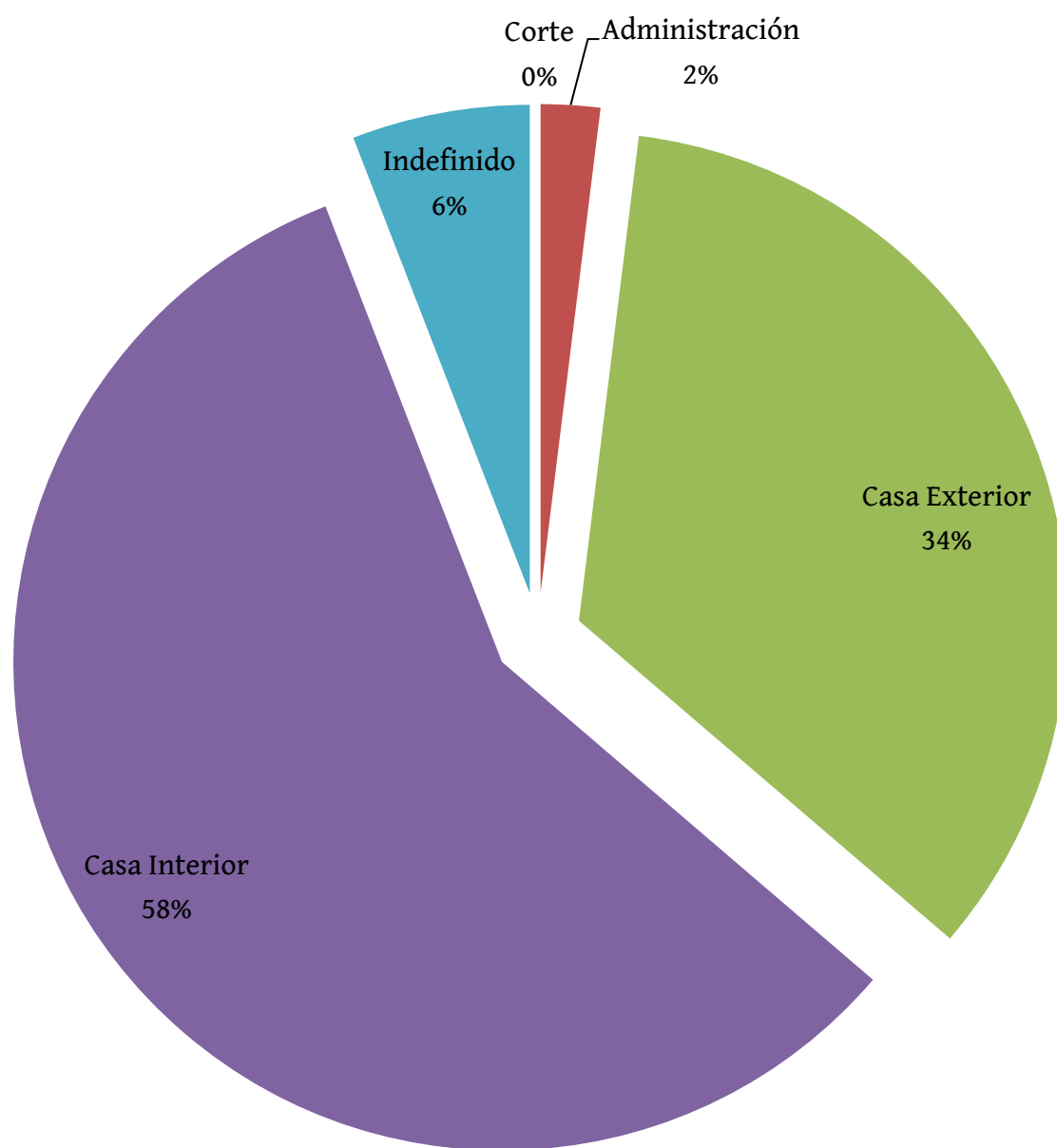


Figure 4. Distribution of Catalina's household by service area.

