



***The Households of the Princesses:
Service and Representation Through
the First Household of Infanta Leonor
of Aragon (1366–1375)***

Diana Pelaz Flores



The Households of the Princesses: Service and Representation through the first Household of *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon (1366–1375)¹

Diana Pelaz Flores

UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Abstract: The court service of queens and *infantas* demonstrates the complexity and changing nature of its composition over time. These are not only changes brought about by the needs of the service itself, but also by political issues, family alliances, and questions of representation. The courtly customs of each kingdom generate a particular identity, while at the same time offering protection to their caregivers and safeguarding the interests of their kingdom of origin. This paper looks at the particular case of the entourage that accompanied Leonor of Aragon on her first trip to Castile (1366), to celebrate the entry into the kingdom of Enrique of Trastamara, and his subsequent coronation. This episode was selected because it combines the incorporation of the *Infanta* into the entourage of her future mother-in-law, Juana Manuel de Villena, long before her marriage, and also because it reveals the strength of the political and military interests of her father, King Pedro IV of Aragon. As the *Infanta* was an eight-year-old maid, the role of her officers and servants is key, due to the tasks they performed and the decisions they took to protect the *Infanta* and the image of the Crown of Aragon.

Keywords: Leonor of Aragon; *Infanta*'s household; courteous service; female networks; Crown of Aragon

¹ This work was supported by “Espacios femeninos cortesanos: Ámbitos curiales, relaciones territoriales y prácticas políticas” [PI: Diana Pelaz Flores, PGC2018-099205-A-C22], a research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, the Agencia Estatal de Investigación, and the European Regional Development Fund.

Although her period as queen of Castile barely lasted three years—between 29 May 1379, after the death of Enrique II, and her own death during the birth of her second son on 13 August 1382—Leonor of Aragon's connection with Castile had begun more than a decade earlier. Her first contact with the neighbouring kingdom came when she was only eight years old. It was a stay that could have been definitive, but which ended up being only a brief encounter with the Castilian court. She would not meet the Castilian royal family again until she was seventeen years old and the marriage agreement with the *Infante* Juan of Castile was signed.

Leaving the parental home could take place after the age of *pueritia* (seven-fourteen years) and last well into the second decade of a child's life. Although it could be a difficult experience for an adult, it became a real rite of passage for young maidens, as it was a time of profound changes in their personalities and the creation of their individual identities. The curial service of the future queen could be more influential at her husband's court or, on the contrary, more receptive to the apparatus and customs of her host environment, depending on the political circumstances. The case of the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon is of great interest in this respect; on the one hand, because of the crucial role played by her father, King Pedro IV of Aragon, in the accession to the throne of Enrique II of Trastámara and, on the other, because of the closeness that the *Infanta* could show to the Castilian royal family. The support provided by Pedro IV of Aragon sheltered Juana Manuel, first Countess of Trastámara and later Queen of Castile, together with her children, during the most difficult moments of the Trastámara cause. At the same time, the *Infanta* Leonor's first journey brought her into early contact with the territory and court apparatus of the Crown of Castile.

In order to understand the formation and evolution of the household of a young *infanta*, the present study aims to approach the composition and social profile of the first retinue of Leonor of Aragon outside her court of origin. It will also propose, as far as possible, to study the connections with the court of Pedro IV and Leonor of Sicily. In this way, it will be possible to learn about their parents' role in the creation of the *Infanta*'s protective circle, as well as their capacity to have an impact on the Castilian court. Finally, the aim is to observe the interconnected evolution of court

customs and habits in the Iberian Peninsula through the women who served as liaisons between two reigning families.

“The households of the princesses”: A necessary and (almost) invisible service

Leonor of Aragon was the youngest daughter of Pedro IV of Aragon (r. 1344–1387) and his third wife, Queen Leonor of Sicily (r. 1349–1375). After two brief marriages marked by the absence of a male heir, in the first case,² and the arrival of the Black Death, in the second,³ Pedro IV found in Queen Leonor a true support for his political agenda.⁴ In addition to ensuring dynastic continuity, Leonor of Sicily was lieutenant of the kingdom, maintained a royal chamber like no other Aragonese queen, and played an active role in international diplomacy.⁵

Queen Leonor already had two sons when she became pregnant with her third and last child, the *Infanta* Leonor.⁶ She was born in the castle of El Puig de Santa Maria (Valencia) on 20 February 1358.⁷ Months earlier, Leonor of Sicily had travelled from

² The absence of male offspring led Pedro IV to the appointment as heiress of his eldest daughter, the *infanta* Constanza. The king's decision led to the outbreak of the War of the Union (1347–1348). Although the causes were related to bad harvests and the authoritarianism attributed to the king, the election of the *Infanta* Constanza as heir was the trigger used by the nobility and the cities of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia to rise up against the monarchy. Vicent Baydal, *Els orígens de la revolta de la Unió al regne de València (1330–1348)* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013).

³ Francisco Saulo Rodríguez Lajusticia, “Los documentos de Leonor de Portugal, reina de Aragón (1347–1348), contenidos en su único registro cancilleresco,” *Santander. Estudios de Patrimonio* 2 (2019): 241–284.

⁴ Sebastian Roebert, *Die Königin im Zentrum der Macht: Reginale Herrschaft in der Krone Aragón am Beispiel Eleonores von Sizilien (1349–1375)* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2020).

⁵ Lledó Ruiz Domingo, “Del quam tenim lloch. Leonor de Sicilia y el origen de la lugartenencia femenina en la Corona de Aragón,” *Medievalismo. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* 27 (2017): 303–326. Lledó Ruiz Domingo, *El Trésor de la Reina. Recursos i gestió econòmica de les reines consorts a la Corona d'Aragó (segles XIV–XV)* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2022), 120–127 and 173–188.

⁶ The *Infante* Juan was born in Perpignan, while the *Infante* Martín was born in Girona. Between the two births, the queen had lost another son when she accompanied Pedro IV to the island of Sardinia to put down the revolt of the judge of Arborea, Mariano IV. Her precautions taken to try to bring the birth to a successful conclusion were unsuccessful, although she was accompanied by the midwife Solera, who had previously been in her service. Lledó Ruiz Domingo, “El precio de ser itinerante. Viajes, acompañamiento y espacios cortesanos de la reina Leonor de Sicilia (r. 1349–1375),” *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 39, no. 2 (2021): 35–36.

⁷ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón. Los cinco libros postreros de la Primera parte* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Pedro Lanaja y Lamarca, 1668), Second part, 291. The similarity between the name of the municipality (El Puig de Santa Maria) and that of the monastery of the Order of Mercy (Santa Maria del

Perpignan to the city of Valencia. She had also ordered the midwife Constanza to travel from Perpignan to attend her delivery.⁸ The itinerancy of the queen's court continued to be a key element in the governance of the kingdom, and it was set in motion again shortly after the birth of the *Infanta*, this time to Barcelona.⁹ The queen had a litter built for her daughter by the Valencian craftsman Vidal Auger, with a "royal cover" of red cloth, which cost 300 *sueldos* and 8 *dineros*.¹⁰

Mother and daughter spent the following months in Barcelona, while preparations were being finalised for the wedding of the *Infanta* Isabel of Mallorca to the Marquis Juan de Montferrato.¹¹ During these months, the service of the *Infanta* Leonor was organised under the queen's care and within her curial environment.¹² For example, wet nurses were paid for.¹³ The wet nurse also became a liaison between different members of the queen's household.¹⁴ Barthomena, wife of Gonzalo Pérez, an inhabitant of Valencia, was the wet nurse of a daughter of Ramón Nebot, at the same

Puig), located in the same place, led to an error in the identification of the birthplace of the *infanta* by Carlos de Ayala: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/11977/leonor-de-aragon>

⁸ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Maestre Racional (MR), Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 43v. 1358, January-February.

⁹ The displacement of the king's daughters at an early age were also a constant in the English court, as in that of Edward I. Kelcey Wilson-Lee, *Daughters of Chivalry. The forgotten Children of Edward I* (London: Picador, 2019), 37–38.

¹⁰ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 57v. 1358, January-February.

¹¹ Zurita, *Anales*, 291.

¹² Maternal influence played a key role in the *Infanta's* household organisation, as shown by the example of Queen Blanca of Navarre in the Princess Blanca's *Hostal*: Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, "Una infanta de Navarra en la Corte de Castilla: Escenarios políticos en torno a la configuración y evolución del hostel y la Casa de Blanca de Trastámara, princesa de Asturias (1424- †1464)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III Historia Medieval* 34 (2021): 121–122.

