



***Reconstructing the Thirteenth-  
Century Castilian Queen's Household  
through the Repartimientos***

**Paula Del Val Vales**



## **Reconstructing the Thirteenth-Century Castilian Queen's Household through the *Repartimientos***

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**Abstract:** The thirteenth century was a transformative period for Western European monarchies, which experienced the development of institutions and an increasing bureaucratisation of their administrative systems. During this time in Castile, the queen's establishment began to be recognised as progressively differentiated from the king's own household. This study examines the composition and structure of the Castilian queen's household in the thirteenth century through two case studies: the households of Juana of Ponthieu (r.1237-1252), wife of Fernando III; and Violante of Aragon (r.1252-1284), wife of Alfonso X. It draws upon the references to their personnel contained in the *repartimientos*, the grants of land that followed the conquest of new territories in the Southern Iberian Peninsula. This approach demonstrates that the examination of well-known sources through the lens of queenship provides important new insights into the personnel and households of thirteenth-century queens consort. This article argues that, during the thirteenth century, the queen's household constituted a space of connection which linked together people from diverse origins, kingdoms, and backgrounds; and provided the queen with a sphere of influence, through which she could exercise her largesse and patronage.

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### The Castilian Queen's Household in the Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century was a fundamental period for the development of monarchies, during which kingdoms across Western Europe underwent a transformative process and experienced an increasing bureaucratisation and institutionalisation of their monarchical structures.<sup>2</sup> The king's household can be understood as an auxiliary apparatus of kingly governance which was at first closely linked to his closest domestic space, but became a progressively more independent administrative and economic entity, and which experienced a noteworthy development in Castile from this century onwards.<sup>3</sup> Parallel to this, it is possible to observe the appearance of the queen consort's own household, understood as a separate entity from the king's administration, with its own personnel and a growing independent ability to administer resources.<sup>4</sup> Although the king and queen's entourage and personnel would still remain closely intertwined, by the thirteenth century the Castilian consort had at her disposal an establishment with the ability to function autonomously regardless of the king's presence at court, which was in essence a small replica of the king's household, with no major qualitative differences.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the great significance of this period for the appearance and first-time development of the queen's household in Castile, the thirteenth century is also

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<sup>2</sup> John Watts, *The Making of Polities: Europe, 1300-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-157; Marina Kleine, "Los orígenes de la burocracia regia en Castilla: la especialización de los oficiales de Alfonso X y Sancho IV," *e-Spania* 20 (February 2015), <http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/24245>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.24245>.

<sup>3</sup> On the appearance, development and structure of the king's household in Castile see Jaime de Salazar y Acha, "La evolución de la Casa del Rey en el siglo XIII," in *Evolución y estructura de la Casa Real de Castilla*, 2 vols., coords. Andrés Gamba and Félix Labrador (Madrid: Polifemo, 2010), vol. 1, 65-80, especially 65-67; and 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), especially 42-46 on the complexities around defining the king's household.

<sup>4</sup> On the Castilian queen's household, see Diana Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la Reina en la Corona de Castilla (1418-1496)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017), especially 27-33 regarding its origins and development.

<sup>5</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 35.

characterised by an unfortunate absence of systematic documentation produced by and for the queen's own personnel.<sup>6</sup> This absence is consistent with the fact that during the thirteenth century the queen's household was yet to acquire the level of complexity and the structured organisation that would characterise this institution in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> This has been one of the main challenges that has hindered the study of the Castilian queen's household and significantly obstructed scholars' efforts to reconstruct their composition before the Late Middle Ages. In fact, there is no modern study focused solely on the thirteenth-century queens' households or on its development, in striking contrast with studies for the fifteenth century such as those by Diana Pelaz Flores and Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez.<sup>8</sup> These provide an excellent overview of the configuration and structure of the queen's household, as well as a prosopographic catalogue of the personnel of queens María of Aragon (r.1420-1445), Isabel of Portugal (r.1447-1454), and Juana of Portugal (r.1455-1474). Thirteenth-century Castilian queens' households have been understudied, with only a few brief references in modern scholarship.<sup>9</sup> The aim of this article is to address

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<sup>6</sup> Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 21; 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)*, 3 vols., coords. José Martínez Millán and María Paula Marçal Lourenço (Madrid: Polifemo, 2008), vol. 1, 9-10. For the loss of Castilian medieval documents and the reasons for the lack of a centralised archive see: José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, "El Archivo Real de la Corona de Castilla (ss. XIII-XV)," in *Monarquía, crónicas, archivos y cancellerías en los reinos hispano-cristianos: siglos XIII-XV*, coord. Esteban Sarasa Sánchez (Madrid: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014), 277-308.

<sup>7</sup> Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 20; Salazar y Acha, "La evolución de la Casa," 66.

<sup>8</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*; Cañas, "Las Casas de Isabel," 9-233.

<sup>9</sup> These references are normally no more than one or two pages long: on Leonor Plantagenet's (r.1170-1214) household see Theresa M. Vann, "The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge: Academia Press, 1993), 136; José Manuel Cerda Costabal, "Matrimonio y Patrimonio: las arras de Leonor Plantagenet, reina consorte de Castilla," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 81-82; Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1249) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2009), 42-43. On Beatriz of Swabia's (r.1220-1235) *mayordomo* see Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 398. On Juana of Ponthieu's (r.1237-1252) personnel, see Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: El Albir, 1984), 102; Cañas, "Las Casas de Isabel," 16, no. 33; Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 279; Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 45. On Violante of Aragon's (r.1252-1284) household see María Jesús Fuente Pérez, "Violante de Aragón, Reina de Castilla," *Anejos de la Revista de Historiografía* 6 (2017): 121-126. On María of Molina's (r. 1284-1295), see Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *María de Molina* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1936), 28-31; Sophie

such a gap, by providing the first detailed analysis of Juana of Ponthieu's (r.1237-1252) and Violante of Aragon's (r.1252-1284) personnel through a close examination of the *repartimientos*, in the light of contemporary thirteenth-century legal codes.

### **Regulating and Imagining the Household: Alfonso X's Legal Treatises**

In Castile, the first regulations regarding the queen's household, as well as the king's court and household, are found in King Alfonso X's (r.1252-1284) legal treatises, the *Siete Partidas* and the *Espéculo*.<sup>10</sup> The *Siete Partidas* is a legislative code of civil law created in Alfonso X's court following the initiative and under the supervision of the king himself, whose main goal was to unify the diverse laws in his kingdom by providing a code that could be applied throughout all his territories. To do so, the king commissioned (and participated in the creation of) three main legal treaties: the *Espéculo*, the *Fuero Real*, and the *Siete Partidas*. While the *Fuero Real* was granted by Alfonso X to the towns of Castile and Extremadura as a municipal law code, the *Espéculo* was created to be applied in the royal court, and to serve "as a mirror or laws by which all other laws would be judged."<sup>11</sup> The *Siete Partidas* was a later addition, a revision and emendation of the *Espéculo*, with the aim of making its content even more

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Coussemaeker, "Compter et payer les hommes de la maison de Sanche IV (1292-1294)," *Les entourages princiers à la fin de Moyen Âge*, ed. Alexandra Beauchamp (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2013), 109-112.

