

# JUANA “THE MAD”

## QUEEN OF A WORLD EMPIRE

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## INTRODUCTION

*The spelling of Spanish names changes from author to author depending on time period or the language of an author's origin. I have simplified the question of names, using Isabella (Juana's mother), Ferdinand (Juana's father; Juana's son), Infanta Isabel (Juana's sister), Juana, and Philip. Only when the name appears in a direct quote is that specific format used. Confusion is also compounded by several generations with the same name.*

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Juana (also known as Joanna and Joan) of Castile was born in Toledo, Spain on 6 November 1479, the third child of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon. Not long after her marriage to Philippe "The Handsome," Duke of Burgundy, people of the court began referring to her as Juana "The Mad" (*la loca*). The following article reviews her life and the circumstances that led the daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain, who inherited the throne of Castile and the Indies, and who through marriage, united Europe's greatest powers, to be called *la loca*.

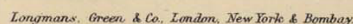
Juana's life became far more complex than her parents or her contemporaries could have anticipated. As a young woman she was described by ambassadors to the Spanish court as beautiful and highly educated. She spoke six languages, was accomplished in religious studies, court etiquette, dance, and music. She was a capable equestrian. Then, in a twist of fate, through her inheritance and marriage she became the foundation of what was to be the most powerful kingdom in the world of the sixteenth century, and the most extensive the world has known.

Juana was the base upon which the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg dynasties grew over the next several centuries. She inherited the Spanish crown, married the heir to the Lowland countries and the Habsburg Empire, and was mother to the rulers that brought these together to establish the dynasty that created a world-wide empire. In Juana, the Spanish kingdoms were joined with the German, Burgundian, Flemish, and Italian principalities. Her son Charles became the ruler of an empire "on which the sun never set", and her daughters were connected to the royal houses of Europe through marriage. Yet, hers is one of the saddest tales of royalty in European history.

It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that scholars discovered new material about Juana in the Spanish and Austrian archives that gave another side to the person of the woman who had been considered "*la loca*." In 1939, Michael Charol/Pravdin wrote *The Mad Queen of Spain*, based on letters written by people who knew and dealt with her personally. Unfortunately Charol did not reference his work with footnotes. In 1963, Townsend Miller wrote *The Castles and the Crown. Spain: 1451-1555*, which gives a background of the family into which Juana was born, but it also lacks footnotes. In 2005 Bethany Aram published *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe*, with extensive footnotes, a work that substantiated the findings of the earlier authors.

Aram's goal was to study royal authority and the transition to governing by the Austrian Habsburg's in early modern Spain by looking at Juana's struggles among people who were eager to govern her as well as her realms. In contrast, popular culture has depicted Juana as a schizophrenic who had an obsessive attachment to her deceased husband and a victim of those in power around her.

# SPAIN AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY





## ISABELLA OF CASTILE AND FERDINAND OF ARAGON

Historical Spain dates back to the founding of Cádiz in 1100 B.C. by the Phoenicians, whose settlements were followed by Greeks and Carthaginians using the peninsula as an outpost. The Romans developed cities such as Sevilla, Tarragona, Salamanca, Zaragoza which they ruled for five centuries. The Visigoths came over the Pyrenees in 414 and ruled the peninsula for the next three hundred years.

In the eighth century Muslim armies crossed from Africa to the peninsula and governed much of the central and south for the next eight hundred years, consolidating their empire in Granada. The northern parts of the peninsula were under control of Christian nobility who built impregnable castles to protect their domains. "By private wars, poisonings, robberies, assault on travelers and tradesmen, the nobles grew into minor monarchs themselves" (Miller, p. 20). By the beginning of the fifteenth century four kingdoms made up the peninsula: Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Granada. Navarre was considered part of France. Castile by its size, natural resources and location dominated.

Anarchy and corruption typified life in the Spanish kingdoms. From 1406 to 1454 Juan II, the fourth ruler of the House of Trastámaras and the ruler of Castile was besieged by warring nobles and an arrogant and disrespectful clergy. Juan II was a cultivated, artistic, and accomplished musician who also loved to read philosophy and Latin. He encouraged literary development. Unfortunately he lacked ability when it came to leadership. Don Alvaro de Luna stepped into the vacuum. Don Alvaro was a brilliant strategist, courageous, and cultivated. Juan II was devoted to him and relieved to have don Alvaro deal with the problems of the kingdom and he rewarded him with immense gifts of land and honors. It is not difficult to imagine how the nobles felt towards the king's favorite, especially since he was illegitimate, had come to court as a page, and worse, he was from Aragon. In dealing with the traitors and corruption surrounding the court, he turned into a despot.





Don Alvaro selected Isabel of Portugal for the second wife of Juan II, and they were married in 1447. She was young, intelligent, and attractive but she developed an instant dislike of don Alvaro and devised a plan to do away with him. On 2 June, 1453 don Alvaro was beheaded. The king died a year later, leaving a son, Enrique, by his first wife and a son, Alfonso, and daughter, Isabella, by his second wife.

Enrique's reign was disastrous, one that imperiled the kingdom and the ruling House of Trastámara. His second wife, Juana of Portugal, produced a daughter unanimously considered illegitimate since Enrique's physical and emotional preferences were considered to make it impossible for him to father a child. No one, even the queen, knew whose child it was. If the child, called La Beltraneja, was legitimate there would be no dispute over the heir to the crown. However, if illegitimate, the crown would belong to Juan II's two children by his second wife, Alfonso and Isabella.