¹³ For more information about the wet nurse of the *Infante* Martin, see: ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 44r. 1358, May. On the extraordinary social and symbolic value of wet nurses in the Crown of Aragon, see also: M^a del Carmen García Herrero and Cristina Pérez Galán, "Salaried Mothers: Breastfeeding and Rearing Infants in the Kingdom of Aragon," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 11, no. 2 (2017): 3–21.

¹⁴ The favourable references provided by members of the court or royal physicians offered a guarantee for the recruitment of the wet nurse, something that was still evident in the French court in the Modern Eras. Pascale Mormiche, "De la grossesse à la naissance: le calendrier et le cérémonial (1638-1789)," in *Naissance et petite enfance à la cour de France. Moyen Âge-XIX^e siècle*, dir. Pascale Mormiche and Stanis Perez (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 47–77.

time that his wife, Peirona de Vinatea, was the wet nurse of the *Infanta* Leonor.¹⁵ Ramón Nebot, deputy chancellor and advisor to the king, was one of the officials close to the *Infantes* Martin and Leonor in their early years. This process of breastfeeding is very unusual, but it is coherent. The need to find a well-to-do woman to feed the infant daughter led to a search among the women in the queen's entourage who had just become mothers. At the same time, this woman needed a wet nurse for her own daughter, so the Queen assumed another expense in her entourage: the payment of the wet nurse for her lady-in-waiting, who became the *infanta's* wet nurse. It was a way of valuing the special service performed for the royal family.¹⁶

The birth of a new member of the royal family required supervision and care.¹⁷ The *Infanta's* caregiver had her own chambermaid and a slave at her service.¹⁸ This responsibility, intimately linked to the mother figure, led to the provision of an embryonic household for the *Infanta*, which was to increase over the following years. Childhood was a period shared between *infantes* and *infantas*, which justified a shared service and custody based on a single organisational system.¹⁹ The heir prince's household was of particular importance because of the responsibility it would have in the future when the prince became king.²⁰ The king himself was concerned with the appointments of the people who would accompany him from childhood onwards,

¹⁵ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 58v. 1358, January-February.

¹⁶ Victoria Béguelin-Argimón, "Del regimiento que se ha de tener en dar leche al niño: lactancia, madres y amas en los primeros tratados castellanos de puericultura," in *La leche polifónica. Estudios sobre las nodrizas en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIII-XVI)*, coord. Sophie Hirel and Hélène Thieulin-Pardo (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2021), 17–34.

¹⁷ Children's health became a matter of interest in family letters. A few months after *Infanta* Leonor's birth, Leonor of Sicily wrote to her brother, Federico of Sicily, and informed him of the good health of her sons and daughter. ACA, Real Cancillería (RC), Reg. 1567, fol. 54v. 1358, 28 October. Barcelona.

¹⁸ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 79r. 1358, May.

¹⁹ Samuel Mareel, "The Habsburg children household at the Court of Cambrai in Mechelen," in *Renaissance children. Art and education at the Habsburg court (1480-1530)*, ed. Samuel Mareel (Tiel: Lannoo Publishers, 2021), 13–15.

²⁰ Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, "La casa del príncipe Miguel: configuración estructural, dimensión institucional y vida cotidiana en la corte del heredero de Castilla, Aragón y Portugal (1498-1500)," in *La corona y sus servidores. Individualidades, instituciones y estructuras curiales en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media (ca. 1340-1516)*, coord. Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2021), 305–310.

as this was also a political responsibility.²¹ Although the care of the rest of his children was also relevant, its political weight cannot be compared. In this sense, the normality with which Leonor of Sicily organised the households of the *infantes* Martin and Eleanor shows how in tune the royal couple were with each other. It is a household that is endowed immediately after its birth, appointing the main officers of the court service, as part of a strategy of legitimisation and demonstration of the weight of some important members of the most important court lineages. Furthermore, the needs of the *infantes* due to the similarity of their ages explain the possibility of keeping a single household together, under the supervision of the queen.

The model of a “united household” for several *infantes* and *infantas* facilitated management and organisation for the court bureaucracy, until their needs were diversified and individualised when the children grew older. For example, the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon’s household was included within the household of her brother, the *Infante* Martin, and the Countess Maria de Luna.²² Leonor’s household was constituted by order of Pedro IV on 8 August 1358 to be organised alongside that of the *Infante* Martín.²³ The provisioning of the household was entrusted to Joan Sánchez de Fababuix, buyer and pantry keeper. He was to provide the infants with their food, clothing, footwear, and other necessities. He also had to pay the domestic servants and relatives of the household for their services on a daily (*raciones*) and monthly basis (*quitaciones*) according to their trade. The expenditure invested in the upkeep of the *Infantes*’ household was estimated at 12,000 Barcelona *sueudos*, a figure given to Fababuix by order of Queen Leonor.²⁴ This was a not inconsiderable amount, although it was reduced by half at the end of 1365 to 6,000 Barcelona *sueudos*. It seems that the “great missions” justifying this increased expenditure were no longer being undertaken “for certain reasons” not specified in the documentation.²⁵

²¹ Diana Pelaz Flores, “Hacedoras de reyes. Influencia materna y conciencia reginal sobre el príncipe heredero en la Castilla Trastámara,” *De Medio Aevo* 14, (2020): 32–33.

²² ACA, RC, Reg. 1567, fol. 130v. 1359, 14 September. Barcelona. On the Maria de Luna’s household and her servants, see: Núria Silleras-Fernández, *Power, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval Queenship. Maria de Luna* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 141–149.

²³ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 645, fol. 53v.

²⁴ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 481, fol. 79v. 1362, 14 October.

²⁵ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 487, fol. 101r. 1365, 1 December.

The *Infanta* Leonor's household remained united with that of the *Infante* Martin until 1362. It was then that it began to be managed together with the household of the *Infante* Alfonso and the Countess Maria de Luna, before becoming independent after the death of the *Infante* in 1365.²⁶ The *Infanta* had reached the age of seven, an age that marked a change in the training and education of the individual in the Middle Ages. This was the beginning of *pueritia*, characterised by the acquisition of greater individual awareness and the assimilation of new responsibilities. It was an intermediate period, after childhood (*infantia*) and before reaching adolescence (*adolescentia*). This last period coincided with the moment when she could enter marriage or the government of the kingdom, according to the Roman legal doctrine, still in effect during the Middle Ages.²⁷

The officials of the Queen's household were actively involved in providing everything necessary for the *Infanta* after her birth. The Queen was responsible for her clothing, food, state of health, and the necessary travelling equipment. For example, she paid 362 Barcelona *sueudos* and 8 *dineros* to her stableman, Pere González de Milla, for a number of litters for the *Infanta*'s first journey from Valencia to Barcelona and Perpignan.²⁸ Her Chamberlain, Artal de Foces,²⁹ frequently bought velvet cloths, linen for shirts, shirtsleeves, and stockings for the *Infanta* Leonor, as well as for the *Infanta* Juana of Aragon and the Countess Maria de Luna.³⁰ Pere de Vallerena, the Queen's tailor, also carried out various commissions for the *Infanta*.³¹

²⁶ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 486, fol. 89r-89v. 1365; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 487, fol. 53v. 1365.

²⁷ The canonical age for marriage used to be advanced in royalty and nobility, as reflected in the English case. Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens. Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36–42.

²⁸ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 57v. 1358.

²⁹ Artal II de Foces is very relevant in the court framework. Thanks to his service to Queen Leonor, his wife, Sibilla de Fortiá, will arrive at court. After being a lover of Pedro IV, Sibilla will become his fourth wife, despite the discontent of the king's children. Joseph M^a Roca, "La Reyna Empordanesa," in *Sobiranes de Catalunya: recull de monografies històriques* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 1928), 14–15.

³⁰ There are also payments of the coffers ordered to store the belongings of the Chamber of the *Infanta*. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 80v. 1367, April.

³¹ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 91v-92r. 1358; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 474, fol. 99r-99v. 1358; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 486, fol. 57r. 1365; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 85v. 1367, April; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 490,

The Queen's physicians were also at her disposal, including Joan de Fulgineo, "doctor of physic" (*metge de física*).³²

The dependence on the Queen's household was unquestionable from various points of view. The collaboration of her officials, the organisation and supervision of the *Infanta's* household by the Queen, and the absence of her own treasurer corroborate this. The first stage of Leonor of Aragon's life, when she was seven years old, not only gave greater importance to her court environment, but also coincided with her first political and diplomatic action: her first trip to Castile. The *Infanta* Leonor became the ideal instrument for the designs of King Pedro IV of Aragon, triumphant after the entry and coronation of Enrique II of Trastamara in Castile.