<sup>10</sup> The distinction between court and household is a disputed one both for medieval thinkers and jurists and for contemporary authors. On this matter, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 15-33; Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 156-159. The *Siete Partidas* define the king's court as: "the place where the king, his vassals, and his officers, whose duty it is daily to advise and serve him, and where the men of the kingdom gather, either for his honour, or to obtain justice or dispense it, or to transact other business, which they are required to communicate to him, is called the Court." Samuel Parsons Scott, trans. and Robert I. Burns, ed., *Las Siete Partidas. Volume 2. Medieval Government: The World of Kings and Warriors* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), II Partida, Title IX, Law XXVII.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Alfonso X and the Partidas," in *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 1. The Medieval Church: The World of Clerics and Laymen*, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), xxxiii. For a study of Alfonso X's law and justice and its place within the wider European context see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Justinian of His Age: Law and Justice in Thirteenth-Century Castile* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), and for an overview of Alfonso X's legislative work see Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia: Historical, Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 64-70.

universal and generally applicable, in line with Alfonso X's imperial—later frustrated—ambitions.<sup>12</sup> The Alfonsine treatises provide the following description of the queen's household, which is much looser than the ones found in other thirteenth-century and later medieval treatises, ordinances, and regulations; such as the *Ordenacions de la Casa i Cort* (1344) of Peter the Ceremonious in the Crown of Aragon:<sup>13</sup>

The household of the queen was formerly called the bed-chamber, for, as many things which are required in the bed-chamber are deposited there and concealed and guarded; in like manner, the governesses and waiting-maids, who belong to the household of the queen, should be secluded and protected from the sight and insults of bad men and bad women...<sup>14</sup>

The importance that the Alfonsine legal treatises ascribe to the feminine nature of the consort's household is paramount. The *Siete Partidas* highlight that the queen's household's foremost priority should be the guarding of the queen's and her female entourage's honour and decorum, while the *Espéculo* describes the queen's household as a largely feminine space in which the queen is surrounded by women of diverse status.<sup>15</sup> These include her female relatives and kinswomen, ladies-in-waiting,

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<sup>12</sup> O'Callaghan, "Alfonso X and the Partidas," xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>13</sup> On Aragonese household ordinances in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see Francisco M. Gimeno, Daniel Gonzalbo, and Josep Trenchs, eds., *Ordenacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Ceremoniós* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005); Alexandra Beauchamp, "La composition de la Casa i Cort du roi d'Aragon. Normes et pratiques au début du règne de Pierre le Cérémonieux," *Erasmio. Revista de historia Bajomedieval y Moderna* 1 (2014): 21-42; Alexandra Beauchamp, "Ordonnances et réformes de l'Hôtel Royal au début du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 39, no. 2 (2009): 555-573; Marta VanLandingham, *Transforming the State: King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213-1387)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Josep Trenchs and Antonio M. Aragón, *Las cancellerías de la Corona de Aragón y Mallorca desde Jaime I a la muerte de Juan II* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1983), 51-52; Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Apuntes para el estudio de la Cancillería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 20 (1950): 142-147.

<sup>14</sup> Scott and Burns, *Las Siete Partidas. Volume 2. Medieval Government*, II Partida, Title XIV, Law III.

<sup>15</sup> Scott and Burns, *Las Siete Partidas. Volume 2. Medieval Government*, II Partida, Title XIV, Law III; Gonzalo Martínez Díaz, ed., *Leyes de Alfonso X. I. Espéculo* (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1985), Book II, Title XV, Laws I-VII.

widows, maids, wetnurses, *cobigeras* or women in charge of the queen's possessions and textiles, and Christian and Muslim servants.<sup>16</sup>

When the Alfonsine legal codes refer explicitly to the queen's male personnel, they do so only tangentially as part of the broader discussion of the penalties imposed upon those who acted against the queen's household.<sup>17</sup> This discussion provides us with a glimpse of the male officers at the service of the queen, including the *mayordomo*—the chief officer of the queen's household, who encompassed functions that in several other kingdoms were associated with the butler and the steward—the chancellor, chaplains, scribes, and other officers or *oficiales*, also referred to as the queen's men (*criazón de la reina*).<sup>18</sup>

The Alfonsine treatises provide only a partial image of the actual composition of the queen's household in the thirteenth century, one that hyper-focused on its domesticity and its utopic ideal of the guarding of the queen's decorum and purity, and which overlooked many aspects of the queen's responsibilities, including the administration of her lands and rents, or her running of her chancery. These queenly responsibilities were not unknown to Alfonso X or his jurists. In fact, Alfonso X's grandmother, Berenguela of Castile (b. 1180, d. 1246), had been a successful administrator, surrounded by very noticeable and relevant male entourage whose rank was comparable, if not equal, to that of the king's personnel.<sup>19</sup> For example, Berenguela's *mayordomo* Pedro Fernández de Benavides appears confirming royal diplomas regularly together with other nobles at court, and his successor in the role,

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<sup>16</sup> Martínez, *Espéculo*, Book II, Title XV, Laws I-VII. On the definition of *cobigera* see *Las Siete Partidas del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio: cotejadas con varios códigos antiguos* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1807), II Partida, Title XIV, Law 4: "cobigera que serviesse a la reyna cotidianamente guardándole sus paños o sus arcas."

<sup>17</sup> The *Espéculo* includes a law titled "how to honour and keep the chancellor, chaplains, and scribes of the queen, and what should be the penalty for however kills them or dishonours them:" Martínez, *Espéculo*, Book II, Title XV, Law XI. Pelaz has noted that the *Espéculo* states on numerous occasions that people in the service of the queen have the same degree of protection and status as the members of the king's household, and that the punishments imposed on those who wound, dishonour, kill, or rape members of the queen's household should be equal to those imposed on those who act against members of the king's household: Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 35, no. 29.

<sup>18</sup> Martínez, *Espéculo*, Book II, Title XV, Laws XI-XII.

<sup>19</sup> Janna Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 59-62, 149-153, 228-232.

García Fernández played a role in the Castilian court “parallel to that of his kingly counterpart.”<sup>20</sup> Hence, the description of the queen’s household provided by the Alfonsian treatises should not necessarily be understood as an accurate portrayal of the composition of thirteenth-century queens’ establishments. Instead, by describing the household in primarily feminine terms, Alfonso X and his jurists contributed to the creation of an imagined gendered space focused on chastity and purity which overlooked aspects of queenly administration that required male officers.

This model can and should be compared with the actual composition of the Castilian queen’s household through an analysis of the extant contemporary documentation. This comparison will allow us to ascertain the extent to which the actual practice in thirteenth-century Castilian consorts’ households differed from, or aligned with, what was described in the legal treatises of the time.

#### **Sources for Reconstructing the Queen’s Household: the *repartimientos***

One of the few sources that provides an insight into the composition of the thirteenth-century queen’s household in Castile are the *repartimientos*.<sup>21</sup> As the Castilian kings Fernando III (r.1217-1252) and his son Alfonso X (r.1252-1284) conquered territories from the lands under Muslim rule in the South of the Iberian Peninsula, the advancement of their military campaigns led to the redistribution or *repartimiento* of the newly incorporated territories.<sup>22</sup> Castilian queens were accustomed to accompanying their husbands in their military campaigns,<sup>23</sup> and they were among the leading beneficiaries of these land distributions, which were granted to them by the ruling king as a recognition of their role and their position within the kingdom, either

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<sup>20</sup> Bianchini, *The Queen’s Hand*, 62, 149-150.

<sup>21</sup> Fuente, “Violante de Aragón,” 122.

<sup>22</sup> There is abundant secondary literature on the Castilian conquests throughout the thirteenth century, and on the phenomenon traditionally referred to as the *Reconquista*. For a collection of essays on Fernando III see Edward L. Holt and Teresa Witcombe, eds., *The Sword and the Cross. Castile-León in the Era of Fernando III* (Boston: Brill, 2020). For a recent historiographical examination of the concept of (and misconceptions around) the *Reconquista* see Robert Portass, “Beyond the *Reconquista*: An Introductory Essay,” in *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711-1085)*, eds. Simon Barton and Robert Portass (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 1-17.

<sup>23</sup> Diana Pelaz Flores, *Reinas Consortes. Las reinas de Castilla entre los siglos XI-XV* (Madrid: Sílex, 2017), 219-224.

as queens consort or widowed queens. These land distributions were recorded in the *cartas* or *libros de repartimiento*, several of which have survived in either their original form or as later copies.