Juan II, King of Castile and León  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_II\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_II_of_Castile)

Enrique (Henry IV)  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry\\_IV\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_IV_of_Castile)



Sculpture of Alfonso, Prince of Asturias  
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfonso>

*“In short, the country was dissolving...The King was a national disgrace and an international joke. The Queen lived in flagrant adultery (she had other children after La Beltraneja, by-blows who no one even pretended were the King’s). The court had become an open sewer. Vicious nobles rooted and grappled for spoils in its murky waters. The clergy was no better; priests kept concubines, nuns married... Without law or authority to protect them, the people sank under the accumulated weight of their long affliction. Poverty was everywhere...Justice was taken with the sword; vengeance followed vengeance...” (Miller, p. 30).*

When Enrique came to the throne, he sent his widowed step-mother and her two children into virtual banishment in Arévalo. Isabella was born in Madrigal de las Altas Torres on Thursday, 22 April 1451. She was three years old when her father died and Enrique ascended the throne. Enrique kept his step-mother, and the children on the verge of poverty. Isabella was a constant companion to her mother who in her twenties was beautiful, remarkable in many respects, possessed a tireless will and inflexible determination which she passed on to her daughter. However, the frustration and solitude finally drove her mad.

Isabella was educated in a convent where she learned to weave, sew, and embroider, pastimes she continued for the rest of her life. She became an accomplished rider. During her early years Enrique closed her off from the outside world, especially from the court.

When Isabella was about 11, Enrique suddenly summoned her and Alfonso to the court. Isabella was forced to act as godmother for the baptism of Juana la Beltraneja. Enrique wanted the two children of his stepmother where he could keep close watch over them and control their activities. There was no fixed capital city for the morally decrepit court and it wandered from city to city, creating chaos wherever it went. Conspirators arose to depose Enrique, two of the primary being the Marqués of Villena and the Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso Carillo, who would become important players in Isabella’s ascent to the throne.

The debauchery of the court was attributed to Villena. His uncle Carillo was more suited to being a warrior than a churchman. He was violent, vain, crude, and vindictive. As the primate of Spain, he was extremely powerful and his income was greater than the crown’s. The two men would do anything to gain and maintain power.

The entire country was seething at Enrique’s incompetence and corruption. He ignored the petitions of the disgusted nobles who were ordering him to observe the laws of the realm, clean up the court, and bring decency into his private life.

The birth of La Beltraneja in 1462 set off a conflagration, as Enrique forced the Grandes to swear loyalty to the child as heir to the crown. The insurgents gathered in Burgos and sent an ultimatum to Enrique, demanding he repent of his abominable sins and get rid of his bodyguards, who were accused of violating married women and maidens. His aid don Beltrán was to be stripped of power and dismissed. Doña Juana’s claim to legitimacy was to end. Finally the young Alfonso was to be sworn as heir to the throne. Enrique conceded to the demands with the stipulation Alfonso was to be committed to marry La Beltraneja. Surrounded by the nobles, Alfonso legally took the oath at Cabezón.

Then, true to character, Enrique had a change of heart and denied everything he had signed. With his allies, he raised an army of 84,000. The rebels had the eleven-year-old Alfonso who they decided to make the de facto king and depose Enrique. On 5 July 1465, outside Avila, the ceremony took place with Enrique in effigy on a throne. Mass was said and the grievances read to the effigy, which was then thrown from the platform. Alfonso was lifted to the platform and seated on the throne.



Enrique fled west and was joined by 2,000 horsemen by the time he reached Tordesillas. For support from Villena, Enrique promised Isabel in marriage to Villena's brother Pedro Girón. Isabella was horrified when she heard the news. Girón had a horrible reputation of treachery, violence, and moral turpitude. The pope sent a dispensation freeing Girón of celibacy and the wedding plans were made. Then, a strange and miraculous event occurred. As Girón was on his way to the wedding, a flock of white storks flew into the castle where he was staying and the next morning, traumatized, he suffered from a quinsy and died three days later.

The thirteen-year-old Alfonso, in full armor, along with the Archbishop of Toledo in his red cape over his coat of mail, marched to meet Enrique in battle. Enrique fled during the three-hour long battle and Segovia opened its doors to Alfonso. Alfonso and Isabella then went to Arévalo. With a plague raging in the city, Alfonso's ministers decided to move south to Toledo and took the city. On 4 July 1468 Alfonso ate trout for dinner in a village north of Avila. Overcome with sleepiness, he went to bed. In the morning his servants were unable to wake him. When he was bled, no blood came out. His tongue swelled and his mouth turned black. He died quickly from an intestinal disorder.

Isabella returned to Avila after the funeral and shut herself up in the Convent of Santa Ana. Her life was changing rapidly and she needed time to reflect and plan.

The prelates and nobles who stood with Alfonso decided they had best take their stand with Isabella, who was a legitimate royal person and heir to the kingdom. They pleaded with her to take the title Queen of Castile and León. She rejected the offer and told them to return to Enrique to restore calm to Castile. However, she told them to get Enrique to declare her the successor of the realm. One of Isabella's greatest strengths was the ability to see situations in perspective, and in the current situation she realized she had to move carefully and thoughtfully and could not put herself in a risky position. She knew she had to be queen by law, not by force, if she was going to get the support of her countrymen. She could not allow herself to be in debt to any nobles who would consequently remind her of their support in turn for favors. Her observations had shown her much and she was able to analyze and make plans accordingly for the best outcome.