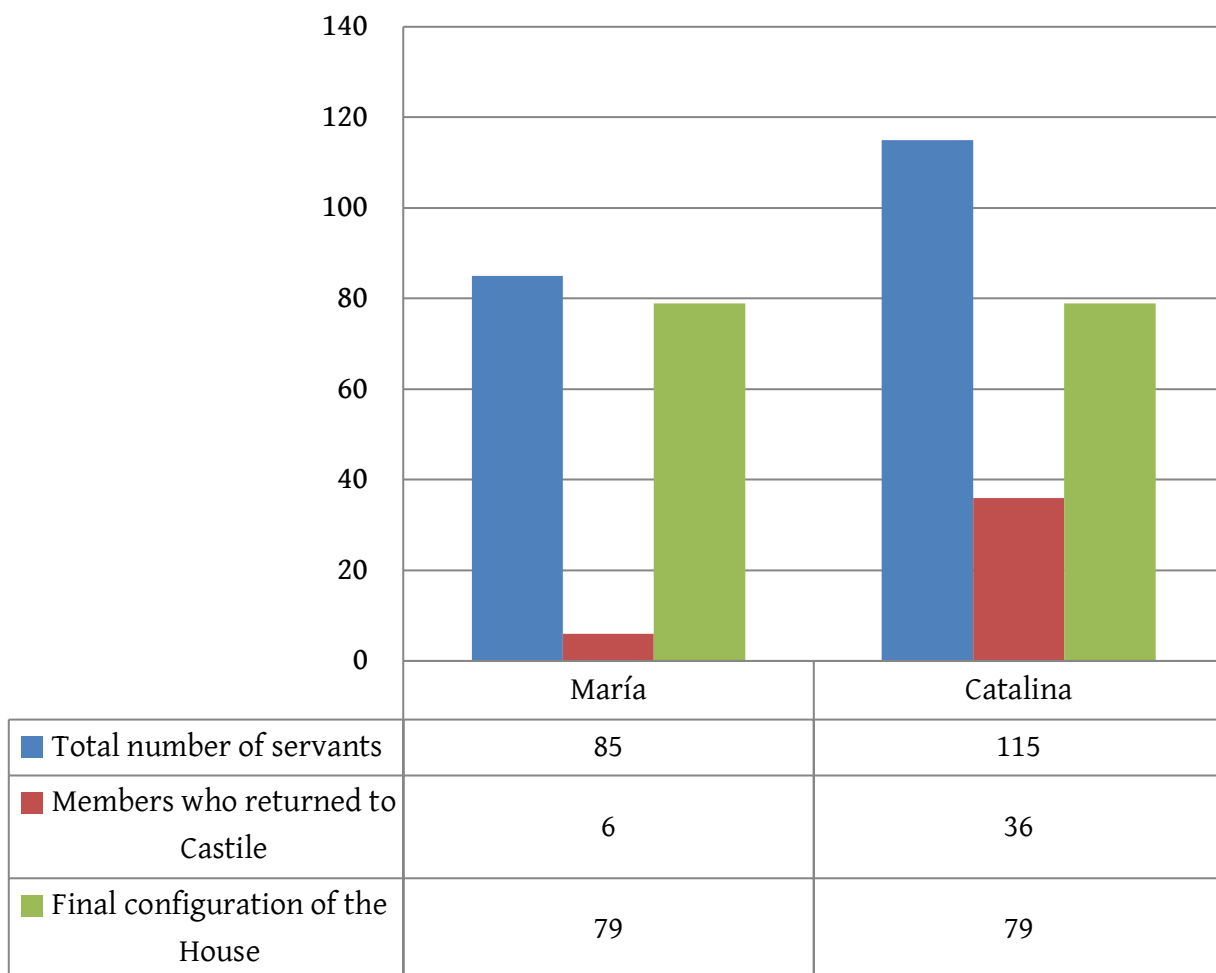


Table 5. Comparison of the houses of María and Catalina.