Vital necessity, political necessity. The gestation of the Leonor of Aragon's household

During the first months of 1366, the Count of Trastamara's bid for the throne reached the zenith of its popularity against Pedro I of Castile (r. 1350–1369). The nobility remained at odds with King Pedro for having abandoned his legitimate wife, Blanca of Bourbon. Many of the Castilian cities had declared their support for the Queen.³³ However, as François Foronda has pointed out, this was a mechanism to try to control the will of King Pedro and make him submit to a model of government more centred on the pact with the nobility to the detriment of private individuals and the royal will.³⁴ Dissatisfaction with Pedro I had been led by Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque. After Juan Alfonso's death in 1354, the sons of Alfonso IV of Aragon and his second

fol. 63r. 1367, August; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 494, fols. 55r, 67v, and 106v-107r. 1369, August.

³² ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 96v. 1366.

³³ Ángela Muñoz Fernández, "Poder, influencia y acción política femenina. A propósito de las mujeres de Toledo y el "fecho de la reina doña Blanca de Borbón" (1352-1356)," in *Mujeres e historia* (Valladolid: Instituto Universitario de Historia Simancas, 2016), 45–88.

³⁴ François Foronda, *Privauté, Gouvernement et souveraineté. Castille, XIIIe-XIVe siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2020), 164–170. The issuance of documents by the chancellery also marked the communicative pattern maintained by King Pedro, marked by continuity with respect to the government of his father, King Alfonso XI: François Foronda, "La semiótica del libro de ley sellado. Los manuscritos del Ordenamiento de Alcalá (1348-1351)," in *Comunicación y conflicto en la cultura política peninsular. Siglos XIII al XV*, coord. José Manuel Nieto Soria and Óscar Villarroel González, (Madrid: Sílex, 2018), 347–350.

wife, Queen Leonor of Castile, as well as Enrique, Count of Trastamara, assumed this leadership. Their union was intended to bring about the collapse of Pedro I's government and thus the legitimacy of his rights to the throne, but their political supporters also played a key role.³⁵

The legitimacy to the throne of the sons of Leonor of Castile, Queen of Aragon (r. 1329–1359), was solid: they were the sons of a Castilian *infanta* and were known in the kingdom for having to leave Aragon because of their mother's bad relations with the new king, Pedro IV. King Pedro was wary of his half-siblings because of the possibility of an uprising in his Aragonese possessions.³⁶ The other candidate, Enrique of Trastamara, was the son of Alfonso XI of Castile (r. 1301–1350), half-brother of Pedro I of Castile. However, he was the king's illegitimate son, having been born from his relationship with Leonor de Guzman. Leonor's position as the king's mistress had given her great power and made her sons some of the leading territorial lords of the Crown of Castile.³⁷

As the eldest son of Alfonso XI and Leonor de Guzman, Enrique of Trastamara was best placed to lead his family's animosity against the king. Moreover, unlike the sons of the widowed Queen Leonor of Castile, he had placed himself under the orders of Pedro IV of Aragon in his conflict against Pedro I.³⁸ Although it was an unequal

³⁵ Covadonga Valdaliso Casanova, *Historiografía y legitimación dinástica. Análisis de la crónica de Pedro I de Castilla* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010).

³⁶ Alejandra Recuero Lista, "Doña Leonor: infanta castellana, reina aragonesa y elemento de discordia en las relaciones castellano-aragonesas en la primera mitad del siglo XIV," *Estudios medievales hispánicos* 2 (2013): 221–240. Mario Lafuente Gómez, *Dos Coronas en guerra. Aragón y Castilla (1356–1366)* (Zaragoza: Grupo de Investigación consolidado CEMA–Universidad de Zaragoza, 2012), 24–27.

³⁷ Leonor de Guzmán belonged to the powerful Guzmán lineage, which granted important support to her offspring. M^a Jesús Fuente Pérez, *Retrato de Reina sin Corona. Ensayo sobre Leonor de Guzmán* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2021).

³⁸ This struggle, known as the War of the Two Pedros, was focused on the conquest by Castile of border territories given in the fourteenth century by King Fernando IV to Aragon (Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, "Una etapa de autoritarismo," in *Historia de España en la Edad Media*, Vicente Á. Álvarez Palenzuela, ed. (Barcelona: Ariel, 2011), 655). Years later, King Pedro IV of Aragon would offer his support to Enrique of Trastamara in exchange for the Count's promise to hand over the Kingdom of Murcia and other frontier places (Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *Entre la paz y la guerra: la Corona catalano-aragonesa y Castilla en la Baja Edad Media* (Barcelona: Institución Milá y Fontanals, Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 2005), 413). On the War of the Two Pedros, see Mario Lafuente Gómez, *Un Reino en Armas. La guerra de los Dos Pedros en Aragón (1356–1366)* (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico, 2014).

relationship with many ups and downs—even after he became King of Castile under the name of Enrique II—the support of the King of Aragon was decisive in maintaining the Trastámara cause until the end of the Castilian Civil War (1366–1369).³⁹

Under the protection of Pedro IV, Enrique de Trastámara arranged for his wife, Juana Manuel de Villena, to be guarded in the castle of Opoul-Perillòs,⁴⁰ in the county of Roussillon,⁴¹ after being released from her imprisonment by Pedro I in 1356.⁴² The King of Aragon acted as godfather to the first-born son of the Count of Trastámara, born in Aragonese territory; and the marriage of the latter to the youngest daughter of the King of Aragon, the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon, was arranged.⁴³ Their marriage agreement was made in the early stages of the Castilian Civil War, at a point when a three-year conflict could not have been anticipated.

In January 1366 the entry into Castile of the Count of Trastámara was already being organised with armed troops from Aragon.⁴⁴ The warm welcome given to the Count of Trastámara's entry into Castile heralded a short-lived confrontation. In fact, on Easter Sunday 1366 the Count was crowned in the monastery of Las Huelgas Reales in Burgos as Enrique II (r. 1366/1369–1379). His crowning could remember this same

³⁹ Mario Lafuente Gómez, “Demasiados enemigos. Hacia una nueva lectura de la relación entre Pedro IV de Aragón y Enrique de Trastámara (1356–1375),” in *Diplomacia y desarrollo del Estado en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV–XV)*, ed. Concepción Villanueva Morte (Gijón: Trea, 2021), 43–54.

⁴⁰ Pedro IV ordered that the Countess Juana and all her accompaniment be well received and hosted. ACA, RC, Reg. 1214, fol. 4r. 1366, 3 February. Tarragona.

⁴¹ ACA, RC, Reg. 1214, fol. 39r. 1366, 6 March. Zaragoza.

⁴² Pedro López de Ayala, *Crónica de Pedro I. Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Eugenio de Llaguno e Amirola (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio de Sancha, 1779), year 1356, chap. II, 209. Juana Manuel was at the side of Queen Maria of Portugal, mother of Pedro I of Castile, when she rebelled against her son. She had fortified herself in the fortress of Toro, along with other noble women and men in her service. The King of Castile had the people who supported his mother expelled from the castle; the men were murdered on the bridge in front of the fortress and the women imprisoned. The King's mother was sent to Portugal, along with her paternal family. About the complexity of the feminine movements adopted in front of the king, see: Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “Redes femeninas en la corte castellana: María de Portugal (1313–1357),” *La Corónica. A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 45, no. 2 (2017): 165–186.

⁴³ Stefano Cingolani, *Pere III el Cerimoniós. Epistolari* (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2019), doc. 83, 150.

⁴⁴ ACA, RC, Reg. 1214, fol. 2v. 1366, 31 January. Tarragona.

ritual developed by his father, King Alfonso XI of Castile.⁴⁵ However, Enrique's coronation was related with his need to legitimize himself as new king. As soon as the news was known in Aragon, a rapid exchange of letters began.⁴⁶ Preparations were made to organise a lavish retinue to guide Juana Manuel to Castile, where she would receive the honours of a queen.⁴⁷ Pedro IV paid for the entertainment for Juana Manuel's retinue as it passed through the main cities of Catalonia and Aragon. Among other expenses, he also paid for rich vestments for Juana Manuel and her daughter, the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon, as well as giving gifts to some of the officials in her entourage.⁴⁸

The new queen of Castile was to be magnificently accompanied, along with her children, the *infantes* Juan and Leonor. The new royal family did not participate in the crowning ceremony, celebrated two months before their arrival to Castile. However, this was when the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon became a key player. Although she was only eight years old and her household had been formed independently only a year earlier, it was decided that she should travel to Castile to take part in a moment of political triumph. Her presence in the retinue of Queen Juana Manuel demonstrated the support of Pedro IV and at the same time allowed a group of members of the Aragonese royal entourage to gain first-hand knowledge of the Castilian situation.

