

The links of the Castilian royal family with religious orders in the Late Middle Ages: a devotional issue?*

JUAN A. PRIETO SAYAGUÉS



Departamento de Historia de América y Medieval y Ciencias Historiográficas,
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9286-2182>
juananpr@ucm.es

Abstract: The links between the Castilian royal family and the religious orders in the late Middle Ages are analysed from different points of view: the devotions of its members, the benefactoría towards the monasteries located in their dominions, the advance towards the Modern State, the centralisation of the kingdom's monasteries, the control of the religious houses linked to the nobility, the influence of the Western Schism, the importance of the lineage and the political, identity and legitimacy aspects.

Keywords: Royal Family, Religious Orders, Devotions, Lordships, Lineage, Politics.

Los vínculos de la familia real castellana con las órdenes religiosas en la Baja Edad Media: ¿una cuestión devocional

Resumen: Se analizan los vínculos entre la familia real castellana y las órdenes religiosas en la Baja Edad Media desde diferentes perspectivas: las devociones de sus miembros, la benefactoría hacia los monasterios ubicados en sus señoríos, el avance hacia el Estado Moderno, la centralización de los monasterios del reino, el control de los cenobios vinculados a la nobleza, la influencia del Cisma de Occidente, la importancia del linaje y las cuestiones políticas, identitarias y de legitimidad.

Palabras clave: Familia Real, Órdenes Religiosas, Devociones, Señoríos, Linaje, Política.

* The present paper was developed in the framework of the research projects "Expresiones de la cultura política peninsular en las relaciones de conflicto (Corona de Castilla, 1230-1504)", ref. HAR2016-76174-P, Proyecto I+D del Programa Estatal de Fomento de la Investigación Científica y Técnica de Excelencia. Subprograma Estatal de Generación de Conocimiento de la Secretaría de Estado de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación, and "El ejercicio del poder: espacios, agentes y escrituras (siglos XI-XV)", ref. HAR2017-84718-P, funded by the MINECO/AEI/FEDER (UE).

As ligações da família real castelhana com as ordens religiosas na Idade Média tardia: uma questão devocional?

Resumo: O presente artigo analisa os vínculos entre a família real castelhana e as ordens religiosas na Baixa Idade Média sob diferentes perspectivas: as práticas devocionais dos seus membros, a benfeitoria para com os mosteiros localizados nas suas senhorias, o avanço para o Estado Moderno, a centralização dos mosteiros do reino, o controlo dos mosteiros ligados à nobreza, a influência do Cisma do Ocidente, a importância da linhagem, assim como questões políticas, de identidade e de legitimidade.

Palavras-chave: Família Real, Ordens Religiosas, Devoções, Senhorios, Linhagem, Política.

Introduction

This paper analyses the evolution of the links between the members of the royal family and the religious orders in late medieval Castile. Contrary to what it may seem, the different mechanisms of *benefactoria* and patronage of lay power towards monasteries and their communities, was not always a devotional issue, having sometimes socio-economic and political implications.

Therefore, I will divide my paper into seven sections: the devotions of the royal family and their expressions; the advance towards the Modern State: identity, centralization and control of the monasteries of the Crown; control of the nobility by the monarchy; the influence of the Schism (1378-1417); the stately question: queens, *infantes* and *infantas*, the importance of lineage, politics and legitimacy; and the officers and the environment of the court: an example of vassalage.

1. The royal family's devotions and their expressions

Devotions are not easy to find, but they can be observed in different sources. In *El libro de los Estados* (1327-1332), the son of the *infante* don Manuel, don Juan Manuel, pointed out:

«esta orden de los pedricadores fizo sancto Domingo de Caleruega, et bien creo que commo quier que muchas ordenes ay en el mundo muy buenas et muy sanctas, que segund yo tengo que lo es esta mas que otra orden. Et non digo esto por decir ninguna mengua de las otras, por que deva ser mas sancta, ca sin dudba muchas mas asperezas ha en las reglas de otras ordenes, mas digolo por algunas cosas maravillosas et de gran entendimiento que Dios pueso en sancto Domingo et en los otros sanctos fraires»¹.

1 MANUEL, Don Juan – *El libro de los Estados*. Ed. de Ian R. Macpherson y Robert Brian Tate. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1991, p. 374-383.

The queens played a key role in promoting Dominican devotion in court. When the still *infante* Sancho – future Sancho IV – took the Dominican convents of Castile under his protection, he did so at the request of his mother, Queen Violante. María de Molina founded Sancti Spiritus of Toro – projected by Teresa Gil – and contributed to the completion of the Dominican convents of Valladolid, Palencia and Burgos. The decline in the granting of privileges by the queens to the Dominican Order took place later than in the case of the kings. This is related to the instructor of Alfonso XI, don Juan Manuel, a clear example of *Dominicanism* and founder of the convent of Peñafiel, one of the main examples of the existing links between the order and the court. His daughter, Queen Juana Manuel revitalized the order through her *benefactoría* to the convents of Peñafiel and Valladolid. Her successor, Beatriz de Portugal, great-granddaughter of the abovementioned nobleman, maintained links with these two convents and so did the great-grandson of don Juan Manuel, the *infante* Fernando, new lord of Peñafiel. Catalina de Lancaster increased the relationship with San Pablo of Valladolid, where she spent long periods of time. María de Aragón did the same with Santa María la Real de Nieva, and so did her children, the *infante* Juan de Aragón, lord of Medina del Campo (1424) and the Queen of Castile, María de Aragón (1426)² with Santa María la Real de Medina del Campo, founded by Leonor de Alburquerque (1418).

Enrique III took under his protection all Franciscan convents expressing *la gran devocion que tenemos al bienaventurado Francisco y a los religiosos de su santa orden*

2 Juana Manuel intervened in several councils in defense of the privileges of the Dominican convent of Peñafiel, confirmed its privileges and received it under her protection, along with his son, the *infante* Juan –future Juan I–. Catalina de Lancaster and Juan II received the ambassadors of the Muslim king of Granada (1409) in the refectory of San Pablo of Valladolid. The queen and the *infante* Fernando built another palace in the convent, due to the poor state of the former one. Juan de Navarra gave freedom of grass, donated cereals and rents (1424) to Santa María la Real de Medina del Campo, to which María de Aragón added more rents (testament c. 1445), in AMSST, Pergaminos, n.º 4, 5 y 6 y Libro Becerro de 1775, p. 6; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid, 1935, p. 69; ROCHWERT-ZUILLI, Patricia – El mecenazgo y patronazgo de María de Molina: pruebas e indicios de unos recursos propagandísticos y didácticos. *e-Spania*, <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/25549>; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 185, N.º 3; C. 3.501, N.º 1; PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – El dominicanismo del linaje Manuel y de la corte: una devoción de influencias mutuas en la Baja Edad Media. In Coord. de VAL VALDIVIESO, M.ª Isabel del; MARTÍN CEA, Juan Carlos; CARVAJAL DE LA VEGA, David, coord. – *Libro Homenaje a Juan A. Bonachía*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2019, p. 271-280; CASTRO TOLEDO, Jonás – *Colección diplomática de Peñafiel*. Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2014, n.º 236, 239 y 256; AHN, Clero, Legajos, 7.635 y 7.561; AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1261, f. 10 y 190; ACSES, A/B VAp-O, Expediente 7 y 9; GARCÍA GARCÍA, Élda – *S. Juan y S. Pablo de Peñafiel. Economía y Sociedad (1318-1512)*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986, p. 18; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo, p. 40 y 45; GONZÁLEZ SÁNCHEZ, Santiago – *Itinerario de don Fernando regente de Castilla y rey de Aragón (1407-1416)*. Zaragoza: Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas, 2013, p. 43; CAÑAS GÁLVEZ, Francisco de P. – *El itinerario de la corte de Juan II de Castilla (1418-1454)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2007, p. 149; LUCÍA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN, Diana – Reinas y Predicadores: el Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nieva en tiempo de Catalina de Lancaster y María de Aragón (1390-1445). In TEJEIRA PABLOS, M.ª Dolores; HERRÁEZ ORTEGA, María Victoria; COSMEN, María C., coord. – *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 334-337; ACSES, Ms. 76/2, f. 98; LÓPEZ, Juan – *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores. Libro Segundo*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1613, p. 28 y 32; BACKMUND, Norbert – La Orden premostratense en España. *Hispania Sacra*. 35: 71 (1983) 79; AGS, EMR, MyP, Legajo 3, n.º 132 y 137; Legajo 4, n.º 3; AGS, CCA, DIV. 41, 13; AMGuadalupe, LEG. 3, C. R-VI-4/doc. 15-a (bis) y 15-c.

desde nuestra niñez and incorporated the Franciscan cord into his coat of arms. The abovementioned king also motivated his son Juan II to establish a feast in Castile on October 4, *deseando imitar la devocion de nuestro padre el rey don Enrique que nacio en Burgos en la fiesta de este santo*. Enrique IV gave a donation to the Hieronymites monasteries of the Prado of Valladolid, El Parral and La Mejorada (3/III /1455) *acatando la gran devoción que yo he e tengo en la iglesia del monasterio de Prado [...] y en los otros monesterios y casas de su orden*³.

Devotions can be observed in the general privileges granted by the monarchs and other members of the royal family. As for the mendicants, the kings took them under their protection and granted them several exemptions, licenses to inherit, confess, preach, bury and ride a mule. The queens expressed their mendicant devotion with donations to several convents at the same time, which was a symptom of their desire to benefit not so much from a monastery, but from a specific order or, in general, from all mendicants. The opposite happened with the traditional orders – Benedictines, Cistercians and Premonstratensians –, to which kings did not practically grant privileges and those granted to the monasteries were aimed at guaranteeing their survival and not their enrichment. This politic was continued until the Trastámara dynasty, when the practical disappearance of privileges to the Cistercians is observed, while those granted to the Benedictines had as beneficiaries San Benito of Valladolid and its subsidiaries monasteries, as we will discuss later⁴.