Isabella of Asturias, 1470

Initially it looked good for Isabella. Enrique made several promises and concessions, but it did not take him long to change his mind, even though he had signed the oath recognizing Isabella as his successor. He rescinded everything he had agreed to. Isabella was not going to give in. Making a marriage for Isabella was of primary importance and Enrique sought to neutralize her by marrying her outside the country, either Portugal or France. She told the various delegates either a papal dispensation had to be received for the Portuguese marriage, or the Cortes and nobles would have to approve the French proposal. The enraged Enrique threatened to lock her up in the Alcázar at Madrid. Isabella was almost eighteen and running out of options. As the legal heir to the throne of Castile, "in the flower of her youth and vigor," she was a threat to Enrique and a prize to possible suitors.

In the maze of treachery and violence surrounding her, she knew she needed an ally she could count on for support. That person was her young cousin, Ferdinand of Aragon, who was reported to be intelligent, resourceful, and brave. Isabella and Ferdinand were closely related as descendents of the House of Trastámara. Because she was surrounded by Enrique's spies, she had to proceed carefully in negotiations with Ferdinand. She sought the aid of her supporters and sent her chaplain to observe Ferdinand, since she had never seen him. To escape from Enrique's court, she said she had to take her brother's body to Avila. When her chaplain returned and gave an excellent report of Ferdinand, Isabella took the unprecedented move of corresponding directly with him.

Isabella's messenger had to travel through territory teeming with Enrique's troops and agents. The message she sent to Ferdinand was that she was ready for marriage and requested he come to conclude arrangements. Ferdinand was not in a position to safely leave Aragon. When Enrique found out about the correspondence, he sent troops to imprison her. Isabella wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo, who immediately gathered 300 horsemen and raced to Madrigal where she and her mother were staying at a convent. As proof of his good intentions, Ferdinand managed to get a necklace of rubies, the crown jewels of Aragon, to her by way of the Archbishop. In August, Isabella and her troops rode north into Valladolid and sent a message to Ferdinand explaining the situation. He realized he could no longer delay getting to her. However, Enrique's men were everywhere between Aragón and Valladolid.

Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Aragón, and six companions dressed as merchants, set out with their packs and mules. Ferdinand wore dirty clothes and a tattered cap and acted as the mule driver. In order to play his role convincingly, he waited on tables at the wayside inns and slept on the floor. They had to travel at night and carefully manage their way through ravines and mountain passes along the Duero river. On the night of 7 October they reached the town of Burgo de Osma, which lay inside the borders of Castile, a town loyal to Isabella. It was late night and Ferdinand had to approach the closed gates to announce their arrival and ask permission to enter. Not recognizing the man at the gate, the sentry hurled a rock at Ferdinand. The ruckus awoke the Count of Treviño, who rushed to open the gates. Ferdinand was then welcomed by the light of torches and the blowing of trumpets.



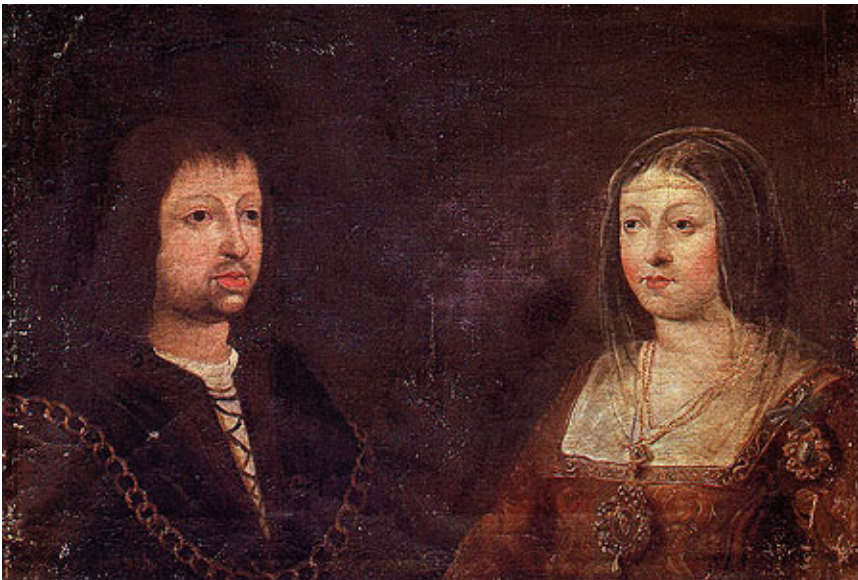
Ferdinand of Aragon by Michel Sittow

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand\\_II\\_of\\_Aragon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_II_of_Aragon)

Word was sent to Isabella on 9 October informing her of Ferdinand's arrival in Castile, and she immediately sent troops to escort him to her. He travelled by night to Valladolid for the first sight of his bride-to-be five days later. The Archbishop met him at the gate and led him to Isabella's chamber. The father of seventeen-year-old Ferdinand made him king of Sicily in order to make the marriage a more suitable proposition. They met for several hours before he returned to Dueñas. Four days later he returned to Isabella.