A first contact: Transferring the Aragonese service to Castile

More than fifty people accompanied *Infanta* Leonor after Enrique II's entry into Burgos and his subsequent coronation.⁴⁹ The triumphant moment for the Trastámara

⁴⁵ King Alfonso XI crowned himself, but the documentation about Enrique's crowning does not provide information on the steps of the ritual. Jaume Aurell, *Medieval Self-Coronations: The History and Symbolism of a Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 236.

⁴⁶ In addition to the epistolary contacts of Pedro IV, Queen Leonor of Sicily also wrote to Juana Manuel to inform her of the coronation of Enrique II. ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 488, fol. 67v. 1366, March.

⁴⁷ Diana Pelaz Flores, "Crowning the queen: staging legitimacy and the coronation ritual in fourteenth-century Castile," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 13, no. 1 (2021): 79–86.

⁴⁸ Specifically, 25 gold florins for the crossbowmen of the Queen of Castile. ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 532, fol. 151r. 1366, 27 June. Zaragoza.

⁴⁹ The number of officers and the diversification of their responsibilities grew in parallel with the age of the *Infanta*, but even in her first years of life a large group of people could accompany her. The trip from Pamplona to Olite of Maria de Navarra, daughter of Carlos II and Jeanne de Valois, when she was

cause and Pedro IV of Aragon favoured the support of his preponderance through royal kinship and, more specifically, through the female members of the lineage. The retinue that accompanied Juana Manuel to Castile to meet her husband and be received as queen was the ideal moment to promote an image of unity of the new reigning family as a whole.⁵⁰ *Infanta* Leonor joined the retinue of the new queen of Castile as one of her maids, but her status required appropriate accompaniment. The departments corresponding to the organisation of the Household (*Palau*), the defence and protection of the body and access to the *Infanta*, and the Chamber (*Cambra*) were the departments with the greatest representation. Although incipiently, there were some officials related to the *Infanta's* chancellery.⁵¹ Nor was there any lack of clergymen to provide her with spiritual support and advice from the chapel.⁵²

approximately 5 years old, indicates this. Nelly Ongay, “El Hostal de la Infanta María (1365-1366),” *Príncipe de Viana* 64, no. 228 (2003): 148–149.

⁵⁰ Queen Juana Manuel would become a very close support for *Infanta* Leonor from this time, although other people could act as an authentic maternal reference, such as her wet nurse or Leonor of Sicily's ladies-in-waiting who accompanied her. The relation between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law should be defined by respect and cordiality, even if it was more political than truly affective. M^a del Carmen García Herrero, “Un tiempo de añoranza y aprendizaje: María de Castilla y sus primeros años en la Corona de Aragón,” *Storie delle donne* 9, no. 1 (2013): 108–111.

⁵¹ Pedro IV was known as the “Ceremonious King” in the Aragonese historiography. His attention to the ceremonies, symbolism and political communication in court apparatus was reflected in the *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort* (ed. Francisco M. Gimeno et al. (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009). The king himself had it written and directly supervised. It is understandable that the *Infanta* Leonor's household was prepared with the same care.

⁵² Although with variations, the structure of the *Infanta* Leonor's household is very similar to that of other later *infantas*, such as that of *Infanta* Juana de Aragón in the fifteenth century. Irene Velasco Marta, “De la infancia a la juventud: el entorno social de la infanta Juana de Aragón a través de su libro de cuentas (1469-1472),” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 50, no. 1 (2020): 512–515.

Article: *The Households of the Princesses: Service and Representation Through the First Household of Infanta Leonor of Aragon (1366–1375)*

Household

Steward (*Majordomo*)

Infanta's Stables	Table	Kitchen
Stableman	Chief Cupbearer	Housekeeper (<i>Sobrecoch</i>)
Mule driver	Wine Steward (<i>Boteller</i>)	Supplier (<i>Comprador</i>)
Second mule driver (2)	Second Wine Steward	Second supplier (<i>Sotescomprador</i>)
<i>Ander</i> (3)	(<i>Sotesboteller</i>)	Baker (<i>Panicer</i>)
	Wine Steward's Assistant	Second baker
	Carver (<i>Tallador</i>)	Assistant baker
	<i>Porter de maza</i> (2)	Pastry chef (<i>Pastador</i>)
		Cook (<i>Cuyner</i>)

Chancellery

Secretary
Scribe
Daily Scribe's Lieutenant

Chamber

Master Chamberlain

Second chamberlain

Head of supplies	Physician	Silversmith	Chamber	Wet Nurse	Chief Porter
Second of supplies		Tailor	assistant (2)	Lady-in-	Porter
Assistant of supplies		Second Tailor		waiting (2)	
Silver Cleaner (<i>Lavador de la plata</i>)		<i>Falder</i>			

Chapel

Almoner	Chapel Choirboy (<i>Escolá de capilla</i>)	Confessor
---------	---	-----------

Table 1. Composition of the Infanta Leonor of Aragon's Household in 1366

In any event, there were significant absences. Despite the refined tastes of her parents, who had numerous minstrels and musicians in their service, there is no mention of them among the *Infanta's* entourage in Castile.⁵³ Perhaps most surprising is the limited number of female staff, with only three women mentioned in the documentation.

The female entourages of queens or other great ladies of Europe became true “republics” of female empowerment, in the words of Zita Eva Rohr, both from a collaborative point of view, towards their families, and for themselves, if they obtained the king’s favour.⁵⁴ Moreover, the female entourage transferred the organisation that each territory had within that department to the chamber, with the Crown of Aragon being particularly elaborate in the late Middle Ages. For example, the female retinue in Castile grouped together noblewomen, damsels, and maidens, in turn hierarchised according to their marital status and age.⁵⁵ The female entourage in Aragon, nevertheless, was more complex. It was made up of “noble damsels” (*noblas donas*), who corresponded to the same categories as the Castilian chamber, but each one of them had her own accompaniment and service.⁵⁶ Servants included a

⁵³ These types of officers are a clear symptom of distinction, tastes, and uses of the original court, as well as of cultural identity. According to the documentation preserved around the daughters of Isabella I of Castile, they are one of the earliest positions recorded at her service. In their case, the musicians accompanied them on their trips to the courts of Portugal, Burgundy, or England. Diana Pelaz Flores, “Aprendiendo el oficio de reinar. Formación cultural e infancia de las hijas de Isabel la Católica,” *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes* 20 (2020): <https://doi.org/10.4000/atalaya.4906>. Interestingly, neither in the Prince Miguel de la Paz’s household were singers, organists, or tailors documented, despite being common in court service, even amongst its young members. M^a del Cristo González Marrero, *La Casa de Isabel la Católica. Espacios domésticos y vida cotidiana* (Ávila: Fundación Gran Duque de Alba, 2005), 93–101.

⁵⁴ Zita Eva Rohr, “Rocking the Cradle and Ruling the World: Queens’ Households in Late Medieval and Early Modern Aragon and France,” in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. More than Just a Castle*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Leyden-Boston: Brill, 2018), 310.

⁵⁵ The female retinue was understood as a space for training and learning, in addition to serving as an accompaniment for the *Infanta* or the queen. For the Crown of Castile, the figure of an elderly woman appears at the top of her organisation: the *dueña de cámara*. She was the organiser of the group as a whole, especially thinking of the maidens, welcomed in the retinue to provide them with a good formation and marriage. Diana Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la reina en la Corona de Castilla (1418-1496)*, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017), 104–125.

