

RAISING *INFANTA* CATALINA DE ARAGÓN TO BE CATHERINE, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

DE CATALINA DE ARAGÓN A CATALINA DE INGLATERRA: LA EDUCACIÓN DE UNA INFANTA

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Resumen: Este estudio examina la casa de la infanta Catalina de Aragón, hija menor de Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón, para mostrar cómo las mujeres de confianza de la corte constituyeron la base de la transformación de Catalina de infanta española en reina inglesa. Utilizando los libros de cuentas de la casa y corte de su madre y documentos reales ingleses, este ensayo se centra en cuatro mujeres en particular –Inés Vanegas, María de Rojas, María de Salinas y Elvira Manuel–, inmersas en unas complejas redes de parentesco y de patronazgo dentro de la propia corte. Su tutela y lealtad prepararon a Catalina para sortear los entresijos de la política cortesana de la Inglaterra de los Tudor.

Palabras clave: Catalina de Aragón; Inés Vanegas; María de Rojas; María de Salinas; Elvira Manuel; casa real; mujeres en la corte; redes de parentesco y patronazgo.

Abstract: This study examines the household of *infanta* Catalina de Aragón, youngest daughter of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragón, to demonstrate how trusted women at court provided the foundation for Catalina's transformation from Spanish *infanta* to English queen. Using account records from the court of her mother and records from English royal sources, this essay focuses four women in particular –Inés Vanegas, María de Rojas, María de Salinas, Elvira Manuel– who were deeply embedded in a complex kin and patronage network at court. Their tutelage and loyalty prepared Catalina to navigate the complexity of court politics in Tudor England.

Keywords: Catalina de Aragón; Inés Vanegas; María de Rojas; María de Salinas; Elvira Manuel; royal household; women at court; kin and patronage networks.

Catalina de Aragón (1485-1536) is a surprisingly marginalized queen. Most Spanish scholars neglect Catalina as English, while English scholars marginalize her as Spanish. To biographers, both scholarly and popular, she is the wife who prompted the King's Great Matter, the Divorce, the English Reformation. They sentimentalize her, first as the young widow of Arthur and then as the pious, dour, dowdy wife of Henry VIII (1491-1547) who was displaced by the more elegant Anne Boleyn (d. 1536). More often than not,

her life is from the perspective of the men in her life or as a victim of the ambitions of men. Since the mid-nineteenth century, generations of scholars—mostly men, but some women—touch lightly on her early life as prelude to the main event, Henry VIII¹. Thus, they focus on her life in England, her brief first marriage to Arthur (1486-1502), widowhood and precarious life at court in England, her marriage in 1509 to Henry VIII, motherhood, divorce, and her death in 1536. These narratives emplot her as a conventional, dutiful, and ultimately tragic wife. Unschooled in feminist theory and methodology, the authors give her an over-determined femininity as bride, wife, and mother, and pay little attention to other aspects of her life, such as her role as Henry's adviser in the early years of the reign, her term as regent and her participation in the battle of Flodden, both in 1513. Many scholars rely on old-fashioned political theory on kingship and relegate Catalina to the margins of political events. But this is deeply problematic. This is a one-dimensional reductionist view of a very complex woman that privileges kingship over queenship, and results in an incomplete and skewed version of her life and reign that considers what was done to her, not what she did. Recently scholars have begun to shift the focus to the queen herself, but most of this work has examined visual or literary depictions². What is missing is her practice of queenship.

My aim in this study is to focus on queenship, particularly the formative years before 1509 when she was learning to be a queen. First, I will take up Catalina's early life as an *infanta* in her parent's home in Spain (1485-1501); then, as Princess of Wales and her marriage to Prince Arthur (1501-1502); and finally, briefly, her years in England as a dowager princess up to the moment of her marriage to his brother, Henry (1502-1509). This paper is animated by a cluster of questions. How did she learn not only a new language but also a new political culture? How did she learn about queenship in both Spain and England? How did she, a foreign-born bride, learn to be a queen-consort? What did she need to know to negotiate the complex rituals and ceremonies of court? Catalina had a long betrothal, at least a decade. How did her family prepare her? A range of sources are available to address these questions. From the intimate perspective of the royal household, there are records that show how her mother, Isabel, aided by a small cohort of Spanish women, all deeply embedded in a complex kin and patronage network at court, provided the educational foundation for Catalina's transformation from Spanish *infanta* to English queen³.

¹ Claremont 1939; Mattingly 1941; Starkey 2003; Williams 2013. Giles Tremlett, an English journalist, recently reversed this trend in a popular biography that devoted several chapters to her life in Spain at her parent's court, Tremlett 2010.

² Elston 2003; Elston 2004; Hansen 2003; Ziegler 2003.

³ Fernández 2002.

Her court and household in both Spain and England were not merely domestic spaces for conversation and needlework. They were deeply political spaces, entwined a precarious milieu of high-ranking families bound to her by intersecting networks of affiliation, loyalty, and ideology. Unraveling the nuances of the household reveals subtle details of her education in Spain that included literature on the contentious debate over women in society. Examining the salaries and non-cash compensation of women at court allows us to better understand the value of royal affiliation. By shifting the subject to Catalina, and by re-reading and reconsidering familiar sources, we are able to see more clearly the subtle transformation of her identity from foreign *infanta* to English princess. Published letters and state papers in the archives of Spain and England, seen through the lens of feminist categories of analysis, clarify the role and actions of women at court and provide a foundation for a study of the gender dynamics of agency, authority, and her power as queen⁴.

The fifth and youngest child of Isabel of Castile (1451-1504) and Fernando of Aragón (1452-1516), *infanta* Catalina was highly educated at the court of one of the great sovereign queens. She was a diplomatic prize, but had little choice in the matter –she was duty-bound to obey her parents who negotiated the marriage and prepared her for life in a foreign court. Her betrothal to Arthur was first negotiated in April 1488, and Fernando and Isabel were ready to send her to England, presumably to learn English customs and practices, but the negotiations dragged on for years. Catalina was no stranger to the English, nor they to her. Her heritage betrays her as an Anglo-Castilian blend: she was named Catalina in honor of her grandmother, the daughter of Constanza of Castile and John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. Since early childhood, she was *la princesa de Gales*, betrothed to Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII (1457-1509) and his wife, Elizabeth of York (1466-1503). To the English, she was Ladie Kateryne of Spain, a foreign-born bride who brought to England her Spanish accent and entourage and seemingly exotic customs⁵. Scholars rarely discuss the transformation of her name, a very personal marker of identity, but by renaming her, both her contemporaries and modern scholars recognize tacitly that a profound change has occurred. This is a transformation that kings never (or rarely) experience. When a man inherits a realm, he does not need to learn a new language or change his name. Only if he gains a realm by conquest does he need to move and consider his foreignness to his subjects. In this study, I will note the shift in her identity by calling her Catalina before her marriage to Arthur and Catherine after.