-
- 3 CORNEJO, Damián – *Chronica Seraphica del glorioso patriarca S. Francisco de Assis. Quarta Parte*. Madrid: Juan García Infançon-Impressor de la Santa Cruzada, 1698, p. 314-315; OLIVERA SERRANO, César – Felipa y Catalina de Lancaster: religiosidad y relato historiográfico. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 46:1 (2016) 377; NIETO SORIA, José M. – Franciscanos y franciscanismo en la política y en la corte de la Castilla Trastámara (1369-1475). *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 20 (1990) 127; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 3.513, Nº 13; AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1262, f. 6r.
- 4 Sancho IV took the Dominican convents of Castile under his protection when he was an *infante* (1282), already as king to those of León (1285) and granted them several exemptions and licenses, as well as the Franciscans (1285). In the Alcalá Courts, Alfonso XI gave permission to go by mule to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians and Enrique II exempted them from the chancery rates in the Toro Courts. María de Molina gave a donation to the Franciscan and Dominican convents of Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Toledo, Salamanca, Toro and Ciudad Rodrigo (testament of 1308). Among the privileges granted to traditional orders were tax exemptions and pasture licenses for their livestock, donations of property and inheritance being practically nil, in AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 185, Nº 3; C. 3.501, Nº 1; AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1261, f. 176 y L. 1264, f. 435; DÍAZ MARTÍN, Luis V. – *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369)*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997, n.º 230 y 588; RODRÍGUEZ PAZOS, Manuel – Privilegios de Sancho IV a los franciscanos de la Provincia de Santiago (1284) y de Castilla (1285). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 144 (1976) 529; RUCQUOI, Adeline – Los franciscanos en el reino de Castilla. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 73; ROJO ALIQUÉ, Francisco J. – El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220-1518) (II). Los aspectos materiales. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 252 (2005) 533; FERNÁNDEZ RUIZ, Raquel del C. – *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Benavente (1228-1390)*. Benavente: Centro de Estudios Benaventanos “Ledo del Pozo”, 2000, n.º 16; MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 60; *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla. Tomo I*. Madrid: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1861, p. 615 y Tomo II, 1863, p. 228 y 232-233; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid, 1935, p. 70; ESTEPA DÍEZ, Carlos – Dos testamentos femeninos en el siglo XIV: María de Haro y la reina María de Molina. In REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos, coord. – *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín. Tomo I*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002, p. 386; REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. – *Amigos exigentes, servidores infieles. La crisis de la orden de Cluny en España*

2. The choice of the burial place: devotions, legitimacy and memory

Another expression of the royal family's devotions was the choice of their burial places in different monasteries. However, apart from the devotional component, other motivations are observed when choosing one monastery or another as a place of eternal rest, such as memory and political issues. As Arias Guillén has pointed out, unlike other European kingdoms, there was no royal pantheon in Castile. In some kingdoms such as Navarra, it was established in the cathedral of Pamplona. In others, such as Aragon, Portugal, France and England, the kings opted for monasteries: in Aragon, after various vicissitudes Poblet was consolidated; in Portugal, D. Dinis changed Alcobaça for Odivelas and D. João I the latter for Batalha; in England, Westminster was elected during the reigns of Edward I and Edward III and in France Saint-Denis, confirmed during the reign of Louis IX⁵.

The evolution of royal burials in Castile went from a stage tending to the construction of a dynastic pantheon, to the mausoleums of the Late Middle Ages, more concerned with emphasizing individual memory. Despite the fact that Sancho IV was buried in the cathedral of Toledo, before 1285 his will was to do so in the Franciscan convent of the city. Pedro I was buried in the church of San Miguel of la Puebla de Alcocer and later transferred to Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, during the priory of his granddaughter Constanza, to give him a more solemn place (1446). Later on Enrique II canceled his will to found a Franciscan convent in Montiel to bury him. The first three Trastámara kings tried to create a pantheon in the chapel of the "Reyes Nuevos" of Toledo Cathedral, in imitation of their remote predecessors. However, this dynamic was broken when Juan II decided his body to be temporarily deposited in San Pablo of Valladolid and buried in Miraflores, and with his successor, Enrique IV, despite his will to do so in El Paular (1443) – perhaps with the idea of emulating his father –, his corpse was finally deposited

(1270-1379). Madrid: CSIC, 2014, p. 69; SÁNCHEZ-IZQUIERDO, M.³ Luisa Palacio – *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Zail de Carrión (siglos XI al XV)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988, n.º 108.

5 ROBSON, Michael – *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006, p. 96; ARIAS GUILLÉN Fernando – Enterramientos regios en Castilla y León (C. 842-1504). La dispersión de los espacios funerarios y el fracaso de la memoria dinástica. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 45:2 (2015) 654-667; ROEBERT, Sebastian – Leonor de Sicilia y Santa Clara de Teruel: la fundación regional de un convento de clarisas y su primer desarrollo. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 44:1 (2014) 170; SÍGÜENZA, José de – *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*. Tomo I. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000, p. 160-161 y 163; ESPAÑOL, Francesca – Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios. In BECEIRO PITA, Isabel, dir. – *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno. Siglos XII-XV*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 389-398, 411-416; ACSES, Ms. 76/2, f. 186. ESCARRA, André – Le couvent des frères Prêcheurs de Perpignan. In *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*. Fanjeaux: Privat, 2001, p. 101 y 109; MOREIRA, António Montes – Breve historia das clarissas em Portugal. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 215; RÖHRKASTEN, Jens – *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London (1221-1539)*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004, p. 353-355, 370, 396 y 467-471.

in San Jerónimo el Real of Madrid and later transferred to Guadalupe, with his mother (1474)⁶.

At the burial of the last queens of the Burgundy dynasty, the dominant trend was dispersal. María de Molina buried herself in Las Huelgas of Valladolid, despite the fact that in her first testament she had ordered it to be done in the cathedral of Toledo, next to her husband. Constança of Portugal, wife of Fernando IV, was buried in the Sahagún transept, next to the wives of Alfonso VI (1313), and Blanca de Borbón, wife of Pedro I, was buried in San Francisco of Jerez (1361), being moved above the main altar when Queen Isabel donated her chapel to Alonso Pérez de Vargas (1483). María de Padilla chose her foundation in Santa Clara of Astudillo. However, Pedro I recognized her as queen in the Cortes of Seville and had her body transferred to the royal chapel in the cathedral of Seville, where another chapel was built near it (1362). The opposite situation occurred with Maria of Portugal, who was buried in Évora, despite her willingness to do so in the cathedral of Seville. Her son Pedro I transferred her remains to San Clemente of Sevilla, with permission from her uncle, the king of Portugal. Another source says that it was Enrique II who

6 ARIAS GUILLÉN, Fernando – Enterramientos regioes en Castilla y León (C. 842-1504). La dispersión de los espacios funerarios y el fracaso de la memoria dinástica. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 45:2 (2015) 658 y 662-663 y 668; NIETO SORIA, José Manuel – *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*. Palencia: La Olmeda, 1994, p. 79; MORETA VELAYOS, Salustiano – Notas sobre el franciscanismo y el dominicanismo de Sancho IV y María de Molina. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 179; FERNÁNDEZ-PACHECO, Juan Ramón Romero – *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. Ordenación económica de un señorío conventual durante la Baja Edad Media (1219-1530)*. Salamanca: Ed. San Esteban, 2008, p. 124 y 135-137; RÁBADE OBRADÓ, M.ª del Pilar – Religiosidad y memoria política: las constituciones de la capilla de Pedro I en Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (1464). *En la España Medieval*. 26 (2003) 232-233; ARCO, Ricardo del – *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla*. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita (CSIC), 1954, p. 299, 337, 339 y 345-346; GÓMEZ GÓMEZ, Ildefonso M. – La Casa Trastámara y la cartuja de El Paular. Una lectura crítica desde el Libro Becerro del monasterio. In MIRABÓ GRALLA, Concepció Bauçà de, coord. – *Prínceps i reis. Promotors de l'orde Cartoixà*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2003, p. 297 y 315-316; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, Ana – *Catalina de Lancaster, reina regente de Castilla (1372-1418)*. Hondarríbia: Nerea, 2002, p. 52; CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Santiago – Las relaciones de las cartujas de la Provincia de Castilla con la monarquía: 1390-1598. In MIRABÓ GRALLA, Concepció Bauçà de, coord. – *Prínceps i reis. Promotors de l'orde Cartoixà*. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2003, p. 285; RAH, *Memorias de Enrique IV de Castilla. Tomo II*, Madrid, 1835-1913, n.º XLVI y CXCIII; TARÍN Y JUANEDA, Francisco – *La Real Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Su historia y descripción*. Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1897, p. 106-117, 120, 165-166, 564-566 y 576-577; RAH, Salazar y Castro, O-19, f. 84 g y h; AGS, EMR, MyP, Legajo 3-2, n.º 119; CAÑAS GÁLVEZ, Francisco de P. – ¿El ocaso de una reina? Gobierno, administración patrimonial, muerte y exequias de Isabel de Portugal (1454-1496). *Anuario de Historia del Derecho español*. (2017) 26; PALENCIA, Alonso de – *Gesta Hispaniensi ex annalibus svorum diuvm collecta*, Tomo 1. Libri I-V. Ed. de Robert Brian Tate y Jeremy Lawrance. Madrid: RAH, 1998, p. 78; COLMENARES, Diego de – *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla. Tomo II*. Segovia: Academia de Historia y Arte de San Quirce, 1982, p. 22; SÁNCHEZ DOMINGO, Rafael – *Privilegios reales de la cartuja de Miraflores. El patrimonio jurisdiccional de Burgos. Pleito contra el Hospital del Rey*. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos, 2004, p. 129; PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, Fernán y GALÍNDEZ DE CARVAJAL, Lorenzo – *Crónica del señor rey don Juan Segundo*, Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1779, p. 576; AGS, RGS, 1489, V, fol. 15; 1491, VIII, fol. 331; ABAD CASTRO, Concepción y MARTÍN ANSÓN, M.ª Luis – Los Herrera y su capilla funeraria de San Ildefonso en la cartuja de El Paular. *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*. 18 (2006) 31-34; LUCÍA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN, Diana – Apariciones marianas y renovación monástica en la Castilla bajomedieval: Guadalupe y Santa María la Real de Nieva. In *Los monasterios medievales en sus emplazamientos: lugares de memoria de lo sagrado*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2016, p. 231; HERGUEDAS VELA, Miguel – *Patronazgo real en los monasterios jerónimos de la Corona de Castilla: Arte y Arquitectura*. Valladolid. Universidad de Valladolid, 2017, p. 148-149. Tesis doctoral.

carried out the transfer, which would justify that the person responsible for the death of her mother, Leonor de Guzmán, did not receive a burial in the Seville cathedral (1371). Finally, Leonor de Guzmán was transferred to Santa Clara of Tordesillas at the request of her sister-in-law, Queen Juana Manuel, and the intervention of the Bishop of Palencia, Gutierre, her chancellor (1373). In this way, the queen fulfilled the commitment that Alfonso XI had made with the pope to obtain her support from the Benimerines: to bury her in a monastery (1340)⁷.