⁵⁶ María Narbona Cárceles, “*Noblas donas*. Las mujeres nobles en la Casa de María de Castilla, reina de Aragón (1416-1458),” *Studium: Revista de humanidades* 15, (2009): 89–113.

chaperone (*companyona*), a foot soldier (*home de peu*), and a chambermaid (*cambrera*), together with another chambermaid or maid assigned from the court to serve several ladies.⁵⁷

Infanta Leonor's female entourage remains virtually unknown. It is even more difficult to know whether this structure could have been implemented in Castile after the definitive installation of Leonor of Aragon in 1375. The paucity of Castilian documents and the fragmentation of the surviving data make it impossible to know, but everything indicates that this was not the case.⁵⁸ In fact, the reconstruction of the later female retinues also does not allow us to document the specific service of ladies-in-waiting, governesses, and chambermaids.⁵⁹ The high standing of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting in Aragon meant that some of them had their own chambermaids, as was the case with a number of handmaidens.⁶⁰ Returning to the journey of 1366,

⁵⁷ The chamber of Leonor of Sicily reflects this structure. Both the woman who were part of the entourage and her chambermaid were paid. Among the ladies-in-waiting (*noble donas*), Viscountess Timbors de Cabrera, Constanza de Aragon, Constanza de Perexida, Buenaventura de Jerica, *Madona* Elisenda de Mur and *Madona* Maria Lopez each had a chambermaid (*cambrera*). Aldonza de Castro, Leonor de Ribelles, *Madona* Elvira de Vilafranca, *Madona* Bonanada de Gallo, Françesca de Vallebrera, and *Madona* Peirona de Vinatea joined the women who enjoyed this additional service. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 473, fol. 73v. 1358, May; ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 83v. 1366, May; and fols. 94v–96r. 1366, June.

⁵⁸ Neither is there any indication of the service of women of a very high social position or belonging to the high nobility. It is true that the female entourages are, in many cases, the worst-known element of the Queen's household. Pelaz Flores, *La Casa*, 104–125.

⁵⁹ The absence of treasury books for the Crown of Castile does not allow us to ascertain whether this service model was in force in the fourteenth century, if it was implemented after the arrival of Leonor of Aragon, or if there was a more austere service. This last possibility seems the most likely, considering both the structure that can be recognised in the Castilian queens' households during the fifteenth century (Pelaz Flores, *La Casa*, 27–33), and in that of Catherine of Burgundy, married to King João III of Portugal in 1523 (Félix Labrador Arroyo, "La organización de la Casa de Catalina de Austria, Reina de Portugal (1523-1526)," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 39, (2014): 15–35).

⁶⁰ The maidens Flor Afema (ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 473, fol. 73v. 1358), Leonor de Escriba, Jordana de Tauste, Buenaventura de Jerica (ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 494, fol. 70r. 1369, September), Catalineta de Subirats, and Beatriz Boyl (ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 494, fol. 81r. 1369, October) did have a chambermaid (*cambrera*) in charge in the entourage of Leonor of Sicily.

only three names appear among the lists of officials who travelled to Castile: *Madona* Elisenda de Mur⁶¹, *Dona* Lucía Lavanar,⁶² and *Madona* Peirona de Vinatea.⁶³

Madona Elisenda de Mur belonged to a noble house of Sobrarbe, in the province of Huesca, in the northern part of the kingdom of Aragon.⁶⁴ However, Elisenda would have been part of a Catalan branch of the lineage, judging by the municipalities she owned: Bellver de Sió and Mont-Roig.⁶⁵ After she was widowed by Simón de Mur in 1354, Elisenda managed these places on behalf of her sons, Acard and Dalmau. Elisenda became their owner following the death of her sons in 1362 and 1375, respectively.⁶⁶ At that time, in 1375, *Madona* Elisenda was in Valladolid, in the service of Leonor of Aragon. On this occasion her journey was extended in time, perhaps with the same office that she would have held in the *Infanta's* Household in 1366: that of chief chambermaid. This was a highly prestigious position, probably the most important that a woman could occupy within the social network. Her status as a widow and the ability of her children to manage her possessions, in addition to her noble status, made Elisenda an ideal candidate for the position.

Madona Peirona de Vinatea is presented as a key figure in the entourage of Leonor of Aragon. So was her husband, Ramon Nebot, deputy chancellor, advisor, and auditor at the court of Pedro IV between 1363 and 1365.⁶⁷ He was involved in the journey to Castile accompanying the *Infanta*, although it is not mentioned what responsibility he held in her household.⁶⁸ The link between *Madona* Peirona and Leonor of Sicily's household explains the closeness of her family to the *Infanta*. *Madona*

⁶¹ Leonor of Sicily gave her 2,000 Barcelona *sueudos* to help her with the expenses incurred in the "missions" made by her on her displacement to Castile with the *Infanta* "in equipment for her and her entourage" (*en aparellaments seus e de sa companya*). ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 101r. 1366, June, 20. Zaragoza.

⁶² ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, 352, fol. 146r. 1367.

⁶³ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, 352, fol. 148r. 1367.

⁶⁴ Ricardo del Arco, "Linaje de los Mur ó Muro," *Linajes de Aragón* 22, no. III (1912), 397.

⁶⁵ Virgínia Costafreda i Puigpiñós, "Procés d'Empara real del senyoriu de Mont-Roig i Bellver de Sió en temps de Pere el Cerimoniós," *Urtx. Revista Cultural de Urgell* 17, (2004): 209–222, in particular, 209–210.

⁶⁶ Consequently, she will decide to bequeath her ladyship to her nephew, Dalmau Queralt, son of Alamanda de Rocabertí. Costafreda i Puigpiñós, "Procés d'Empara", 115 and 124.

⁶⁷ Josefa Mutgé Vives, *L'aljama sarraïna de Lleida a l'edat Mitjana: aproximació a la seva historia* (Barcelona: CSIC–Institució Milá i Fontanals, 1992), 337–338.

⁶⁸ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 352, fol. 145v. 1367.

Peirona was Queen Leonor's lady-in-waiting, she had a chambermaid in her service, and her daughter, Gaurineta de Nebot, was also part of the Queen's entourage.⁶⁹ After the *Infanta's* birth, she appears as her caregiver.⁷⁰ The caregiver was a key figure in the *Infanta's* upbringing and forged a bond that was still noticeable in her early adulthood. Even at the time of her marriage, she remained a confidante and provided her with a family link in her new court *Madona* Peirona performed occasional duties as a chambermaid, receiving objects on behalf of the *Infanta*.⁷¹ Her presence with the *Infanta* brought her back to Castile after her marriage to the *Infante* Juan of Castile. In 1377 she was responsible for appearing before Pedro IV of Aragon to convey a message sent by the *Infante* Juan.⁷²

The terms used to refer to these women (*dona* – 'Lady' or *madona* – 'milady') denote their status as elderly women or, at least, not maidens. This is relevant, as it reveals the singular situation of the entourage of the *Infanta* on her first trip to Castile. The women in the *Infanta's* Chamber were a support and a reference to the model of the Aragonese palatine service, as well as a personal protection. However, the stay in Castile was not definitive, but rather a show of strength for the House of Trastámara. This is an important fact because it focuses the significance of the personnel at the service of *Infanta* Leonor as an instrument to cover immediate, everyday needs. It is not a question of developing a policy of strengthening the figure of the *Infanta* or of extending her networks of collaboration and knowledge of the Castilian court network, but rather acting as a first contact.

⁶⁹ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 84r. 1366, April.

⁷⁰ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 99r. 1366, April.

⁷¹ For example, two pairs of canvases bought in the city of Barcelona for the *Infanta* (ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 81r. 1366, April). Also, two red covers adorned with four signs (maybe arms) of Queen Leonor of Sicily and signs of the king, ordered to be made in the city of Barcelona by the queen to deliver to the *Infanta* (ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 106r. 1366, April).

⁷² The message of the letter alludes to the conflict between the Duke of Anjou and the King of Aragon, in which Enrique II and his son were attempting to mediate. The reason for the conflict was the possession of the Kingdom of Mallorca. The Aragonese claim to the islands was undisputed, and the King of Aragon was unwilling to negotiate. In his letter, Pedro IV apologises for not being able to please the *Infante* Juan. The content of the letter is also interesting because it reveals the trust placed in women such as Peirona de Vinatea and her knowledge of political and diplomatic matters. ACA, RC, Reg. 1238, fol. 219r. 1377, 4 February. Barcelona.

Only the *Infanta's* marriage would lead to her definitive departure for Castile, which would give special importance to her retinue of handmaidens. Perhaps this is the reason why it is not clear that Francescha de Vallebrera, the *Infanta's* handmaiden in April 1366, was part of the retinue to Castile.⁷³ The same is true of Gaurineta de Nebot, the daughter of the *Infanta's* caregiver, occasionally referred to in the documentation as her handmaiden.⁷⁴ This group of women, of a similar age to the new queen, would extend her network of support in her new kingdom.⁷⁵ It was also a matter of affinity and friendship. The request sent by Leonor of Aragon to her father, King Pedro, in 1376, for the handmaiden Dolceta to travel to Castile, corroborates this. However, the handmaiden's mother did not want her daughter to leave the kingdom, even at the request of the future queen of Castile.⁷⁶ The queen fulfilled the model of "nurturing motherhood" thanks to the training which she offered of her maidens.⁷⁷ Specifically, the role of the queen as mother allowed her to behave as a mother to the handmaidens in her retinue, seeking to ensure that they had a future appropriate to their status and training. She also attended to their daily needs.⁷⁸ It was a mechanism for extending the values of feminine virtue radiating from the court and continuing the queen's female relational policy.⁷⁹

To serve the *Infanta*, to represent the kingdom: the men of Pedro IV of Aragon's Household in Castile.