⁴ Earenfight 2007.

⁵ Kipling 1990.

There are few personal records of her early life at her parents' court but we are fortunate to have a continuous series of royal household accounts that reveal the material texture of Catalina's early life –baby blankets, shoes and slippers, baptismal clothes. These sources list payments for clothing purchases, annuities to members of the household, and moving expenses but they tell us more than just what she might have worn. Household accounts from the court of Isabel are rich resources that reveal insights into both the personal and political relationships in Catalina's very young life and her cultural and personal transformation from childhood to adulthood, from her betrothal at age two to her first marriage when she was sixteen⁶.

The royal household Catalina inhabited was not simply a domestic space. Excellent studies on elite and noble households take as a premise that whereas a home was both a building or place and the site of familiarity, friendship, nurturing, intimacy, sexual intimacy, a household was a home plus a group of people who lived and worked under the same roof. It was a private space where the relationships among the residents, especially routine activities such as sleeping and eating –that touched on a public space that involved impersonal elements of governance. Much of the work to date has centered on peasants, bourgeois families, gentry and lesser noble social ranks and it analyzes household governance as part of family dynamics, conduct, architecture, domesticity, hospitality, economics, religious households, or sociology⁷.

When the focus shifts to royal households, the panorama is wider and sources richer. Chronicles mention the *infantas* in passing, when they are in public view or get married⁸. Royal homes were built and furnished in ways that reflected their cultural values and notions of sovereignty, kinship, friendship, and service. Royal households, larger than those of aristocrats and widely imitated by families of lesser rank, were vitally important spaces for both formal and informal political activity⁹. Royal archives contain the wardrobe and treasury accounts, many of them detailed and nearly continuous for a particular reign, that depict the complex operations of offices and workplaces such as treasury and chancery¹⁰. The royal household was a site of political, economic, and cultural production and consumption for power brokers, diplomats, prominent writers, artists, architects, musicians, and dramatists and

⁶ Torre, Torre 1955; Fernández 2002; Earenight 2007.

⁷ Bennett 1987; Greco, Rose 2009; Hanawalt 1986; Harris 2002; Jones, Riddy, Beattie 2007; Mertes 1988; Neel 2004; Swabey 1999; Underhill 1999.

⁸ Pulgar 1943.

⁹ Gomes 2003.

¹⁰ Torre, Torre 1955; Woolgar 1999, 1992-1995.

their patrons where social interaction combined with conspicuous displays of power and influence.

Much attention has been paid to the physical space and the functional organization of the noble and royal household in the later Middle Ages. Early works on the royal household paid particular attention to the king, the organization of the offices of the court, and male courtiers¹¹. The focus is most often on the high political milieu of military and diplomacy, but court was a place of entertainment, a reception hall for guests, and a locus of patronage¹². Dynastic ambition and patriarchal institutions shaped the organization and ethos of the elite and royal household, but everyone in the royal household, from the king and queen to the people who made the beds, was bound, or ought to have been bound, by real affection.

Queenship scholars have shifted the focus, notably Hilda Johnstone, John Carmi Parsons, and Malcolm Underwood who examine reginal economic resources and patronage¹³. Ana Echevarría Arsuaga analyzed the court and household of Catalina of Lancaster, noting how her education in England and France as a princess and heir was influential in shaping her role in the Castilian court¹⁴. Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba Miralles's study of the court and household of Isabel of Castile used the richly detailed household accounts of Isabel's treasurer, Gonzalo de Baeza, and includes valuable hints of the sources for the royal children¹⁵. Bethany Aram's discussion of the court of *infanta* Juana before her marriage to Philip, Archduke of Burgundy provides some context for Catalina because the *infantas* were close in age and shared many personal attendants¹⁶.

Missing from this picture of life at a royal court are the women who served the queen and the personal and political dynamics of those relationships. Household accounts thus permit us to study royal women through their affective relationships –siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, friends, personal attendants– allowing an important view of a young princess that is not romanticized or sexualized¹⁷. For Catalina, Spanish and English chronicles and household accounts record more than just lists of payments for clothing purchases, annuities, and moving expenses, they also reveal the

¹¹ For *infante* Juan, Fernández de Oviedo 2002. For England, Grummitt 2009; Heiser 1990, Myers 1985; Myers 1959; Starkey 1987; Vale 2001.

¹² Aram 2005; Arteaga 1975; Weissberger 2004.

¹³ Parsons 1977; Johnstone 1940; Underwood 1987.

¹⁴ Echevarría 2002, pp. 119-140.

¹⁵ Fernández 2002; Torre, Torre 1955; Torre 1956.

¹⁶ Aram 2005, pp. 22-30.

¹⁷ Howey 2009; Levin 2009.

range and depth of relationships that blended personal affection with official duties. Women had an important place in her privy chamber and court, and household accounts reveal gift exchange as a powerful means of expressing rank and importance. Royal majesty needed to be surrounded by richly dressed courtiers, and women received gifts of cloth from the king and queen. These women were vital to Catalina. As she moved from Spain to England, as she was transformed from *infanta* to princess to queen, her Spanish friends and attendants in her household at court who had served her since childhood were the mainstay of her life. They were with her at her parents' court, moved with her to London, a dozen or so stayed with her during her widowhood, and one, María de Salinas, was with Catalina in the last days before her death¹⁸.

The longevity and intimacy of these relationships raises the question of whether, and to what extent, we can consider these women friends of Catalina. It is very tricky to assess the relationship of any queen with her ladies at court and not because the differences of class suspended women uneasily on a fluid spectrum between friend and servant. The shifting and dangerous politics of life at court could quickly make a servant or a friend an enemy, and the astute woman kept her confidences. The nature of the sources further complicates the study of women's alliances at court. Relations among women of all ranks in the later Middle Ages are less visible than those of men, whose alliances and friendships were more formalized in institutions centered on work, law, government, the church, and university. The courtiers of a king –members of his privy council, the army and the church– left abundant records, but those of the queen are more difficult to reconstruct because, until the avid letter-writers of the Tudor, Valois, and Habsburg monarchies of the early modern era, it was less common for women at court to formally record their activities¹⁹. But there are two notable exceptions that serve as precedent for Catalina. Her grandmother and namesake, queen Catalina of Lancaster, was close to writers Leonor López de Córdoba and Teresa and María de Ayala, and queen Isabel of Castile was very close to Beatriz Galindo, the tutor of her children²⁰. By examining the politics of friendship and service we can better understand how Catalina's early experiences in her mother's court prepared her for life in Tudor England.