The first Trastámara queens – Juana Manuel, Leonor de Aragón and Catalina de Lancaster – were buried in the Chapel of the New Kings of Toledo, in the context of an attempt to create a pantheon. However, as Diana Lucía Gómez-Chacón has indicated, not being the mother of kings, Queen Beatriz of Portugal opted for Sancti Spiritus of Toro (c. 1432), recovering the previous trend, which was followed by her successors: the choice of burial in monasteries. After the death of María de Aragón in Villacastín, her body was deposited in Santa María la Real de Nieva (1445) and later transferred to her final burial in Guadalupe, at the end of the 15th century. The body of Isabel de Portugal was deposited in San Francisco of Arévalo – the town where she died – and she was taken to Miraflores at the age of nine, as she ordered

7 ARCO, Ricardo del – *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla*. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita (CSIC), 1954, p. 275, 280, 283, 294-295 y 303; COLMENARES, Diego de – *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla*. Segovia: Academia de Historia y Arte de San Quirce, 1982, p. 465; CERDÁ Y RICO, Francisco – *Cronica de D. Alfonso el Onceno de este nombre, de los reyes que Reynaron en Castilla y en Leon*. Madrid: Imprenta de d. Antonio de Sancha, 1787, p. 64; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid: RAH, 1935, p. 68; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo – Los dominicos en Castilla. La génesis de una corporación privilegiada en la Baja Edad Media. In NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo; BENITO MOYA, Silvano G. A.; NAVARRO, Andrea, coord. – *Servir a Dios y servir al Rey: el mundo de los privilegiados en el ámbito hispánico (ss. XIII-XVIII)*. Salta: Mundo Editorial, 2011, p. 26; SÁNCHEZ SESA, Rafael – Modelos de muerte y mentalidad religiosa en la Península Ibérica. Los testamentos de las élites castellanas de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV a la segunda del XV. *Ilu. Revista de Ciencia de las Religiones*. 5 (2000) 169; MORETA VELAYOS, Salustiano – Notas sobre el franciscanismo y el dominicanismo de Sancho IV y María de Molina. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 182; NÚÑEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Manuel – Iconografía de humildad: el yacente de Sancho IV. *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*. 3:2 (1985) 169-175; ESCALONA, Romualdo – *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún*. Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1782, p. 166; AHNOB, Frías, C. 1324; RUIZ SOUZA, Juan C. – Santa Clara de Tordesillas. *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2005, p. 23-24; CASTRO TOLEDO, Jonás – *Colección diplomática de Tordesillas*. Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1981, n.º 112; GONZÁLEZ CRISTÓBAL, Margarita – *Inventarios documentales. Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (1316-1936)*. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987, n.º 31; ASCT, Caja 6, Expediente 5; DÍAZ MARTÍN, Luis Vicente – *Pedro I el Cruel (1350-1369)*. Gijón: Trea, 1995, p. 27, 191 y 196; SITGES, Juan B. – *Las mujeres del rey don Pedro I de Castilla*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1910, p. 56 y 378-381; BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ, Mercedes – *El Real monasterio de San Clemente. Un monasterio cisterciense en la Sevilla Medieval*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1991, p. 67; LÓPEZ DE AYALA, Pero – *Crónicas*. Ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez. Barcelona: Planeta, 1991, p. 263 y 275; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, Ana – *Catalina de Lancaster, reina regente de Castilla (1372-1418)*. Nerea: Hondarribia, 2002, p. 76; ROCHWERT-ZUILLI, Patricia – El mecenazgo y patronazgo de María de Molina: pruebas e indicios de unos recursos propagandísticos y didácticos. *e-Spania* (en línea), <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/25549>; PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – El mecenazgo femenino en los monasterios y conventos de Castilla (1350-1474): poder y espiritualidad. In GARCÍA-FERNÁNDEZ, Miguel y CERNADAS MARTÍNEZ, Silvia, coord. – *Regina Iberiae. El poder regio femenino en los reinos medievales peninsulares*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2015, p. 208-210.

in her will (1496). Finally, Queen Joana of Portugal was buried on the gospel side of the main chapel of San Francisco of Madrid (1475)⁸.

The same trend discussed for the queens occurred in the case of *infantes*, who chose a large and varied number of monasteries for burial located in *realengo* villas. In the initial stages, they opted for some of the royal monasteries such as las Huelgas of Burgos. After the arrival of the Trastámara dynasty, the balance tipped in favor of mendicant monasteries, both male and female. In other cases, they sought burial in monasteries of their foundation or under their patronage and, as a result of historical dynamics, others did so for political reasons – Fernando de Antequera, as King of Aragon in Poblet and the *Infante*-King Alfonso in Miraflores– and from recovery of lost legitimacy in the case of the Petrists, for whom the Dominican monasteries of Toledo and Madrid were chosen⁹.

-
- 8 PÉREZ VIDAL, Mercedes – Sancti Spiritus de Toro: arquitectura y patronazgo femenino. *Liño: Revista anual de historia del arte*. 14 (2008) 12; OLIVERA SERRANO, César – Las secuelas religiosas de un conflicto dinástico: portugueses en Castilla en el siglo XV. In BECEIRO PITA, Isabel, dir. – *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno. Siglos XII-XV*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 174-175; LUCÍA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN, Diana – Religiosidad femenina y reforma dominicana: el sepulcro de Beatriz de Portugal en el Sancti Spiritus de Toro. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 47:2 (2016) 607-645; Reinas y Predicadores: el Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Nieva en tiempo de Catalina de Lancaster y María de Aragón (1390-1445). In TEIJEIRA PABLOS, M.ª Dolores; HERRÁEZ ORTEGA, María Victoria; COSMEN, María del C., coord. – *Reyes y prelados. La creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla (1050-1500)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 334; AMGuadalupe, LEG. 3, carp. R-VI-4, doc. 15 y carp. R-VII-1, doc. 31; COUSSEMAKER, Sophie – Les confesseurs hiéronymites des souverains castillans, de 1373 à 1474. Quels confesseurs pour quels rois? *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 29^e congrès*. Pau: Persée, 1998, p. 89.
- 9 The *infante* Fernando de la Cerda was buried in Las Huelgas of Burgos, altering the weapons of his tomb to erase his rights to the throne (1275), as happened with his first-born, Alfonso (1333). Fadrique, brother of Alfonso X, assassinated by the king because of his relationship with Simón Ruiz de los Cameros, was buried in a loose place until the *infante* Sancho ordered his transfer to Trinidad of Burgos (1282). In San Francisco of Valladolid Pedro, son of Alfonso X (1283) and Enrique el Senador, son of Fernando III (1303) were buried. Alfonso (1291), Enrique (1299), Pedro (1319) and Felipe (1327) – with his wife Margarita de la Cerda, (d. 1328) –, sons of Sancho IV, did so in San Pablo of Valladolid, San Ildefonso of Toro, las Huelgas of Burgos and Santa Clara of Allariz, respectively; In the case of the place chosen by *infante* Pedro, his mother, María de Molina, who defended her rights to the throne, could have been behind. Fernando, the first-born of Alfonso XI, was buried in San Clemente of Sevilla with his mother, María de Portugal, perhaps with another infant boy, brother of the previous one (1332/1333). As for the Trastámara *infantes*, Tello was buried in San Francisco of Palencia, together with his mother-in-law, María de him (1368). Fernando de Antequera wanted to bury himself in the Mejorada, changing his attitude when he was elected King of Aragon. In Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo, Catalina de Lancaster ordered the transfer of the body of her uncle, the *infante* Sancho (1410) and the Prioress Catalina de Castilla that of her father, the *infante* Diego (1448), sons of Pedro I. In San Andrés of Medina del Campo was buried the *maestre* of Calatrava, Sancho and Alonso, son and grandson of Fernando de Antequera, respectively (1416). During the priory of Constanza de Castilla, granddaughter of Pedro I, Real of Madrid transferred her father, the *infante* Juan (1442), his brother Pedro de Castilla and his son, Sancho, to the main chapel of Santo Domingo; Alonso, son of Alonso de Castilla and Juana de Zúñiga, had previously been buried there. Alfonso, son of the bishop of Osma and Palencia, Pedro de Castilla – son of the *infante* Juan, son of Pedro I – was buried in Santa Clara of Valladolid. The *infante*-king Alfonso was buried in San Francisco of Arévalo (1468) and transferred to Miraflores by order of his sister Isabel I (1492), cf. NIETO SORIA, José Manuel – *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*. Palencia: La Olmeda, 1994, p. 28-29; ROJO ALIQUÉ, Francisco Javier – El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220-1518). Los aspectos materiales. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 252 (2005) 452; Los franciscanos conventuales en Valladolid y Palencia (siglos XIII-XV). In Fernández-Gallardo Jiménez, Gonzalo, coord. - *Los franciscanos conventuales en España (II Congreso Internacional sobre el franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica)*. Madrid: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2006, p. 132; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Liceo Franciscano, 1988, p. 193; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo – Los dominicos en Castilla, p. 25, 34 y 40; ARCO, Ricardo del – *Sepulcros de la Casa Real*

Regarding the *infantas* of the Burgundy dynasty, there are not many differences with respect to what was indicated for the *infantes*. They chose Las Huelgas of Burgos and other monasteries located in *realengo* villas, some of them under the dominion of the queens, such as Toro, and certain monasteries are repeated, such as Santo Domingo el Real of Madrid. In Santa Clara of Tordesillas, in addition to the *infanta* Beatriz, daughter of Pedro I, Juana de Castro – daughter of Alfonso XI and Leonor de Guzmán – (c. 1376), her husband Felipe and, years later, her daughter Leonor were buried (c. 1383). After the dynastic change, the numerous *infantas*, illegitimate daughters of Enrique II – Constanza, Juana, Beatriz, Leonor, María, Isabel and Inés – chose different monasteries; those who took the habit did so in their monasteries by profession. Others chose to bury themselves in places of their dominion, such as Constanza and her husband, the *infante* Juan, son of Pedro I of Portugal and Inés de Castro, in San Esteban of Salamanca, or in monasteries linked to the monarchy such as Guadalupe, chosen by Juana and her husband, the *infante* Dinis of Portugal (1441) and his son Pedro (1465). María was buried in San Francisco of Guadalajara, because her husband, Admiral Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, had acquired the patronage. This same dispersion is observed with the rest of the *infantas* of whom we know their place of burial, in some doubtful cases, but always in monasteries with some link to the royal family. Several of the transfers

de Castilla. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita (CSIC), 1954, p. 254, 271, 298 y 336; AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1261, f. 5; MORETA VELAYOS, Salustiano – Notas sobre el franciscanismo y el dominicanismo de Sancho IV y María de Molina. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 183; BENAVIDES, Antonio – *Memorias del rey D. Fernando IV de Castilla, Tomo II (Colección diplomática)*. Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, 1860, Nº CCXL y DLXXXV; SALAZAR Y CASTRO, Luis – *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Lara*. Tomo I. Madrid. Imprenta Real, 1696, p. 184; Tomo III, 1697, p. 189 y 234; RAH, Salazar y Castro, F-40, ff. 112 a 116 v; M-8, f. 55 v; M-20, ff. 17 a 19 v, 32 a 34 v y 228 v. a 229; CASTRO GARRIDO, Araceli – *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas (1307-1321)*. Burgos: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas n.º 34, 1987, n.º 358; ARIAS GUILLÉN, Fernando – Enterramientos regioes en Castilla y León (C. 842-1504). La dispersión de los espacios funerarios y el fracaso de la memoria dinástica. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 45:2 (2015) 660; BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ, Mercedes – *El Real monasterio de San Clemente. Un monasterio cisterciense en la Sevilla Medieval*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1991, p. 69; RODRÍGUEZ GUILLÉN, Santiago – *El monasterio de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas (1363-1509)*. (Tesis Doctoral). Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2010, p. 284; CASTILLO, Hernando del – *Segunda parte de la Historia General de Santo Domingo de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid: Impr. Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1612, p. 100r; CAÑAS GÁLVEZ, Francisco de P. – *Colección diplomática de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Documentos Reales I (1249-1473)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2010, n.º 95; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, Ana – *Catalina de Lancaster, reina regente de Castilla (1372-1418)*. Hondarribia: Nerea, 2002, p. 136-137; SITGES, Juan B. – *Las mujeres del rey don Pedro de Castilla*. Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1910, p. 137 y 452; LÓPEZ, Juan – *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid. Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1613, p. 128v. y 356; RÁBADE OBRADÓ, M.ª del Pilar – Religiosidad y memoria política: las constituciones de la capilla de Pedro I en Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (1464). *En la España Medieval*. 26 (2003) 237; CASTRO, Manuel de – *El Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Palencia y los Enríquez, Almirantes de Castilla*. Palencia: Diputación Provincial, 1982, p. 159; COLOMBÁS, García – El libro de los bienhechores de San Benito de Valladolid. *Studia Monastica*. 5:2 (1963) 333; TARÍN Y JUANEDA, Francisco – *La Real Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Su historia y descripción*. Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1897, p. 148 y 578.

of the bodies previously mentioned, such as those of María de Padilla, Alfonso XI and Leonor de Castro, had a propaganda and legitimation component¹⁰.