The allotments that queens consort received contributed to enlarging their own resources, and in turn enhanced their economic agency and their overall position within the kingdom. As early as 1170, King Alfonso VIII (r.1158-1214) promised in the charter issued for his marriage with Leonor Plantagenet (r.1170-1214) that he would enlarge her dower settlement with half of the lands that he conquered “from the Saracens” from the date of their marriage onwards.<sup>24</sup> This promise reflected a practice of granting consorts newly conquered lands and increasing their patrimonies which was continued and consolidated throughout the thirteenth century, and which provided queens with a means for benefiting religious orders,<sup>25</sup> exercising their largesse, forging new connections, and compensating the people in their service and wider retinue, through the redistributions of the lands received from the king.

The list of the queen's personnel who benefited from these grants in the *repartimientos* offers an insight into the composition of the Castilian queen's household. The grants were given in a list format, which included the name of the beneficiary of the grant, occasionally their title, and the quantity of land they received in a given newly conquered territory. A typical entry of the *repartimientos* would therefore look like this: “A Pero Peres, cozinero IIII yugadas”, that is, “To Pedro Pérez, cook [of the queen], 4 *yugadas* [land unit]”.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> “...Et preter hec medietatem omnium eorum quocumque per Dei gratiam super sarracenos adquisiero a die contracti matrimonii et deinceps...”: José Manuel Cerda Costabal, *Leonor de Inglaterra. La reina Plantagenet de Castilla* (Gijón: Trea, 2021), 189; Paula Del Val Vales, “Las arras de las reinas consortes castellanas y aragonesas en el siglo XIII: una aproximación a su estudio y composición,” in *Patrimonios regios femeninos de los reinos cristianos de la Península Ibérica (ss. XIII-XV)*, ed. Diana Pelaz Flores (Madrid: Sílex, 2022), forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, “La política respecto al musulmán sometido y las limitaciones prácticas de la cruzada en tiempos de Fernando III (1199-1252),” in *Fernando III: tiempo de cruzada*, eds. Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Martín Federico Ríos Saloma (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2012), 406-407.

<sup>26</sup> Julio González, ed., *Repartimiento de Sevilla: Estudios*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), vol. 2, 90.

Scholars such as María Jesús Fuente Pérez have recognised the usefulness of the *repartimientos* as a source to identify some of the main queen's officers, but their potential for unveiling the complex entourages and households of Castilian consorts' is yet to be fully explored.<sup>27</sup> As well as shedding light on the chief officials of the queen, an analysis of the *repartimientos* will enable us to estimate the size of the queen's household, and to identify dynamics within it, such as transferences from the king's and royal children's household into the consort's entourage and vice versa, therefore offering nuance to our current understanding of the queen's household during a key period of its development.

### **The Widowed Queen Juana of Ponthieu: An Overview of her Household (1253-1254)**

Juana of Ponthieu was the daughter of Simon of Dammartin and Marie of Ponthieu, and heiress to the County of Ponthieu through her maternal inheritance.<sup>28</sup> Juana married the Castilian king Fernando III in 1237 after the death of his first wife, Beatriz of Swabia, to whom he had been married for fifteen years—a marriage that had resulted in the birth of the heir to the throne, the future King Alfonso X.<sup>29</sup> Throughout her time as a Castilian consort, Juana accompanied her husband on multiple military campaigns in the South of the Iberian Peninsula, and acquired the rents and lordship over several of the king's newly conquered territories, including the *señorío* (lordship)

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<sup>27</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón", 121-126.

<sup>28</sup> Very little has been written on Juana of Ponthieu as a Castilian consort. On her marriage to Fernando III, see Ariadna Cobos Rodríguez, "Intereses políticos. La diplomacia en el enlace de Juana de Danmartín o Ponthieu," in *Diplomacia y cultura política en la Península Ibérica (siglos XI al XV)*, eds. José Manuel Nieto Soria and Óscar Villarroel González (Madrid: Sílex, 2021), 243-256. Kathy Krause has noted that Juana's document trail and her chancery activity as Countess of Ponthieu is more prolific after Fernando III's death and during her second marriage to Jean de Nesle, as there are 61 charters extant between 1260-1261 and her death in 1279: Kathy M. Krause, "The Charters of the Thirteenth-Century Inheriting Countesses of Ponthieu," *The Haskins Society Journal. Studies in Medieval History*, 25 (2013): 234-235.

<sup>29</sup> On Beatriz of Swabia see Eduardo Baura García, "Beatriz de Suabia: su vida y su influencia en los reinados de Fernando III y Alfonso X," *Alcanate: Revista de estudios Alfonsíes* 11 (2018-2019): 61-96; Daniel Colmero López, "La boda entre Fernando III el Santo y Beatriz de Suabia: Motivos y perspectivas de una alianza matrimonial entre la Corona de Castilla y los Staufer," *Miscelánea Murciana* XXXIV (2010): 9-22.

of Carmona in 1248 after its conquest in 1247.<sup>30</sup> After the king's passing on May 1252, all of the queen's lordships, besides that of Marchena, reverted as crown lands (*realengo*) to the new king Alfonso X, who then revised and regranted the previous distributions of lands undertaken by the royal couple.<sup>31</sup> Fernando III had also conquered Seville, but its formal distribution had not yet taken place before he passed away, and it was Alfonso X who proceeded to its *repartimiento* in 1253 after his ascension to the throne.<sup>32</sup>

As part of this land distribution, and during Juana of Ponthieu's first year of widowhood, she received a set of lands (*alquería*) in Leirena (newly renamed as Vallehermoso) to divide among her entourage.<sup>33</sup> At first, this allotment was distributed by King Alfonso X himself, but it was later established that Juana was to allocate the land among her household personnel as she saw fit.<sup>34</sup> The *repartimiento* provides a list of forty-five men identified as part of the queen's entourage (see table 1), who are referred to as the queen's *compañía* or *compaña*.<sup>35</sup>

During the Late Middle Ages, the Castilian queen's household was organised into six main substructures: the palace, the chamber, the chancery, the judicial apparatus or justice, the treasury, and the chapel.<sup>36</sup> This structure reflects the development of an organisation which ought to cover all the needs of the queen consort: domestic, day-to-day life, spiritual, economic, administrative, liturgical, and

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<sup>30</sup> Antonio de Sánchez de Mora, "Doña Juana de Ponthieu, reina de Castilla y señora de Marchena," in *La mujer en la historia de Marchena: Actas de las XI Jornadas sobre Historia de Marchena, del 4 al 7 de octubre de 2005*, eds. Juan Luis Carriazo Rubio and Ramón Ramos Alfonso (Marchena: Ayuntamiento de Marchena, 2017), 14–15; Manuel González Jiménez, "Repartimiento de Carmona. Estudio y edición," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 8 (1981): 64–65.

<sup>31</sup> Sánchez de Mora, "Doña Juana de Ponthieu," 15–17.

<sup>32</sup> González, "Repartimiento de Carmona," 64–65.

<sup>33</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 275; vol. 2, 88–90.

<sup>34</sup> "E después que el rey ovo partido esta alcaria e dado a cada uno como aquí dice tuvo por bien el rey e mandó lo partiese la reyna donna Juana a esta su companna ansi como ella quisiese o toviere por bien": González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89.

<sup>35</sup> On the different uses and meanings of the term "compañía" see Francisco J. Hernández, *Los hombres del rey y la transición de Alfonso X el Sabio y Sancho IV (1276-1286)*, 2 vols. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2021), vol. 1, 13.