The court of Fernando and Isabel was not located in a fixed capital city so that the court often was itinerant. Moving a household was immensely complex, a political act in itself. Records of the household document the movements of

¹⁸ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 10, no. 28.

¹⁹ Frye, Robertson 1999.

²⁰ Arteaga 1975; Mirrer 1991; Ayerbe-Chaux 1977, 1992; Rütther 2004, González de Fauve, Las Heras, Forteza 2008.

the king, queen, and their children as they govern their subjects and wage war with the kingdom of Granada. Isabel was a devoted and attentive mother who kept her daughters close to hand, supervising their education and preparing them for marriage to a foreign prince or king and for life in a foreign court. This vital preparation for the practice of queenship was not just the work of her tutors, the brothers Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino²¹. Many of the women at court, from nurses to governesses, often came from the same family and were shared by all of Isabel's daughters, providing a continuity and stability in the household. Some of the women were part of Catalina's entourage since infancy –Inés Vanegas, her *ama*, and her two daughters Inés and Teresa; her personal attendants María de Salinas and María de Rojas; and Elvira Manuel, her *guarda de las damas* in Spain and her *camarera mayor* in England. To understand the complex combination of love and duty in these enduring and sometimes contentious relationships scholars need to extend the definition of royal family beyond king and queen, beyond even the natal and marital bounds of siblings and their families, and to include women into the study of royal affinity.

Catalina, born in the archbishop of Toledo's palace at Alcalá de Henares on 16 December 1485, was an attentive child who spent much of her childhood in the newly conquered kingdom of Granada alongside her mother. To care for and educate Catalina and her siblings –Juan, Isabel, Juana, and María– Isabel selected members of her own itinerant court who were trained in Latin, religious conduct, and decorous behavior. These women, bound to the queen and her daughters by ties of service and friendship, combined sewing, embroidery, spinning, and weaving with intellectual and cultural pursuits²². Andrés de Miranda and Beatriz Galindo supervised the formal education of Isabel's daughter, but prominent noblewomen shaped the social and cultural education of the *infantas*. They were expected to be clever, cultivated and sophisticated but not learned, and to be friends and servants and guides to the cultural norms of life at court²³. This relationship is not easily defined, with fluid boundaries dependent on personality and experience. Over the course of a lifetime, a noblewoman serving at court could be tutor, mentor, casual friend, close confidante, and as intimate as a favorite sister. The relationship was reciprocal, and not just in terms of monetary compensation. Both sides gained much: the royal family received vital loyal service from noblewomen who, in return met their future husbands from the pool of noblemen in service to the king and *infante* Juan.

²¹ Val Valdivieso 2006, 2011; Fernández 2002.

²² Muñoz Fernández 1989, 2002; Surtz 2004.

²³ Weiss 2006.

Isabel and Fernando's children received a rigorous education in an intellectual milieu where literacy was expected and cultural patronage the norm²⁴. Household accounts show that Isabel carefully selected and compensated her children's tutors²⁵. Isabel's servants, Andrés Miranda, a Dominican at the monastery of Santo Domingo (Burgos) and Beatriz Galindo (*la Latina*, "the Latinist"), were important in educating the children. At age six, Catalina began her studies with the Geraldino brothers. Alessandro accompanied Catalina to England in 1501, served as her confessor, and wrote *De eruditione nobelium puellarum* (*On the Education of Noble Girls*, 1501), at Isabel's request. At age eleven, Catalina owned a breviary²⁶. At age twelve she was expected to exercise some discretion and had learned to supervise servants. Her studies included philosophy, literature, and religion, and music (she could play the clavichord and harp)²⁷. She could speak French, English, and German in addition to Castilian and Latin, prompting Beatriz Galindo to note that Catalina surpassed her mother in Latin learning²⁸. She studied late medieval ideas on virtue, justice, and proper queenly behavior and Christianized versions of Classical philosophy and natural science concerning medical understandings of the differences between the sexes²⁹. She would have read, or known of, works that dealt with the education of women such as Juan Rodriguez de la Camara's *El triunfo de las donas* (*The Triumph of Women*, 1443), Alvaro de Luna's *El libro de las virtuosas y claras mugeres* (*The Book of Virtuous and Famous Women*, 1446), Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba's *Jardín de la nobles doncellas* (*The Garden of Noble Maidens*, 1468), and Francesc Eiximenis's manual for female instruction, the *Carro de las donas* (*The Carriage of Women*, 15th century), that may have been brought to court by Beatriz Galindo³⁰. It is also likely that she read or knew of Juan de Flores's *Grisel and Mirabella*, *The Slander against Women*, and *The Defense of Ladies against Slanderers*, works in the *querelle des femmes* genre that were dedicated to an unnamed female reader who may well have been Isabel³¹.

²⁴ Salvador Miguel 2003, 2004, 2008; Val Valdivieso 2006, 2011; Surtz 2008.

²⁵ Isabel continued to pay annuities to Alessandro Geraldino ("maestro de las ynfantes") until her death in 1504. Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, pp. 120, 125, 206, 263, 340, 378, 420-422, 455, 653. The royal account books report expenditures for Catalina from 1478 to 1504 and include books, patronage, philanthropy, alms, as well as clothing and jewelry.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 332-333.

²⁷ Domínguez Casas 2008; Knighton 2008; Ros-Fábregas 2008.

²⁸ Arteaga 1975, p. 31; Aram 2005, pp. 24-27; Liss 2004, p. 286.

²⁹ Dronzek 2001; Cadden 1993, pp. 21-26.

³⁰ Elston 2003, pp. 16-17; Elston 2004, p. 40; Aram 2005, p. 23; Viera 2003; Viera, Pique 1987; Silleras-Fernández 2015. For wider context to the literary milieu of the courts, see Gómez Redondo 2002, 2012.

³¹ Francomano 2013, p. 51.