3. The advance towards the Modern State: identity, centralisation and control of the Crown's institutions

The medieval period was a time of transition to Modernity, where the kings tried to acquire greater power through various mechanisms, being monastic politics one of them. In the transition of the construction of the Modern State, in addition to achieving a political centralisation, it was necessary to articulate a centralisation of the kingdom's monasteries.

During the 13th century, as a result of the extension of the domain of the Capetos over Southern France, Cluny went from protection to the dependence of the French kings. The consequence for European priories was their dependence on a mother abbey subject to the king of France. Faced with this situation, foreign kings tried to control the monasteries in their territory imitating French royal politics. The policy of the European kings of trying to remove the dependence of the monasteries

10 In las Huelgas of Burgos, the granddaughter of Alfonso X, Blanca, daughter of Beatriz and Alfonso III of Portugal and señora of the monastery (1321), Isabel, daughter of the *infanta* Blanca Alfonso, *señora* of Molina y Mesa and the wife of the infant Pedro, María de Aragón. The *infanta* Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso X, made them in her re-founding of Santa Clara of Toro (1300). In Santo Domingo, Real of Madrid buried the *infanta* Constanza, daughter of Fernando IV (1310). García Turza collects that the historiography of the Valvanera monastery affirms that the *infanta* Catalina de Castilla, daughter of Pedro I, and her niece María, *señora* of Bobadilla, are buried in this monastery. With the arrival of Trastámara, the *infanta* Beatriz, Countess of Niebla, was buried in San Clemente of Sevilla in the tomb of the *infanta* buried by Fernando IV (1409). *Infanta* Leonor did it in San Francisco de Valladolid together with her mother, Leonor Álvarez, and her sisters Isabel (1420) and Inés (1443) in Santa Clara of Toledo. *Infanta* Leonor, daughter of Juan II, was buried in La Espina (1425). A daughter of Juan II of Aragón was buried in Santa María la Real of Medina del Campo; *Infanta* Catalina, daughter of Juan II, was buried in the Augustinian convent in Madrid (1424). *Infanta* María, daughter of Juan II, was buried in San Agustín of Dueñas (1429). In Sancti Spiritus of Toro, the daughter of the *infante* Sancho de Albuquerque, Leonor de Castilla (1444), in ARCO, Ricardo del – *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla*. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita (CSIC), 1954, p. 252, 263, 271, 295, 298 y 328-329; FLORANES Y ENCINAS, Rafael – *Memorias para la historia de la ciudad y tierra de Toro*. Zamora: Semuret, 1994, p. 51 y 105-106; LÓPEZ, Juan – *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1613, p. 30 y 128v-129r; CASTRO GARRIDO, Araceli – *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas (1307-1321)*. Burgos: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas n.º 34 1987, n.º 364; MARTÍNEZ, Eduardo – *Colección diplomática del Real convento de Santo Domingo de Caleruega con facsímiles de los documentos*. Vergara: El Santísimo Rosario, 1931, n.º LXXIX; GARCÍA TURZA, Francisco Javier – *El monasterio de Valvanera en la Edad Media (siglos XI-XV)*. Madrid: Unión Editorial, 1990, p. 110; RODRÍGUEZ GUILLÉN, Santiago – *El monasterio de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas (1363-1509)*. (Tesis Doctoral). Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2010, p. 284; RAH, Salazar y Castro, M-53, ff. 108 a 114; O-19, f. 126 f. v; TUDELA Y BUESO, M.ª Luisa – *El convento del monasterio de Santa Clara la Real de Toledo (1247-1993)*. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 493; HERRERA, Tomás de – *Historia del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*. Madrid: Gregorio Rodríguez Impresor, 1652, p. 21; PÉREZ VIDAL, Mercedes – Sancti Spiritus de Toro: arquitectura y patronazgo femenino. *Liño: Revista anual de historia del arte*. 14 (2008) 12; NOGALES RINCÓN, David – *La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la Capilla Real (1252-1504)*. (Tesis Doctoral). Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009, p. 962-963; PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – El mecenazgo femenino en los monasterios y conventos de Castilla (1350-1474): poder y espiritualidad. In GARCÍA-FERNÁNDEZ, Miguel y CERNADAS MARTÍNEZ, Silvia, coord. – *Regina Iberiae. El poder regio femenino en los reinos medievales peninsulares*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2015, p. 208-210.

of their kingdoms on foreign orders was aimed at ending the capital outflow to France through the payments that the priories had to make to the mother houses like Cluny. The kings tried to control the institutions and resources of the Crown, as it occurred, for example, in England: in 1382 the convent in London was forbidden to admit foreign friars and when the Hundred Years War started, its houses were put into the hands of the Crown in order to end external interference, French monks from being expelled from the kingdom (1378) and the foreign priories from being dissolved by an act of Parliament (1414)¹¹.

In Castile, the priories' crisis took place around 1270, earlier than in France. Since the reign of Sancho IV, in Nájera – Yvo de Mont, Guillen de Busuel and Guillen de Monladun – and San Zoilo – Guicharte, Johan de Lodosa, Pedro Carity and Guido (1285-1382) – French priors predominated. The chief prioress of the monastery of Vega was appointed by the Abbess of Fontevrault, which explains that many of them were French and that in a donation of 1283 one of the conditions included was to obey the Bishop of Oviedo. Given this, in a document, Sancho IV referred to the priory of Santa Coloma of Burgos as dependent of San Zoilo, but avoided referring to Cluny, even if it continued to belong to the order. The abbot of San Isidro of Dueñas, Bernardo de Blanesto (1291-1301), led the movement of separation of the Hispanic priories of the Cluniac general chapter; Abbot Guillermo temporarily separated the monastery and his abbots began to be Hispanic (1310). After this, two French monks stole the treasure and relics of the monastery in order to deliver them to Cluny. To the foundation of San Benito of Valladolid (1390), a fundamental milestone in the process that we will talk about later, it should be added the fact that Cluny's last visit to the Hispanic priories took place three years after its foundation (1392). After this, the tendency was the incorporation of numerous Benedictine monasteries to San Benito of Valladolid and, the few that were founded, depended on it from the beginning¹².

11 REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. – *Amigos exigentes, servidores infieles. La crisis de la orden de Cluny en España (1270-1379)*. Madrid: CSIC, 2014, p. 31-32; RACINET, Philippe – *Crises et renouveaux: Les monastères clunisiens à la fin du Moyen Age (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles). De la Flandre au Berry et comparaisons meridionales*. Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997, p. 367; RÖHRKASTEN, Jens – *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London (1221-1539)*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004, p. 540-547; STÖBER, Karen – *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300-1540*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007, p. 35-49; CLARK, James G. – *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011, p. 260-262.

12 After the foundation of San Benito of Valladolid, there was still some action to separate the Castilian priories from French abbots: the abbot of Cardeña, Pedro del Burgo, obtained a bull from Eugenio IV to incorporate the Hornillos priory, that was attached to the monastery of San Martín of Tulla (France). In RACINET, Philippe – *Crises et renouveaux: Les monastères clunisiens à la fin du Moyen Age (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles). De la Flandre au Berry et comparaisons meridionales*. Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997, p. 60-150 y 166-168; REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. – *Amigos exigentes, servidores infieles. La crisis de la orden de Cluny en España (1270-1379)*. Madrid: CSIC, 2014, p. 15-21; GABRIEL Y GALÁN, José L. Senra – Alfonso XI y Cluny. La restauración de un vínculo tradicional en la primera mitad del siglo XIV. *Hispania Sacra*. 47:96 (1995) 544; 555; ZARAGOZA PASCUAL, Ernesto – *Abadologio (siglos X-XX) y libro de gradas (1614-1830) del monasterio de San Isidro de Dueñas. Archivos leoneses*. 89-90 (1991) 199-200; CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Margarita – La comunidad monástica de Santa María de Nájera durante la Edad Media. *En la España Medieval*. 36 (2013) 231; SÁNCHEZ-IZQUIERDO, M.^a Luisa Palacio

With regard to the Order of the Charterhouse, after the founding of Miraflores, the privileges of the kings, for the most part, were granted to this temple. The province of Castile was created at the request of Juan II (1442). Until then, the houses founded depended on the province of Catalonia and the Aragonese Charterhouse of Scala Dei, and were visited by their superiors. After the creation of the Province of Castilla, several *visitadores* and *covisitatores* came from El Paular, Miraflores and Las Cuevas¹³.

The Trinity and the Mercy had the main task of redeeming Christian captives in Muslim territory. Both had a different history. The Order of Mercy was more linked to the court of Aragon, while in Castile it competed against the Trinitarians. The Order of Mercy's government positions used to be occupied by Aragonese friars; the first known Castilian prior provincial was Pedro Rodríguez Barrio (1361) and the first general of that origin was Pedro de Huete (1441 and 1452). The conflicts between the two orders led them to present a merger project to the pope (1354). Due to this situation, Pedro IV of Aragon wrote a letter to the Mercedarian General in which he complained that, although the order had been founded by his grandfather, Jaime I, and privileged by his successors, he was dealing with the Pope the fusion and *quitar la insignia nuestra del dicho escudo y habito o, poner alli otra insignia lo cual si se llevase a cabo redundaria indudablemente en deshonra nuestra* (1358). Once again, as we indicated when we referred to other religious orders, the links that apparently reflected a simple devotion carried a political issue behind: the defense of the identity of the Crown¹⁴.

Another way to achieve the centralization and control of the economies and government of the monasteries, was the support of the kings to the reforms of the various religious orders. Valladolid and its surroundings acted as the epicenter of the Castilian reform through monasteries linked to the monarchy such as San Benito, San Pablo, El Abrojo, Los Santos, Valbuena and Santa Clara de Tordesillas, being

– *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Zoil de Carrión (siglos XI al XV)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988, n.º 93, 104 y 129; PÉREZ CELADA, Julio A. – *Documentación del monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1301-1400)*. Palencia: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas, n.º 35, 1987, n.º 246; DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Santiago – El monasterio de Vega: de los orígenes altomedievales a la Edad Moderna. In VIFORCOS MARINAS, M.ª Isabel y Sánchez-Bordona, Dolores Campos, coord. – *Fundadores, fundaciones y espacios de vida conventual. Nuevas aportaciones al monacato femenino*. León: Universidad de León, 2005, p. 30-31 y 37-39; HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, Patricia – Las constituciones del cenobio de Santa María de la Vega de Oviedo. In VIFORCOS MARINAS, M.ª Isabel y SÁNCHEZ-BORDONA, Dolores Campos, coord. – *Fundadores, fundaciones y espacios de vida conventual. Nuevas aportaciones al monacato femenino*. León: Universidad de León, 2005, p. 106.