<sup>36</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 34–35. Alternatively, Cañas articulates the Queen's household into: 1. the offices directly dependant on the *mayordomo* (what Pelaz refers to as "palace"), 2. the chamber, 3. the bureaucratic offices, and 4. the chapel: Cañas, "Las Casas de Isabel," 9–233.

ritual, among others. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a much clearer household structure arose, which distinguished between the main officials or *oficiales mayores*, responsible of the running each department of the household, and those under their supervision—a variable (but increasing) number of sub-officials that branched out and progressively covered more aspects of the service to the queen.<sup>37</sup>

The list provided by the 1253 *repartimiento* demonstrates that, although this division (and particularly this level of detail) was not as clearly defined, by the mid-thirteenth century Juana had among her officials people in charge of her physical, spiritual, and political body, anticipating the organisation that became customary for late medieval queenly households.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, this model will be followed when examining the composition of both Juana of Ponthieu's and Violante of Aragon's households, to demonstrate the extent to which these structures (palace, chamber, chancery, and chapel), were already recognisable, even if at an early stage, during the thirteenth century.

Among the forty-five people identified as part of Juana's entourage, thirty-five are named without any reference to the office they held, while in eleven cases it is possible to identify their role within the queen's household.

Within her palace the queen had:

- Two *coperos* or cupbearers, Don Gonzalo and Domingo Pérez, responsible for serving the beverages in the queen's household, as well as controlling the provisioning of wine for her court.<sup>39</sup>
- A cook, Pedro Pérez, responsible for handling the food served at the queen's table.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The main *oficiales mayores* in the fifteenth century were: *mayordomo*, *camarero*, *repostero*, *copero*, *alcalde*, *alguacil*, *canciller*, *portero*, *contador*, *capellán*, *tesorero*, *despensero*, *caballerizo*, *acemilero* and *apostador*: Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 36.

<sup>38</sup> This triple division of the queen's personnel into the attendance of the physical, political, and spiritual bodies of the queen was discussed by Lledó Ruiz Domingo in the paper titled "De duquesa a reina: personal, funciones y transferencias en la Casa de Violante de Bar (1380-1396)," given at the International Seminar "Poblar la Casa, conectar los reinos: El entorno curial de la reina en la Península Ibérica (ss. XIII-XVI)" at the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (21-23 June 2022).

<sup>39</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89-90; On the importance of the *copero* within the Queen's household see Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 45; Cañas, "Las Casas de Isabel," 58.

<sup>40</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89-90.

- An *acemilero* or mule driver, named Domingo Pérez.<sup>41</sup>

Within her chamber:

- A porter, Esteban Pérez, in charge of guarding the queen, and granting visitors access to her chamber.<sup>42</sup>
- A *toquero*, also named Pedro Pérez, in charge of the queen's *tocas* or headdresses.<sup>43</sup> The presence of this official demonstrates the level of increasing specialisation that can be observed within the queen's household, as well as the importance attached to specific items of dress within it.<sup>44</sup>
- An apothecary or *botiquir*, who appears unnamed in this account.<sup>45</sup>

Within her chancery:

- A chancellor, Pedro Pérez, in charge of the administration of the queen's household, the custody of her letters, and the running of the queen's chancery.<sup>46</sup>
- A scribe, Martín, in charge of producing and issuing the queen's documents.<sup>47</sup>

Within her chapel:

- Two *chaplains*, Don Sancho and Domingo, responsible for the queen's spiritual life, religious activity, and the liturgy within her chapel.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90.

<sup>42</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90; Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 95–97.

<sup>43</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90. I thank Miguel García-Fernández and María del Cristo González Marrero for their comments about the role of the *toquero* within the queen's household. It is difficult to ascertain whether there were three different people named Pedro Pérez in the queen's entourage, or whether this is the same person undertaking three different responsibilities (cook, chancellor, and *toquero*)—although this seems rather improbable.

<sup>44</sup> For an overview of late medieval Castilian dressing and head-dressing customs see María del Cristo González Marrero, "Un vestido para cada ocasión: la indumentaria de la realeza bajomedieval como instrumento para la afirmación, la imitación y el boato. El ejemplo de Isabel I de Castilla," *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 22 (2014): 155–194.

<sup>45</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90.

<sup>46</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90, 339; Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 58.

<sup>47</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90.

<sup>48</sup> Domingo does not receive *repartimiento* in Leirena but he appears in a 1255 document as "the queen's old chaplain:" González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 89–90, 326.

This list evidences that the queen's household was experiencing qualitative transformations that suggest the queen's ability to bring together a wider retinue whose roles were progressively diversified to comply with administrative and documentary functions. Although by the mid-thirteenth century the queen's household was not yet the intricate institution that it would become in the following centuries, as there is no identifiable personnel assigned to the queen's own treasury and justice, the presence of a queen's chancellor and scribes suggest the development of new layers of administration within the Castilian queen's household that go beyond the guarding of the queen's body and her domestic life described in the *Siete Partidas*.<sup>49</sup>

In fact, the list of Juana's personnel provided in the *repartimientos* is comprised by exclusively male members of her household. It is inconceivable that Juana had no female entourage at the time, particularly considering that she was a newly widowed woman. Mourning for her deceased husband would have been a fundamental part of Juana's day-to-day life and liturgical practices, which would have entailed the support of other women. The absence of the queen's women in this *repartimiento* demonstrates that the people who were part of the queen's entourage, but did not benefit from a land allotment on this occasion, are obscured and untraceable through these documents, hindering a complete reconstruction of Juana's establishment. It also demonstrates that the description of the consort's household provided by the *Siete Partidas* was an idealised gendered view which focused on an ideal of femininity and chastity, rather than an actual accurate portrayal of its composition.<sup>50</sup>

Another significant absence is that of the queen's *mayordomo*. The *mayordomo* was the chief officer within the queen's household, responsible for the running and daily functioning of her establishment, and a close collaborator of the queen herself,

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<sup>49</sup> José Manuel Cerda Costabal has also argued that the presence of a chancellor refutes Jaime de Salazar y Acha's statement that in the thirteenth century the queen's household was "strictly the queen's domestic sphere": Cerda, "Matrimonio y Patrimonio," 81-82; Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 55-56.

<sup>50</sup> The *repartimiento* of Seville also includes lists of personnel of Juana's daughter, the royal *infanta* Eleanor of Castile (future queen of England), Queen Violante of Aragon, and Doña Mayor, with no references to their female personnel except one unnamed woman at Violante's service. The woman is identified as the mother-in-law of another member of Violante's household, named Bonfilleul or Bon Fillol (see table 2, no. 65): González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 274-275 and vol. 2, 86-90.

hence one of the most important officials, and customarily a man of noble origin.<sup>51</sup> The office of the *mayordomo* within the queen's household is documented in Castile at least since the reign of Leonor Plantagenet (r.1170-1204), queen consort of Alfonso VIII, who had had six known *mayordomos* between 1170 and 1213.<sup>52</sup> For her successor, the first wife of Fernando III, Beatriz of Swabia (r.1220-1235), one *mayordomo* named Gonzalo Gutiérrez can be documented, who served the queen since 1231 and whose social origin and background remain unknown.<sup>53</sup> Based on this previous tradition, it can be ascertained that Juana also had a *mayordomo*, who unfortunately did not receive lands in Leirena, and therefore cannot be traced. Considering these absences, it can be determined that the size of Juana's household was larger than the forty-five men identified through the *repartimiento* of Seville, although it is difficult to provide an exact estimate of it.

Only a year after having received and redistributed lands in Leirena, Juana of Ponthieu set out on a journey to Ponthieu, where she took over the governance of the County as its rightful heiress, and where she married Jean of Nesle, lord of Falvy and of La Hérelle, in 1260 or 1261.<sup>54</sup> Her journey to her homeland can be traced through an extant safe-conduct issued on 16 July 1254 by King Henry III of England (r.1216-1272), to whom Juana had been betrothed before her marriage to the Castilian king Fernando III.<sup>55</sup> This safe-conduct is recorded in the English *patent rolls*, now housed in The National Archives of the United Kingdom, and it specifies that Juana could cross

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<sup>51</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 38-43.