Some of the earliest records that mention Catalina are found in the household accounts of Isabel's court and date from 1486, just after her birth. They record purchases of fabric for blankets and baby clothes, items for her baptism, shoes, food (honey, silver flatware, and glass cups and the expenses for moving the households of Catalina and her elder sisters Juana and María from Murcia to Valladolid (in 1488) and from Valladolid to Jaén (1489)³². Álvaro Fernández de Córdoba Miralles counted 92 women at Isabel's court, 61 who served the queen, with thirteen in the household of the *infanta* María, six for *infanta* Catalina. The Isabelline court appears to be typical of the age but much smaller than that of later queens, Isabel of Valois (178 women) and Mariana of Austria (over 300 women)³³. Typical also of royal households is a significant number of noblewomen, many of whom were daughters of or married to the highest ranking nobles at court. There is evidence of a loyal group of noblewomen at court whose annuities suggest that they are part and parcel of the royal entourage but not as intimate. Their social status meant that they did not have an official position such as *ama* or *criada*, a nurse or wetnurse, and many of them are members of prominent noble families resident at the court of Isabel and Fernando: Isabel de Ribadeneira, Inés Enríquez (daughter of the count of Buendía), Constança de Bazan, María Pimentel, Mayor de Figueroa, and Mençia Manuel³⁴. These women do not appear in the accounts often, suggesting that they were not particularly close to Catalina and that their presence at her court was part of a congenial kinship alliance, the sort of service noble women were expected to perform for a queen.

Slightly lower on the social scale are noble or gentlewomen who were occasional members of Catalina's intimate household. Beatriz de Torres, noted as *criada de la ynfante doña Catalina*, was paid 40,000 *maravedís* for service *le fiso merçed para su vistuario*³⁵. Ana de Pliego *hija de Fernando de Pliego, moço de camara de la ynfante Catalina*, received payments for materials for clothing for Maria and Catalina³⁶, and Inés de Jaén (*criada de al ynfante doña Catalina*), was given the substantial sum of 50,000 *maravedís* as a wedding gift (*de que le fiso merçed para ayuda de su casamiento*)³⁷. These women had specific very intimate tasks to perform and were paid for them, but

³² Torre, Torre 1955, vol. I, pp. 90, 115-116, 157-158, 203-206, 238, 256-258, 267. For example, one entry from 1486 notes a payment for expenses from 1485 for "36 varas de nual, para seys savanillas par la Infante doña Catalina, a 40 maravedís son 1,440 maravedís". *Ibidem*, p. 90.

³³ Fernández 2002, p. 162. The other twelve ladies at court are not known.

³⁴ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, pp. 457-458, 10 March 1501.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 367, 20 November 1497.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 425-426, 15 January 1499.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 471, 10 February 1500.

wedding gifts were not bestowed to all the women at court. The generous gift to Inés de Jaén at her wedding implies a relationship based on more than just employment. But the gift could have been motivated by the need to create a binding political alliance. In the absence of other sources, it is not possible to know for sure what sort of relationship it was.

The question of compensation for royal service is complicated because it is situated at the intersection of class and gender, and has as much to do with the future status of the child—heir to the realms or potential bride of an archduke or a king. The salaries and compensation for noblemen and male household officials who served Juan, heir to the realms, were higher more than most of the women in Isabel's court who served the daughters. Bernardino Fernández de Velasco, her chief chamberlain (*camerero mayor*) after 1492, was paid 67,600 *maravedís* annually, but his duties encompassed the entire household. Personal status and the importance of the work sometimes mattered more than one's sex. Juana Manuel, Isabel's principal *ama* (also called *guarda de las damas*) supervised the women at court and was paid the considerable sum of 250,000 *maravedís*, but this may have been a one-time lump-sum payment. This exceeds that for the *primo aya* for *infante* Juan was paid 200,000 *maravedís*, but he had only one child, not four, to worry about. Juan was the heir, but it is significant that the salaries are even roughly comparable. This is far from a notion of equal pay for equal work in the fifteenth century, but it is a marker of the importance of caring personally for the royal children and the lofty social rank of the person in charge.

Men and women of less lofty rank did work, no matter how important, that was clearly valued less. Isabel's court physicians received annuities of 60,000, while other medical staff received 35,000. Musicians at court received annuities between 25,000 and 30,000. Catalina's tutors Andrés Miranda (a Dominican from the monastery of Santo Domingo, near Burgos) and Alessandro Geraldino were each paid an annuity of 50,000. The status of the *infanta* mattered in the case of Miranda, whose salary was increased in 1495, because the *infanta* Juana became engaged to Philip, archduke of Austria, and Catalina was betrothed to Arthur Tudor, making Juana an archduchess and Catalina the *princesa de Gales*. This salary is less than the 60,000 paid to *infante* Juan's tutors, but it was still among the highest of the members of the household. It is striking, then, to find that Beatriz Galindo, who had served Isabel for years and married one of Isabel's secretaries (Francisco de Madrid), was paid far less than the Geraldino brothers, only 15,000 *maravedís* annually³⁸. Galindo, the author of commentaries on Aristotle and a book of

³⁸ Fernández 2002, pp. 144-60; Aram 2005, p. 183, n. 45.

Latin verse, was educated at one of the colleges at the University of Salamanca and may have been of Antonio Nebrija's students, so it was likely her sex, not the quality of her education that explains the discrepancy in her salary.

More lowly were Catalina's attendants –both men and women– caring for clothing, shoes, jewelry, and personal objects (such as books and toys), who were paid between 6,000 and 10,000 annually. What these sums do not show, however, is the marriage gifts (often monetary, but also valuable objects) bestowed by Isabel, which could be substantial and which men at court did not receive. Gentlewomen of modest rank, such as Francisca de Torres, Juana de Porras (called Porricas), and Nieta were paid 10,000, 6,000, and 8,000 *maravedís* on 20 October 1500. Little is known about these women beyond the fact that they were permanent members of the household. They were paid for expenses they incurred to move Catalina's household from Ecija to Seville, and the same three were paid the same amounts again on 10 March 1501. Nieta may be just a nickname suggests that she is part of the intimate circle around Catalina but probably not a noblewoman³⁹. At the bottom of the social hierarchy are a few slaves and a female dwarf who was first part of *infanta* María's court at Lisbon, then came to Catalina's court in Spain, and moved with her to England where she was known as the *Spanish fool*⁴⁰. But these women at court were valued highly and respected. After queen Isabel's death, king Fernando ordered a final set of annuity payments to be paid to the women who had served in Isabel's court, among them some of the loftiest and lowliest. On 10 June 1504, Blanca Manrique, Aldara de Portugal, Francisca de Ayala, Isabel (daughter of Costança), Marina Ruiz, and Inés (a slave) received payments of an unspecified amount⁴¹.