13 CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Santiago – *Los cartujos en la religiosidad y la sociedad españolas: 1390-1563. Tomo I*. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik. Universität Salzburg, 2000, p. 168.

14 VÁZQUEZ NÚÑEZ, Guillermo – *Manual de la Historia de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*. Toledo: est. Tipográfico "Editorial Católica Toledana", 1931, p. 122-124, 209, 232-240, 250 y 330-341.

the latter one of the cities where the Court spent longest periods of time during the Late Middle Ages¹⁵.

4. The monasteries as a mechanism of control of the nobility by the monarchy

During the Late Middle Ages there were no male Cistercian foundations sponsored by the monarchy and the first Benedictine did not take place until the end of the 14th century, when Juan I founded San Benito of Valladolid (1389). Through this monastery the kings controlled the monasteries that were incorporated into the Observance from a double perspective: on the one hand, as we have already explained, through the separation of some of them from foreign mother-houses such as Cluny, the Chaise-Dieu or Marcigny; on the other hand, through monasteries that until that moment had been of noble patronage. In fact, when a monastery was erected under Valladolid's observance, the first thing its founders did was to renounce their patronage, as exemplified by the cases of the Misericordia of Frómista and Calabazanos, repeating the clause

«nuestra voluntad es que nos dichos Pedro Manrique y doña Leonor su mujer y nuestros hijos y hijas y herederos (...) non podamos aver nin ayamos nin ayano derecho alguno de patronadgo en el dicho monesterio que asi hedificaredes en las dichas casas, mas que todo exentamente quede libre e hesento para vos el dicho prior e monges del monesterio de San Benito de Valladolid»¹⁶.

In addition, as it can be seen in Calabazanos, the rents and the place for the construction of the monastery were donated directly to San Benito of Valladolid. This way, the monarchy could have greater control over the noble foundations, reaching its zenith with the Catholic Monarchs. Moreover, several court officials entrusted their treasures and jewels to San Benito of Valladolid. This allowed

15 MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual – Reforma de los claustros y sociedad en la España de la Baja Edad Media. In HERBERS, Klaus y JASPERT, Nikolas, coord. – *Das kommt mir Spanisch vor. Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004, p. 533-535.

16 There was only one Benedictine foundation project in the 1960s of the 15th century, when the *infanta* Beatriz, daughter of Dinis of Portugal, set out to deliver the hermitage of the Virgen de la Vega, in Salamanca, to San Benito of Valladolid (c. 1460), in PÉREZ-EMBIWAMBA, Javier – *El Cister en Castilla y León. Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XV)*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986, p. 352; BALBOA DE PAZ, José A. – *El monasterio de Carracedo*. León: Instituto Leonés de Cultura-Diputación de León, 1997, p. 59; REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. – Cluny and its priories in fifteenth-century Castile. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*. 9:2 (2017) 261; STÖBER, Karen – *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300-1540*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007, p. 35-49; OLIVERA SERRANO, César – Las secuelas religiosas de un conflicto dinástico: portugueses en Castilla en el siglo XV. In BECEIRO PITA, Isabel, dir. – *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno. Siglos XII-XV*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014, p. 176-177; TORRES, Mancio de – *Libro de la Historia de S. Benito el R(eal) de Valladolid*, Manuscrito de la Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, U/Bc Ms. 195, p. 289-290; ZARAGOZA PASCUAL, Ernesto – La fundación del monasterio benedictino de Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia de Frómista (1437). *Publicaciones Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*. 69 (1998) 96; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 3.454, N° 8.

the kings to make use of them if required, as it happened with the seizure of the treasury of the *contador mayor*, Fernán Alfonso de Robles and other officers. This was summarized by the chronicler Mancio de Torres some centuries later:

«El encerramiento de este monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid ha sido realmente el que ha dado honra y estimación a los monges y particular confianza para confiar de ellos las cosas de mas importancia. Por lo qual, todos los que en aquel tiempo quisieron asegurar sus cosas, las confiaban a este monasterio, en el qual depositaban sus más seguras alhajas y grandes sumas de maravedís»¹⁷.

In the case of the Cistercians, Martín de Vargas reformed the monastery of Valbuena (1430) with the punctual support of Juan II, probably due to the influence in the court of the family Álvarez de Toledo, founders of Montesión, center of the reform. However, Enrique IV's support for the integration of the Cistercian nuns of San Quirce of Valladolid in the observance of San Benito of Valladolid, instead of the Cistercian observance (1462-1463), is significant, encouraging its dependence on a royal foundation and not on Montesión that, in spite of being Cistercian, was of noble foundation. In addition, when Martín de Vargas tried to reform other monasteries of the order such as Matallana, Palazuelos, Rioseco or Bonaval, the Queen of Aragon wrote to her sister-in-law, the Queen of Castile, María de Aragón, asking her not to support Martín's reform, to whom she referred in derogatory terms¹⁸.

The same happened with the Poor Clares. Several ladies of the nobility founded or professed in convents of the order. Thus, the subjection of them to a convent of royal foundation, such as Santa Clara of Tordesillas, erected by the *infanta* Beatriz at the request of her father, Pedro I (1362), led the monarchy to have some control over the rest of them. Juana Manuel intervened in the reform of Santa Clara of Tordesillas, helped by the Hieronymite Pedro Fernández Pecha (1377). His first *visitador* was Juan de Balbás, to whom María de Padilla had entrusted the *visitador* of her foundation: Santa Clara of Astudillo. María de Aragón intervened at the incorporation of Santa Clara of Salamanca to the congregation of Tordesillas (1441). Therefore, the convent was protected by all kings and queens, especially by Juan II, as it became the head of the Castilian Poor Clares' reform process. Years later, Prince Enrique, future Enrique IV, requested the appointment of Sancho de Canales as a *visitador* of Santa Clara of Tordesillas and obtained great prerogatives

17 TORRES, Mancio de – *Libro de la Historia de S. Benito el R(ea)l de Valladolid*, Manuscrito de la Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz, U/Bc Ms. 195, p. 205.

18 PÉREZ-EMBIID WAMBA, Javier – *El Cister en Castilla y León. Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XV)*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986, p. 660-665 y 700-707; BALBOA DE PAZ, José A. – *El monasterio de Carracedo*. León: Instituto Leonés de Cultura-Diputación de León, 1997, p. 68; CRUZ, Valentín de la – *La abadía cisterciense de Bujedo de Juarros (ss. XII-XIX)*. Palencia: La Olmeda, 1990, p. 308-309; ACA, Cancillería Real, Comune 15, Reg. 2.692, fol. 65v.

of the pope to increase the number of convents dependent on the latter, after having requested the reform of the convent of Palencia while he was still prince. In the absence of an observant Franciscan convent founded by royalty, Enrique IV erected San Antonio in Segovia (1455)¹⁹.

5. The influence of the Western Schism (1378-1417)

The monarchy took advantage of the lack of religious leadership that existed in Christianity to take important religious initiatives, as a sign of authoritarianism. We may draw attention to the disappearance of the privileges granted to the Dominicans during the first three reigns of the Trastámara, coinciding with the Schism, which were no longer granted until the coming of age of Juan II. At this time, the Dominicans of Castile did not lend their obedience to the master general of the Roman obedience, Raymond of Capua – the main promoter of the reform of the order – but to the general of Avignon obedience, Elias Raymond, of less charisma. This explained that outside Germany and Italy the reform was only successful in Portugal, a kingdom that was placed under Roman obedience, and that it did not reach Castile until three decades later. In fact, Vicente Ferrer's visit campaign to Castile had a propaganda character for the benefit of the order at a time of Franciscan consolidation. The division of the province of Portugal, through the intermediation of the royal and provincial confessor, Luis de Valladolid, and confirmed by Martin V, established that its convents, integrated in the province of Spain, obeyed the Roman pope (1418)²⁰.

19 The privileges granted by the kings to Santa Clara of Tordesillas were excused, rents, protection and exemption of guests, in AGS, PR, Legajo 31, Doc. 41; RODRÍGUEZ GUILLÉN, Santiago – *El monasterio de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas (1363-1509)*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2010, p. 66-71, 79-80, 123-130, 277 y 292. Tesis Doctoral; PÉREZ VIDAL, Mercedes – La Reforma de los monasterios de dominicas en Castilla: agentes, etapas y consecuencias. *Archivo Dominicano*. 36 (2015) 204-205; URIBE, Ángel – Primer ensayo de reforma franciscana en España. La Congregación de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 179-180 (1985) 263-264; GONZÁLEZ DE TORRES, Eusebio – *Chronica Seraphica. Quinta Parte*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Juan García Infançon, 1719, p. 566; RIESCO TERRERO, Ángel – Una intervención conciliarista de Juan II de Castilla a favor de las clarisas de Salamanca. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 144 (1976) 485-489; ASCT, Caja 1, Expediente 2; CASTRO TOLEDO, Jonás – *Colección diplomática de Tordesillas*. Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1981, n.º 213, 214, 331, 383, 396, 467, 489, 546, 563, 649 y 760; GONZÁLEZ CRISTÓBAL, Margarita – *Inventarios documentales. Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (1316-1936)*. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987, n.º 110, 329 y 379; AGS, EMR, MyP, Legajo 4, n.º 64; NIETO SORIA, José M. – Franciscanos y franciscanismo en la política y en la corte de la Castilla Trastámara (1369-1475). *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 20 (1990) 124-125; CASTRO, Manuel de – *El Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Palencia y los Enríquez, Almirantes de Castilla*. Palencia: Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1982, p. 139; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Los franciscanos en España. Historia de un itinerario religioso*. Santiago de Compostela: El Eco Franciscano, 2006, p. 81.

20 ROJO ALIQUÉ, Francisco J. – El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220-1518) (I) Fundación y reforma. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 250-251 (2005) 294; ACSES, Ms. 76/1, ff. 1141-1142; MONTAGNES, Bernard – Le Midi dominicain au temps de Capreolus (1380-1450). In *Jean Capreolus et son temps (1380-1444). Colloque de Rodez*. Paris: Cerf, 1997, p. 50-52; PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – La relegación de la orden franciscana por parte de la monarquía y su repunte en los ambientes nobiliarios durante el reinado de Juan II de Castilla. In PELÁEZ DEL ROSAL, Manuel, coord. – *Franciscanismo:*

The opposite happened with the Franciscans as Castilian kings took advantage of the Schism in order to lead a reform project. The kings participated in it, particularly Enrique II, who supported the one undertaken in the Hispanic provinces by Gregorio XI (1373). The decrees of this visit and the norms of Gregorio XI were again claimed by the generals and provincials of the order under the Avignon obedience in 1391 and 1417, when the Avignon obedience prior provincial, Alfonso de Guadalajara, obtained from his protector, Benedict XIII, two bulls that ordered a provincial chapter to be celebrated in Cuenca to designate two *visitadores* to reform the convents of their province. Between 1383 and 1414 there were two ministers in the province of Santiago, the Castilian under Avignon obedience and the Portuguese, under the Roman obedience²¹.