<sup>52</sup> Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 397-398; Shadis, *Berenguela*, 42-43; Cerda, "Matrimonio y Patrimonio," 66; Vann, "The Theory and Practice," 136, no. 46.

<sup>53</sup> Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 398; Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 149.

<sup>54</sup> Krause, "The Charters," 235; Sánchez de Mora, "Doña Juana de Ponthieu," 21-22.

<sup>55</sup> Juana's connections with England do not end there, since it was precisely through the marriage of her daughter Eleanor of Castile to Henry III's heir, the future Edward I, that the conflict over Gascony between Castile and England was brought to an end—a conflict that had begun fifty years earlier with the alleged dowry promised to Leonor Plantagenet by Henry II of England upon Leonor's marriage to Alfonso VIII. On Juana and Henry III's betrothal see David L. D'Avray, *Dissolving Royal Marriages. A Documentary History, 860-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81-98. On the Anglo-Castilian conflict over Gascony and its resolution see José Manuel Cerda Costabal, "La dot gasconne d'Aliénor d'Angleterre. Entre royaume de Castille, royaume de France et royaume d'Angleterre," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 54 (2011): 225-242.

the English territories in Gascony with her men, her horses, and her household members, together with her son Fernando.<sup>56</sup>

Unfortunately, the entry omits the names of the people travelling with the widowed queen back to Ponthieu, therefore obstructing any possibility of reconstructing the size and composition of her household at the time. Juana's trip took place merely a year after her generous land distributions in Leirena in 1253, and there is a strong possibility that part of the household personnel that benefited from her grants accompanied the royal widow in her journey. Some may have even stayed with her in Ponthieu, transitioning with Juana into a new stage of her life until her death in 1279; whereas others would have stayed in Castile, resuming other responsibilities, re-joining the royal household under King Alfonso X, moving into the service of the new consort, Violante of Aragon, or even serving as members of the royal children's (*infantes*) households.<sup>57</sup> This journey highlights the changes undergone by a woman who, in less than a decade, had transitioned from queen consort to widowed queen, and who then went back to her natal County of Ponthieu. In Ponthieu, Juana's authority did not come from her marital status, but rather from her status as heiress and countess in her own right. During this next stage of her life Juana remarried, surrounding herself by a new household as countess. Through all these transitions, her networks and personnel would have adapted, transformed, and changed with her, and the service to Juana would have brought together people from diverse status, geographical origins, and positions, demonstrating the permeability

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<sup>56</sup> "Johanna Regina Castelle et Legione et Ferrandus filius suus hunc litteras regis patentes quod salvo et secure transire possint per totam regis Wasconiam in eunde ab Hispaniam usque partes suas de Pontis cum hominibus, equis et tota familia sua quos secum ducet teste apud Sancti Macar' xvj die julii." The National Archives, C 66/67, membrane 10d. I thank Paul Dryburgh for sharing with me a photo of this entry, which is also calendared in *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1906-), 1247-58, 351. In this entry, the term *familia* is used in the Latin sense of the word and refers to the queen's entourage and personnel, rather than to the Spanish meaning of the word, family. This usage of the Latin word *familia* is also found in other English thirteenth-century records, as demonstrated by John Carmi Parsons (ed.), *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: an edition of British Library Additional Manuscript 35294* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1977).

<sup>57</sup> For more examples of personnel who remained at the service of royal women through several stages of their lives, as they transitioned from kingdoms and roles, see Elena Woodacre, *Joan of Navarre: Infanta, Duchess, Queen, Witch?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), Chapter 6.

of the personnel that followed and served royal women, not only during their reigns as consorts, but throughout their whole lifetimes.

### **At the Service of the Queen Consort: Violante of Aragon**

Violante of Aragon was the daughter of the king of Aragon Jaume I (r.1213-1276) and his wife Violante of Hungary (r.1235-1251), and she married Alfonso X when he was still an *infante*.<sup>58</sup> She was accompanied in this journey by her *ayo* or educator, Jofré de Loaysa, and his wife Jaumeta (also known as Jacometa), who first raised and then served the queen for decades.<sup>59</sup> After Fernando III's death and her husband Alfonso X's rise to the Castilian throne, Violante became the new queen consort in 1252.

Three different *repartimientos* allow us to reconstruct the identity of the members of Violante's household throughout two decades, as noted by Fuente.<sup>60</sup> These are the *repartimientos* of Seville (1253), Écija (1263), and Murcia (c.1266-1272), which contain lists of the beneficiaries of Violante's land distributions.<sup>61</sup>

Seventy-eight people can be clearly linked to Violante's service through these sources (see table 2). The office that they held within her household is mentioned in thirty-seven cases, that is, almost half of the personnel listed in the *repartimiento* (47 per cent) had a recognisable role. Out of the seventy-eight people listed, 76 per cent were men (fifty-nine out of seventy-eight), whereas 24 per cent were women (nineteen out of seventy-eight), challenging the idea that the queen's establishment was uniquely or mostly constituted by women, and Acha's argument that it was a purely domestic establishment.<sup>62</sup> It also suggests that the queen's household was undergoing a process of increasing bureaucratisation and specialisation, which resembles the dynamic found for the late medieval centuries, in which the immense majority of people at the queen's service were men.

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<sup>58</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón," 63-79; Vann, "The Theory and Practice," 130.

<sup>59</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón," 67.

<sup>60</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón," 121-126.

<sup>61</sup> The dates given for the *repartimiento* of Murcia (c.1266-1272) correspond with the third and fourth *particiones* or divisions of the land, as discussed by Juan Torres Fontes in his introduction to the edition of this source: Juan Torres Fontes, ed., *Repartimiento de Murcia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960).

<sup>62</sup> Salazar y Acha, *La Casa del Rey*, 55-56.

Among those whose occupations are mentioned, it is possible to identify an increasing specialisation that anticipates the appearance and development of the palace, chamber, chancery, chapel, and queen's justice administration, as it has also been described for Juana of Ponthieu.

Within her palace it is possible to find:

- The *mayordomo*, Pedro.<sup>63</sup>
- The queen's *acemilero* or mule driver, Pedro Martínez.<sup>64</sup>
- A *copero* or cupbearer, Fernán González.<sup>65</sup>

Within the chamber:

- The queen's *repostero mayor*, Domingo Pérez, in charge of keeping the queen's personal belongings and the objects closest to her, such as her cutlery and crockery, and the items for her table.<sup>66</sup>
- The queen's *portero mayor* or head porter, Gonzalo Pérez, together with other four porters: Domingo Pérez, Ibáñez, Gonzalo, and Fernán.<sup>67</sup>
- The queen's messenger, Domingo Pérez.<sup>68</sup>
- The queen's *escudero* or squire, Pedro González.<sup>69</sup>
- An *alfayate* or tailor, García Pérez.<sup>70</sup>
- The queen's two *amos*,<sup>71</sup> Jofré de Loaysa and Velasco Pérez, who were in charge of her upbringing during her first years in the kingdom.<sup>72</sup> Jofré de Loaysa had accompanied Violante to Castile from Aragon to oversee the future queen's education, together with his wife Jaumeta, who also

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<sup>63</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 87.

<sup>64</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 187, 189, 191–192.

<sup>65</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 132, 219, 221.

<sup>66</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 37, 243, 247–248, 251.

<sup>67</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 9, 104; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 87, 281.

<sup>68</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 186–187, 190–192.

<sup>69</sup> María Josefa Sanz Fuentes, "Repartimiento de Écija," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 3 (1976): 545.

<sup>70</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 104, 221.

<sup>71</sup> The words *ayo* and *amo* are both used to refer to the queen's educators.