When viewed over time, the household accounts for Catalina increase in both number and in the richness of detail in both who was paid and for what service. When Catalina was an infant and toddler, there was considerable overlap of the households of the three *infantas*, which can complicate sorting out who was who at court. The earliest records, from 1486 to 1491, include the name of her *criada* (Elena de Carmona), but there are several payments made to an unnamed *ama de la ynfante doña Catalina*. The accounts note three women who serve as *criada de las infantas*: Elvira Mendes (*criada de las infantas* who appears often solely as *criada* for Juana), Aldonça Suares (*criada* for María),

³⁹ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, pp. 408, 457-58, 535. On 26 November 1503, Juana de Porras was paid 6,000 *maravedís* for all of 1503 until end of December, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 613.

⁴⁰ Fernández 2002, pp. 166-167.

⁴¹ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 630. 20 December 1504. Inés Vanegas, the mother of Teresa and Inés, had died before September 1504 and the money was designated to her heirs, *ibidem*, pp. 654-657.

and Elvira de Torres (*criada*). Isabel de Carmona seems to have served all the children and may be related to Elena Carmona, underscoring the family bonds of the women at court. Elvira Mendes (who also appears often in the payment records as *criada* for Juana), Aldonça Soares (*criada* for Maria), and Elvira de Torres⁴². Beginning in 1491, however, when Catalina was six, newly betrothed to Arthur, and styled as the *princesa de Gales*, the accounts record payments to women in Catalina's household who are named. These women serve only Catalina, and will be part of her household for the next decade; some served Catalina beyond her childhood and as queen after her marriage to Henry VIII and, one very faithful friend, María de Salinas, remained with her until her death in 1536⁴³. They are paid in a combination of annuity payments and gifts, a common practice among elite and royal households where the public and private, personal and political were blended smoothly⁴⁴.

The intimacy that these gifts symbolize is evident in the routine gifts of clothing, shoes, and jewelry worn by the *infantas*. For example, the household accounts show purchases for a prodigious number of pairs of shoes, more than even the most fashionable renaissance clothes horse would have worn. In the summer of 1501, as Catalina was preparing to depart for England, she ordered from her shoemaker Diego de Valencia, 51 pairs of *borçeguias* (leather shoes that come up over the ankles), 27 pairs of *xervillas* (slippers), and 41 pares de *xervillas sin borçeguias*⁴⁵. It is likely that her baggage also included cork-soled platform mules known as *chapines*, probably covered in velvet and intricate embroidery such as those made for her in 1497: *twelve pairs of chapines from Valencia for the infantas [María and Catherine], six of them one hand high and the other six three fingers high, at 175 [maravedís] each, some of them more, totaling 1,990 [maravedís]*⁴⁶. These *chapines* were a regal variant of shoes that were a staple of Mediterranean societies, sturdy and very handy to keep skirts from dragging through the muck of medieval streets⁴⁷. Catherine's shoes reveal the *capacity of clothing to organize ideas*

⁴² Fernández 2002, pp. 160-67; Torre, Torre 1955, vol. I, pp. 403-404, 30 July 1491.

⁴³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 1887, VIII 10, p. 28.

⁴⁴ For example, the household accounts of Isabel note several other women who served Catalina just before she left for England. Juana de Murcia ("moça de camara de la princesa de Galis") received payment in clothing and Isabel de Barboa ("guarda de las damas de la ylustissima princesa de Galis"), was paid "para unas angarillas de su mula", Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 531, 09 October 1501; p. 583, 2 May 1502.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 506, 527.

⁴⁶ An entry for 1497 specifies payment for "doze pares de chapines de Valencia para las dichas infantas, les seys dellos de vna mano en alto, e los otros seys de tres dedos en alto, a 175 cada par, vnos dellos, que montan 1.990". *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 368-80.

⁴⁷ Semmelhack 2009, 2013.

*about cultural change*⁴⁸. They can be used to document the transmittal of a culture of style from her home in Spain at Medina del Campo, through her shoemakers in Valencia and Madrid, and the Muslim culture of Granada that was the source of much of the design elements, and ultimately to her new home at the Tudor court in London.

The practice at court was that Catalina would wear the shoes a few times and then give it as a gift to a favored attendant. These gifts are deeply symbolic, reflecting the economics and intimacy of the relationship between Catalina and emphasizing that her ladies at court were extensions of the *infanta's* physical person. They were also involved in the physically intimate rituals of eating, dressing, fixing the hairstyles, and adoring Catalina's body with jewelry. Gifts of clothing and shoes are cultural articulations of status and thus key elements in the sartorial display expected of a royal bride. Roland Barthes noted that the power of fashion depends on the disparity of what he termed a double consciousness in which each side in the exchange is foreign to the other. Barthes was referring specifically to the Marxist equation of producer and consumer, but there is also a double consciousness of the wearer and the observer that gives the performance of fashion a powerful political valence⁴⁹. They also were public expressions of affection that bound her attendants to her. In the royal economy of gift exchange and patronage, gifts of shoes and clothing are deeply physical and intimate symbolic expressions of the charisma of the queen and her elevated social status. The proximity to the royal body reveals the concentric circles of status at court. Clothing also has powerful associations with memory, what Ann Jones and Peter Stallybrass term "the animatedness" of clothes, the way a shoe or a hat attaches meaning to the wearer by shaping them physically and socially. These memories can be associated with subordination, collegiality, love, and identity and personalize and deepen the bonds of patronage and service⁵⁰.

This calls to mind another instance of the importance of touch in the myth of the famed royal touch of the king to heal the sick. In this case, however, it is not the royal person who does the touching, it is a trusted attendant who has proximity to the charisma of royalty. Women serving at court formed concentric circles of power that surround royal bodies in which the spouse is most proximate and sexually intimate. The personal attendants form outer layers of human touch, from the breast that fed the infant to the hands that tied

⁴⁸ Denny-Browne 2012, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Barthes 1985, pp. X-XII. For the broad sociological significance of fashion, see Bourdieu 1984.

