



***Officers and Social Promotion
Strategies in the Lands of Isabel the
Catholic (1470–1504)***

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Abstract: This paper analyzes the body of administrators responsible for governing and controlling the territories granted to Isabel of Castile *pro Camera*, as a matrimonial assignment for being the consort of the next king of Aragon. The study of these manors in Catalonia and Sicily demonstrates the existence of certain political programs to place the confidants of the monarchy in a strategic position. Their presence in the towns, administrated by the queen, ensured strict control over distant cities and seaports in addition to the appropriate collection of her incomes and emoluments. At the same time, Isabel used the administrative posts as a reward and promotion for the families of her inner circle. We consider different officers and families in order to understand how the interests of the monarchy were intertwined with the local ruling class and their courtiers.

Keywords: Isabel the Catholic; Late Middle Age; Queen's Lands; Sicily; Catalonia

The queen's lands: composition and administration

In Medieval Europe the queens consort had many prerogatives and rights because of their position and status. In a world where public and private spaces intertwined in an indissoluble way, the idea of power must be considered far beyond the simple definitions of formal and institutional authority. Kings, queens, *infants*, royal families, officials, and elites are all integral

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components of an interconnected relational system for governing the realm.² Research focused on officers and elites is crucial for a wider study of monarchy: in the last thirty years scholars have used methods of various threads of medieval history, such as court studies, economic history, gender studies, family history, and the history of emotions, showing the royal courts as meaningful administrative centres.³

The economic sphere was linked to an immaterial capital, made of people, lineages, clients, prestige, and power, which allowed not only the sovereign but the entire monarchy to reproduce and propagate their authority in various parts of the kingdom, building a solid base of consent.

The households of the queens consort were highly involved in this process. Their treasurers had to manage a substantial flow of money, supported by the properties and the incomes they received, such as grants, purchases, inheritances, and dowers. The dowers generally were inalienable and the queens could enjoy them immediately after their weddings for their entire lives. They could not pass these properties to their successors like an inheritance, therefore after their death these possessions returned to the kingdom.⁴ Over the fourteenth century these donations became more frequent in various countries and were linked to court finances.⁵ Sometimes, the queens received large lands, creating a sort of stable territory administrated by them as ladies of the manor.

² Núria Silleras-Fernández, “The Queen, the Prince, and the Ideologue: Alonso Ortiz’s Notions of Queenship at the Court of the Catholic Kings,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 46, no. 1 (2016): 395; Pauline Stafford, “Emma: the Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century,” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at King’s College London, April 1995*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 1997), 11.

³ Theresa M. Earenfight, “Introduction. Personal Relations, Political Agency, and Economic Clout in Medieval and Early Modern Royal and Elite Households,” in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More Than Just a Castle*, ed. Theresa M. Earenfight (Boston: Brill, 2018), 4–5.

⁴ Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues and Manuela Santos Silva, “Private Properties, Seigniorial Tributes, and Jurisdictional Rents: The Income of the Queens of Portugal in the Late Middle Ages,” in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa M. Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 209–228.

⁵ Karl-Heinz Spieß, “European Royal Marriages in the Late Middle Ages. Marriage Treaties, Questions of Income, Cultural Transfer,” *Majestas*, no. 13 (2005): 19; Diana Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la Reina en la Corona de Castilla (1418–1496)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017), 31.

The same happened after the Catholic Kings' weddings. A deep change in Hispanic policy occurred under their reign, caused by the configuration of a composite reign and a dual monarchical system. Their prenuptial contract—signed in Cervera in 1469—stipulated for Isabel of Castile an annual income of 100,000 florins and the lands that María of Castile and Juana Enríquez received years before, as their dowers: Borja and Magallón in the kingdom of Aragon, Elx, and Crevillent in the kingdom of Valencia; Tàrrrega, Vilagrassa, Terrassa, and Sabadell in the principality of Catalonia; and Syracuse, Lentini, Mineo, Vizzini, and San Filippo in the kingdom of Sicily.⁶

A few days after the marriage, Isabel sent an embassy to her father-in-law, Juan II of Aragon, so that he could consign those towns he promised to her during the negotiations,⁷ but her request was accepted only the next year, when the king of Aragon granted the *Diploma pro Camera* (8 May 1470).⁸ In this charter—nowadays we only conserve record copies and a few fragments in other documents—the sovereign gave a whole life *mero et mixto imperio* (full jurisdiction) over the cities and towns of Sicily to his daughter-in-law, along with the privilege of appointing, confirming, suspending, or revoking the officers of the local administration, issuing judgments, safe conducts, orders, and finally collecting incomes, ordinary and extraordinary emoluments. However, these rights were linked to other rules she had to respect in order to keep them: she could not alienate the properties or administer them in case of a second marriage after Fernando's passing. Shortly after this donation, her designated *procurator* (attorney), Juan de Cárdenas, took possession of the Sicilian dower.

On the same day, Isabel obtained the charter for the Catalan towns that María of Castile and Juana Enríquez held before, except Vilagrassa, which was granted a

⁶ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón (edición electrónica)*, 2003, XVII, 21, accessed 1 September 2022, <https://ifc.dpz.es/publicaciones/ver/id/2448>.

⁷ María Isabel del Val Valdivieso, *Isabel la Católica, princesa, 1468-1474* (Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica, 1974), 200.

⁸ Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cartes reials de Joan II, 30; Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Conservatoria del Real Patrimonio, Mercedes, 52, fols. 192r–198r; ASP, Protonotario del Regno di Sicilia, 69, fols. 93r–100r; ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3479, fols. 50v–55r, in Jaime Vicens Vives, *Fernando el Católico, príncipe de Aragón, rey de Sicilia, 1458-1478: Sicilia en la política de Juan II de Aragón* (Madrid: CSIC, 1952), 430–437, doc. 48.

month later.⁹ This document was very similar to the other mentioned for the island of Sicily and it provided the same prerogatives to the queen over the lands, manors, castles, mills, and taxes with the full jurisdiction. On 23 June 1470, Juan II of Aragon sent another charter in order to give Isabel of Castile the town of Vilagrassa, too, which is the only original diploma kept in the General Archive of Simancas.¹⁰ The council of Tàrrrega, after having been informed by a *litterae clausae* of the donation,¹¹ decided to challenge their antique privileges by which the kings and the lords could not sell, alienate or donate the city, refusing to swear an oath of loyalty before the new lady.¹² In fact, in 1327 King Jaime II of Aragon granted to Tàrrrega the perpetual privilege to not be separated from the Crown: only the kings of Aragon and the counts of Barcelona could govern the city.¹³ Pedro IV,¹⁴ Martín,¹⁵ and Juana Enríquez¹⁶ confirmed the same prerogative during their administrations. Isabel appointed a *procurator* for the negotiations with the city, Antón Rodríguez de Lillo, who confirmed all of the ancient rights and traditions of Tàrrrega in the name of the queen and, consequently, obtained the loyalty of her subjects.¹⁷

Terrassa and Sabadell at that time were under the power of the *Consell de Cent* of Barcelona, which was involved in the civil war that was tearing a large part of the Peninsular Crown of Aragon. When this conflict ended in 1472, the situation for both towns was largely the same and Sabadell requested the confirmation of the privileges of the city and the promise to always be part of the Crown, like Tàrrrega a few years before.¹⁸ After those reassurances, in 1474 the *procurator* of the queen received

⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, 12, 67.

¹⁰ AGS, Patronato Real, 12, 66.

¹¹ Arxiu Històric Comarcal de l'Urgell, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 13v-14r.

¹² AHCU, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 15v-16v.

¹³ Lluís Sarret i Pons, *Privilegis de Tàrrrega* (Tàrrrega: Imp. F. Camps Calmet, 1930), 91-92, doc. 53.

¹⁴ Gener Gonzalvo i Bou, ed., *Els Llibres de Privilegis de Tàrrrega, 1058-1473* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997), 251-254, doc. 110.

¹⁵ Gonzalvo i Bou, *Els Llibres de Privilegis*, 331-333, doc. 116.