<sup>72</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 333, 334, 340, 341; Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 1, 49, 221–222, 235, 243, 248, 251.

received *repartimiento* in Seville and was a prominent figure within the queen's household.<sup>73</sup>

- A flourishing female entourage, comprised by eleven ladies-in-waiting;<sup>74</sup> a maid or *doncella*, Caterina de Calders; and a servant or *criada*, Sancha Pérez.<sup>75</sup>
- Associated with Violante, and referred to as part of the queen's household, it is also possible to find personnel who would have been at the service of the *infantes*. These were the educators, carers, and servants who were in close contact with the royal children, and, in turn, with the queen's household too.<sup>76</sup>

Within the queen's chancery:

- A scribe, Pedro Aznárez.<sup>77</sup> He presumably worked under the supervision of the queen's chancellor, who did not receive *repartimiento* on this occasion. Violante had at least two chancellors throughout her life: Agustín Pérez, and Jofré de Loaysa, the son and namesake of Violante's *amo*.<sup>78</sup>

Within the queen's justice administration:

- The *alcalde* of the queen in Écija, don Simón, in charge of the administration of justice within the queen's domains in this territory.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón," 67; 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 (January-June 2016): 147.

<sup>74</sup> The ladies-in-waiting are recognisable by the use of the apelative "Doña" before their name. It is difficult to ascertain whether these women were either married or widowed, since no information about their spouses is provided in the grants. However, the use of "Doña" unequivocally points towards a higher status and dignity, which distinguishes these women from Violante's female maids and servants.

<sup>75</sup> Sanz, "Repartimiento de Écija," 547; Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 105, 222.

<sup>76</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 103-105.

<sup>77</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 104.

<sup>78</sup> Fuente, "Violante de Aragón", 124-125; Hernández, *Los hombres del rey*, vol. 1, 564; Francisco J. Hernández, "La reina Violante de Aragón, Jofré de Loaysa y la *Crónica de Alfonso X*. Un gran fragmento cronístico del siglo XIII reutilizado en el XIV," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 7, no. 1 (2014): 100-104.

<sup>79</sup> Sanz, "Repartimiento de Écija," 543. On the role of the *alcalde* see Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 68-70.

Within the chapel:

- Her chaplain, Don Polo, who according to María Jesús Fuente may have also been the queen's confessor.<sup>80</sup>

Violante of Aragon also had within her household a doctor, another porter, two more scribes, two chancellors, several clerks, and another chaplain, who did not benefit from these land distributions.<sup>81</sup> This detailed list makes it possible to reconstruct a considerably more complex household than the one attributed to Juana of Ponthieu, including a higher number of officials with an identifiable role in the queen's service (see table 3), a more detailed list of her chamber personnel, and the mention of an *alcalde*, which demonstrates the development of the queen's administration of justice in the territory. This also demonstrates a continuing development of the queen's household structure as the thirteenth century progressed which advances the more detailed, structured, and bureaucratised establishment that can be observed in the Late Middle Ages. This tendency towards a higher level of organisation is not only present in Castile, Iberia, or Southern Europe, but also across the Northern kingdoms such as England or France, where we witness the development of institutionalised courts and households with a parallel development of ordinances and household structures which aimed to regulate these institutions.<sup>82</sup>

Moreover, the references to a large female entourage comprising eleven ladies-in-waiting, several maids, and servants in Violante's entourage evidences the importance of the female presence within the queen's household, while also challenging the idea that in the thirteenth century the household was *solely* a female space. This is of paramount significance, since the queen's household provided women with an opportunity to be incorporated into the spheres of political power

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<sup>80</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 326; Fuente, "Violante de Aragón," 124-125.

<sup>81</sup> These officials do not appear in the *repartimientos*, but have been identified in other sources by Fuente, see María Jesús Fuente, "Violante of Aragon," 124-125, and the references within it.

<sup>82</sup> Vale, *The Princely Court*, 34-56; Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 66.

which were customarily accessed, occupied, and managed by men; and it offered them material and tangible benefits for their service to the queen.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to these thirty-seven people whose role within the queen's household can be identified, we also find forty-one more (thirty-six men and five women) who appear to have been linked to Violante's entourage. The way in which their affiliation to the queen's entourage is displayed varies between each *repartimiento*. In the *repartimiento* of Seville (1253), they appear as queen's *compañía*. In the case of the *repartimientos* of Écija (1263) and Murcia (c.1266-1271) they are described as members of the queen's household (*de la casa de la reyna*).<sup>84</sup> Finally, in some instances, the term "queen's man" or *hombre de la reina/reyna* is used. Although the difference that this diverse terminology had in practice is ambiguous, the clear ascription and identification as part of the queen's entourage demonstrates that these people were unequivocally recognised by their contemporaries for their association with the queen consort. This suggests that they were either at the service of, or maintained by, Queen Violante, and acknowledging their presence provides a better understanding of the queen's wider retinue and the size of her establishment.

### **The Queen's Household: A Space of Connections**

The analysis of the composition of these two thirteenth-century queens consorts' households offers an opportunity to identify several dynamics during this formative period of institutional development in Castile.

Transfers of personnel between royal households were common and expected, since both the king's and queen's establishments remained closely linked, a phenomenon that is also observed in neighbouring kingdoms within the Iberian

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<sup>83</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 102-106. On the importance of the female presence in the queen's household see Caroline zum Kolk, "La naissance de la 'cour des Dames': La maison de la reine de France et son personnel féminin (Moyen Âge - XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)," in *Femmes à la cour de France. Charges et fonctions (XV<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, dir. Caroline zum Kolk and Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2018), 23-47.

<sup>84</sup> These differences are displayed in table 2 by using the terms *compañía*, member of the queen's household, or queen's man, following the precise terminology used in each of the *repartimientos*.

Peninsula and beyond.<sup>85</sup> Officials who had originally been at the service of the king could be transferred into the queen's service and then back to his, or they could perform roles at the same time for both monarchs. Pedro Pérez received in 1255 a set of lands from King Alfonso X, and is identified as his *clérigo* or clergyman, as well as one of queen Juana of Ponthieu's men.<sup>86</sup> Whether he had performed both roles at the same time is unclear, but the evidence suggests a permeability between royal households that will be continuously observed throughout the century. Don Simón, Violante's *alcalde* or judicial administrator in Écija, was also King Alfonso X's man at the time.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, Domingo Pérez, the queen's *repostero mayor*, was also the king's *repartidor* in Écija, and therefore one of the men responsible for the land division in that region.<sup>88</sup>

The people in the queen's service could also move into their successor's establishment. An example of this is Bonfilleul or Bon Fillol, who is mentioned as a beneficiary of grants of land from both queens, and who was associated with both their households.<sup>89</sup> Julio González has suggested that he was a man of Aragonese origin, while Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta identifies him as French.<sup>90</sup> Although his exact birthplace remains unclear, his provenance from outside Castile suggests that he arrived in the kingdom with either Juana from Ponthieu or Violante from the Crown of Aragon, entering the service of both queens, and thus demonstrating the fluidity of the female royal establishments, which remained closely connected between them.

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<sup>85</sup> In Castile, this crossover of personnel takes place between the households of Leonor Plantagenet and Alfonso VIII: Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile*, 42. In England, this phenomenon can be observed in the households of Isabella of France and Edward II, as well as those of Joan of Navarre and Henry IV: St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 69-71; Woodacre, *Joan of Navarre*, Chapter 6. Another further example is that of a member of the queen's household moving between households generationally. García Fernández de Villamayor served as Leonor Plantagenet's *mayordomo*, moved to the service of Berenguela of Castile, and lastly was incorporated into Fernando III's household: Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 149.

<sup>86</sup> "omne de la reina donna Johanna e mio clerigo." González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 326.

<sup>87</sup> "don Symón, omne del rey e alcalde por la reyna en Eçija." Sanz, "Repartimiento de Écija," 542.

<sup>88</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 243, 247-248, 251.

<sup>89</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 86-90.

<sup>90</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 274; Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X*, 102.