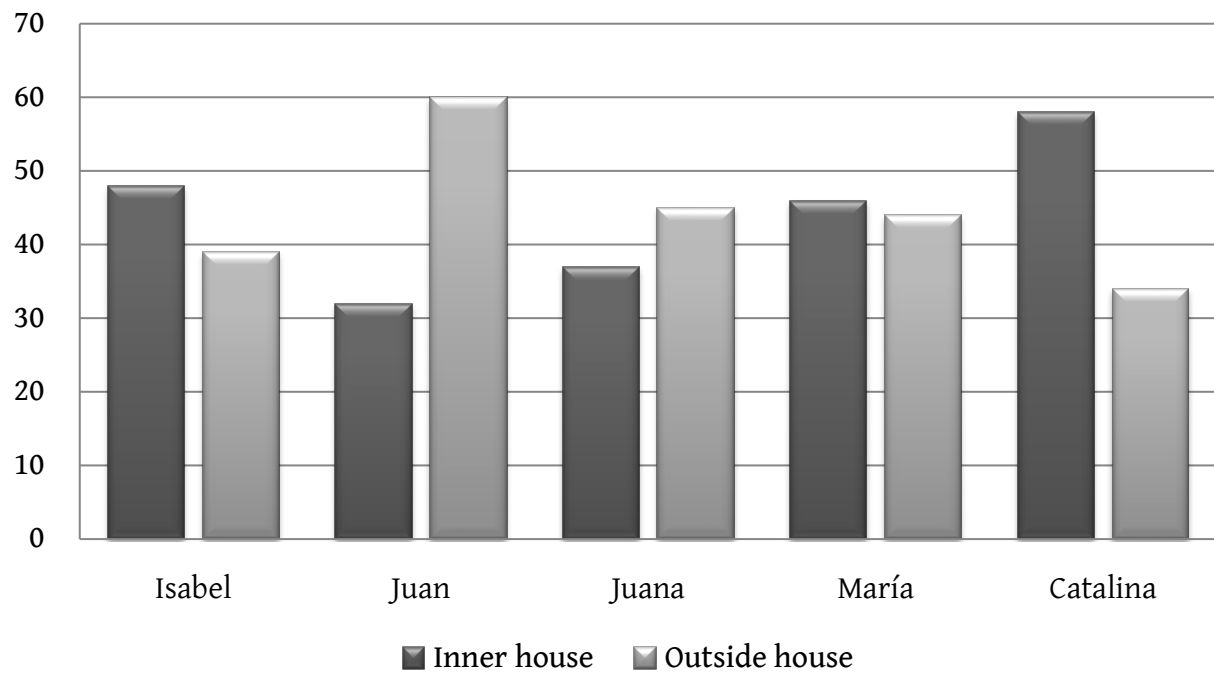


Table 6. Comparison between the final configurations of the different houses of the infants.

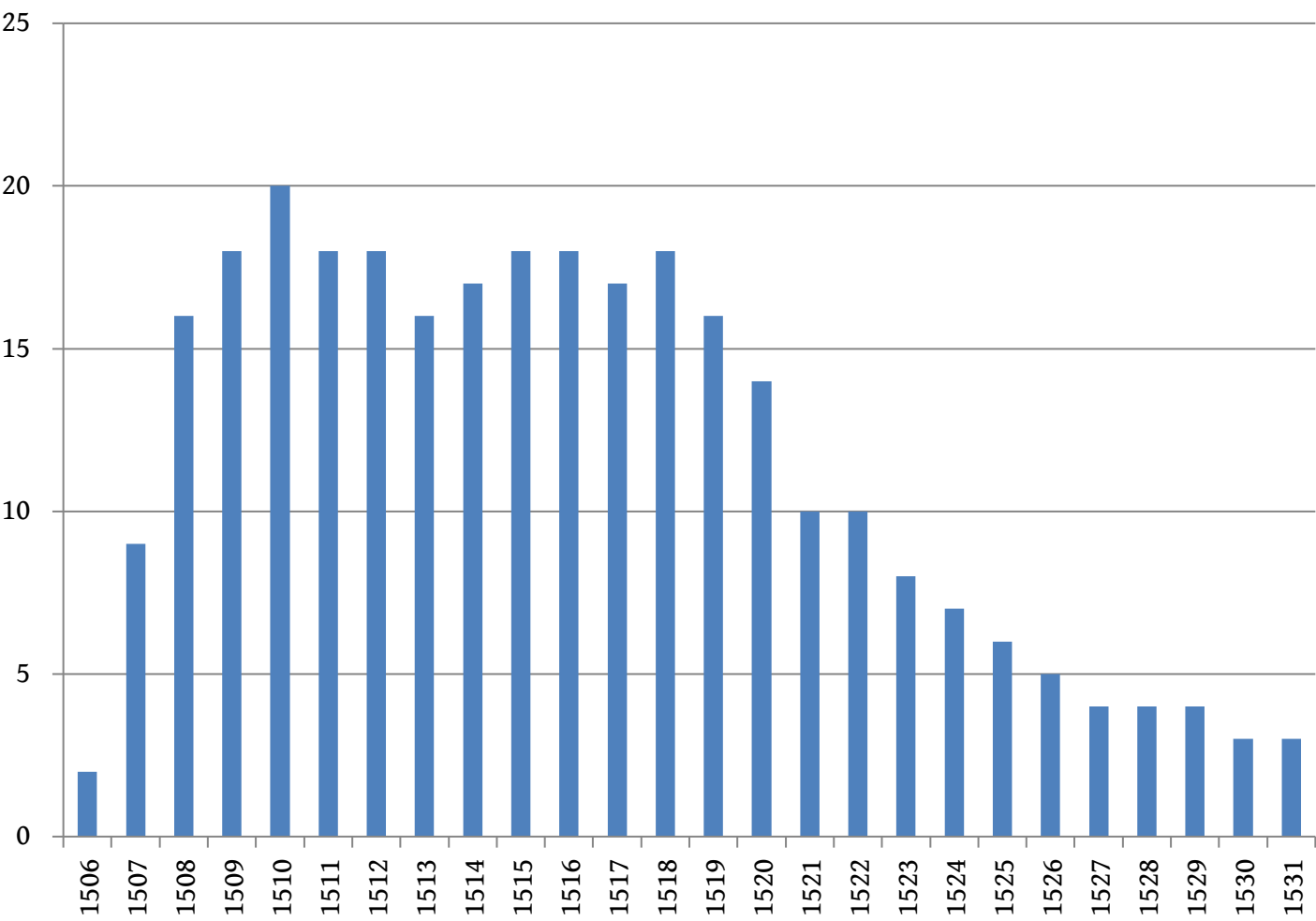


Table 7. Servants who served Juana in her childhood and who, when she was proclaimed Queen, returned to serve her.