¹⁶ Josep Maria Segarra i Malla, *Recull d'episodis d'història targarina des del Segle XI al XX* (Tàrrrega: Francesc Camps Calmet, 1973), 75; Max Turull i Rubinat and Jaume Ribalta Haro, "De voluntate Universitatis: la formació i l'expressió de la voluntat del municipi (Tàrrrega, 1214-1520)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 21 (1991): 155-156.

¹⁷ AHCU, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 16v-18v.

¹⁸ Arxiu Històric de Sabadell, Pergamins de Sabadell, 39.

Sabadell and the castle of Rahona. However, he did not obtain the govern of Terrassa, which continued to be part of the state domain.¹⁹

In 1498, at the end of the fifteenth century, Isabel's dower was increased with some new annexations, like the port of Augusta.²⁰ In the charter, King Fernando also granted the county of Augusta, but it remained in the hands of the Moncada family for the next generations, despite the original intentions. With this increase, the sovereign wanted to compensate for the concession that Isabel made to Gutierre de Cárdenas: she granted him and his successors the manor of Elx and Crevillent in 1481,²¹ which were part of this family's properties for a long time after his death.²²

The territories of her dower provided a large amount of money and vast financial resources for Isabel of Castile, in addition to the powers of command, justice, punishment, and taxation over these lands, as a real lady of the manor.²³ She needed to create an administrative structure capable of carrying out her competences and tasks, generating a significant impact on the local institutions and offices. The central treasury of the queen, responsible for money management—they used the incomes to bear the ordinary and extraordinary costs of the court—was connected to the local administration of those towns, creating different and individual systems in every kingdom where the cities were located.²⁴ The diverse local setting of the institutions

¹⁹ Antonio Bosch i Cardellach, *Anales de la villa de Sabadell desde el año 987 hasta el de 1770* (Sabadell: Fundació Bosch i Cardellach, 1992), 136–137.

²⁰ ASP, Protonotario del Regno di Sicilia, 186, fols. 163r–166v.

²¹ Isabel gave these cities to her confidant in 1471, but the donation became effective only ten years later: Arxiu Municipal d'Elx, Pàgines d'Or, Po-52, Po-45-2.

²² AHME, Pàgines d'Or, Po-52, Po-45-2, Po-47-1.

²³ Núria Coll Julià, *Doña Juana Enríquez: lugarteniente Real en Cataluña (1461-1468)* (Madrid: CSIC, 1953); Theresa M. Earenfight, "Royal Finances in the Reign of María of Castile, Queen-Lieutenant of the Crown of Aragon, 1432–53," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa M. Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 229–244; Núria Silleras-Fernández, "Money Isn't Everything: Concubinage, Class, and the Rise and Fall of Sibil·la de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377–87)," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa M. Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 67–88; María Jesús Fuente Pérez, "Tres Violantes: las mujeres de una familia en el poder a lo largo del siglo XIII," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 137–165; Sebastian Roebert, "...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)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 231–268.

²⁴ Nikolas Jaspert and Ana Echevarría, "El ejercicio del poder de las reinas ibéricas en la Edad Media," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 8.

responded to the diverse costumes and traditions of these geopolitical contexts. In the island of Sicily, the queens consort created a parallel court in Syracuse that became the new capital of the manor, where the highest offices and the tribunal of *magna curia* resided.

The governor was the head of this administration and represented the queen's authority, leading the jurisdiction and the local government, issuing decrees and statutes, receiving oaths, controlling finances and defences, appointing the officers, and publishing the *litterae extecutoriae* in order to validate the viceroy's orders in the queen's lands. He responded only to the queen, who could modify or reverse his decisions. This officer presided over the queen's council, consisting of the highest officers in charge, like the *magister rationalis*, the *magister secretus*, the treasurer, the judges of *magna curia*, and the secretary.²⁵

The *magister rationalis* led the financial department of the Sicilian manor and his tasks revolved around the control of the other economic offices, taxes, activities, and surveys.²⁶ He was the responsible of the balance of the manor before the queen and the viceroy of Sicily, and for this reason he organized the tax levying for the voluntary contribution that the Sicilian Parliament offered periodically to the king.²⁷ Another officer, the Sicilian *conservator reginalis patrimonii*, dealt with the territorial surveys and the proper exploitation of the queen's properties.²⁸ His role was directly linked to Isabel's general *conservator patrimonii*, who had to control the administration of all the queen's assets. He leveraged the help of the local *conservatores* to guarantee the proper functioning of the system, although he could not travel to those lands very often. In this way the general *conservator* was able to easily conduct audits and identify inconsistencies or debts.²⁹

²⁵ Biblioteca Comunale di Siracusa, Liber privilegiorum et diplomatum nobilis et fidelissimae Syracusarum urbis, 2, fols. 208r–209r.

²⁶ Vicent Giménez Chornet, "Gobierno y Control de Los Oficiales de La Cámara de Sicilia (1424–1458)," in *XIV Congresso Di Storia Della Corona d'Aragona*, vol. 3 (Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1996), 467.

²⁷ ASP, Real Cancelleria, 127, fol. 362; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 82, fols. 101v–102r.

²⁸ The same officer had those tasks in the kingdom of Sicily: Alessandro Silvestri, *L'amministrazione del regno di Sicilia: cancelleria, apparati finanziari e strumenti di governo nel tardo Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2018), 207.

²⁹ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 86, fol. 95v.

The treasurer kept the treasury of the Sicilian manor and managed the cash flow, paying for the expenditures and depositing earnings to Isabel's central treasury.³⁰ He publicly declared the accounts every year, before the secretary and the notaries, reporting the profits of the *secretiae* (customs), the export taxes, the rights over the port and the manors, the maintenance costs of the defence system, the officers' salaries, almsgivings, grants, and court expenses.³¹ The treasurer almost always received the appointment for the *magister secretus* office too, validating balance, tenders, payments, repairs, and controlling the activities of the others *vicesecreti*³² of the manor, who had the same duties in their local jurisdictions.³³

The *magister credentarius* was another officer who monitored the incomes and the accounts of the *gabelloti*,³⁴ who collected taxes over goods and merchandises every year for winning a proper tender.³⁵ The *magister credentarius* resided in the port of Syracuse, that was one of the most important trading posts in Eastern Sicily, where there were other officers, like the *viceportulanus*, who collected taxes and tributes, verified licenses, levied taxes on exports together with the *portulanoti* and the sergeants.³⁶ Similar officers existed in the other ports of the manor too (Brucoli, Agnone, and Augusta).

Justice was dispensed in the queen's tribunal of *magna curia*, installed in the castle Maniace of Syracuse and presided by the governor, with the collaboration of the fiscal lawyer, the *magister juratus* and two judges.³⁷ These judges, initially selected

³⁰ Rosana de Andrés, *El último decenio del reinado de Isabel I a través de la tesorería de Alonso de Morales (1495–1504)* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, Universidad de Valladolid, 2004), 1034, doc. 5.921.

³¹ AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fol. 92r.

³² The *vicesecreti* were officers with the same functions as the *magistrus secretus*, but only for the city of their jurisdiction.

³³ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 22r.

³⁴ The *gabelloti* were people who won the tenders for management of local taxation.

³⁵ Caterina Orlando, *Una città per le regine: istituzioni e società a Siracusa tra XIII e XV secolo* (Caltanissetta-Rome: Salvatore Sciascia Editore, 2012), 259; AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112.

³⁶ Francesco Barna, "Il caricatore di Brucoli nel sistema dei porti della Camera reginale nel XV secolo," *Incontri Mediterranei*, no. 5 (2004): 260.