Political, military, diplomatic, or ceremonial duties required the king to move around frequently. Although the queen usually accompanied him, their responsibilities could require each of them to move around the territory independently. In contrast, the

⁷³ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 83r. 1366, April.

⁷⁴ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 99r. 1366, April.

⁷⁵ Diana Pelaz Flores, *Reinas consortes. Las reinas de Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos XI-XV)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2017), 208–209.

⁷⁶ ACA, RC, Reg. 1093, fol. 74r. 1376, 10 February. Barcelona.

⁷⁷ Kristen L. Geaman, *Anne of Bohemia* (London: Routledge, 2022), 150–152.

⁷⁸ *The Household Roll of Eleanor de Montfort, Countess of Leicester and Pembroke, 1265. British Library, Additional MS 8877*, ed. and trans. Louise J. Wilkinson (Cornwall: The Pipe Roll Society–The Boydell Press, 2020), xlvi–xlvii.

⁷⁹ M^a del Carmen García Herrero, "La dama modélica del Cuatrocientos en la correspondencia de María de Castilla, reina de Aragón (1416–1458)," *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 23 (2015): 27–48.

need to make the *infantes* and *infantas* visible—apart from the heir—was less, except at times of family reunion, such as Christmas. This is not to say that no attention was paid to the youngest members of the royal family. They are referred to in letters to indicate their good health, and both the king and the queen were aware of their welfare, albeit from a distance.⁸⁰ In fact, Pedro IV showed his surprise and anger in a letter sent to the governor of Roussillon for not having received news of the *Infantes* Martin and Leonor in April 1366. Ramon Nebot had travelled from Barcelona to Perpignan to collect the *infantes* and escort them to Barcelona, but apparently no information had reached the court.⁸¹ Nebot and Vinatea, as spouses, enjoyed a very intimate relationship in the *Infanta's* day-to-day life thanks to this close contact. In any case, the king of Aragon's interest may be related to the preparations for the *Infanta's* journey. Enrique of Trastamara had entered Castile in March 1366.⁸² Pedro IV had already written to the bishops of Lleida and Girona to inform them that his children were to travel from Roussillon to Barcelona and that they were to accompany them.⁸³ The King's anger at not receiving news of his children, after having planned the trip a month in advance, is not surprising.

The *Infanta's* domestic servants could be chosen for two reasons. First, they could form part of her daily domestic staff, in her various palatial residences. Second, trusted officials of the king and also of the queen's household could be selected. The journey to Castile was nothing less than a diplomatic mission. It is not clear how long they were expected to stay. However, the rapid return to Aragon after hearing the

⁸⁰ A prolonged situation during the Modern Era, which gave even greater importance to the personnel in charge of their care. Caroline Zum Kolk, "Tout paix et amitié. La maison des enfants d'Henri II et Catherine de Médicis," in *Naissance et petite enfance à la cour de France. Moyen Âge-XIX^e siècle*, dir. Pascale Mormiche and Stanis Perez (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 79–96.

⁸¹ "Molt som marauillats com de xv dies que ha passats que Ramón Nebot fo a Perpenya ne vos, ne el, ne mossén Berenguer d'Abellán nos habets res fet saber del infant don Martí ne de la infanta doña Elionor, cars fills e filla nostres." ACA, RC, Reg. 1214, fol. 22r-22v. 1366, 1 April. Zaragoza.

⁸² In fact, the letters sent by the Count of Trastamara were decisive for Pedro IV to order Ferran Gomez de Albornoz, commander of Montalban, and the knight Alvar Garcia de Albornoz, to hand over the *infantes* to the royal counsellor and governor of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya, Arnau Dorcau. He was to take charge of ensuring they reached Perpignan. ACA, RC, Reg. 1213, fol. 27v-28r. 1366, 7 March. Zaragoza.

⁸³ ACA, RC, Reg. 1214, fol. 40v. 1366, 6 March. Zaragoza.

news of the Trastámara defeat at Najera limited the services provided by the incipient household of the *Infanta Leonor*.

According to the documentation preserved for the year 1375 in relation to the marriage of the *Infanta* to Juan of Castile, the service provided to Leonor of Aragon was not supposed to last more than two or three months. The officials were also frequently absent and abandoned their curial functions to respond to King Pedro's demands, despite being in the service of the *Infanta*.⁸⁴ The collaboration between the courtly structure on both sides of the border shows that the *Infanta's* household was designed as an extension of the king's, especially while awaiting sufficient information on the Castilian court network the *Infanta* was about to enter. The desire to demonstrate Aragonese magnificence through the entourage could complicate the collection of the courtiers' allowances. The economic vicissitudes of the kingdom, immersed in wars and disputes, further aggravated this situation.⁸⁵ Although difficulties in collecting their salaries and allowances were frequent, at least in terms of delayed payments,⁸⁶ the situation was more complex for a household on the move to another kingdom. Decisions had to be taken quickly by the staff of the household, such as the pawning of jewels and goods in order to be able to continue with the final mission of the household. Leonor of Aragon was no exception: some of her jewels were pawned and the courtiers had to make financial efforts independently. This explains the subsequent financial gratification of her ladies-in-waiting,⁸⁷ of Berenguer

⁸⁴ Diana Pelaz Flores, "Una casa en ciernes. El séquito de Leonor de Aragón en su viaje a Castilla (1375)," in *Casa y corte. Ámbitos de poder en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media (1230-1516)*, coord. Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez and José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019), 73–96.

⁸⁵ Francisco de Moxó Montoliu, *Estudios sobre las relaciones entre Aragón y Castilla (ss. XIII-XV)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997), 145–146.

⁸⁶ Ruiz Domingo, *El Trésor*, 234–245.

⁸⁷ Again, Peirona de Vinatea was one of the ladies mentioned. Pedro IV ordered her to receive 2,000 Barcelona *sueldos* for the disbursements she had made on her journey to Castile. Although this was recorded in a letter signed by the king in Zaragoza on 11 June 1366, *Madona Peirona* received only 1,920 Jaca *sueldos*. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 352, fol. 148r.

Basagoda, a servant of the king's household,⁸⁸ and of several residents of Daroca,⁸⁹ and Catalayud,⁹⁰ one of the closest cities to Castile on the *Infanta's* route.

The political influence and capacity for advice provided by these officials explains the way the king acted. For example, Lope Fernandez de Luna, archbishop of Zaragoza and high chancellor of Pedro IV, in addition to being one of the most trusted ambassadors of the King of Aragon, accompanied the *Infanta* in that first retinue.⁹¹ He was also at her side again in 1375, when he acted as legate at the betrothal of the *Infanta*.⁹² He maintained a line of communication with Pedro IV that was evident during the first months of Leonor of Aragon's stay as the *Infante's* wife at the Castilian court.⁹³ The archbishop did not hold a post in Leonor's household, but he was a vitally important intermediary channel for conveying the will of Pedro IV and safeguarding the *Infanta's* interests. Years later, the letters addressed by the King of Aragon to support his daughter's coronation were proof of this.⁹⁴

Another of the most important figures in the *Infanta's* entourage was the knight Berenguer de Tornamira. He held the offices of chamberlain (*camarlenc*), and head of supplies (*reboster maior*) in her service. The former, in particular, was one of the most important offices in the court system, which explains the significant

⁸⁸ He was in charge of carrying out the pieces of the *Infanta's* silverware that were deposited in Daroca to pay for the trip to Zaragoza. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 87r. 1367.

⁸⁹ Albamunt, widow of Pere Gilbert Ça, received 5 gold *florines*. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 84v. 1367.

⁹⁰ Queen Leonor of Sicily ordered that 200 *Jaca sueldos* should be given to Domingo de Ambit, a resident of Calatayud, to pay for loans he had made. It seems that the *Infanta's* jewels had been pawned to provide financial assistance for some Castilians, probably members of Queen Juana Manuel's entourage. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 490, fol. 66v. 1367, August.

⁹¹ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 352, fol. 147r. 1367.

⁹² José Enrique Ruiz Doménec, "Leonor de Aragón, una catalana en Castilla. Consideraciones sobre la repetición en la historia," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 46 (1998): 93–111.