Since they were cousins, the Archbishop read a forged papal bull dispensing their kinship. On 19 October 1469 Isabella and Ferdinand were married in the sala rica of Juan de Vivero. Valladolid celebrated for seven days. The marriage had been achieved at a terrible risk and Isabella was determined to make it work, to make it fruitful, and worth the effort made to accomplish it.





The wedding portrait of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile and León  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella\\_I\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_I_of_Castile)

Isabella's first concern was for the welfare of Castile. Prior to their marriage Ferdinand had signed agreements which obligated him to several conditions designed to forestall any attempt at a foreign takeover of Castile. The Capitulations of Cervera stipulated he would never leave Castile or take Isabella or any of their children outside Castile without her consent. Once on the throne he would make no wars or alliances unless Isabella approved them. None but Castilians could be appointed to high offices. Ferdinand was to honor Isabella's mother and the king. He was to continue the war against the Muslims. "All documents would be signed by the two of them, with equal authority, but Isabel alone would receive the oaths and homage of the cities of the realm; moreover, any grants which she made or honors which she bestowed must be regarded by Fernando (sic) 'as if he had made them himself'" (Miller, p. 66). Ferdinand was the consort with no rights in the Castilian succession.

For Isabella, the Capitulations were personal as well as political. Isabella came to represent the humanism and imagination of the Renaissance. Ferdinand came to represent the craft of politics, as personified in Machiavelli's *The Prince*, while Isabella represented statesmanship. While he came to be known as devious, wily, mercenary, and crass, he was also forceful, tireless, and vigorous. Together the couple was devoted to the glory of Spain and their devotion on the national level met in perfect accord. For the next thirty-five years, despite their personal differences, they were joined in a firm partnership by their motive to unite a prosperous and peaceful Spain.

Ferdinand came into the marriage already having conceived an illegitimate child. Throughout their marriage Isabella tolerated his infidelities because he was the man to serve her and help her unite the kingdoms and produce her heir. Her determination to achieve a united Spain far outweighed the cost of emotional betrayals. She knew Ferdinand was just as committed as she was to uniting a strong Spain.

Isabella and Ferdinand were in their teens when they married. They were financially destitute, even though they were officially the king and queen of Sicily. Their marriage dispensation was false, which made the possibility of excommunication a concern. They worried about Enrique's reaction to the marriage, since Isabella had married without his consent in direct disobedience to his commands. Isabella was soon pregnant, so they moved from Valladolid on the hot, unprotected plains to Dueñas, which was backed by arid mountains. When Enrique found out about the marriage, he was outraged, and swore on 26 October 1470 that Juana La Beltraneja was his legitimate daughter and heir to the throne.

Isabella gave birth to a daughter, which they named Isabel, on 2 October 1470.

Support for the couple was growing in Castile. The Cortes refused to swear allegiance to La Beltraneja. Several cities and nobles declared openly for Isabella and Ferdinand. The young couple represented a sense of normalcy and hope in contrast to the depravity and civil war marking Enrique's reign.

In 1472, the Papal Legate Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia came with the legal marriage dispensation from the pope. When he could not arbitrate relations between Enrique and Isabella, he threw his support to Isabella. Support for Enrique was fading fast. He was forced to reconcile with Isabella, so at the end of December, after five years of having not seen one another, they met at Segovia, embraced and then retreated to confer. On New Year's Day Ferdinand entered the city and met Enrique for the first time. On 6 January a great banquet was given and Enrique suddenly took ill. He was convinced he had been poisoned and all the efforts at good-will went to pieces. He left the city. Never fully recovering, he died the following December following a period of excruciating pain. He had not given a statement of succession. He had refused the Sacrament. His body was so wasted, there was no need to embalm it.

The news reached Isabella that night, delivered by a courier who had ridden 45 miles between Madrid and Segovia in record time. Ferdinand was in Aragon. Isabella did not have time to gather councilors and prelates to consult with and had to immediately make a decision and assert herself. She decided to be crowned at once in the morning, since most of the royal treasure was in Segovia and she wanted "to display the full weight of majesty" (Miller, p. 81).

On 13 December 1474 following a funeral mass for Enrique, the procession formed. Isabella, 23 years old, wound through the city on a platform with a chair of state placed on it. Her first official act was a religious procession to the cathedral with the Crown of San Fernando on her head.

Ferdinand was upset that the ceremony had been performed without him and he hastily returned from Aragon. Isabella had to restore harmony, so she appointed the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Toledo as arbiters. They in turn produced the document, the *Concordia entre los señores Reyes para el regimiento del Reino*. The agreements made at the time of the marriage were confirmed with additional clauses added to increase Ferdinand's prestige: Ferdinand's name was to precede the Queen's on all documents and moneys; the arms of Castile and Aragón would be paired in their escutcheon; when they were together, they would administer justice as one, and when apart, with equal authority. Isabella tactfully told Ferdinand that there could be no differences between them as he was her husband, but the document was done to avert any future possibilities of trouble between them. Ferdinand yielded completely since their interests were the good of the realm and they were to work to ensure the strength of their kingdoms. They had succeeded in attaining the throne.