³⁷ This officer had economic and administrative functions, controlling the incomes and the tenders for the *gabelle* (duties).

and appointed *ad beneplacitum*,³⁸ were officers for a term of two years,³⁹ who dispensed all levels of justice except crimes that involved lese-majesty and feudal disputes, under the royal and vicerojal jurisdiction. The queen's subjects were entitled to appoint the court of Syracuse and they used the viceroy's tribunal of Palermo only for legal appeals, since Isabel's central court was too far for them. On the other hand, the fiscal lawyer and the *patronus fisci* were expert jurists who defended the queen in the cases involving her properties on the island. Finally, in extraordinary circumstances, Isabel could appoint visitors, commissioners, and reformers, sent to the queen's lands for select investigations, whereas she selected a *capitanus armorum reginalis* (captain of the weapons) for his skills in warfare, buying artillery, organizing defense, and administering criminal justice *ad beneplacitum*. He had a role of primary importance and he was second only to the governor in terms of influence.⁴⁰

In Catalonia the administration of the queen settled in the territory in a completely different way, responding to the traditions that the cities of the principality had been building the last centuries. The institutions of the manor should have fit with the local representative organisms, handled by the urban running class. This administration consisted of less officers, and they were led by a general *procurator* of the manor of Catalonia and sometimes by extraordinary *procuratores*. They were the only officers with full jurisdiction over all the lands and towns belonging to Isabel in Catalonia. In this case, there was not a parallel court or a capital for this manor and the *procurator* had to interact directly with the local and independent officers of Tàrraga, Vilagrassa, and Sabadell.

In every city there was a court with a *batlle* (mayor), a councillor, and a notary, dealing with the ordinary justice and the queen's taxes and emoluments collection.⁴¹ The office of the mayor did not depend on the municipal institutions because he represented the superior authority's interests, which was the queen consort—at least, while the charters *pro Camera* were valid. At the beginning, his functions were directly connected with the incomes and assets of the lordship, but he also received judicial

³⁸ Giuseppe M. Agnello, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini al servizio della Corona: il governo di Siracusa dal Vespro all'abolizione della Camera reginale* (Syracuse: Barbara Micheli, 2005), 168.

³⁹ AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fol. 130r.

⁴⁰ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 61v–62r.

⁴¹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 130.

tasks over time and for this reason he had many conflicts with the office of *veguer* (vicar), mostly in the cities that were capitals of *vegueria* (vicar's district), like Tàrraga.⁴² The vicar worked closely with the king, for his military, legal, and police duties over the district. The offices of mayor and vicar were not incompatible and when the cities belonged to the king they were often unified. But it was different in the queen's manors, since they used to appoint two different officers in order to represent both king and queen's authorities in the territory. Isabel's officer instituted civil and criminal trials with the inner council, which participated in the penal cases.⁴³

The second level of justice was administrated by the judges of appeals, chosen *ad beneplacitum* by the queen in order to deliver a definitive judgment for the local trials. When their authority was not enough—such as when the cities or lords were involved—they resorted to the lieutenant of Catalonia, since the court of the queen was too distant from the principality.

The queen appointed a local treasurer, the *receptor*, for the administration of her finance and tax collection. He could be a specific officer or his tasks could be assigned to a person who already held another position, especially the mayor.⁴⁴ Sometimes these officers managed the collection of municipal tributes, consigning the money to the local authorities only at a later stage. In this way Isabel could obtain all the incomes belonging to her, avoiding any manipulation of accounting books. The economic duties of the treasurer were flexible and dynamic, since the queen did not make stable appointments. The local institutions and lords usually protected their privileges, leaving the queen's officers with no leeway. The *oïdors de comptes* (literally “hearers of the accounts”) were elected every year by the citizens, and controlled the accounting books of each administrative office in the town as well as declaring balance and financial reports to the local council.⁴⁵

There was also another control system for queen and city's officers, the *purga de taula* (literally, “purge of the organization chart”), created at the end of the thirteenth century with the purpose of monitoring officers' books and behaviours

⁴² Josep M. Font i Rius, “Costumbres de Tàrraga,” *Anuario de Historia del Derecho español*, no. 23 (1953): 429–444.

⁴³ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 68, 120r, 124r; AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrraga, 321.

⁴⁴ AHS, Llibres de la Cort del Batlle, 2591/4, fol. 58v; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fol. 48r.

⁴⁵ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 5v–6r.

after they have ceased their duties.⁴⁶ These judges were nominated by the *procurator* of the queen and needed to build a case against the officers whenever they found irregularities, including the members of the mayor court.⁴⁷ However, in 1493, following accusations of corruption among judges, the council of the city started appointing them.⁴⁸

There were two local representative organisms: the general council (*consell general*) and the inner council (*consell particular*). At first, all the citizens participated in the general council, although only the peers (*paers*)/jurors (*jurats*) and the councillors (*consellers*) joined the inner council, preserving the privileges, collecting some taxes and dealing with the ordinary administration of the towns, like the maintenance of irrigation and road systems.⁴⁹ But later they radically reformed the general council's composition, involving only the members of the inner council and thirty "good men" (*probi homines*), chosen according to their neighbourhood (Sant Antoni, Santa Maria, Santa Creu, and Falcó) and social class (*mà major*, *mà mitjana* and *mà menor*).⁵⁰ The number of the members of the two councils changed many times, mostly because due to epidemics, famines, and demographic crisis. Isabel of Castile, for example, had to reduce those members too: the citizens could elect four peers, twelve councillors, and twenty-one *good men* for the general council, when only the mayor, the peers, and the councillors could join the inner council too.⁵¹

The nobility in Sicily and the government of the queen

The administrative structures were fluid entities that could be moulded according to the policy and economy of each territory where they were installed. The officers of this system were not chosen at random, but rather there was a proper strategy with

⁴⁶ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "El ejercicio del poder real en la Corona de Aragón: instituciones e instrumentos de gobierno (siglos XIV y XV)," *En la España medieval*, no. 17 (1994): 70.

⁴⁷ AHCU, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fol. 52v.

⁴⁸ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 130v-131v.

⁴⁹ Joaquín Cerdá Ruiz-Funes, "Jurados, iurats, en municipios españoles de la Baja Edad Media: reflexiones para su comparación," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, no. 14 (1987): 27-40.

⁵⁰ Max Turull i Rubinat and Jaume Ribalta Haro, "Entre la *Universitas* i el *concilium generale*. El consell general a Tàrrrega (1313-1396)," *URTX*, no. 2 (1990): 42.

⁵¹ AHCU, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 129r, 135r-136r, 147r-152v; Sarret i Pons, *Privilegis de Tàrrrega*, 415-417, doc. 6; Gonzalvo i Bou, *Els Llibres de Privilegis de Tàrrrega*, 1058-1473, 531-533, doc. 314.

many hidden facets that directly influenced the court and its connection to the kingdom, as can be seen from the analysis of the people and families with offices in the queen's lands. When Juana Enríquez governed these lands (1458–1468) and Juan II of Aragon continued to administrate her manor after her death (1468–1470)—he maintained the same officers, waiting for his future daughter-in-law—most of the local officers came from families belonging to the elite of the Crown of Aragon peninsula, like the members of the queen's court.⁵² Isabel of Castile encouraged the substantial change in her organization chart: there was still a big percentage of Aragoneses, but she promoted the presence of new people trained in the Castilian court and the majority of the officers were Sicilian families loyal to the Crown.

Some native noble families continued serving the queen, as they did for generations, like the Montaltos, who held nobility titles in Syracuse, Messina, Palermo and were Barons of Buccheri.⁵³ One branch of the family specialised in service to the court, particularly in juridical offices.⁵⁴ Francesco Montalto was a very influential person at court, holding the positions of *patronus fisci*, in 1490–1493 and then in 1498–1500.⁵⁵ From 1492 to 1494 he was a judge of *magna curia* too, with his colleague Nicola Cannarella.⁵⁶

The Selvaggios, Genoese nobles who had resided in Sicily since the thirteenth century among the Aragonese party, were important to the municipal council of Syracuse, since they were active members of this institution and for other offices they administrated (they were captains, governors of castles, *gabelloti*, and *credentarii*).⁵⁷ They owned many properties and the monopoly on slaughtering activities, thanks to

⁵² For the officers' lists during the government of Juana Enríquez and Juan II of Aragon see: Agnello, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini al servizio della Corona*, 224–228.

⁵³ In 1478 Giovanni Montalto was Baron of Buccheri and, when he passed, the heir was his son Cataldo: ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 90, fols. 85v–86r and 126 fols. 83r–84r; ASP, Real Cancelleria, 139, fols. 190r–191r and 170, fols. 102v–103v, 145v; ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 88v–89r.

⁵⁴ Giovambattista Montalto was *magister secretus* of the queen in Sicily when the officer in charge was absent. Antonio Montalto also attended the oaths of loyalty at Syracuse court: ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 68v, 71v, 112r–114v.