The queen's personnel could also serve at the *infantes'* and *infantas'* households while still being considered part of the queen's entourage. The *repartimientos* show that there were at least seven people who, although they were closely linked to the service of the royal children, are identified in this documentation as members of Violante's household.<sup>91</sup> These include the caregivers of *infanta* Leonor and *infante* Pedro, Juan del Corral and Pedro Díaz; as well as a servant of the *infantas*, Gonzalo Pérez; another caregiver or *ama*, Doña María; and three *monteros* or officials in charge of hunting at the service of *infante* Fernando. This indicates the fluidity and flexibility that existed at this time between the establishments of the queen consort and her offspring, whose households were also undergoing a formative period, and demonstrates the trust that the royal consorts confided in these people, in charge of the wellbeing of the *infantes* and *infantas*.

It was also not uncommon for members of the same family to serve the Castilian consorts. References to kinship are sometimes the only information we have of the people working for the queen, as we see in the case of "the sister of Aldonza López," "the mother-in-law of Bonfilleul," and "the brother of Fontaner," all of them within Violante of Aragon's household.<sup>92</sup> Another example is Pedro Arnalt, who is identified as a member of the queen's household and "son of María de Girona," who also received *repartimiento* from the queen in Écija.<sup>93</sup> The most notable case is that of Jofré de Loaysa, Violante's *ayo* or educator, who arrived with her into Castile in 1243 together with his wife Jaumeta. His son, Jofré de Loaysa junior, became the queen's chancellor in 1271 and it was under her promotion that he undertook the creation of the chronicle known as the *Crónica de Alfonso X*.<sup>94</sup> Thus, whole families could be employed by or be at the service of queens consorts, creating bonds of loyalty that transcended the institutional and permeated into the personal level.<sup>95</sup>

The queen's household was also a space where people from diverse origins came together, demonstrating the capacity of this nascent entity to connect different

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<sup>91</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 103–105.

<sup>92</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 104–105; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 88.

<sup>93</sup> Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 104.

<sup>94</sup> Hernández, "La reina Violante de Aragón," 100–104.

<sup>95</sup> Another example of this phenomenon is the patronage of the Villamayor family exercised by Berenguela of Castile: Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*, 149.

polities—something particularly evident if we take into account that all but one of the thirteenth-century Castilian queens consort came from outside the Castilian borders.<sup>96</sup> This dynamic is also found in the neighbouring Crown of Aragon, where García of Hungary, who had probably arrived with Violante of Aragon's mother, Violante of Hungary (r. 1235-1251), was also in the service of her successor as consort, Constanza Hohenstaufen (r. 1276-1285).<sup>97</sup> Similar examples are also abundant in case of Castile. Tomas "de Pontis," or of Ponthieu, had arrived in the Iberian Peninsula with the queen Juana of Ponthieu.<sup>98</sup> Caterina de Calders, Violante of Aragon's maid, was of Aragonese origin, as were other of the queen's men, including Pere Delmás, Pero Guillén, and Mateo Guillén, or the abovementioned Jofré de Loaysa and Jaumeta.<sup>99</sup> This demonstrates that the queen's household was inhabited by people not only of diverse status, but also of diverse geographical origins, who brought with them a mosaic of languages, cultures, experiences, and influences which had the potential to transform the liturgies, rituals, material culture, customs, and life of the consort's court which they served.

Finally, the queen's household was also a space of coexistence and cohabitation for people from diverse religions. This is particularly evident in the Crown of Aragon, where we find Muslim painters, and Muslim female and male servants as members of Queen Constanza Hohenstaufen's household.<sup>100</sup> In Castile, Juana of Ponthieu had within her personnel a man named Don David, who has been identified by previous scholars as a potential member of the Jewish faith.<sup>101</sup> This is also the case for the Castilian queen María of Molina, whose administrator or *almojarife* don Samuel has also been said to be of Jewish origin.<sup>102</sup> The specifics of how

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<sup>96</sup> María of Molina (r.1284-1295) was the only Castilian woman to become Queen of Castile in the thirteenth century. This was however an exception rather than a norm, since queens consort across Medieval Europe were usually "foreigners" and so were many of the personnel of their households, who often came with them from their natal polities: St. John, *Three Medieval Queens*, 67-68.

<sup>97</sup> Ferran Soldevila, *Pere el Gran. Primera Part: L'Infant*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1995), vol. 2, 152, no. 66.

<sup>98</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 86-90.

<sup>99</sup> Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X*, 552; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 274, 319-320.

<sup>100</sup> Soldevila, *Pere el Gran. Primera Part: L'Infant*, appendix 1, doc. 25.

<sup>101</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 275.

<sup>102</sup> Gaibrois, *María de Molina*, 27.

these people from diverse religions cohabitated and coexisted within queenly entourages are obscure and difficult to unravel for the thirteenth century from the scarce primary sources that have survived. However, their presence within these spaces demonstrates that the study of queen's households opens new pathways to explore the multi-layered social and cultural nature of the monarchical institution.

### **Conclusion**

This article has provided a first reconstruction of the households of the Castilian queens Juana of Ponthieu and Violante of Aragon through the lists of their personnel recorded in the *repartimientos*, comparing them with the contemporary legal treatises of the time, particularly the *Siete Partidas* and the *Espéculo*. Through this examination it has been possible to observe several dynamics.

First, the queen's household constituted a space of connections in which the queen could develop her own networks and influence, bringing together individuals, sometimes even whole families, from diverse social and geographical backgrounds, whose service could be extended to other members of the Castilian monarchy (such as the king, subsequent consorts, or the royal children), but who were identified in the contemporary documentation through their bond to the queen. In recognition for their service, the Castilian queen was able to advance their position through the allocation of newly conquered lands and resources, perpetrating through her largesse a symbiotic relationship of mutual benefit. The queen's personnel were rewarded for their service to the queen with grants which enlarged their own patrimonies, and which contributed to perpetrate a mutual bond of loyalty and fidelity that could sometimes carry on for generations.

Second, although contemporary legal codes described the queen's household as a gendered space which was the epitome of femininity and chastity and whose main purpose was to serve the consort's domestic needs, this analysis has demonstrated that the queen's household was far from being an exclusively female or domestic space. Juana of Ponthieu's female personnel were completely absent from the *repartimientos*, and in Violante's case, it only represented 24 per cent of the people who benefited from her land distributions in Seville, Écija, and Murcia. Although it is of paramount importance to explore and understand the roles that women could

perform in the queen's household, since the service to the queen provided them with an opportunity to access influential spaces otherwise reserved for men, nuancing our understanding of the composition of female royal entourages contributes to advancing our knowledge of the Castilian queen's household in the thirteenth century.

Finally, thirteenth-century Castilian consorts had at their service people who oversaw their day-to-day life and their domestic needs, but also an increasingly elaborate administrative apparatus and specialised clerks, who were in charge of administering the queen's resources, producing her documents, and ensuring that her establishment was worthy of the dignity of a royal consort or royal widow. The presence of chancellors, scribes, and increasingly specialised officers demonstrates that, although still in a formative stage, the Castilian queen's household experienced a transformation throughout the thirteenth century that anticipates fourteenth- and fifteenth-century developments. These included the division of her establishment into the queen's palace, chamber, chancery, chapel, treasury, and justice. Further studies on this topic will contribute to nuancing our current understanding of this transcendental period for the development of royal institutions and will shed light on the appearance of a separate Castilian queen's household and its significance already during the thirteenth century.