The next obstacle before them was to create a united kingdom. They recognized they had to develop a strategy to make this happen. Isabella was not only calm and intelligent, but shrewd. Ferdinand possessed a sense of diplomacy and intense energy and he was an able commander. They worked together and created a step-by-step plan for ruling Spain.

The first step entailed strengthening the throne by creating a dignified and royal authority that would be recognized and respected by all levels of society. They had to have the cooperation of the nobility and the prelates in order to deal with the social and economic problems. This meant securing justice, trade, and developing a strong currency. The clergy needed to be reformed to make them respectable by ensuring they followed the mandates of their moral obligations.

The next step entailed conquering Granada and expelling the Muslims.

To accomplish their goals, they had to set up their court with people they trusted, so a strict formality was instituted in their household and in their key appointments. Cardinal Mendoza was confirmed as Chancellor and Keeper of the Privy Seal; the Count of Haro continued as Constable of Castile; Alonso Enríquez as Admiral; Gutierre de Cárdenas became Contador Mayor.



Then Portugal declared war. Alfonso of Portugal declared that the thirteen-year-old La Beltraneja was queen of Castile and he was going to marry her. They proclaimed themselves King and Queen of Castile. In May of 1475, Alfonso entered Castile with an army of 20,000 men. Isabella and Ferdinand had only 500.

Ferdinand rode to the northwest to gather troops. Isabella, who was again pregnant, rode on horseback in full armor along the dusty roads of Castile. She had a miscarriage en route, but continued riding. By early July, Isabella and Ferdinand had gathered an army of 40,000 and sent it against Alfonso. Alfonso was confronted at Toro. Isabella had stayed at Tordesillas. As supplies ran out, Ferdinand had to retreat and his troops resorted to pillaging and desertion. Isabella and Ferdinand had failed, but they learned from their failure. From then on their unbridled enthusiasm turned to “cool precision,” planning, and preparation.

They needed money. The Cortes had little, so they turned to the clergy and requisitioned half the silver of the church with the guarantee it would be repaid in three years, and it was. They ordered canon from Germany and Italy.



Joanna la Beltraneja

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_la\\_Beltraneja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_la_Beltraneja)

Their remaining army reduced in number to 15,000 by the end of 1475, was paid, rearmed, and retrained. They shut off Alfonso's supply routes from Portugal. Ferdinand marched with the army to engage Alfonso at Toro. The Prince of Portugal arrived with another 20,000 troops and a stalemate ensued. Meanwhile, Isabella's cavalry was constantly harassing Alfonso's supply lines. She rapidly took towns to his rear with the result Alfonso had to take his stand at Toro cut off from supplies. Alfonso soon fled, with the result the Spanish army captured an enormous booty of cannon, clothing, gold, and silver.

Toro has gone down as one of the decisive battles in Spanish history. Castile remained safe from attack by the Portuguese. Most important Isabella and Ferdinand had gained tremendous military experience and knowledge. Isabella pardoned the renegades who had joined Alfonso and then returned to Castile and restored order among the nobles who had defied royal power. She preferred to have friends and supporters rather than enemies.

Once again Isabella and Ferdinand divided their efforts. Ferdinand marched to the north and Isabella to Extremadura and Andalucia to establish the authority of the crown. To those who protested her part of the mission she responded “...Monarchs who wish to govern well cannot shirk their labors” (Miller, p. 97), as she took to her horse and rode southwest. Some towns immediately submitted to her and those that did not, she leveled. In Andalusia she won over the nobles by diplomacy.

Once their enemies were either defeated or won over, they established the Santa Hermandad, the Holy Brotherhood, to maintain peace and order. It was a country-wide constabulary maintained by the public, one to every 100 families, designed to inflict local and immediate punishment on criminals. Isabella wanted to set the example as the symbol of justice, so in Sevilla she put into operation her own personal tribunal, personally conducting interviews with the people on a patio of the Alcázar every Friday to listen to their grievances.

On 30 June, 1478 Isabella gave birth to a son, who they named Juan after both his grandfathers. A male heir was of the greatest consequence, for then the kingdoms of Castile-Leon and Aragón would be united under his rule as the heir to both kingdoms.

In January 1479 Ferdinand's father died and Ferdinand was the legitimate ruler of the kingdom of Aragón.

In October of 1479 peace with Portugal was signed and La Beltraneja moved to a convent.

The next goal was social and economic reforms, which meant summoning the Cortes to meet with them in Toledo. Isabella was in the last month of a pregnancy, and this time she rode very carefully.

Their third child was born on 6 November 1479 in the palace of the Count of Cifuentes in Toledo, a girl they named Juana. With infant mortality especially high in Spain, the brother and sister, Juan and Juana, were identified with Juan (John) the Baptist and Evangelist, the patron saint of the family, in an effort to ensure the continuation of the name should one of the children die. Two other daughters followed the birth of Juana, Maria in 1482 and Catalina in 1485, but no sons. Isabel, the eldest child (the *infanta*) born in 1470, would succeed her mother should her brother Juan, the *infante*, die.

The next several years were intense, as the royal couple worked to consolidate Spain and create a prosperous and law-abiding kingdom with power centralized in the Crown.