⁵⁵ ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 20, 24, 25v–28r, 65v, 68v.

⁵⁶ ACA, Real Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 81; AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fol. 130r; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 175, fol. 141.

⁵⁷ Antonio Mango di Casalgerardo, *Nobiliario di Sicilia* (Bologna: Forni, 1970), s.v. Grasso; Agnello, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini al servizio della Corona*, 140; Orlando, *Una città per le regine*, 293–294.

one of the few authorised slaughterhouses they had, confirmed to Giovanna Selvaggio and her heirs in 1489,⁵⁸ while Giovanni Antonio Selvaggio officially collected the slaughtering and flour milling taxes.⁵⁹

The Grassos came from high standing in Sicily and had worked for the queens since the first half of the fifteenth century. Francesco Grasso was *juratus*, *judex*,⁶⁰ *magister notarius* (master notary), *magister juratus*, and *magister rationalis* in the queens' manor since 1463.⁶¹ Despite his close relationship with Juana Enríquez—he joined the defence during the siege of Girona in order to protect the queen and the prince—after her passing, he demanded the abolition of the dower, for which he was arrested.⁶² The main argument for his rebellion was the promotion of the urban patricianship, favoured by the queens' government, at the expense of the noble privileges. Isabel decided to forgive him and return him to the offices and rights he had enjoyed before his betrayal, securing his loyalty and support.⁶³ In fact, the Grassos became one of the most important elements of this manor among the families devoted to the queen.

Francesco was *magister rationalis* of the queens' manor of Sicily from 1470 until his death,⁶⁴ including when he was condemned for the murder of Vicens Diamant in 1486.⁶⁵ The victim's family forgave him for the crime, facilitating the process to obtain a safe conduct, which allowed him to live in freedom, but forty-two miles away from Syracuse. He moved to Mineo, where he became *magister carcerarius* (master jailer) and French consul in the queen's lands of Sicily.⁶⁶ His son Enrico obtained the French

⁵⁸ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 30r; BCS, Liber privilegiorum et diplomatum, 3, fols. 169r–170r.

⁵⁹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 82.

⁶⁰ Both were members of the civic council.

⁶¹ Giuseppe M. Agnello, "Urbs fidelissima. Il governo di Siracusa durante la Camera reginale (1282–1536)" (PhD Thesis, Catania, Università di Catania, 2012).

⁶² Coll Julià, *Doña Juana Enríquez*, vol. 1, 32.

⁶³ ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 13v–14r.

⁶⁴ ASP, Conservatoria del Real Patrimonio, Mercedes, 52, fols. 346r–347v; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 69, fols. 105v–106v; ASP, Real Cancelleria, 126, fols. 64r–65v.

⁶⁵ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 120, fols. 222v–223r.

⁶⁶ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 88v–89r, 154; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 162, fols. 180v–181v.

consulate, in addition to the Catalan embassy of Syracuse⁶⁷ and the office of *magister rationalis* of the manor.⁶⁸ He had been senator of Syracuse and master notary of the captain of Mineo before,⁶⁹ but his career was cut short when he was murdered by an enemy group in 1499.⁷⁰ Francesco had other sons, too, like Giacomo, captain of Syracuse in 1479–1480,⁷¹ Maciotta, auditor of the weights and measures of Lentini,⁷² and Antonio, who dedicated himself to religious affairs, as chaplain in the church of Saint Lucy *intra moenia*⁷³ and vicar of the bishop of Syracuse.⁷⁴ Finally, Francesco Jr. in 1500 became the new *magister rationalis* after Enrico's death and administrated the office for the rest of his life.⁷⁵

The patricianship in Syracuse

While some noble families ceased to work for the queen, like, for example, the Pedilepores and the Aricios, other groups of the urban patricianship, mostly merchants or traders, became close to the lady of the manor and her administration, taking advantage of the prestige and the influence that service to the court could provide.⁷⁶ This class was the real protagonist during the government of Isabel of Castile in the second half of the fifteenth century and facilitated their social and political promotion. These families used the offices to ennoble their status and

⁶⁷ Specifically, in 1487–93: Roser Salicrú i Lluç, “Notes sobre el consolat de catalans de Siracusa (1319–1528),” in *XIV Congresso Di Storia Della Corona d’Aragona* (Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1996), vol. 3, 696.

⁶⁸ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 94r–95v.

⁶⁹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 90.

⁷⁰ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 184, fols. 22r–26r.

⁷¹ Mango di Casalgerardo, *Nobiliario di Sicilia*, s.v. Grasso.

⁷² ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 38.

⁷³ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 11.

⁷⁴ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 119, fol. 92v; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 122, fols. 197v–198r; ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 26r, 68v–69r.

⁷⁵ ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fols. 68, 69v–70v, 84r–107r.

⁷⁶ Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics, and Finance in England, 1360–1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 153; Rita Costa Gomes, *A corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média, memória e sociedade* (Lisbon: Difel, 1995), 130; Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 168; Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la Reina*, 182.

influence over the territory, absorbing the positions into their personal and familiar properties and becoming richer.

Francesc Oliver was a leading member of this class. He came from a family of Catalan merchants who lived between Barcelona and Tortosa with great power at court. In fact, Galceran Oliver had been Juan II of Aragon's, Juana Enriquez's, and the infant princes' treasurer, reformer, and governor of the queen's manor of Sicily during the years of María of Castile and Juana.⁷⁷ Francesc administrated the *conservatoria* of the queen's heritage, the office *magister credentarius*, master jailer of Vizzini, notary of Syracuse customs, Maltese consul, porter of the city, *receptor* of the wheat in the port of Brucoli, and *magister juratus*.⁷⁸ His son Joan Antoni started in the local government assisting his father and, after his father's death, inheriting his offices.⁷⁹ The Olivers mediated for the purchases of the court and replaced the *magister secretus* when he was absent.⁸⁰ They directly influenced the appointment of public offices, acting in an unscrupulous manner, selling the positions as well.⁸¹

The Palaxinos also succeeded in their social advancement, thanks to the public offices in Syracuse and in the other towns of the manor of the queen. Nicola was master notary and archivist of the Sicilian queen's lands for over thirty years, managing the same function for the municipal council of Syracuse.⁸² After his homicide,⁸³ his son Selvaggio inherited the office of master notary of the city council,⁸⁴ in addition to the duties he had as captain of San Filippo (1486–1487),⁸⁵ Antonio and later his heir were appointed porters of the manor for all their life;⁸⁶ Giovanni Matteo

⁷⁷ Alberto García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos* (Madrid: Imp. Antonio Marzo, 1952), s.v. Oliver; Coll Julià, *Doña Juana Enríquez*, vol. 1, 35.

⁷⁸ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 86, fol. 95r; ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 12r, 45r–46v, 89; AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fols. 15r, 17v, 94r.

⁷⁹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 48r, 55r–56v; ASP, Real Cancelleria, 183, fols. 248v–250v.

⁸⁰ ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 180, fols. 117r–118r; ASP, Real Cancelleria, fols. 298v–299r; ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fol. 22v.

⁸¹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 54r–55r, 63r.

⁸² BCS, Liber privilegiorum et diplomatum, 2, fols. 209v–225r.

⁸³ He was murdered in 1479 by Giacomo Mirabella: ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 97, fols. 211v–213r.

⁸⁴ BCS, Liber privilegiorum et diplomatum, 2, fol. 385r.

⁸⁵ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 7v.

⁸⁶ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 18v–19v, 21, 81v–82r.

was captain of Vizzini in 1486-1487 and captain of Lentini in 1491-1492;⁸⁷ Nunzio was chosen as captain of justice of Mineo in 1489-1490 and collector of slaughtering and flour milling taxes in Syracuse;⁸⁸ and, finally, Francesco Palaxino obtained the office of *viceportulanus* in Brucoli, inherited by his son Giovanni Antonio after his death.⁸⁹ This family were able to fit with society and the administration using the offices dependent on the queen and for this reason they led local policy, especially in 1480s and 1490s.