⁹³ About the figure of the archbishop, see: 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*, coord. José Ángel Sesma Muñoz (Zaragoza: Grupo CEMA, 2010), 145–147. Sobre su relación diplomática con Castilla, véase: Diana Pelaz Flores, "Mensajes y mensajeros en la comunicación epistolar entre Pedro IV y los primeros Trastámara," in *Diplomacia y desarrollo del Estado en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV–XVI)*, ed. Concepción Villanueva Morte (Gijón: Trea, 2020), 69–90.

⁹⁴ Pelaz Flores, "Crowning the queen," 87–89.

financial rewards received on the orders of Pedro IV.⁹⁵ Tornamira's career at the court of Pedro IV is related to the conquest of Mallorca by Pedro IV.⁹⁶ Tornamira was a knight of the Kingdom of Mallorca and commander of the castle of Montuïri. After peacefully handing the castle over to Felipe Boyl on behalf of Pedro IV, he became loyal to the king and took part in other missions in his service.⁹⁷ In 1364 he acted as ambassador to the Sultan of Morocco to obtain an alliance with Aragon, to prevent him from forming an alliance with the King of Castile.⁹⁸ In accordance with the dignity granted in the household of the Infanta, it is very likely that Guillem Berenguer de Sanabia was integrated into the courtly network. Sanabia held the most important post in the *Infanta's* household: that of steward. The importance of his job was economically equal to that of the chamberlain Tornamira, as both received 25 gold florins for their services.⁹⁹

The composition of the household had diversified in light of the circumstances. Providing it with a larger and more complex structure in terms of its officers required the transfer of domestic servants to the service of the king, who were knowledgeable in their profession and willing to undertake this mission. This was the case of the people who were responsible for guarding and transporting the *Infanta*, such as Pedro López de Lisón, crossbowman to Pedro IV, who carried the *Infanta's* litter (*ander*).¹⁰⁰ The incorporation of officers from the same territory as the *Infanta* is a visible and well-known feature in the households of the *Infantas* and

⁹⁵ Specifically, King Pedro IV ordered to pay him "graciously" 3,000 Barcelona *sueudos*. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 352, fol. 147v. 1366, 26 June. Zaragoza.

⁹⁶ Roca, "La reyna empordanesa," 144.

⁹⁷ Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans Cròniques. IV. Crònica de Pere III el Cerimoniós*, rev. Jordi Bruguera and M^a Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2014), 166–167.

⁹⁸ M^a Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera am l'islam en el segle XIV. Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià* (Barcelona: CSIC–Institutió Milà i Fontanals, 1988), 159.

⁹⁹ The relevance and diversity of tasks coordinated from the Chamber in a female household explains it. It must be considered that the *Infanta* Leonor's household did not entail an organisational complexity like that of an adult queen consort. ACA, MR, Serie General, Volúmenes, Reg. 353, fol. 105r. 1366.

¹⁰⁰ He was paid 100 *sueudos* for his lodging and "sabates" during his stay in Castile. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 356, fol. 63r. 1368, 31 December. Jorba.

queens that have been studied to date.¹⁰¹ However, their service did not always last longer than a few months. They could return to their place of origin depending on their personal situation, but also depending on the needs of the sovereign whom they ultimately served. This was not a strategy adopted only in the *Infanta's* household.¹⁰² On the contrary, the households of the youngest members of the royal family were controlled by the sovereign and by those in charge of his own household. This was noted by Alexandra Beauchamp in her study of the household of *Infante* Juan, Leonor's brother.¹⁰³

However, some of these officials came from the household of Leonor of Sicily. This situation was already documented with the female entourage; in fact, Queen Leonor shared the services of her ladies-in-waiting and maids with other young women of the royal family. Temporary access to the service of these incipient courtly entourages, ordered by the Queen, is frequently observed.¹⁰⁴ The trip to Castile

¹⁰¹ María Narbona Cárceles, "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*, ed. W. Paravicini (Ostfildern: Jan Throbecke, 2013), 656–657. María Narbona Cárceles, "De casa de la senyora reyna. L'entourage domestique de Marie de Castille, épouse d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416-1458)," in *Les entourage princiers à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Alexandra Beauchamp (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2013), 156–157. Monique Sommé, *Isabel de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne: une femme au pouvoir au quinzième siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998), 262–284. Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, "Las casas de Isabel y Juana de Portugal, reinas de Castilla. Organización, dinámica institucional y prosopografía (1447-1496)," in *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa. Las Casas de las Reinas (siglos XV-XIX)*, coord. José Martínez Millán and Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2008), vol. 1, 9–232. Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "La casa de doña Leonor de Aragón, reina de Portugal (1433-1445): formación y desintegración de un instrumento de poder femenino," in *La participación de las mujeres en lo político. Mediación, representación y toma de decisiones*, coord. Cristina Segura Grañó and M^a Isabel del Val Valdivieso (Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2011), 243–246.

¹⁰² Pelaz Flores, "Una casa en ciernes," 88–91.

¹⁰³ The Accounts and expenses were controlled by the *Maestre Racional*, while the most important departments were headed by renowned figures in the service of the king's household, such as Guillem Blanes, advisor to Pedro IV, who held the posts of butler, chamberlain, and bailiff of the prince's household, and Bernat Cabrera, also a royal advisor, who was the prince's educator. Alexandra Beauchamp, "L'administration de l'hôtel d'un nourrison, l'infant Jean d'Aragon (né le 27 décembre 1350)," *e-Spania* 20 (2015): <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.24364>

¹⁰⁴ *Dona* Elvira de Vilafranca was ordered to enter the service of *Infanta* Juana de Aragon, daughter of King Pedro IV and his first wife, Queen Maria de Navarra; while *Dona* Bonanada de Gallo was at the service of Countes María de Luna. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 486, fol. 101r-101v. 1365.

reinforced the need to provide the *Infanta's* retinue with competent and experienced courtiers, but above all with courtiers the king and queen could trust. Bertucho Xilona, the Queen's usher (*portero de porta forana*), formed part of the retinue as a porter,¹⁰⁵ while Pero Lopez de Santa Cruz became the *Infanta's* assistant Chamberlain.¹⁰⁶ In turn, Berenguer Amigo, a member of the Queen's escort, was rewarded for the transportation of six draught animals for the return of the *Infanta* in April 1367.¹⁰⁷

Crossbowmen, squires, and ushers became indispensable officers, as they protected access to the *Infanta*. From the point of view of representation, they were fundamental, because they made the Aragonese pre-eminence even more tangible. The confrontation between the local officials and those accompanying the *Infanta* or the Queen could generate tensions or clashes between them, especially when they arrived at the new court, as Félix Labrador and Alejandro López pointed out in relation to the Queen's equerry in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁸

The monarchy complemented the court service with renowned urban collaborators. Itinerancy stimulated the knowledge of these personalities, connected with fashion or medicine, such as Alazar Abnalazar, an inhabitant of Zaragoza and master of medicine, in the service of the *Infanta*, too. Abnalazar was related to other Jewish families from the city of Zaragoza who were well known for their medical knowledge, such as the Alazar and the Bienveniste families. In fact, the former also included, years later, in 1385, a physician of the royal house, Alazar, son of Edzra Alazar.¹⁰⁹ The monarchy's networks enabled contacts of various kinds with the cities. Sometimes they allowed for social advancement for the individual and his family, but

¹⁰⁵ ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 50r. 1367, January.

¹⁰⁶ He is paid for his food (*menjar*) from July 1366 to May 1367 (a total of 57 *Jaca sueldos* and 1 *Jaca dinero*). It can be concluded that he was also in Castile in the service of Leonor of Aragon. In fact, a Castilian origin can be considered, in view of his surname. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 101r. 1367, July.

¹⁰⁷ Specifically, he received 91 *Jaca sueldos* and 6 *Jaca dineros* for the displacement between Zaragoza and Daroca. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 79v. 1367, April.

¹⁰⁸ Félix Labrador Arroyo and Alejandro López Álvarez, "Las caballerizas de las reinas en la monarquía de los Austria: cambios institucionales y evolución de las etiquetas, 1559-1611," *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna* 28 (2006): 93–94.