6. The seigniorial question: queens, *infantes* and *infantas*

Behind several of the interventions of the queens, *infantes* and *infantas* there is no devotion to an order, but rather their duty to found and repair the monasteries of their seigniorial villas. In Valladolid, María de Molina founded Las Huelgas (1319-1320) and donated the *portazgo* until the works of San Pablo were completed (1290). In her first will, she also benefited this convent, together with San Francisco (c. 1308). Years later, she intervened with the council so that it could provide wine to the Franciscans (1313), donated an orchard to San Pablo (1318) and contributed to the works of San Quirce (1321). Maria of Portugal granted an *excusado* to San Pablo (1344) and gave it 500 *maravedís* annually (1351). Juana Manuel moved the convent of Santa Clara (1362) and exempted it from the queen's *yantar*, she gave three *excusados* to San Pablo *por fazer bien y merced al prior y convento del monesterio de los frayles predicadores de Sant Pablo de la mi villa de Valladolid* (1371) and founded the Hieronymite monastery of Aniago (1376). Beatriz of Portugal moved the convent of Mercy (c. 1384-1394) and gave a plot to San Pablo (1398), and María de Aragon handed Aniago to the Order of the Charterhouse (1439-1443)²².

identidad y poder. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos-UNIA, 2016, p. 829; AYLLÓN GUTIÉRREZ, Carlos – *La Orden de los Predicadores en el sureste de Castilla (las fundaciones medievales de Murcia, Chinchilla y Alcaraz hasta el Concilio de Trento*. Albacete: Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses "Don Juan Manuel" de la Excm. Diputación de Albacete, 2003, p. 19, 29 y 39.

21 MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 61-62; ROJO ALIQUÉ, Francisco J. – El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220-1518) (I) Fundación y reforma. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 250-251 (2005) 248; RODRÍGUEZ GUILLÉN, Santiago – *El monasterio de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas (1363-1509)*. Tesis Doctoral. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2010, p. 62-63; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Liceo Franciscano, 1988, p. 251 y 370-371.

22 OLIVERA SERRANO, César – Devociones regias y proyectos políticos: los comienzos del monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid (1390-1430). *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. (2013) 814; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo – Los dominicos en Castilla, p. 25; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid, 1935, p. 69; ROJO ALIQUÉ,

In Toro, María de Molina moved the Premonstratensians nuns from San Miguel de Groz to Santa Sofía (1305-1316). She donated estates to San Ildefonso (1284-1285), the *portazgo* until the works were finished, 2300 *maravedís* and liturgical ornaments and rebuilt San Francisco (c. 1308 and 1321). The queen moved Santa Clara, granted a tax exemption and donated 2000 *maravedís* (1301 and 1321). She also founded Sancti Spiritus, which responded to a devotional project by Teresa Gil. Maria of Portugal granted five *excusados* to Santa Sofía (1344) and 400 *maravedís* for rent to Sancti Spiritus (1354). Beatriz of Portugal granted Sancti Spiritus 10 *excusados*, she donated lands in Abezames and was buried in the convent's choir, while María de Aragón requested the authorities of the town to protect the convent (1423)²³.

The queens had links with monasteries and convents located in other of their villas. Maria of Portugal took San Zoilo of Carrión under her protection (1331), María de Padilla founded Santa Clara of Astudillo (1354-1356), Catalina de Lancaster San Pedro Mártir of Mayorga (1392-1393), María de Aragón moved San Agustín of Dueñas, promoted the reform of Santa Clara of Salamanca and took San Pablo de la Moraleja (1442) under her protection, and Joana of Portugal planned to found a Hieronymite or Carthusian monastery in Madrigal and founded the Poor Clares' convent of the Encarnación in Arévalo²⁴.

As for the *infantes* and *infantas*, the *infante* Juan founded Santo Domingo of Valencia de Don Juan; Tello, lord of Vizcaya, San Francisco of Bermeo (1357) and

Francisco J. – El convento de San Francisco de Valladolid en la Edad Media (h. 1220-1518) (II). Los aspectos materiales. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 252 (2005) 533-534; MORETA VELAYOS, Salustiano – Notas sobre el franciscanismo y el dominicanismo de Sancho IV y María de Molina. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 183; AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1261, ff. 189-190; CAVERO DOMÍNGUEZ, Gregoria – Monarquía y nobleza: su contribución a las fundaciones de clarisas en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 266; MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 67; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 3.404, N.º 3, 6 y 7; C. 3.405, N.º 7; C. 3.501, N.º 18; VÁZQUEZ NÚÑEZ, Guillermo – *Manual de la Historia de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*. Toledo: est. Tipográfico "Editorial Católica Toledana", 1931, p. 255.

- 23 BACKMUND, Norbert – La Orden premostratense en España. *Hispania Sacra*. 35:71 (1983) 77; AMSST, Pergaminos, n.º 4, 6, 9 y s/n; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid, 1935, p. 69-70; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Liceo Franciscano, 1988, p. 368; ESTEPA DÍEZ, Carlos – Dos testamentos femeninos en el siglo XIV: María de Haro y la reina María de Molina. In REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos, coord. – *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín. Tomo I*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002, p. 386; GONZÁLEZ CRESPO, Esther – *Colección documental de Alfonso XI. Diplomas reales conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. Sección de Clero. Pergaminos*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985, n.º 299; AMSST, Libro Becerro de 1775, p. 7.
- 24 SÁNCHEZ-IZQUIERDO, M.ª Luisa Palacio – *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Zoil de Carrión (siglos XI al XV)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988, n.º 108; URIBE, Ángel – Primer ensayo de reforma franciscana en España. La Congregación de Santa María la Real de Tordesillas. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 179-180 (1985) 263-264 y 266; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo – Los dominicos en Castilla, p. 36; HERRERA Thomas de – *Historia del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*. Madrid: Gregorio Rodríguez Impresor, 1652, p. 20-21; AGS, RGS, 1489, II, fol. 230; CAVERO DOMÍNGUEZ, Gregoria – Monarquía y nobleza: su contribución a las fundaciones de clarisas en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 273; SALVÁ, Miguel y SAINZ DE BARANDA, Pedro – *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Tomo XIII*. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Calero, 1848, p. 475.

Santo Domingo de Caleruega of Lequeitio (c. 1368), Sancho de Albuquerque, San Agustín of Haro (1373); and Fernando de Antequera founded San Andrés of Medina del Campo (1405-1406), Santo Domingo of Villalón (1402), La Mejorada (Olmedo) and the Armedilla (Cogeces del Monte, Cuéllar). With regard to the *infantas*, we only have information about Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso X, who rebuilt Santa Clara and Isabel, contributed to the founding of the convent of Mercy (1300) and moved the Cistercian monastery of San Bernardo²⁵.

7. The importance of the lineage in monastic interventions

The royal family did donations to the monasteries of traditional orders for specific reasons. One of the earliest monasteries privileged was that of Trianos, under the patronage of the Meneses, lineage of María de Molina, which received tax exemptions from Fernando IV (1299 and 1300) and the protection of the queen (1290 and 1302) and Alfonso XI (1324 and 1329). María de Molina donated cereals to Buenafuente del Sistol (1304), linked to the lords of Molina and 2000 *maravedís* to Palazuelos, as her mother was buried there (t. 1308). Queen Constance protected Sahagún (1309), where she ordered to be buried²⁶.

The rise of the Dominican monasteries began in the 14th century, fostered by María de Molina and her lineage: the Meneses. The first of the foundations, San Cebrián de Mazote (1305), was sponsored by Teresa Alfonso, the Queen's aunt. After that, we may highlight the role played by María de Molina in the foundation of Sancti Spiritus of Toro (1315-1316) and that of Inés García de Meneses – lady of the Toledo branch of the family – in the building of Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo (1364). The relationship maintained by some Meneses with San Pablo of Toledo,

25 LÓPEZ, Juan – *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores. Libro Segundo*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1613, p. 13-14, 333 y 354; MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 61; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Ernesto – Dominicos y franciscanos en el País Vasco (siglos XIII-XV). In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 219-220; GOICOLEA JULIÁN, Francisco Javier – La influencia de las órdenes mendicantes en la religiosidad de los fieles de la villa de Haro a finales de la Edad Media. In *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996, p. 256-257; LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Á. – Mecenazgo real y nobiliario en monasterios españoles: los jerónimos (siglos XV y XVI). *Príncipe de Viana. Homenaje a José María Lacarra*. Anejo 3-año XLVII (1986) 416; MUÑOZ FERNÁNDEZ, Ángela – Las clarisas de Castilla la Nueva. Apuntes para un modelo de implantación regional de las órdenes femeninas franciscanas (1250-1600). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-213 (1994) 458; REVUELTA SOMALO, Josemaría – *Los jerónimos*. Guadalajara: Institución Provincial de Cultura "Marqués de Santillana", 1982, p. 88; LAYNA SERRANO, Francisco – *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI*. Madrid: CSIC, 1942, p. 33 y 103-104.

26 FUENTE CRESPO, Josefa de la – *Colección documental del monasterio de Trianos*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2000, n.º 182, 191, 192 y 241; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. Madrid, 1935, p. 70; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 923, N.º 12.

culminated with its transfer to the interior of the town by Guiomar de Meneses (1407)²⁷.

Other donations to monasteries were related to the profession of women of the royal family in them. Constance, daughter of Alfonso X (c. 1280), Branca, daughter of Afonso III of Portugal (c. 1295), María, daughter of Jaime II de Aragón (first half of the 14th century) and Leonor, daughter of Fernando IV (c. 1319) professed in Las Huelgas of Burgos. Several bastard daughters of Enrique II professed in other convents: Leonor did it in Santa Clara of Valladolid, Isabel and Inés in Santa Clara of Toledo, and Beatriz in San Clemente of Sevilla. Teresa de Ayala, lover of Pedro I and their daughter, María de Castilla, professed in Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo. Leonor de Castilla, stepsister of Leonor de Alburquerque, professed in Sancti Spiritus of Benavente and Toro, and Constanza de Castilla, granddaughter of Pedro I, was prioress of Santo Domingo el Real of Madrid²⁸.

27 ACSES, Ms. 76/1, ff. 690, 985, 992 y 1141-1142; LORENTE TOLEDO, Luis – *San Pedro Mártir el Real, conventual y universitario*. Toledo: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002, p. 20-22, 34 y 210; AMSST, Pergaminos, n.º 4 y 6; Libro Becerro de 1775, p. 6.