⁵⁰ Jones, Stallybrass 2000. For fashion in the later Middle Ages, see Crane 2002; Denny-Browne, 2012; Newton 1999; Scott 2007.

the ribbons in a dress. They served both as a circle of women who tutored, trained, and advised the *infanta* while adding a layer of insulation from other people at court. Attendants at court, both men and women, were akin to the architecture of a royal palace—they physically represented one's proximity to the royal person. Royal attendants were a human cordon that functioned like public great rooms leading through antechambers to the intimacy of the privy chamber and finally, the bedroom.

Baeza's accounting is valuable because he noted not just the object purchased and from whom, but its cost. From this, we can determine more accurately the rank and importance of Catalina's attendants and compare the relative importance of women at court. From these calculations of value, we can compare the relative importance of women at court. For example, in 1498, when Catalina was betrothed to Arthur Tudor and was referred to as the Princesa de Gales, Baeza paid a noblewoman, Maria Osorio, wife of a son of the prominent Guzman family, 100,000 *maravedís* for her service at court. For comparison, that is roughly the same as the dowry of the daughter of a grandee in 1479. That service is unspecified, but she was likely a lady-in-waiting, a companion, not a servant. Ynés Vanegas as *ama* receives a third as much, 35,185 *maravedís*, which clearly signals both her lower rank and her value to the queen. Her daughters María, Teresa, and Inés were paid 27,000 *maravedís* each. Farther down the status roster are the lowlier members of court responsible for the care of Catalina's clothing, shoes, bed linens, and personal objects are Beatriz de Torres (10,000), Ana de Pliego (8,000), Nieta (also 8,000), and Porricas, 6,000. For comparison, those lowly women who washed Catalina's clothes were worth three times more than twelve pairs of *chapines*.

Those same records that economic historians use to track the expenses of the early modern royal court open a window on Catalina through her affective relationships with the women in her court. Seeing the salaries as people and the objects as tokens of affection that bound Catalina to her attendants and ladies-in-waiting takes us out of the realm of accounting and open a window on Catalina's affective relationships.

Amid these details of shoes, clothing, food, and cosmetics, one woman stands out. Inés de Vanegas, and her daughters Inés and Teresa, are the women most often cited in the accounts. Inés, the mother, first appears in the household accounts on 23 March 1495 when she is called *ama de la ynfante Catalina* and for her service to the queen, she was paid in clothing: *18 varas de paño negro, de que le fizo merçed para vn abito e vn manto e vn tabardo para su vistuario, que costo 6,075 mrs [maravedís]*⁵¹. The mention

⁵¹ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 308.

of a gift of black fabric suggests that Inés, the mother, was a widow, but little at present is known at present about her, her family background, or even her husband who presumably was part of the royal court⁵². Her increasing importance to Catalina is clearly shown in substantial rise in the amount of her annuity payments. On 12 October 1498, she was paid an annuity of 10,185 *maravedís*; a year later, that annuity was significantly increased to 50,000. In 1501, her annuity was 66,000 *maravedís*. This considerable sum would remain consistent until her death in 1504. She is clearly someone who matters greatly to Catalina as *princesa de Gales*, even after the death of Arthur and Catalina's dramatic change in status⁵³.

The daughters of Inés Vanegas show an almost dynastic character of the household attendants who served the royal family and this, in turn, reflects the importance of the trust as a foundation for these relationships. Inés's daughter Teresa was part of the household as early as 1496 when she is noted among the many servants who moved court from Cavia to Palenzuela (*e otra hija del ama de la ynfante doña Catalina*)⁵⁴ and in 1503 she received a gift, *en cuenta de los mrs de que su Alteza le hizo merçed para su casamiento*⁵⁵. Another daughter, also named Inés, joined Catalina's household in 1500. In 1501, both sisters are recorded as having received an annuity (*de quitación*) of 27,000 *maravedís*, a sum they were paid until 1504 when queen Isabel died⁵⁶. Inés, the daughter, received an additional 15,000 *maravedís*⁵⁷. Inés the daughter, *ama de la serenísima prinçesa de Galis*, was part of the entourage that accompanied Catalina to England but unlike most of them who had to leave after 1502, she stayed. She continued to receive her annuity from queen Isabel's household account and received a prenuptial wedding gift (*merçed para sy casamiento, e los otros 100,000 mrs de que asy mismo le hizo merçed para su vistorio*)⁵⁸. She was one of the women who stayed with Catherine

⁵² I am grateful to Ana Echevarría for her astute observation on Inés as widow.

⁵³ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 400, 23 March 1495; p. 412. p. 585. On 20 October 1500 she received 25,000 *maravedís* "de quitaction", but this was in fact a payment for 1498: "para ayuda de su costa del dicho año pasado, que no heran pagados, a cabsa por donde se le avian de pagar se perdio", p. 408. She received two payments in 1501 for prior years, *Ibidem*, pp. 457-458 and 511-515; pp. 573-575, 23 September 1502. On 2 October 1503, she was paid 44,000 *maravedís* for 8 months of 1503 and 66,000 *maravedís* for 1502, *ibidem*, p. 612.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 334-335, 2 November 1496; pp. 511-515, 22 September 1501.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 620.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 457-458, 10 October 1501; pp. 573-575, 23 September 1502; pp. 614-617, 23 March 1503; Archivo General, Simancas, Cámara Real, CCA, CED.5.287.2. An annuity of 27,000 *maravedís* appears to be a standard sum for ladies at court. On 29 May 1501, María de Guevara "dama de la ylustrísima prinçesa de Galis" was paid that sum; *Ibidem*, p. 522. She also attended the funeral of Henry VII and Catalina's at her wedding to Henry VIII in 1509.

⁵⁷ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 531, 09 October 1501.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 585, 15 May 1502.

as she made the transition from a widowed princess living on a shoestring in Durham House from 1502 until at least 1509, when she was part of Catherine's entourage at the funeral of Henry VII⁵⁹. A few months later, Inés Vanegas married William, Lord Mountjoy, and left royal service⁶⁰. It is hard to say precisely what her relationship to Catherine was, service or friendship, but it was clearly predicated on loyalty and trust. There is no record at all of any improper behavior on the part of Inés Vanegas and her daughters. They apparently were circumspect and discreet, grateful for the benefits of service at court and loyal. They were highly valued at court and well compensated for their service to Catherine, but in the absence of other evidence, particularly from Catherine herself that sheds light on the nature of the relationships, it is safe to say only that it was both.