In 1480 the Cortes of Toledo was assembled to establish the legal foundations of the country. By persuading the Grandees of the need to replenish the royal treasury to carry out the plans for the country, the royal couple succeeded in revoking the lavish grants (*mercedes*) given to the nobles by their predecessors; the privileges of the nobles were curtailed and many castles were torn down and new ones forbidden to be constructed without royal permission; the codification of the laws was undertaken as Isabella ordered the existing conglomeration of impractical traditions to be examined and regulated. The result was the *Ordenanzas Reale*, which has been the basis of Spanish jurisprudence to current times. The entire country had been suffering from inflation and scarcity so the royals went to the root of the problem, the paralyzing debasement of the currency, and developed strict legal standards of weight and value for its issue. They cut the number of mints from 150 to 5. Interior and exterior trade was covered by specific orders and the customs duties, the stamp tax, the *alcabala* or sales tax, were regularized. "...In six years more had been accomplished for the welfare of Castile than all its other rulers had been able to do in centuries" (Miller, p. 110).

The only task left was the religious unification of the country, which meant that Spain was to be an exclusively Catholic country. Jews and Muslims were to be exiled.

Many Jews converted to the Christian faith, some sincerely, others not. It was mainly the doubtful converts, the false *conversos* or *marranos*, Jews continuing their practices behind the guise of conformity to Christian beliefs and practices, that Isabella's Inquisition was designed to do away with.

In September 1480 "the Sovereigns signed a royal *cédula* authorizing the appointment of Inquisitors for Seville" (Miller, p. 112), the city with an especially large Jewish population. The conquest of Granada took ten years. The kingdom was well fortified, the land was fertile, and it possessed a tremendous mineral wealth. The population of Granada was estimated at 3,000,000. With a religious zeal just as intense as the Catholics, they were determined to hold the area they had inhabited for centuries. Their main problem was a rivalry among their rulers.

By 1481, with the main task of political consolidation behind them, Isabella and Ferdinand were ready to begin their crusade against the Muslims. For the first three years, the battle strategy entailed surprise raids. The lack of success motivated Isabella and Ferdinand to evolve a more systematic strategy of planned attacks when the weather was most suitable. The couple divided their efforts. Ferdinand would take command of the fields and Isabella would stay behind as recruiter, quartermaster, and banker. Christian Europe was scoured for manpower with aid coming from England, Ireland, Germany, Poland, and even from France. To make their artillery the most formidable in Europe, Isabella brought engineers and gunsmiths from Italy and Germany, gunpowder from Portugal, Sicily, and Flanders. Men were recruited to make roads and bridges, even leveling a mountain at Cambil. She made certain the army was well supplied with provisions. To finance the war, the



Crown's resources were used in addition to the ecclesiastical revenues of the realm. Isabella persuaded the pope to grant Bulls of Crusade which offered large indulgences to those who assisted the effort. Isabella provided the first field hospital, the Hospital de la Reina which was comprised of six well-provisioned tents that accommodated 1,200 persons during the siege of Málaga. To irritate the Muslims, the Spaniards constantly rang bells, an act forbidden by the Koran.

By 1485 Ferdinand had developed into a brilliant military strategist. By 1486 the Spanish ranks had increased to 70,000 troops. The magnificent city was crowded with refugees, including many Jews who had fled the Inquisition. A fierce resistance was put up and morale among the Spaniards began to fall apart, so Ferdinand called on Isabella to join the army. Her presence had a miraculous effect and the troops threw themselves into enthusiastic and courageous exploits. Málaga surrendered unconditionally on 18 August 1487 and the entire population was condemned to slavery.

Once the western provinces were defeated, attention was turned to the east in May 1489 as Ferdinand with an army of 100,000 marched on Baza. Everything went wrong for the Spaniards, as their horses were bogged down in the thick trees and water surrounding the city. The Spaniards destroyed the forest. Isabella pawned her wedding necklace and the jeweled crown to raise money. Ferdinand built remarkable fortifications and a thousand barracks, and then winter arrived earlier than usual. The rivers rose, the barracks collapsed, mountain roads were washed out, and pestilence threatened. Isabella had the roads rebuilt, bought more wheat and barley and mules to carry it, then drafted everyone in Andalusia under 70 to serve. She took off to Baza herself, reaching the city on 7 November. Baza capitulated on 4 December. By 1491 the Spaniards camped before Granada. Isabella's tent caught fire and the flames spread throughout the camp. The Sovereigns launched into rebuilding the camp in stone and within three months their city of Santa Fe had arisen with plazas and churches and boulevards laid out in the form of a cross.

On 2 January 1492 Granada surrendered to Isabella and Ferdinand. The Sovereigns had organized the best army of the times, consolidated their power, and then continued the Reconquista (the reconquest) of the Iberian Peninsula. Isabella and Ferdinand brought 800 years of Muslim control in Spain to an end in 1492.