28 To Santa Clara of Valladolid donated or granted privileges the son of Alfonso XI, Sancho (1362 and 1376), Juana Manuel (c. 1369-1381) and the *infanta* Leonor (t. 1412). Santa Clara of Toledo was privileged by Enrique II (1376), Catalina de Lancaster and the *infante* Fernando, tutors of Juan II (1410) and Enrique II. The *infanta* Beatriz (t. of 1409) donated to San Clemente of Sevilla. To Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo granted privileges and donations Juan II (1408 and 1452-1453), Catalina de Lancaster (1392-1408) and the *infante* Fernando (1411). Sancti Spiritus of Toro was benefited by Juan II (1411), María de Aragón (1423), Leonor de Alburquerque (1418) and the *infante* Fernando (1404). Santo Domingo el Real of Madrid was privileged by Pedro I (1469 and 1470), Juan II, Enrique IV and his wife, Queen Juana of Portugal *acatando los muchos cargos que tengo de la [...] honorable religiosa doña Constanza, priora del convento de Santo Domingo el Real de la villa de Madrid, mi tía, y porque tengan cargo de rogar a Dios por la vida y salud del rey mi señor y mía y de la princesa mi muy cara y muy amada hija e en alguna enmienda e remuneracion de los continuos servicios que ha fecho e faze al dicho rey mi señor e a mí* (1465). To the Huelgas of Burgos, the kings gave numerous privileges as in there Alfonso XI, Enrique II and Juan I were crowned, in MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 60-61 y 67; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Liceo Franciscano, 1988, p. 296; CAVERO DOMÍNGUEZ, Gregoria – Monarquía y nobleza: su contribución a las fundaciones de clarisas en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 266; ASCV, Leg. 2, n.º 7; ROJO ALIQUÉ, Francisco J. – Testamento de doña Leonor, infanta de Castilla (1412). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 271-273 (2012) 197-199; TUDELA Y BUESO, M.ª Luisa Pérez de – El convento del monasterio de Santa Clara la Real de Toledo (1247-1993). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 488-492 y 505-507; RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/285, ff. 239-240; M-53, ff. 108 a 114; O-19, ff. 126 a. a 126 f; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 1.364, N.º 4 y 5; C. 3.120, N.º 1 y N.º 16; C. 3.121, N.º 14; Sitges, Juan B. – *Las mujeres del rey don Pedro I de Castilla*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1910, p. 56; BORRERO FERNÁNDEZ, Mercedes – *El Real monasterio de San Clemente. Un monasterio cisterciense en la Sevilla Medieval*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1991, p. 67; CAÑAS GÁLVEZ, Francisco de Paula – *Colección diplomática de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Documentos Reales I (1249-1473)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2010, n.º 8, 37, 86, 50, 51, 85, 87, 88, 97, 120, 123-125, 197, 232 y 264; BARRIO, José; QUITANA, José – Historia del convento de San Esteban de Salamanca por los padres M. Fr. José Barrio y Fr. Jerónimo Quintana. In CUERVO, Justo, coord. – *Historiadores del convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*. Tomo I. Salamanca: Imprenta Católica Salmanticense, 1914, p. 468; AMSST, Pergaminos, s/n y n.º 6, 9 y 17; TORROJA MENÉNDEZ, Carmen – *Catálogo del archivo del monasterio de San Clemente de Toledo*. Madrid: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y estudios toledanos, 1973, N.º 500. Carpeta 25, número 15; FERNÁNDEZ PACHECO, J. R. Romero – *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. Ordenación económica de un señorío conventual durante la Baja Edad Media (1219-1530)*. Salamanca: San Esteban, 2008, p. 122-124, 167, 186-187 y 200-201; LÓPEZ, Juan – *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores. Libro Segundo*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1613, p. 128v; RÁBADE OBRADÓ, M.ª del Pilar – Religiosidad y memoria política: las constituciones de la capilla de Pedro I en Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (1464). *En la España Medieval*. 26 (2003) 229-230; LUCÍA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN, Diana – *Enbíes tu gracia e acreçientes tus virtudes*. Female power, virtue, and the *Querelles des femmes* in Constanza de Castilla's tomb. *Colnaghi Studies Journal*. 2 (2018) 162-177; AGS, EMR, MyP, Legajo 3, n.º 118 y

8. Monasteries, politics and legitimacy

Sancho IV attended with his court the general chapter of the Dominicans in Palencia in June 1292, contributing to its financing, being Munio de Zamora the master general. This it is explained because in March of that year the Dominicans contributed to the falsification of a supposed bull of Nicholas IV that legalized the descendants of the kings despite the degree of consanguinity. Juan, son of Alfonso X, calling himself King of Leon, confirmed several privileges to the Benedictines of Carbajal (1298). Alfonso XI confirmed the privilege that Sancho IV granted to the Dominicans because they begged God for his predecessors, for his life and *para que nos dexa bevir e regnar a su servicio* (1326 and 1332), and Enrique IV confirmed to his aunt, the prioress of Santo Domingo el Real of Madrid, Constanza de Castilla, 20000 *maravedis* annually donated by Juan II and granted 12 *excusados* (20/IX/1465) *porque roguedes a Dios por mi vida, salud y acrescentamiento de mi corona real*. These words show how, in addition to the spiritual component, the devotion of the kings had clear political signs: the kings not only protected these religious communities so they begged God for their life, health and soul, but also to have a lasting reign²⁹.

Alfonso XI founded some convents in the South of Spain to claim his victories against the Muslims, such as the Augustinians of Córdoba (1328), after its demolition to build a fortress, the convent of Mercy and the Franciscans of *Insula Veridis* (1345)³⁰.

Redemption of captives was a matter of “state”, as the monarchy was afraid that a prolonged captivity would lead the captives to become Muslims, as indicated

Legajo 4, n.º 1; REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, Carlos M. – Las ‘señoras’ de las Huelgas de Burgos: infantas, monjas y encomenderas. *e-Spania* (2016) <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/25542>; PÉREZ CELADA, Julio A. – *Documentación del monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1301-1400)*, Palencia: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas, 35, 1987, n.º 171; CASTRO GARRIDO, Araceli – *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas (1322-1328)*. Burgos: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas, n.º 35, 1987, Índice documentos (1284-1328) N.º 189, 210, 212, 248, 250 y 337; DÍAZ MARTÍN, Luis V. – *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369)*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997, n.º 87, 129, 173 y 818; PEÑA PÉREZ, Francisco J. – *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas (1329-1348)*. Burgos: Fuentes medievales castellano-leonesas, n.º 36, 1990, n.º 75, 140-142 y *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas (1349-1376)*, n.º 265, 268, 284, 297 y 303; SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis – *Historia del reinado de Juan I. Tomo II, registro documental (1371-1383)*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1982, n.º 22; AGS, EMR, MyP, Leg. 3, n.º 40 y 80.

29 AHN, Clero, Códices, L. 1264, f. 434; CASTILLO, Hernando del – *Primera parte de la Historia General de Santo Domingo de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid: Impr. Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1612, p. 595-597; NIEVA OCAMPO, Guillermo – Los dominicos en Castilla, p. 25; NIETO SORIA, José M. – *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*. Palencia: La Olmeda, 1994, p. 107-108; DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Santiago – *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Carbajal (1093-1461)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2000, n.º 203; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 186, N.º 2; AGS, EMR, MyP, Legajo 3, n.º 118.

30 HERRERA, Thomas de – *Historia del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*. Madrid: Gregorio Rodríguez Impresor, 1652, p. 81-83; MIURA ANDRADES, José M.ª – *Frailas, monjas y conventos. Las Órdenes Mendicantes y la sociedad sevillana bajomedieval*. Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, Sevilla, 1998, p. 143; VÁZQUEZ NÚÑEZ, Guillermo – *Manual de la Historia de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*. Toledo: est. Tipográfico “Editorial Católica Toledana”, 1931, p. 223-224.

by Juan II in 1456. Therefore, although the Trinitarians and Mercedarians had great animosity on the part of the secular power to be a *manda acostumbrada*, having to leave some mandatory donation, the kings protected both orders and their almsmen, watching over their income.

In some Franciscan and Poor Clare foundations, it can be seen as a reason to compensate blame for certain abuses. This explains the donation done by Juan, son of Alfonso X, to Santo Domingo of León in his testament (1319), where he declares that, in the conflicts of the kingdom, the church of the convent *como quier que sabe Dios que non mande io derribar e queme pero quando sope que era derrivada*. Along the same lines, as a result of the abuses in the civil war, the project for the foundation of a Franciscan monastery in Montiel by Enrique II responded to the penance for murdering his stepbrother (1374). His support to rebuild Santa Clara of Jaén (1371) and the transfers of the convents of Alcocer (1373) and Reinoso de Cerrato (1373-1378) was due to the material and economic state that these monasteries kept after the end of the war. Juan I moved Santa Clara of Benavente for the damages suffered in the confrontations against the Portuguese (1388)³¹.

The Hieronymites and Carthusians were a new Trastámara devotional project. The Order of Saint Jerome was genuinely Castilian and arose under the protection of court officials who had escaped from the court of Pedro I, so it is not surprising that the order received a good reception by the new Trastámara dynasty. When these officers left for the Holy See for the pope to give them a rule and habit, they took with them several letters by Enrique II. After that, Juana Manuel donated Aniago to the Hieronymites (1375-1376). The first great intervention of the monarchy was the delivery of the secular priory of Guadalupe to the order by Juan I (1389). His son, the *infante* Fernando continued his project, either by founding, or promoting, the foundations of Armedilla (1402), Mejorada (1405) and Yuste (1407-1409). The following foundations were sponsored by Enrique IV: El Parral, when he was still prince, with the collaboration of Juan Pacheco (1447-1454), and San Jerónimo el Real of Madrid (1460-1464), when he was already king. The latter is significant because it was founded to leave a memory of the tournament and recognition by Beltrán de la Cueva that the *infanta* Juana was the king's daughter. Since the founding of the order,

31 Codicil of Enrique II: *En el dicho nuestro testamento ordenamos [...] que por la merced que nos Dios havia fecho, en que nos dio victoria contra don Pedro que se decia rey, nuestro enemigo en que fue vencido e muerto en la batalla de Montiel, que mandabamos que fuese fecho e establecido un monesterio [...] nos agora, por quanto despues de esto nos fue dado en penitencia que fiziesemos, e compliesemos por su alma otras cosas algunas [...] por quanto las nos havemos cumplido... mandamos que el dicho monesterio que haviamos mandado fazer, que cesse e que non se faga (7/V/1375)*, in RAH, Salazar, 9/291, ff. 71 y 72; GARCÍA ORO, José – *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Liceo Franciscano, 1988, p. 245-246; 432; MARTÍN PRIETO, Pablo – Sobre la promoción regia de la orden franciscana en la Corona de Castilla durante el primer reinado Trastámara. *Hispania Sacra*. 59:119 (2007) 60; 65-66; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 568, Nº 4; CAVERO DOMÍNGUEZ, Gregoria – Monarquía y nobleza: su contribución a las fundaciones de clarisas en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV). *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 213-214 (1994) 266; AGS, PR, Legajo 29, doc. 32

all the kings granted privileges to their monasteries, with a predilection for those founded by the royal family and Guadalupe, that received them from all monarchs. This support had its considerations in 1386. After the defeat of Aljubarrota, Juan I forced Guadalupe to buy Trujillo's *portazgo* and *escribanía*, so he could finance war. In the civil war between Enrique IV and his stepbrother, the *infante* Alfonso, the rebel nobility urged the king to transform the Order of Saint Jerome into a military order, a project that failed after Alfonso's death in 1468³².