¹⁰⁹ Asunción Blasco Martínez, "Médicos y pacientes de las tres religiones (Zaragoza siglo XIV y comienzos del XV)," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 12 (1995): 160–161 and 177.

at other times they were just one-off contacts. Loyalty, economic gratification, or the possibility of establishing more fluid contact with the court were some of the possible motivations. This is the case for those who took part in the exchange of correspondence between the *Infanta* and the King and Queen. Martin de Algatin¹¹⁰ and Berenguer Sola acted as messengers (*correus*).¹¹¹ The social connections fostered by the court and the royal households were of a diverse nature, depending on the relevance of the mission, the need to establish this contact and the balance between responsibility and trust. A combination of elements explains the ramifications of the court and the interconnection within the royal households, the court, and the kingdom, in order to preserve the identity, interests, and capacity for action of the Aragonese monarchy.

Conclusions

The domestic entourage of *infantas* and princesses was part of a strategy of assimilation of their own individual identity, but it was also a scenario of great interest for the courtiers and officials of the royal household as a whole. From the birth of *Infanta* Leonor, a small group of people was organised around her, still incipient, which grew and became consolidated as time went by. The links become closer, in accordance with a mechanism of consolidation of her parents' networks of relations. The queen played a very important role as coordinator of these tasks, and provided access to the consolidation of some of the people or families attached to her own household. *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon was no exception. Her position as King Pedro's daughter, but not the heir to the kingdom, favoured an initial joint court service, taking advantage of her upbringing together with other infants of a similar age. Their journeys were carried out together, which created a conducive environment to their education and care. The coordination and management carried out by Leonor of Sicily once again reflected the harmony of the royal couple's marriage. The trust placed in the queen consort by Pedro IV was manifested in a management without incidence of the *Infanta's* household and of her other children.

¹¹⁰ He notified Queen Leonor of the arrival of the *Infanta* in the city of Daroca. He received 55 *Jaca sueldos*. ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 489, fol. 79r. 1367, April.

¹¹¹ Cited as "Merchants messenger." ACA, MR, Volúmenes, Serie General, Reg. 488, fol. 61r. 1366, March.

The independence of the *Infanta* Leonor's household, when she was seven years old, coincided with the abandonment of her early childhood and the need to develop a domestic environment of her own. The decision formed part of her personal and political growth, of the rite of passage experienced by the child on the path to her reproductive age. The household adapted to the needs and responsibilities progressively acquired by the *Infanta*, while her educational training was specialised in order to prepare her for her destiny as a future queen. However, it was a progressive transformation. Some individuals remained at her side well into adulthood, such as Ramon Nebot and Peirona de Vinatea. From the perspective of a court official, serving *infantes* and *infantas* allowed for a career of influence and royal confidence that was not to be underestimated. They did not lose their link to their kingdom of origin and provided a service of representation, diplomatic management, and care for the younger members of the royal family.

Leonor of Aragon's rite of passage was an extraordinary test for the *Infanta*. While the endowment of her own household was not necessarily a traumatic event, the journey to Castile did mark a unique event compared to other Iberian, or even European, princesses. The role played by the *Infanta* Leonor as part of Juana Manuel's entourage reveals the ability of Pedro IV to influence the incipient Trastamara court network. The *Infanta*'s move to Castile gave a large group of people close to the King of Aragon access to initiate contacts with the Castilian nobles and those close to Enrique II of Trastamara. At the same time, it makes it possible to illustrate her collaboration and participation in the Trastamara triumph to the detriment of Pedro I, as well as to remind the new kings of Castile of his decisive influence. The figure of *Infanta* Leonor is instrumentalised by her father, at the same time as she receives an unprecedented personal experience: she leaves the Aragonese territory, but not totally her comfort zone. The household was a place of security and familiarity for the *Infanta*. Although in a strange kingdom, the people, objects, and cultural elements that travelled with her were designed to ensure that she did not feel abandoned, but rather part of the Aragonese royal house, semi-nomadic and often with its members physically distanced from each other, even within its own kingdom.

Appendix 1. Personnel belonging to the *Infanta* Leonor of Aragon’s Household in her displacement to Castile in 1366.

Dignity	Name	King’s Household dignity	Queen’s Household dignity
Steward (<i>Majordom</i>)	Guillem Berenguer de Sanabia		
Stableman (<i>Caballerizo</i>)	García Berçea		
Mule driver (<i>Azembler</i>)	García Dassó		
Second mule driver (<i>Sotesazembler</i>)	Ponce de Vallerena		
<i>Ander</i>	Pero Juanyez		
<i>Ander</i>	Gonzalo Diez Bosch		
<i>Ander</i>	Pero López de Lisón	Crossbowman (<i>Ballester</i>)	
Chief Cupbearer (<i>Copero mayor</i>)	Pere de Urriés		
Wine Steward (<i>Boteller</i>)	Ramón de Ciscar		
Second Wine Steward (<i>Sotesboteller</i>)	Rui Reyalt		
Wine Steward’s Assistant (<i>Ajudant de la botillería</i>)	Juan de Calatayud		
Carver (<i>Tallador</i>)	Jac de Campteren		
Mace-bearer (<i>Porter de maza</i>)	Domingo García		
Mace-bearer (<i>Porter de maza</i>)	Miquel de Vallés		
Housekeeper (<i>Sobrecoch</i>)	Nicolau Vinatea		
Supplier (<i>Comprador</i>)	Eximeno de Castell		
Second supplier (<i>Sotescomprador</i>)	Joan Sarano		
Baker (<i>Panicer</i>)	Miquel Ortiz de Ejea		
Second Baker	Martín Pérez de la Traz		

Article: *The Households of the Princesses: Service and Representation Through the First Household of Infanta Leonor of Aragon (1366–1375)*

(Sotespanicer)	
Assistant's Baker (<i>Ajudant de panicer</i>)	Rodrigo de Mur
Pastry chef (<i>Pastador</i>)	Guillemó de Sicilia
Cook (<i>Cuyner</i>)	Perico de Morán
Cook (<i>Cuyner</i>)	Joan Carròs
Secretary (<i>Secretari</i>)	March Fuster
Daily Scribe (<i>Escribá de ració</i>)	Berenguer Pometa
Daily scribe's lieutenant (<i>Lloctinent de l'escribá de ració</i>)	Pere Sola
Master Chamberlain (<i>Cambrer maior</i>)	Berenguer de Tornamira
Second Chamberlain (<i>Sotescambrer</i>)	Gonzalo de Claret
Head of supplies (<i>Reboster mayor</i>)	Berenguer de Tornamira
Second of supplies (<i>Sotesreboster</i>)	_____
Assistant of supplies (<i>Ajudant del reboster</i>)	Pascal Bernat
Silver's cleaner (<i>Lavador de la plata</i>)	Ermengol Martínez
Physician (<i>Metge</i>)	Alazar Abnalazar
Silversmith (<i>Argenter</i>)	Aguiló de Macina
Tailor (<i>Sastre</i>)	Bernat Alegre
Second Tailor (<i>Sotes·sastre</i>)	Francesch Martí
<i>Falder</i>	Fortunyo de Baylo
<i>Falder</i>	Francesch Fernández e Barnabé
Chamber's assistant (<i>Ajudant de la cambra</i>)	Lois Xemenéz de Arvielles
Chamber's assistant (<i>Ajudant de la cambra</i>)	Juan López de Santa Cruz

Article: *The Households of the Princesses: Service and Representation Through the First Household of Infanta Leonor of Aragon (1366–1375)*

Chamber's assistant <i>(Ajudant de la cambra)</i>	Juan de Córdoba	
Chamber's assistant <i>(Ajudant de la cambra)</i>	Gómez de Aliaga	
Wet nurse <i>(Ama)</i>	Peirona de Vinatea	Lady-in-waiting (<i>Dona</i>)
Lady-in-waiting <i>(Dona)</i>	Lucía Lavanar	
Lady-in-waiting <i>(Dona)</i>	Elisenda de Mur	Lady-in-waiting (<i>Dona</i>)
Chief Porter <i>(Porter Maior)</i>	Pere Vinader	
Porter <i>(Porter)</i>	Bertucho Xilona	Usher (<i>Porter de Porta Forana</i>)
Almoner <i>(Almoyner)</i>	Frare Miquel Matheu	
Chapel's choirboy <i>(Escolá de capella)</i>	Martí Sánchez	
Confessor <i>(Confesor)</i>	Frare Miquel Matheu	
(not specified)	Lope Fernández de Luna	Master chancellor (<i>Canceller maior</i>) / ambassador
(not specified)	Ramón Nabot	Chancellor (<i>Canceller</i>) / counsellor (<i>conseller</i>)
(not specified)	Ermina de Camporrells	
(not specified)	Miquel Sánchez de Vilafranca	
(not specified)	García Torroella	
(not specified)	Galcerán de Cantabella	