## Tables

Table 1: Composition of Juana of Ponthieu's household through the *repartimiento* of Seville (1253)<sup>103</sup>

Identifiable officials and members of the household		
1	<i>Copero</i>	Don Gonzalo
2	Chaplain	Don Sancho
3	Chaplain	Domingo <sup>104</sup>
4	Scribe	Martín
5	<i>Copero</i>	Pérez, Domingo
6	<i>Acemilero</i> , mule driver	Pérez, Domingo
7	Porter	Pérez, Esteban
8	Cook	Pérez, Pedro
9	<i>Toquero</i>	Pérez, Pedro
10	Chancellor	Pérez, Pedro
11	Apothecary	[Unnamed]
Members of the queen's household		
12	<i>Compañía</i>	Bon Fillol/Bonfilleul
13	<i>Compañía</i>	Cofaquin (?)
14	<i>Compañía</i>	De Pontis, don Tomás
15	<i>Compañía</i>	Díaz Alfonso
16	<i>Compañía</i>	Don Bernal
17	<i>Compañía</i>	Don David
18	<i>Compañía</i>	Fernández, Martín
19	<i>Compañía</i>	Gómez, Gonzalo

<sup>103</sup> This table is organised in alphabetical order and based on the queen's personnel listed on the *repartimiento* of Seville: González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 86-90.

<sup>104</sup> Domingo did not receive *repartimiento* but appears mentioned as the queen's chaplain in a later document from 1255: González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 326.

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20	<i>Compañía</i>	González, Alfonso
21	<i>Compañía</i>	González, Gutier
22	<i>Compañía</i>	González, Isidro
23	<i>Compañía</i>	González, Pelayo
24	<i>Compañía</i>	Guillén, Fernán
25	<i>Compañía</i>	Ibáñez, Fernán
26	<i>Compañía</i>	Ibáñez, García
27	<i>Compañía</i>	Ibáñez, Martín
28	<i>Compañía</i>	Juan, Domingo
29	<i>Compañía</i>	Ibáñez/Johannes, Fernán
30	<i>Compañía</i>	Marcos, Alfonso
31	<i>Compañía</i>	Marcos, Fernán
32	<i>Compañía</i>	Martínez, Domingo
33	<i>Compañía</i>	Martínez, Pedro
34	<i>Compañía</i>	Martínez, Ponce
35	<i>Compañía</i>	Nicolás
36	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Alfonso
37	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Alfonso
38	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Fernán
39	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, García
40	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Gonzalo
41	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Mateo
42	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Pedro
43	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Ruy
44	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Vivas
45	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez Zunenda, Pedro
46	<i>Compañía</i>	Yáñez, Rodrigo

Table 2: Composition of Violante of Aragon's household through the *repartimientos* of Seville (1253), Écija (1263), and Murcia (c.1266-1271)<sup>105</sup>

Identifiable officials and members of the household		
1	Scribe	Aznárez, Pedro
2	Maid	De Calders, Caterina
3	<i>Amo</i> of the <i>infanta</i> Leonor	Del Corral, Juan
4	<i>Amo</i> of the queen	De Loaysa, Jofré
5	<i>Ayo</i> of the <i>infante</i> don Pedro	Díaz, Pedro
6	Chaplain	Don Polo
7	<i>Alcalde</i> in Écija	Don Simón
8	Lady-in-waiting	Doña María (1)
9	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Urraca
10	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Juana
11	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Milia
12	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Estefanía
13	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Sancha
14	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Elvira
15	Lady-in-waiting	Doña María (2)
16	Lady-in-waiting	Doña María (3)
17	Lady-in-waiting	Doña Elvira
18	Lady-in-waiting	Doña María (4)
20	<i>Ama</i> of the <i>infante</i>	Doña María
21	Porter	Fernán
22	Porter	Gonzalo
23	<i>Copero</i>	González, Fernán
24	Squire ( <i>escudero</i> )	González, Pedro
25	Porter	Ibáñez/Juaynes

<sup>105</sup> This table is organised in alphabetical order and based on the queen's personnel listed on the *repartimientos* of Seville, Écija and Murcia: González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 1, 274, 333-334, 340-341 and vol. 2, 86-90, 263, 281, 326, 333; Sanz, "Repartimiento de Écija," 543, 545-547; Torres, *Repartimiento de Murcia*, 1, 40, 49, 103-105, 132, 186-187, 189, 190-192, 219-222, 235, 243, 247-248, 251.

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26	Mule driver ( <i>acemilero</i> )	Martínez, Pedro
27	<i>Mayordomo</i>	Pedro
29	Messenger	Pérez, Domingo
30	<i>Repostero mayor</i>	Pérez, Domingo
31	Porter	Pérez, Domingo
32	Tailor ( <i>alfayate</i> )	Pérez, García
33	Servant of the <i>infantas</i>	Pérez, Gonzalo
34	Porter	Pérez Gonzalo
35	Servant of the queen	Pérez, Sancha
36	<i>Amo</i> of the queen	Pérez, Velasco
37	Three <i>monteros</i> of the <i>infante</i> don Fernando	[Unnamed]

<b>Members of the queen's household</b>		
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38	<i>Compañía</i>	Amexar (?)
39	Member of the queen's household	Arnalt, Pedro
40	Member of the queen's household	Bentol, Gisbert
41	<i>Compañía</i>	Bon Fillol/Bonfilleul
42	Member of the queen's household	Brother of Fontaner
43	<i>Compañía</i>	Cumeda, Fernán
44	Member of the queen's household	De Girona, María
45	<i>Compañía</i>	Delmás, Per
46	Queen's man	Díaz, Diego
47	<i>Compañía</i>	Domínguez, Gonzalo
48	<i>Compañía</i>	Domínguez, Juan
49	<i>Compañía</i>	Domínguez, Martín
50	<i>Compañía</i>	Don Esteban
51	Member of the queen's household	Don Gil, archdeacon of Cartagena
52	Member of the queen's household	Doña Perona
53	Member of the queen's household	Esteban, Fernán
54	<i>Compañía</i>	Fernández, Alvar
55	<i>Compañía</i>	Fernández, Gutier

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56	<i>Compañía</i>	Fernández, Pedro
57	Member of the queen's household	Fontaner
58	Member of the queen's household	García, Lope
59	Member of the queen's household	Gómiz/Gómez, Fernán
60	Member of the queen's household	Gonzálvez, García
61	<i>Compañía</i>	Guillén, Mateo
62	<i>Compañía</i>	Guillén, Pero
63	Member of the queen's household	Jaumeta or Jacometa <sup>106</sup>
64	Member of the queen's household	López de Eslava, Juan
65	Member of the queen's household	Morerón, Ibáñez
66	<i>Compañía</i>	Mother-in-law of Bon Fillol
67	Member of the queen's household	Pérez de Pedro Díaz, Domingo
68	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez Romo, Juan
69	Member of the queen's household	Pérez, Blasco
70	Queen's man	Pérez, Diego
71	Member of the queen's household	Pérez, Ximeno/Examen
72	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Gonzalo
73	<i>Compañía</i>	Pérez, Juan
74	Queen's man	Pérez, Miguel
75	Member of the queen's household	Roig, Domingo
76	<i>Compañía</i>	Ruiz, Martín
77	Member of the queen's household	Sánchez, García
78	Member of the queen's household	Sister of Aldonza López

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<sup>106</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, 333.

Table 3: Identifiable officials named in the *repartimientos*

		Juana of Ponthieu	Violante of Aragon
Palace	<i>Mayordomo</i>	-	1
	<i>Copero</i> or cupbearer	2	1
	Cook	1	-
	<i>Acemilero</i> or mule driver	1	1
Chamber	<i>Repostero mayor</i>	-	1
	Porter	1	5
	Messenger	-	1
	<i>Escudero</i> or squire	-	1
	<i>Alfayate</i> or tailor	-	1
	<i>Amo</i>	-	2
	<i>Toquero</i>	1	-
	Apothecary	1	-
	Lady-in-waiting	-	11
	Maid	-	1
	Servant	-	1
	Service for the royal children	-	7
Chancery	Chancellor	1	-
	Scribe	1	1
Chapel	Chaplain	2	1
Justice	<i>Alcalde</i>	-	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>37</b>