The government of Tàrraga: institutions and leaders

In the territories administrated by the queen in Catalonia during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, while the representative institutions of the city were consolidating, a small group of local families gained power, connecting their members to the councils' offices. These political organisms were manipulated and moulded to the benefit of those who promoted the creation of an oligarchy.⁹⁰ A few families settled in the government and prevented access to the institutions for the citizens who could not cover their economic and social requirements.⁹¹ It was a self-sustained system through the control of the decision-making power, kept by the municipal elites which, in turn, legitimized their prestige with public offices.⁹² By analyzing the members of the inner and general councils during the government of Isabel of Castile, we can clearly see that only a few families held all the offices of the administration,

⁸⁷ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, fols. 8r, 85v-86r.

⁸⁸ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 33r; AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fol. 3r.

⁸⁹ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 8v.

⁹⁰ Antoni Passola i Tejedor, "Una oligarquía municipal: la Paheria de Lleida en el s. XVII," *Manuscrits: revista d'història moderna*, no. 3 (1986): 152; Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea, "Elites urbanas y construcción del poder en las cuatro villas de la costa del mar (siglos XIII-XV)," in *Ciudades y villas portuarias del Atlántico en la Edad Media, Nájera. Encuentros Internacionales del Medievo* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2005), 194; Jaume Ribalta Haro and Max Turull i Rubinat, *Alguns aspectes del règim municipal de Tàrraga i Cervera al segle XIV* (Tàrraga: Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent, 1987), 67.

⁹¹ Pau Viciano, *Regir la Cosa Pública. Prohoms i poder local a la vila de Castelló (segles XIV-XV)* (Valencia: PUV, 2008), 45-64.

⁹² José Antonio Jara Fuente, "Elites urbanas y sistemas concejiles: una propuesta teórico-metodológica para el análisis de los subsistemas de poder en los concejos castellanos de la Baja Edad Media," *Hispania* 61, no. 207 (2001): 257; Yolanda Guerrero Navarrete, "Elites urbanas en el siglo XV: Burgos y Cuenca," *Revista d'història medieval*, no. 9 (1998): 85.

leaving a little space for new aspiring officers. The queen of Castile supported and consolidated the careers of the oligarchy already in power and used their professional abilities and personal connections to further her own interests.

In 1470–1490 the Ponç family stood out from the other groups of the oligarchy for their careers and prestige. Joan was councillor in 1470–1471, peer in the successive mandate and then in 1478–1479, and finally *good man* for many years—in 1472–1473, later in 1477–1478, and in 1480–1481.⁹³ Francesc also took part in the council, as a peer (1474–1475; 1487–1488), councillor (1478–1479), and ambassador of the city with the purpose of negotiating with the creditors.⁹⁴ Isabel used Ponç' experience and personal network, appointing them as her local officers often. Joan was nominated mayor in 1474–1476,⁹⁵ as was Miquel in 1485–1487,⁹⁶ and Francesc in 1470–1473—Francesc was lieutenant of the mayor in the summer of 1479 and *receptor* of the queen's emoluments in 1471 and 1481.⁹⁷ He was very influential and the king decided to honour him too, granting to him the office of vicar of the district in the autumn of 1479.⁹⁸

The Pruneras were elected many times for the local government. Damià was councillor in 1472–1474 and 1477–1481, *good man* in 1474–1475, 1478–1479 and 1481–1482, negotiated with the creditors of the city, kept the accounting book of the *magister rationalis*, and in 1495–1498 his career culminated when he became mayor for the queen Isabel.⁹⁹ Tomàs, who was a great owner with a large property near the castle of Mor, was a *good man* in 1477–1478, councillor in 1481, and peer in 1481–1482.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fols. 2r–5r, 43v–45v, 76r–77r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 9r–17r, 46r–52r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 16v–23r; AHCÚ, Pergamin de Tàrraga, 321.

⁹⁴ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fols. 153r–155r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 46r–52r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fol. 285; AHCÚ, Pergamin de Tàrraga, 321.

⁹⁵ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fols. 140v–141v, 166v–167v.

⁹⁶ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 215v–216r.

⁹⁷ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fols. 11v–12v, 48r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 107, 133.

⁹⁸ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 2v–3r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 3r–4r.

⁹⁹ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fols. 71r–75v, 153r–155r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 9r–17r, 46r–52r, 79r–86v; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 16v–23r, 127r–130v, 131v, 285; ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fols. 141v–142v.

¹⁰⁰ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fols. 46r–52r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 16v–23r, 127r–130v; AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrraga, 323.

Francesc Palau and Gaspar Vidal were two of the most powerful politicians that consolidated their position into both municipal and queen's administrations. Francesc was a very rich man, a great owner of the district of Mor, too, who had studied to be a notary.¹⁰¹ He attended to the councils with different offices, as a peer (1470-1471 and 1481-1482), councillor (1471-1472; 1474-1475; 1477-1479), and *good man* (1472-1474 and 1479-1481).¹⁰² He was a representative of the city at the *Corts* of Montblanc-Cervera in 1470, defending the rights to tax of the city, negotiating with creditors, and validating the accounting books when the *procurator* of the queen questioned their authenticity.¹⁰³ His specialization was useful to administrate the municipal jurisdiction in 1471 and manage the office of notary of the vicar from 1481 onwards.¹⁰⁴ Gaspar Vidal received a similar education too, and, thanks to the tools he learned during that time, he had an important career as King Juan II's scribe.¹⁰⁵ This experience, like the training he had for the municipal institutions—he was a *good man* in 1473-1474, 1477-1478, and 1480-1482, a peer in 1476-1477, and councillor in 1474-1475 and 1478-1480¹⁰⁶—helped him with his duties as notary (1478-1487) and lieutenant of the mayor.¹⁰⁷

The officers from the Iberian Crown of Aragon

Beyond the Sicilian families, the administration of the queen grew strong in the lands granted to her, thanks to the collaboration of a group of officers loyal to the Catholic Kings, who moved to the cities belonging to her manor and assisted her in controlling

¹⁰¹ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fol. 115; AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrraga, 319.

¹⁰² AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 2r-5r, 43v-45v, 76r-77r, 115v-116r, 153r-155r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fols. 9r-17r, 46r-52r, 79r-86v, 127r-130v.

¹⁰³ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 28r-29v, 49r, 56v-57r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fol. 133; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480-1490, fol. 285.

¹⁰⁴ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fol. 48v; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fol. 97r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480-1490, fols. 60r-61r.

¹⁰⁵ Jaime Vicens Vives, *Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2007), 600.

¹⁰⁶ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1470-1475, fols. 115v-116r, 153r-155r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fols. 46r-52r, 79r-86v, 153r-155r; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480-1490, fols. 16v-23r, 127r-130v; AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrraga, 321.

¹⁰⁷ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476-1481, fol. 68; AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480-1490, fols. 52r, 152r; AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrraga, 321.

and managing her rights. Many of them were members of families connected to the service or to the Court, who came from the peninsular kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and specialised in economics or justice. Most had experience in different positions: they already had successful careers when they started working for the manor's administration, although this type of role could also act as a stepping stone for their professions.

For example, the Sánchez family were one of the most important *conversos* at Fernando's court.¹⁰⁸ They gained the royal favor for their professional skills in commercial activities, economic offices, and royal treasury management.¹⁰⁹ During the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous they obtained privileges and influence, standing out and promoting their family socially.¹¹⁰ Among the various offices they received were the chancery, the general treasury, and the office of *magister rationalis*: their secret of success was the diversification of the activities and the implication of every member of the family in the affairs of the court. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Lluís Sánchez was Fernando's treasurer, both when he was a prince and when he became King of the Crown of Aragon, and Lluís obtained the office of *procurator* and *receptor* for the kingdom of Sicily,¹¹¹ while his brother Alfonso was made the lieutenant of the general treasurer of the kingdom of Valencia.¹¹² Their two brothers, Guillem and Gabriel, held important positions within the queen's administration in Sicily and Catalonia.

Guillem Sánchez was a businessman who had managed prestigious offices since the first half of the fifteenth century. He was Fernando's master butler when the future King of Aragon went to Valladolid with the purpose of marrying Isabel of

¹⁰⁸ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, conversos were Jews who converted to Catholicism in Spain or Portugal.