“Capitulation of Granada”

by F. Padilla: Muhammad XII before Ferdinand and Isabella.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:La\\_rendici%C3%B3n\\_de\\_Granada.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:La_rendici%C3%B3n_de_Granada.jpg)



*Of all the inhabitants of Spain, the Jewish communities probably experienced the worst effects of the upheavals in the late medieval period...many Jews chose to convert to Christianity.... In 1492, the Spanish Monarchs presented the remaining Jews with the bitter choice of converting or going into exile. The expulsion decree of 1492 meant that Jews could not legally reside in Christian Spain, and those who had converted to Christianity faced increasing scrutiny. Muslims, too, saw their position erode to nothing. In 1492, Christian forces conquered the last Muslim kingdom in Granada, followed by increasing demands for Muslims to convert to Christianity....”*

*Phillips, p. 83-84*

The other important event of 1492, with world-wide consequences, was Isabella's support of the explorer and visionary, Christopher Columbus, in his plan to find an eastern route to the Indies. Isabella and Columbus first met in 1486 in Córdoba and were impressed by one another's visionary characteristics. While she was not able to deal with his insistent pleas for financial support for his project, she kept in contact with him and finally, after the defeat of the Muslims, she was able to turn attention to Columbus and his venture, the result of which created unimaginable wealth and power for the Spanish rulers.

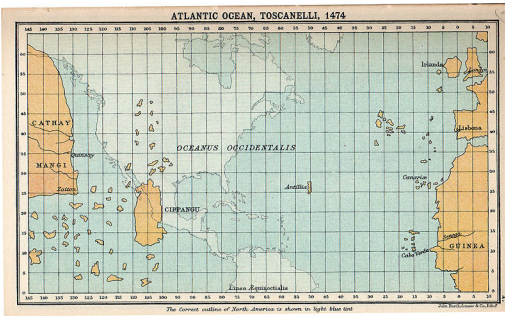


“Columbus before the Queen”

by Emanuel Leutze

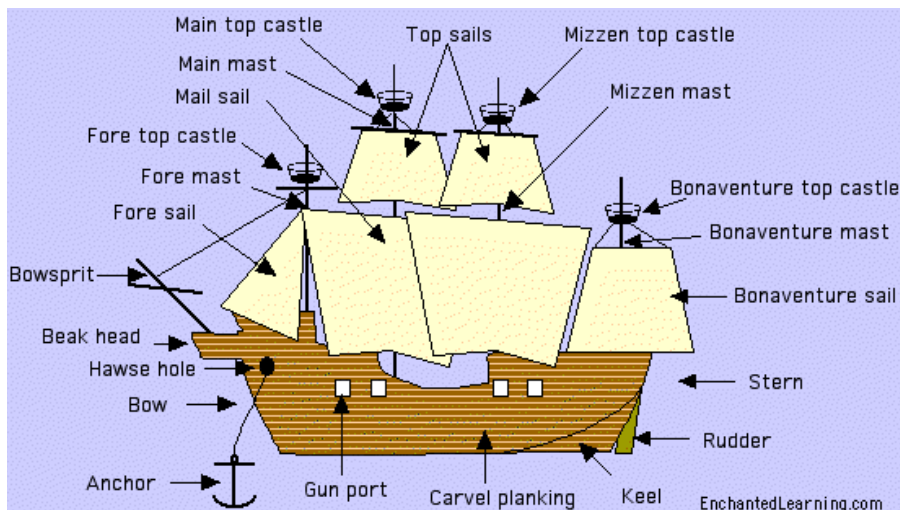
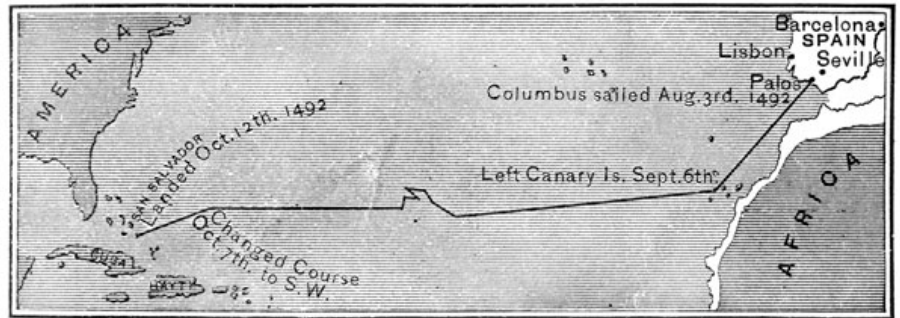
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Map of the Atlantic Ocean according to Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1474)  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Atlantic\\_Ocean,\\_Toscanelli,\\_1474.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Atlantic_Ocean,_Toscanelli,_1474.jpg)

Route of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus across the Atlantic



Columbus sailed with three ships, the Niña and the Pinta were small caravels. The third ship, the Santa Maria, was a larger type of ship, a carrack, and was captained by Columbus. The ships were from 15 to 36 meters long.

<http://www.enchantedlearning.com/explorers/page/c/columbus.shtml>

“Christopher Columbus being greeted by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella on his return to Spain”

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Christopher\\_Columbus9.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Christopher_Columbus9.jpg)





## JUANA OF CASTILE

6 NOVEMBER 1479 – 12 APRIL 1555

The year 1479 was notable not only for the birth of Juana, but for many events in the lives of Isabella and Ferdinand, who strove to make Spain financially and politically stable, but a country practicing only Catholic Christianity as well. The year began with the death of Ferdinand's father, an event that insured Ferdinand's title as king of Aragon. The majority of the efforts of the monarchs, referred to as the Catholic Monarchs, were spent developing their plans to drive out the non-Catholics in order to consolidate their kingdoms under Christianity. The years from 1479 to 1492 were characterized by constant war in an effort to eliminate non-believers, whether it was the *conversos* or the Muslims.