Inés Vanegas was only one of Catherine's ladies at court who came to England and stayed. María de Salinas was the daughter of Martín de Salinas, a noble courtier to king Fernando, and Josefa Gonzales de Salas and, some suggest, perhaps related to the royal family⁶¹. María was part of Catherine's entourage from Spain but the details from 1501 to 1509 are not well known except that she attended Catherine at her coronation⁶². Her family's wealth and prestige made her an asset to Catherine's court and she remained one of the queen's closest and most loyal friends. Their friendship is well documented in the Tudor historical record, which include letters, payments and gifts, and reports of life at court from the Spanish ambassadors. María was a very appealing bride, marrying William, eleventh lord Willoughby of Eresby, a baron and the largest landowner in Lincolnshire, on 5 June 1516 at Greenwich, probably in the chapel of the Observant Friars (Franciscans) where Catherine and Henry had married⁶³.

By all accounts, María de Salinas moved fluidly from the Spanish court to the English. Her ease with the English customs and culture and family connections on the continent had important practical benefits. Her relative, Juan Adursa, a Castilian merchant in Flanders, worked with Juan Manuel,

⁵⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* 1920, vol. I, pt. I, no. 20: "to the Princess of Wales and her two ladies, Dame Agnes Vanegas and Dame Maria de Gavara, four gentlewomen, Katerina Fortes, Maria Saleinas, John de Quero's wife and Kateryn Montaya, and two chamberers, Kateryn de Gavara and Esabell de Vanegas".

⁶⁰ Original letter (Latin) in Archivo General, Simancas, Patronato Real, Legajo 54, doc. 99, 30 July 1509. English copy in *Letters and Papers Henry VIII* 1920, vol. I, no. 28. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* 1866, II, no. 20: "Henry VIII to Fernando King of Aragon: Begg favour for Agnes de Venegas, one of his Queen's ladies, whom William lord Mountjoy has married. Greenwich, 30 July, 1509."

⁶¹ Portilla 1964.

⁶² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII* 1920, vol. I, 24 June, 1509.

⁶³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII* 1864, vol. II, 14 July 1516, no. 2172.

former advisor to Catherine's brother-in-law, Archduke Philip of Burgundy, giving Catherine access to information about her sister, Juana⁶⁴. Eustace Chapuys, the resident Spanish ambassador and a man privy to the secret, and not-so-secret activities at court, reports that the:

few Spaniards who are still in her household prefer to be friends of the English, and neglect their duties as subjects of the King of Spain. The worst influence on the Queen is exercised by Doña María de Salinas, whom she loves more than any other mortal. Doña María has a relation of the name of Juan Adursa, who is a merchant in Flanders, and a friend of Juan Manuel. He hopes, through the protection of Juan Manuel, to be made treasurer of the Prince of Castile. By means of Juan Adursa and Doña María de Salinas, Juan Manuel is able to dictate to the Queen of England how she must behave. The consequence is that he can never make use, in his negotiations, of the influence which the Queen has in England, nor can he obtain through her the smallest advantage in any other respect⁶⁵.

The word "love" in the later Middle Ages can mean many things depending on context –courtly love, friendship, love of God, lord-vassal relationships, an apprentice for a master– and it could be shorthand for friendly affection. But Chapuys is clearly suggesting that the love has political implications, which further complicates an understanding of the significance of the relations of Catherine and her servants.

But later events suggest a deep personal bond. María de Salinas had been forced to leave queen Catherine's service in 1532 due to the politics of the divorce proceedings and Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn, but she remained part of Catherine's life. She defied Henry's orders –never a wise thing to do even under the best of circumstances– and continued to correspond with the cast-off queen and sent her news of her daughter, Mary Tudor. She and Charles Brandon, the king's brother-in-law and close friend who was sent by Henry on numerous missions, had to impress upon Catherine the reality of her new marital state. In April 1533 Brandon had to tell her that she was no longer queen, and in December 1533 he was ordered to disband some of her servants and move her to the unhealthy home at Somersham. Catherine, defiant, locked herself in her room. María de Salinas told Chapuys that Catherine only relented when Charles admitted how he wished something

⁶⁴ In 1511 she was godmother to the daughter of Charles Brandon, Henry VIII's brother-in-law, Gunn 1988, pp. 95-96, 118, 130, 132-133, 142, 154, 156, 158, 199. For her letter to Secretary Cromwell, dated 30 December 1535, telling him that Catherine was seriously ill and requesting that she be allowed to visit, see Wood 1846, pp. 207-208.

⁶⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain* 1866, vol. II, pp. 251-276, 6 Dec. 1514.

dreadful would have happened on the road that would have made it impossible for him to carry out his duty to Henry⁶⁶. These are the actions of someone who is more than just a servant. The depth of this relationship continued to the end. In 1535, when Catherina was seriously ill, María was denied permission to visit the former queen but once again, she defied Henry and traveled to Kimbolton Castle anyway. She was with Catherina when she died on January 7, 1536 and was the second mourner at Catherine's funeral in February.

Catherina had an equally close friendship with another Spanish noblewoman who served in her court. María de Rojas, daughter of Francesco de Rojas, count of Salinas, was one of Catherine's closest and most intimate of the ladies at court, first in Spain and later in London. She appeared in queen Isabel's household accounts in 1501 when she was paid 27,000 *maravedis* and received clothing in payment for service in 1500⁶⁷. Her relationship with Catherina was as close as that of María de Salinas, a fact known best through her testimony in 1530 before the papal court concerning the divorce. She was asked to give a deposition concerning the consummation of the marriage between Catherina and Prince Arthur, who had died in April 1502, just a few months after their wedding. María de Rojas stated that to comfort the young widow, she had slept in bed with Catherina for the first few days after Arthur's death:

The same questions to be put to the wife of Juan Cuero once waiting maid to the said queen of England, and who is supposed to reside nowadays at Madrid; also to María de Rojas, wife of Don Álvaro de Mendoza, who used to sleep in the same bed with Her Most Serene Highness the Queen, after the death of prince Arthur, her first husband⁶⁸.

This is a remarkable glimpse into Catherina and into the sort of intimacy of life at court that was crucial to Catherina's transition first from Spain to England and then from bride to widow. María de Rojas's social rank and closeness to Catherina made her a desirable potential bride, first for the son of the earl of Derby, and later, the son of Elvira Manuel. Neither marriage

⁶⁶ Gunn 1988, p. 118, citing *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, vol. 6, 324, 693, 1193, 1486, 1522, 1541-1543, 1558; vol. 7, 83; vol. X, 28, 141, 284; *Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, p. 135; *Calendar of State Papers Spain*, IV, II, 739, 1165; *State Papers Henry VIII* i, 415-417.