¹⁰⁹ María Ángeles Pérez Samper, "Fernando, Isabel, Germana: variaciones del entorno cortesano," in *Poder, sociedad, religión y tolerancia en el mundo hispánico: de Fernando el Católico al siglo XVIII* (Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando el Católico,' 2018), vol. 2, 610.

¹¹⁰ Germán Gamero Igea, "La posición de los oficiales judeoconversos en la corte de Fernando el Católico," *EHumanista/Conversos*, no. 3 (2015): 209.

¹¹¹ ASP, Real Cancellaria, 171, fol. 518.

¹¹² Emilia Salvador Esteban, "Un aragonés en la Valencia de Fernando el Católico: Alfonso Sánchez, lugarteniente de tesorero general," *Aragón en la Edad Media*, no. 20 (2008): 709–721.

Castile.¹¹³ Guillem was very close to the prince and due to his studies and experience was the perfect candidate for the principal position of the Catalan manor, the general *procurator* of the manor of Catalonia. His appointment in 1476 was protested by the council of the city of Tàrrrega, which questioned his eligibility. They doubted he was really a citizen of Tortosa, since he had to reside in the principality in order to administrate the office, like the Constitutions of Catalonia established.¹¹⁴ However, his nomination was confirmed *ad beneplacitum* by the queen a few days later, with a wage reduction for the economic crisis that the Catalan towns were facing.¹¹⁵

The local government put Guillem under pressure again in 1483–1485, building a case against him and the other officers of his court for arresting, interrogating, and collecting taxes when the queen was not in the principality, violating a city's privilege that defined the jurisdictional rights of the *procurator*.¹¹⁶ Around the same time, he participated in the murder of Pedro de Arbués (1485), together with his brothers Gabriel and Alfonso, with the purpose of slowing down the Inquisitorial institutions.¹¹⁷ Once again Guillem, after a long trial, was found innocent and received the confirmation of his position (*procurator*), which he administrated until 1495.¹¹⁸ His expertise in administration of the queen's dower culminated in the office of the King's *magister rationalis*, which was a very prestigious and powerful position he held from 1494 until his death in 1501.¹¹⁹

Guillem's brother Gabriel was appointed *magister secretus* of the manor of Sicily during the short government of Juan II of Aragon and was also confirmed by Isabel of Castile. Gabriel was a loyalist of Fernando and carried out services for the Aragonese king: he ran his general treasury when he was prince of Aragon and King of Sicily, he was lieutenant of the general treasurer of the kingdom of Valencia—in these years his

¹¹³ Vicens Vives, *Historia Crítica*, 614; Zurita, *Anales*, XXVIII, 26.

¹¹⁴ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fol. 1r.

¹¹⁵ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1476–1481, fol. 4.

¹¹⁶ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fols. 108r–109r, 111.

¹¹⁷ Ángel Sesma Muñoz, *Fernando de Aragón: Hispaniarum Rex* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Cultura y Educación, 1992), 166; Salvador Esteban, "Un aragonés en la Valencia," 713.

¹¹⁸ AHCÚ, Llibres de Consell, 1480–1490, fol. 211r.

¹¹⁹ Tomás de Montagut i Estragués, "Notes sobre l'ofici del mestre racional de la cort en el segle XVI," in *Centralismo y autonomismo en los siglos XVI–XVII: homenaje al profesor Jesús Lalinde Abadía* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1990), 273–274.

sibling Alfonso was the official treasurer in charge—and replaced his brother Lluís as general treasurer of the court.¹²⁰ Gabriel, as treasurer of the king, had powerful tasks, managing the cash flow, seizing the debtors' assets, and receiving reports of incomes and expenditures of the kingdom of Sicily.¹²¹ He built up a strong and stable network of relationships, reaching the highest levels of the nobility, and owning the castle of Roccella, with various incomes chargeable to the ports of Agrigento and Palermo.¹²²

Even if Gabriel Sánchez held the office of *magister secretus* of the queen's manor of Sicily, it was only an honorary title and his real tasks were performed by Gaspar de Cervelló and then by Lluís Palau, both from Catalonia. Gaspar de Cervelló administrated the office from March 1471 to 1489.¹²³ He was a business man with commercial and credit connections to the ruling class and a member of a family which served the Crown on several occasions. Guerau Alamán de Cervelló for example was the general governor of Catalonia during the reign of Martín the Humane.¹²⁴ Lluís Palau was an important merchant, who supplied money to the viceroy and the nobles of the island and artillery to Sicily in order to strengthen the defense.¹²⁵ He dealt with the customs of the queen's manor from 1491 (and perhaps before) to 1504 and was

¹²⁰ Salvador Esteban, "Un aragonés en la Valencia," 714–715; Germán Gamero Igea, "El papel del séquito de Fernando el Católico en el sistema cortesano Trastámara," in *Modernidad de España: apertura europea e integración atlántica*, ed. Antonio-Miguel Bernal (Bilbao; Madrid: Iberdrola España; Marcial Pons Historia, 2017), 108.

¹²¹ ASP, Real Cancellaria, 156, fols. 304v–305r, 308v–310r; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "La casa real en la Baja Edad Media," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, no. 25 (1998): 350; Amalia Prieto Cantero, *Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos. Catálogo XXIV del Archivo General de Simancas* (Valladolid: Instituto 'Isabel la Católica' de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969), 311, 347, 361, 459, 502, 517, 557, 562.

¹²² ASP, Real Cancellaria, 147, fols. 57v–59r; ASP, Real Cancellaria, 188, fols. 359v–360v; Germán Gamero Igea, "El modelo administrativo de la corte de Fernando el Católico. Cambios y permanencias en la gestión cortesana de la Corona de Aragón," *e-Spania*, no. 20 (2015), doi:10.4000/e-spania.24234.

¹²³ ASP, Conservatoria del Real Patrimonio, Mercedes, 51, fol. 229 (first mention); ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 135, fol. 66v (last mention).

¹²⁴ Germán Navarro Espinach, "Consejeros influyentes y personas de confianza en el entorno cortesano de los reyes de Aragón (siglos XIII–XV)," in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208–1458: la monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. Ángel Sesma Muñoz (Zaragoza: Grupo de Excelencia de Investigación C.E.M.A, Universidad de Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2010), 160.

¹²⁵ ACA, Reial Cancellaria, 3687, fols. 61v–62r; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 102, fol. 232; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 174, fol. 120; ASP, Real Cancellaria, 181, fols. 220r–221r; ASP, Real Cancellaria, 199, fols. 77r–78v.

officially appointed *magister secretus* for all his life by Germaine of Foix.¹²⁶ He took the possession of the manor in the queen's name when the governor Cárdenas died.¹²⁷

Three judges of appeals of Tàrrega came from the Catholic Kings' inner circle. Antoni Riquer, Francesc Malet, and Jaume Deztorrent were part of the urban oligarchic party of Barcelona that assisted the sovereign in restoring obedience and managing the finances of Barcelona from the 1480s onwards.¹²⁸ Antoni Riquer was a doctor in law and had been a member of Fernando's chancery since 1469; Francesc Malet, native of Vilafranca del Penedès and citizen of Barcelona, was also a doctor in law, judge, fiscal lawyer of his court, and royal *patronus fisci*.¹²⁹ Jaume Deztorrent studied law, was lawyer of the *Batllia general*,¹³⁰ and *Generalitat, conseller en cap* (councillor-in-chief) of the *Consell de Cent* (1479–1484), ambassador of the king (1481–1487), and Catalan consul in Salerno and Castellammare.¹³¹ His political network helped the monarch keep the control of the city of Barcelona until 1490s, when Jaume Deztorrent was involved in several scandals and the King decided to part ways with him.¹³² Nonetheless, Isabel nominated him judge of appeals in 1491, inheriting the office that Antoni Riquer first (in 1473) and then Francesc Malet had administrated until that moment, with the power of replacing the queen's court for the appeal processes or recourses when the ordinary officers of Tàrrega and Vilagrassa had given the judgement.¹³³

¹²⁶ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 104; AGS, Papeles de Estado, Sicilia, 1112, fol. 2r; ASP, Protonotario della Camera reginale, 2, fol. 70v; ASP, Real Cancelleria, 253, fols. 879r–881v.