Castilian charterhouses had a greater degree of royal patronage than European ones. Benedict XIII granted a license to found three houses in Castile, contradicting the disposition of the order not to found more charterhouses in Europe until the end of the Schism (1380). It was an act of propaganda towards the Avignon Pope. The first charterhouse founded in Castile, El Paular, was sponsored by Juan I (1389-1390) and endowed by his son and successor, Enrique III, before his early death. María de Aragón handed Aniago to the order (1440), a year before Juan II founded Miraflores (1441). The royal patronage is also evident with the protection and licenses granted by Juan II to El Paular (1429) and Aniago (1445) so that they could take the royal coat of arms and put it in their buildings. Enrique IV granted rents to all charterhouses and continued the works of Miraflores, and in his time as an *infante*, he took Aniago under his protection (1446). From all this it is extracted that Juan II tried to be linked to the Carthusians with the foundation of Miraflores, as can be seen in the change of order chosen after having founded two Dominican convents, devotion the latter reintroduced in the court by the queens. Thus, the king separated from his first wife, María de Aragón who, in fact, made no donations to Miraflores, unlike his second wife, Isabel of Portugal, who donated his chapel, liturgical trousseau and 100000 *maravedis* for the works undertaken in this Castilian charterhouse. We must not forget that María de Aragón tried to deliver Aniago to the Dominicans. Therefore, the definitive concession of this house to the Carthusians may respond to the will of the king³³.

32 PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – La orden jerónima: un siglo al servicio y bajo la protección de la monarquía y los oficiales de la corte Trastámara (1373-1474). In CAÑAS GÁLVEZ, Francisco de P.; NIETO SORIA, José M., coord. – *Casa y Corte. Ámbitos de poder en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media (1230-1516)*. Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019, p. 97-122.

33 GUILBEAU, Philip J. – *El Paular. Anatomy of a charterhouse. Volume 1: Text*. Salzburg: FB Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 2015, p. 35-41; CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Santiago – *Los cartujos en la religiosidad y la sociedad españolas: 1390-1563*. Tomo I. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik. Universität Salzburg, 2000, p. 168, 197, 208, 286 y Tomo II, Doc. 48; GÓMEZ GÓMEZ, Ildelfonso M. – La Casa Trastámara y la cartuja de El Paular. Una lectura crítica desde el Libro Becerro del monasterio. In MIRABÒ GRALLA, Concepció Bauçà de, coord. – *Prínceps i reis. Promotors de l'orde Cartoixà*. Palma : Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2003, p. 300-303; AHN, Clero, Pergaminos, C. 3.405, Nº 7 y 10; TARÍN Y JUANEDA, Francisco – *La Real Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Su historia y descripción*. Burgos: Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1897, p. 123 y 531-533; SÁNCHEZ DOMINGO, Rafael – *Privilegios reales de la cartuja de Miraflores. El patrimonio jurisdiccional de Burgos. Pleito contra el Hospital del Rey*. Burgos : Universidad de Burgos, 2004, p. 131; *Memorias de Enrique IV de Castilla. Tomo II*. Madrid: RAH, 1835-1913, n.º CCXIII.

As for the Dominican convents, Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo and its namesake in Madrid, they were centers of the *petrista* memory, receiving numerous privileges of the kings and queens – designated in another section – as a reconciling mechanism between the two dynasties, whose first exponent was Enrique III, son of Juan I and Catalina de Lancaster, granddaughter of Pedro I. San Juan of Quejana was privileged by the first Trastámara's king in gratitude to the Ayala for their support in the civil war and in the establishment of the dynasty. The *infante* Juan de Aragón was the only lord of Peñafiel who did not grant privileges or donations to the Dominican convent of the town, but he did grant them to the Franciscans to demarcate himself from the devotion of his cousin and enemy, Juan II – indicated in another section –. The use of monasteries and convents in political conflicts is also evident when the *infante* Enrique, in his confrontation with Juan II, tried to take possession of the convent of the Peña de Francia, claiming that it was located within his domains, despite the fact that the king had granted the Dominicans the exemption of all jurisdiction (1445)³⁴.

During the reign of Enrique IV, a decrease of privileges to the Dominicans is again appreciated, due to the attitude taken by some friars, who, in their sermons and writings, faced the royal authority, such as Juan López de Salamanca and Alonso de Burgos. However, the king granted privileges to Santo Tomás of Tordesillas (1465), founded by his father, and to San Vicente of Plasencia (1472), erected by the Estúñiga's family. The latter can be interpreted as a mechanism of the king to attract the patron to his cause, who had participated in his effigy deposition in Ávila. Juan López de Salamanca was the confessor of the Countess of Plasencia, Leonor, whose husband, Álvaro de Estúñiga, was a member of the lineage who had participated in the *Farsa de Ávila*, and Alonso de Burgos was the confessor of the *infante*-King Alfonso³⁵.

34 To San Juan of Quejana, Enrique II granted income (10/II/1378); Juan I took the convent under his protection, exempted it from taxation of his inheritance (17/VIII/1379), granted income (15/I/1380) and the plot he had in Abarnicano, village of Pedro López de Ayala (7/XII/1380); both kings did it to *hacer bien y merced* to Fernán Pérez de Ayala, who had become a Dominican religious. Enrique III allowed Pedro López de Ayala to donate to the convent, the *monasterios* of Arrigorriaga and Albizulezaga (3/IX/1396) and donated 1,000 *maravedís* annually at the request of Arceniega, place of Pedro López de Ayala (14/IX/1396), in ACSES, A/A PEÑ 1, ff. 59r.-60r; PAZ MORO, Agurtzane – *Colección documental del monasterio de San Juan de Quejana (Álava, 1332-1525)*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, n.º 7, 10-12, 15 y 17.

35 Enrique IV donated rents to Santo Tomás de Aquino because the friars *rueguen a Dios por las animas de sus padres, por su alteza y su Corona* (1465) and to San Vicente of Plasencia, at the request of their cousin, Leonor Pimentel (1472), in ACSES, Ms. 76/1, ff. 1141-1142; MONTAGNES, Bernard – *Le Midi dominicain au temps de Capreolus (1380-1450)*. In *Jean Capreolus et son temps (1380-1444). Colloque de Rodez*. Paris: Cerf, 1997, p. 50-52; PRIETO SAYAGUÉS, Juan A. – *La relegación de la orden franciscana por parte de la monarquía y su repunte en los ambientes nobiliarios durante el reinado de Juan II de Castilla*. In PELÁEZ DEL ROSAL, Manuel, coord. – *Franciscanismo: identidad y poder*. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos-UNIA, 2016, p. 829; CASTRO TOLEDO, Jonás – *Colección diplomática de Tordesillas*. Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1981, n.º 758; PALOMO IGLESIAS, Crescencio – *Libro de Becerro del convento de San Vicente Ferrer de Plasencia (III)*. *Archivo Dominicano*. V (1984) 183.

Conclusions

During the Late Middle Ages, the royal family protected, privileged and made donations to several monasteries. However, devotion was only one of the aspects that motivated the above concessions. Devotional links can be chosen in various sources such as literary or documentary – granting privileges and donations to monasteries and orders in particular – particularly to medicants and new orders entering Castile during the Trastámara dynasty (Hieronymites and Carthusians), while the traditional orders (Benedictines and Cistercians) lost prominence.

Far from endowing one or more pantheons, as happened in other kingdoms such as Aragon, Navarra, England and France, in Castile the funerary dynamics of the royal family presented an absolute dispersion. Except in some short periods of time, such as the first Trastámara reigns, when kings and queens were buried together in the “Reyes Nuevos” chapel of the Toledo cathedral – Enrique II and Juana Manuel; Juan I and Leonor de Aragón and Enrique III and Catalina de Lancaster –, the trend was the construction of small mausoleums in monasteries that sheltered the closest relatives or part of them such as Juan II, Isabel of Portugal and the *infante*-king Alfonso in Miraflores or Queen María de Aragón and her son Enrique IV in Guadalupe. However, on most occasions, kings and queens were interred separately in a clear desire to leave their own individual memory, a characteristic feature of the late Middle Ages. The trend towards the dispersion of burials was even clearer in the case of the Castilian *infantes* and *infantas*: their graves were distributed in various temples of the Castilian geography, with a predilection for monasteries linked to the royal family and those located in cities and towns of *realengo*. Apart from the will of the deceased to link their memory to a monastery, in the choice of one or another space, political and legitimacy issues are also considered.

Another of the reasons for the *benefactoría* to monasteries was their control in the period of transition to the Modern State. Foreign dependence of Castilian monasteries was avoided through different mechanisms that culminated in the foundation of San Benito of Valladolid and the end of Cluny’s visits. From the end of the 14th century the Benedictine monasteries were founded or incorporated into the jurisdiction of San Benito of Valladolid. In the case of the Charterhouse, the untying of the Castilian monasteries to other kingdoms, in this case Aragon, was achieved thanks to the creation of the Castilian Province of the order, by royal request. With regard to the Order of Mercy, linked to Aragon, this policy is observed in the efforts of Castile so that the authorities of the order, monopolized by Aragonese, started to be held by Castilians. Finally, this centralization was also pursued through the establishment of observant monasteries in Valladolid, where the court spent long periods of time.

Monastic politics was another of the kings' mechanisms to control the nobility. Through San Benito of Valladolid, they managed to have greater control over monasteries founded by the nobility or under its patronage, in addition to the jurisdiction, because many rents and the construction sites of the monasteries passed to San Benito of Valladolid and, because the latter functioned as a "deposit bank", where officers and members of the nobility left their money and jewels, which could be used by the monarchy when needed. In fact, the Cistercian reform, headed by a monastery of noble foundation, Montesión, was developed by San Benito of Valladolid, which proves royal family's animosity towards the Cistercian reformer Martín de Vargas. As for the Poor Clares, one of the orders preferred by the nobility to profess and found convents, they were controlled thanks to the foundation of Tordesillas, the origin of the Congregation, and perhaps, San Antonio el Real of Segovia, founded by Enrique IV, to control the Franciscan convents sponsored, mostly, by the nobility.

The Western Schism also influenced monastic politics. In fact, the first Trastámara practically dissociated themselves from the Dominicans, since the most charismatic general of the order, Raymond of Capua, followed Roman obedience, while Castile embraced the Avignon obedience. For the Franciscans, the opposite happened, supporting and encouraging the king to reform, together with the Pope of Avignon and the Castilian *provincial* of Avignon obedience.

The *benefactoría* to the monasteries also had a linagistic component in the royal family. The queens, *infantes* and *infantas* founded, privileged and benefited monasteries located in their seigniorial towns and those linked to their respective lineages, or where they professed and were buried.

Finally, numerous political and legitimacy issues can be seen in monastic politics. Some privileges and donations granted by the royal family to monasteries and religious orders had to do with certain services provided by them to the monarchy, the propaganda in front of Muslim conquests and the redemption of captives, as well as to compensate blame for abuses committed on monasteries during conflicts. The Hieronymites and Carthusians were devotional projects of the new Trastámara's dynasty, to be separated from the previous one, closer to the mendicants. Other monasteries such as those of female Dominicans of Toledo and Madrid acted as places of memory of the descendants of the last king of the Burgundy's dynasty, Pedro I. The privileges given by the monarchy to the monasteries of noble foundation were well intended to thank the founding lineage for their political support, and to attract a disaffected lineage.

In conclusion, the foundations and *benefactoría* exerted by the royal family towards the Castilian monasteries and convents, far from being a devotional issue, had socio-economic and political implications, with the aim of controlling the kingdom's religious houses.