⁶⁷ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, pp. 511-515, 531, 22 September 1501. There are scattered references to her in Isabel's letters. See "Camisas enviadas a María de Rojas", letter from Isabel in Granada to Alonso de Morales, her treasure: to pay Luis de Rosales, a jeweler, for "tres camisas que envió por un moro a María de Rojas, dama de la Reina", 25 May 1501, Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla [CCA,CED,5,130,7] and "Gastos de una cama para Doña María de Rojas, dama de la princesa de Gales", Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla [CCA,CED,5,170,1].

⁶⁸ *Calendar of State Papers Spain* 1879, no. 577.

took place and she returned to Spain around 1504 as *señora* de Santa Cruz de Campero where she married Álvaro de Mendoza y Guzman, son of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza and his second wife Leonor de Guzmán⁶⁹. It is possible that María de Rojas and María de Salinas were related and that when María de Rojas left England to marry, María de Salinas replaced her.

The intensely political life at court was not always conducive to such loyalty and devotion, and was often fraught with dangers. This is best exemplified by the relationship of Catherina and Elvira Manuel, *guarda de las damas* for Catherina, from 1499 to 1500, and her *camarera mayor* (chief household officer) from 1500 until 1507. Elvira Manuel de Villena Suárez de Figueroa was the daughter of Juan Manuel de Villena Fonseca, señor de Belmonte de Campos, and Aldonza Suárez de Figueroa. She married Manrique Manuel, Catherina's chief *mayordomo*, and together the couple formed a key part of Catherina's household in England. Elvira made her first appearance in Catherina's household in 1501, as Catherina prepared to move to England and on 10 March 1501 she received a payment of 100,000 *maravedís*: *en cuenta de 216,666 maravedís de ovo de aver de su rraçion e quitaçion e ayuda de costa de vn año e ocho meses, en que seruió los años pasados de noventa e nueve e quinientos años, por el cargo de la guarda de sus damas*⁷⁰. Their son, Iñigo, also came to England, as the master of Catherina's pages. Elvira kept close contact with her brother, Juan Manuel, who was a servant of Philip of Burgundy. In December 1505, Elvira was accused of promoting Philip's interests at the expense of those of king Fernando, Catalina's father, and Elvira was told to leave England. She departed on the pretext of visiting a doctor in Flanders about a disease that had already caused her to lose one of her eyes, but she knew that she would not be permitted to return. She had alienated not only king Henry but also Catherina. Elvira spent the rest of the life among Spanish exiles in Flanders.

A brief study such as this leaves many questions unanswered. Although annuities and gifts reveal much about the workings of patronage and politics at a complex royal court, they tell only a small and highly suggestive story of court life. This is partly due to the sources, which need to be supplemented with detailed analysis of the wider family networks of nobles such as Inés de Vanegas, María de Salinas, María de Rojas, and Elvira Manuel. Closer study of noblewomen may reveal important connections across the queen's and king's households. For example, it is known that most of the noblewomen at court in both Spain and England married courtiers

⁶⁹ Goff 1930, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰ Torre, Torre 1955, vol. II, p. 506.

from the king's household. But the details of these marriages are not well documented and no comparative or longitudinal studies have been done, so we are left with shadows and outlines. This is complicated by the fact that women are often poorly recorded in genealogies, even as late as 1500. Noble family archives may turn up letters and household accounts that could shed light on the families in general and the women in particular.

Part of the problem is Catherina herself, an elusive woman who kept her confidences; only a fraction of her letters have been consulted for research and fewer still are published. Very little work has been done on her correspondence with her two sisters who were queens of Portugal: Isabel (d. 1498, queen twice from marriages to Afonso and then Manuel); María (d. 1517, who married Manuel after her Isabel died)⁷¹. We also know that Catherina was close to her sister-in-law, Margaret, the regent of the Netherlands who presided over a vibrant, sophisticated court and corresponded with all the courts of Europe. Royal letters housed in archives in Portugal, Spain, France, even Rome and Austria where the diplomatic records from papal legates and imperial ambassadors are kept, will shed light on some of the darkest corners of the household. It is important to extend the study of the household to consider wider avenues of power and agency in a royal setting and will go far in addressing question of queenship and agency, especially how much agency a Spanish *infanta* could be expected to have in Henry VIII's entourage before the divorce.

This short analytical essay reveals important details that biographers, focusing on kings, missed: that the women at court, whether we call them friends or servants, were a much-loved and well-cared-for lifeline for Catherina from her earliest years in Spain to her deathbed in England. These women –Inés Vanegas and her daughters Inés and Teresa, María de Salinas, María de Rojas, and Elvira Manuel– shaped Catalina's upbringing and education in Spain, and guided her acculturation into the English court. They did not give her lessons in queenship, for that was the task of her mother, her mother-in-law Elizabeth of York, and her husband's grandmother Margaret Beaufort⁷². From them Catherina learned the practice and politics of queenship, knowledge that informed her later actions, from her regency of England while Henry was in France in 1513 to the steely dignity of her intellect and demeanor during the divorce proceedings. But the work of Catherina's personal attendants was no less important. It is not high politics, not the stuff of peace treaties, navies, trade agreements and

⁷¹ Gomes 2003; Eichberger 2005.

⁷² Earenfight 2015.

top-down hegemonic authority. It is the sort of power Foucault described when he talked about power circulating through various hands. In the hands of Catherine's female attendants, that power was intimate, personal, social, and cultural. They nursed her and taught her Latin and music. They taught her how to act, what to wear, and how to behave royally. And that is a lesson in queenship as important as any offered by a political theorist.

On a deeper, more personal level, a feminist reading of these sources reveal that Catherine exemplifies important notions of nation and identity. She had a complex set of references to women and power that gave her a distinct advantage. She was fluent in two rather different sets of political theory on the place of the queen in monarchical government. She engaged in self-fashioning, drawing on elements from both her Spanish upbringing and the influence of the women in her life, her mother, mother-in-law, and the Spanish women in her household to crafting a public performance of queenship. She was the dutiful wife with a talent at governing, and this served her very well later in her life. She learned the art of self-fashioning from her mother, Isabel, who carefully controlled the discourse in chronicles to mask her exercise of power and authority and not ruffle the sensitive feathers of the men at court. She skillfully transformed herself from the Spanish *infanta* Catalina to the English Tudor queen Catherine.

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