¹²⁷ ASP, Protonotario del Regno di Sicilia, 174, fol. 179v.

¹²⁸ Carme Batlle i Gallart, "La oligarquia de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV, el partido de Deztorrent," *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, no. 7 (1986): 322–323.

¹²⁹ AHCÚ, Pergamins de Tàrrega, 313; Vicens Vives, *Historia Crítica*, 586, 598.

¹³⁰ The *batlle general* of Catalonia was an officer with various tasks, related to the royal treasury, incomes, taxes and rights.

¹³¹ Jaime Vicens Vives, *Política del Rey Católico en Cataluña* (Barcelona: Destino, 1940), 188–90.

¹³² Jaime Vicens Vives, "Jachme dez Torrent, Ferran II i la modificació del règim municipal de Barcelona," in *Obra dispersa*, ed. Jaime Vicens Vives et al. (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1967), vol. 1, 7, 11; Pere Català i Català i Roca, "Tres consellers en cap de Barcelona imposats pel rei (1490–1492)," in *El Món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de nova planta: XVII Congrés d'Història de La Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), vol. 3, 164.

¹³³ ACA, Reial Cancelleria, 3687, fol. 75v; Sarret i Pons, *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, 418, doc. 7.

The officers of the Crown of Castile and the dower

Since Isabel took control of the manor, we can see a significant presence of new members of the families loyal to the Crown of Castile with the highest positions of that self-sustaining system, well installed throughout the dower's territories. Juan Cárdenas, for example, belonged to a family group very close to the queen. He was Gutierre Cárdenas' son, who was in turn Gonzalo Chacón's nephew. Thanks to Gonzalo Gutierre, he obtained the offices of *maestresala* (food taster) and Isabel's *contador mayor*¹³⁴ when she was an infant; councillor, *comendador mayor* (commander-in-chief) of León; mayor of Toledo, Carmona, Almería, and Chinchilla; la Mota of Medina del Campo; *adelantado mayor*¹³⁵ of Castile, and Lord of Vizcaya.¹³⁶

Due to his special relationship with the future queen of Castile, Juan Cárdenas could personally take part in her prenuptial negotiations and he received many grants and incomes from Juan II of Aragon for these merits.¹³⁷ He took also the office of the infant Juan's master chamberlain, with other financial positions for the infant María. Finally, the queen gave to him huge benefits and privileges as a reward for his loyalty, including the full jurisdiction over the manor of Elx and Crevillent, belonging to her dower.¹³⁸ When Juan Cárdenas died, in 1503, the court provided for the costs of

¹³⁴ High officers of the royal treasury of the Crown of Castile.

¹³⁵ Title held by Spanish nobles in service of their respective kings.

¹³⁶ 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), 404; Francisco Martínez López, *La casa del Príncipe de Asturias: D. Juan, heredero de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2007), 213–214; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real castellana entre 1480 y 1492* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1967), 69, 74, 76; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV* (San Cristóbal de La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1973), 283, 309, 312, 315; María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, *La cancellería castellana de los Reyes Católicos* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1959), 197–200; Alvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La corte de Isabel I: ritos y ceremonias de una reina, 1474–1504* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2002), 62, 135; Gonzalo de Fernández Oviedo, *Libro de la cámara real del príncipe don Juan, oficios de su casa y servicio ordinario* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006), 83.

¹³⁷ John Edwards, *Isabel la Católica: poder y fama*, trans. María de Aránzazu Mayo (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2004), 25; Val Valdivieso, *Isabel la Católica, princesa*, 158.

¹³⁸ García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico*, vol. 53, 108–111; Salazar y Acha, *La casa del rey de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, 404; Martínez López, *La casa del príncipe de Asturias*, 342. When he died, his heir was Diego, his son: ACA, Real Cancellaría, 3687, fol. 144; AHME, Pàgines d'Or, Po-52, Po-45-2; Fernández Oviedo, *Libro de la cámara real del príncipe don Juan*, 193; Prieto Cantero, *Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos*, 517, 527–28; Soterraña Martín Postigo, *La cancellería castellana de los Reyes Católicos*, 201.

his funeral and the testamentary executions.¹³⁹ His son Diego, Duke of Maqueda, *adelantado mayor* of León and infant Juan's master chamberlain and page,¹⁴⁰ had to deliver Gutierre's accounting books to the new *contador mayor*, Álvaro of Portugal.¹⁴¹ Teresa Enríquez, Gutierre's wife, was a member of the most intimate part of Isabel's circle: as a lady, she took advantage of numerous grants, gifts, and benefits and she was at the core of a high level network which increased exponentially when the princess of Castile was proclaimed queen and her domestic environment became an important space of power.¹⁴²

Juan Cárdenas, heir of this family group, was chosen as a *procurator* in order to take possession of the Sicilian manor assigned to Isabel and in 1471 he was appointed governor, holding the office for more than twenty-five years until his death on 30 March 1497.¹⁴³ Usually the queens granted this position *ad beneplacitum*, but in 1477 Juan Cárdenas obtained the office for his entire life, despite the numerous cases of accusations and trials in which he was involved.¹⁴⁴ He received many privileges, too, like gifts for his daughter's wedding, licenses to increase the family possessions in the island, the control of the castle Marquet of Syracuse, and the office of master notary and archivist of the manor.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Prieto Cantero, *Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos*, 108, 112, 345.

¹⁴⁰ Martínez López, *La casa del príncipe de Asturias*, 343, 353, 357; 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* (Seville: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2016), 312.

¹⁴¹ María Concepción Solana Villamor, *Cargos de la casa y corte de los Reyes Católicos* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1962), 57.

¹⁴² Antonio de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: CSIC, 1955), vol. 1, 231–232, 282, 365, 412; vol. 2, 44, 126, 195, 263, 340, 373; Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real castellana entre 1480 y 1492*, 66; Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*, 281; Ángela Muñoz Fernández, “Relaciones femeninas y activación de los mecanismos del privilegio y la merced: la casa de Isabel I de Castilla,” in *Las mujeres y el poder: representaciones y prácticas de vida*, ed. Ana Isabel Cerrada Jiménez and Cristina Segura (Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2000), 124.

¹⁴³ Today we can visit his funeral sarcophagus at the Galleria Regionale (Palazzo Bellomo, Syracuse): Santi Luigi Agnello, “Il sarcofago di Giovanni Cardinas ed il suo documento,” *Archivio Storico Siracusano*, no. 8 (1962): 147–148.

¹⁴⁴ ASP, Real Cancellaria, 139, fols. 257v–258r.

¹⁴⁵ ACA, Reial Cancellaria, 3687, fol. 97; ASP, Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia, 115, fols. 29r–38v, 57r–66v; ASP, Real Cancellaria, 151, fols. 224v–225r; ASP, Real Cancellaria, 158, fols. 171r–177r.

Melchor Maldonado enjoyed the favour of the queen in her lands too, since he was Francisco Fernández Maldonado's son. Francisco was the governor of the castle of Zagra (kingdom of Granada), Ferdinand's *ballestrero mayor* (archer-in-chief), and governor of Loja. The other son of Francisco, Rodrigo, was a doctor in law and leading member of the Catholic Kings' court, acting as captain in the conquest of Granada, councillor and lieutenant of the general treasurer, and *conservator reginalis patrimonii*.¹⁴⁶ His family was loyal to Isabel and actively participated at court, undertaking very important tasks.¹⁴⁷ Melchor was *capitanus armorum reginalis* in the queen's manor of Sicily (1485–1487, 1489–1490) and he tried to weaken Juan Cárdenas' political influence with the purpose of obtaining the position of governor, but, despite of his many attempts, he did not succeed in depriving Juan Cárdenas of his office.

Finally, there was Antón Rodríguez de Lillo, one of the queen's closest officers since the beginning. In 1468 he joined her court and in 1475 took part in the kings' council because of his studies in law.¹⁴⁸ He was also lieutenant of the chancellor in 1481, *oidor de Audiencia*,¹⁴⁹ and *concertador*.¹⁵⁰ In 1471 he received the prestigious position of *conservator reginalis patrimonii* for life,¹⁵¹ becoming Isabel's *procurator* in order to take possession of the lands she obtained in Catalonia, and he acted as an extraordinary *procurator*, administrating justice, collecting, and keeping the incomes.¹⁵² She could not commit this task to someone else, because of the abuse and fraud that this significant flow of money could cause far from her view.

The queen's governmental action was particularly effective thanks to her ability to integrate and forge links and alliances at her husband's court, but it

¹⁴⁶ Prieto Cantero, *Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos*, 119, 298, 329; García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico*, vol. 53, 5–15.

¹⁴⁷ Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real castellana Entre 1480 y 1492*, 95; Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*, 301.

¹⁴⁸ Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 62.

¹⁴⁹ The *oidores* were judges of the royal *Audiencias* and *Chancillerías*, the highest organs of justice in the Crown of Castile.

¹⁵⁰ Soterraña Martín Postigo, *La cancellería castellana de los Reyes Católicos*, 153–154; Solana Villamor, *Cargos de la casa y corte de los Reyes Católicos*, 39–40; Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real castellana entre 1480 y 1492*, 81, 88; Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*, 292. The *concertador* validated the confirmations of the royal charters.

¹⁵¹ AHCU, Pergamins de Tàrrrega, 306.

¹⁵² AHCU, Llibres de Consell, 1470–1475, fol. 65v.

increased when she succeeded in maintaining relationships with the entourage she had in the original environment of Castile. For this reason, Isabel involved those people in the lands she had as a manor.¹⁵³

The link between the family strategies and the monarchs' political programs

The manors of the consorts and, in general, the dowers, sustained the queens' status and their economic expenditures because these incomes allowed revenue diversification, stable administration of their finances and, finally, the maintenance of various ladies, servants, officers, and members of their staff.¹⁵⁴ The splendour of the Court, the ceremonial, and the matronage's activities were the most explicit manifestation of the complexity and the quality of the power emanated by the queen, so all of those elements deserved to be considered.¹⁵⁵ The manors afforded the consort international prestige and the opportunity to reproduce her own power over the most remote places of the kingdom, by creating central and local institutions dependent

¹⁵³ María Narbona Cárcelos, "Agnès de Clèves, princesse de Viane (1439–1448) et l'influence de La Bourgogne à la cour de Navarre," in *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe: le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel: actes du colloque internationale tenu à Paris les 9, 10 et 11 octobre 2007*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Torsten Hiltmann, and Frank Viltart (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013), 649–668; Núria Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship: Maria de Luna, The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 88; Núria Silleras-Fernandez, *María de Luna poder, piedad y patronazgo de una reina bajomedieval* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012), 103; Rachel C. Gibbons, "Isabeau de Bavière, reine de France ou "lieutenant-général" du royaume," in *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 2012), 102.

¹⁵⁴ Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "For the Honor of Her Lineage and Body: The Dowers and Dowries of Some Late Medieval Queens of Portugal," *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, no. 1 (2007): 11; Manuela Santos Silva, "Felipa de Lancáster, la dama inglesa que fue modelo de reginalidad en Portugal (1387–1415)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 206; Monique Sommé, *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne: une femme au pouvoir au XV^e siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1998); Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety, and Patronage*, 139; Silleras-Fernandez, *María de Luna*, 149; Manuela Santos Silva, "Os primórdios da Casa das Rainhas de Portugal," in *Raízes medievais do Brasil moderno* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História; Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa; Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008), 33.

¹⁵⁵ María Narbona Cárcelos, *La corte de Carlos III el Noble, rey de Navarra: espacio doméstico y escenario de poder, 1376–1415* (Barañáin: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2006), 23. For queens consort's matronage activities see the cited bibliography in Martina Del Popolo, "Matronage e potere. Le strategie di governo delle regine consorti dell'Europa medievale alla luce delle prospettive storiografiche dei *Queenship Studies*," in *Potere, governo, opposizione politica e rivendicazioni socio-economiche nell'Europa medievale* (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2021), 155–167.

on her and by linking her interests with the goals of the leading class. Isabel of Castile chose her officers—especially for the economic department—with great care, and decided to rely on the closest families of her environment. These individuals took on complementary tasks at her court or Ferdinand's, which connected them with the inner circle of the monarchy through a combination of loyalty and blood ties.¹⁵⁶

At the same time, these ruling groups used the manors to exert their influence, obtain benefits, and maintain their status, tending to internalise the offices and adapting to the different local contexts.¹⁵⁷ The elites controlled the political decision process thanks to the possession and the accumulation of the positions, strategically placing members of their family group in the central and peripheral structures and building a dense network beyond the national frontiers.¹⁵⁸ The queen promoted the rise of the urban patricianship ennobled by the possession of public offices and a group of lawyers, jurists, notaries, and big merchants with important positions, who were able to act as a binding force among the territories.¹⁵⁹

Above all, Isabel preferred the officers who came from the Crown of Castile and Ferdinand's followers, installed in Sicily and Catalonia with prestigious positions, encouraging the internationalization of their families. If, on the one hand, they integrated in another country, on the other these officers remained extremely connected to their home countries.¹⁶⁰ Thanks to this transnational experience, the

¹⁵⁶ Jaspert and Echevarría, "El ejercicio del poder," 8.

¹⁵⁷ Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 30; Costa Gomes, *A corte dos reis de Portugal*, 216; Juan Antonio Bonachía Hernando and Juan Carlos Martín Cea, "Oligarquías y poderes concejiles en la Castilla bajomedieval: balance y perspectivas," *Revista d'història Medieval*, no. 9 (1998): 28; Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Origen bajomedieval de la patrimonialización y la enajenación de oficios públicos en Castilla* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 1970), 141; Alexander Brondarbit, "Political Power-Brokers in the Fifteenth-Century English Royal Household," in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 205.

¹⁵⁸ Giovanni Muto, "La nobleza napolitana en el contexto de la monarquía hispánica: algunos planteamientos," in *Las redes del imperio: élites sociales en la articulación de la monarquía hispánica, 1492-1714* (Madrid: Ediciones de Historia, 2009), 144.

¹⁵⁹ Agnello, "Urbs fidelissima. Il governo di Siracusa durante la Camera reginale (1282-1536)," 28; Barna, "Il caricatore di Brucoli," 240.

¹⁶⁰ Pietro Corrao, "La centralità della dimensione mediterranea nella costruzione dell'Europa medievale: circolazione e sistemi di relazioni," in *Civiltà del Mediterraneo: interazioni grafiche e culturali attraverso libri, documenti, epigrafi* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2018), 55.

prestige of their families increased, enriched by titles, assignments, grants, and clients acquired abroad, where new branches of the lineage were growing.

This human capital comprised of officers, nobles, soldiers, and merchants, absorbing the experiences and the abilities in various territories, added value to the municipalities of the manor and sometimes performed their functions with new methods and procedures, building bridges between different normative systems and traditions. The highest positions of the seignory were chosen among the member of a group of confidants very close to both sovereigns, with the best accounting and financial skills learnt at Castilian and Aragonese courts, providing new governance tools and organizational quality to the queen's administration. In the courtier system of the Catholic Kings there were no servants of the king or the queen, but of both.¹⁶¹ Once again, we see that the queen and her officials created a sort of symbiotic mechanism that ensured mutual benefits for all involved parties.¹⁶² These men were part of political groups that supported Isabel and Ferdinand's programs and their consolidated partnership. Their intention was to reduce the uncontrolled power of the lineages previously promoted by the monarchy, creating a new party of allies of the Crown.¹⁶³ The sovereigns helped urban patricianship and the most loyal courtiers in order to create a group capable of realizing their political plans with regards to their education and especially their personal and family contacts, extended beyond the frontiers of the huge territory that the monarchs governed.

¹⁶¹ Germán Gamero Igea, "Royal Household and Political Parties: The Configuration of Ferdinand the Catholic's Entourage in Castile (1469-1516)," in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 298.

¹⁶² Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la Reina*, 19.

¹⁶³ Simona Giurato, *La Sicilia di Ferdinando il Cattolico: tradizioni politiche e conflitto tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (1468-1523) (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003), 67; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *España en 1492* (Madrid: Hernando, 1978), 110.