By the end of 1479 the royal couple had three children to raise. The birth of a child to a royal household meant insuring control of the dynasty and the continuation of the realm, most certainly if that child was a boy. Juana, as the third child, was not viewed as a likely successor. Her mother and father saw Juana as playing an important role in advancing the family's political and economic interests in a foreign court through her diplomatic role in a well-placed marriage. Her older brother, the *Infante* Juan, was the heir to the crown and future ruler of Spain. Male authority had for centuries been the standard in the Spanish kingdoms, except for Castile. Male-only heirs were justified by the view that women were weak, not only physically, but more important, morally. A queen was to produce a legitimate male heir and the regulation and control of her body was essential for a kingdom's well being and stability. A queen such as Isabella (as well as the future queens Elizabeth Tudor of England, Catherine of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria) who was a strong ruler, was seen as subverting her femininity to a male corporate identity. Such women were believed to have the "heart of a man, dressed as a woman" (Aram, p. 2) even though, as in the case of Isabella, she could rightfully inherit in Castile.



The marriage in 1497 of the *Infante* Juan to Margaret, the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, brought the Catholic Monarchs to new heights of power through the alliance. All seemed to be going very well. Then suddenly through the deaths of the legal heirs, Juana was heiress to the throne of Castile and Leon as well as to the kingdom of Aragon. Juana was at the center of a great dilemma.



Juan of Spain  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John,\\_Prince\\_of\\_Asturias](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John,_Prince_of_Asturias)



Margaret of Austria  
by Master of Moullins  
ca 1490  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margaret\\_of\\_Austria,\\_Duchess\\_of\\_Savoy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margaret_of_Austria,_Duchess_of_Savoy)

Juana had not been prepared for inheriting the role of ruler. Juana received an education to prepare her to be a highly placed bride in a foreign court. Financial accounts from the period illustrate Isabella's emphasis and support of the children's education. The Dominican Andrés de Miranda and Beatriz Galindo, the Latinist, had been important teachers, along with other Renaissance scholars who were part of Isabella's household. Juana's training included music, Latin – in which she excelled – and “instruction in religious conduct and decorous self-presentation” (Aram, p. 23). Christian conduct was the foundation of her education. As a queen consort, the well-governed daughter was to learn to supervise servants in preparation to rule her future household. Juana had been brought up in the practices that taught young noble women to avoid idleness by keeping themselves busy with weaving, sewing, and prayer.

The accounts of Queen Isabella's treasurer, Gonzalo de Baeza, reveal that the queen carefully selected and consistently reviewed her children's instructors. Juana's wet nurse, doña María de Santistevan, served her until she was six years old. Juana was then given a governess, doña Teresa Manrique, who was to shape the child's behavior and oversee her conduct. On special occasions Juana was given rose sugar as a treat. At six, Juana began sleeping in a wooden bed, received formal table service, and traveled on a raised platform carried by “peons”.

It might seem difficult to imagine Isabella giving much attention to her children, but she had them close to her as she travelled about the country on military campaigns. In June 1482, Maria of Aragon was born and in December 1485, Catherine of Aragon was born. There were then five children. Isabella was known for being an attentive mother especially in guiding her children's education. Isabella's priority was to attract the leading intellectuals of Europe to Castile. She was known for her large collections of books and paintings, and for developing institutions of learning. Isabella stressed spiritual education, piety, and charity through the example of donations to religious patrons as well as to churches. The religious lessons Juana learned early in life sustained her later.



When she was seven years old, Juana began studies with her long-term tutor, Doctor Andrés de Miranda from the Monastery of Santo Domingo. Miranda taught her Latin according to Christian principles. Household accounts record that in the first year of lessons, the *infanta* received a box for carrying letters and a large book of hours (a personal prayer book) with a silver lock and gold-lined pages. By age ten, she owned printed prayer books and her own edition of Boethius's *De Consolatione*, a philosophical guide of faith and reason. By age fourteen she was reading Latin and was praised by her tutor for her skill in reciting and composing Latin verses. Juana's writing skills were considered admirable. Both Juan and Juana studied music, the prince singing tenor and the *infanta* playing clavichord. In preparing for her future life at court, instruction in "appropriate self-presentation" (Aram, p. 25) was a crucial component. She was recognized for her exceptional ability as a graceful and elegant dancer.

Juana became an accomplished equestrian at a young age. When she was ten, she received a mule, complete with reins, stirrups, and a saddle covered in silk and brocade, comparable to that of her older sister. One report stated that while out riding, her mule lost its footing crossing the Tagus River and dragged the *infanta* down river. Her mother sent a stable boy to rescue the young princess.

In 1487 Juana's expenses included blouses, a skirt, and a bed for her instructor Galindo. Her greatest expenses were for cloth and clothing. She had her own tailor and shoemaker. As early as five years old, she owned *verdugos*, known as Spanish farthingales, which were to make her hips appear wider. By age nine, she was wearing stylish curled locks in her hair. Her favorite color was crimson. She liked to line her cloaks with rabbit pelts and cat fur. As they were an important part of Juana's presentation and her mother's court, her servants were also well dressed. By 1488 her accumulation of clothes and other possessions required a convoy of mules to carry her luggage when traveling.

*The Spanish farthingale was a hooped petticoat with a cone shape. The name comes from Spanish verdugo 'green wood', because the drying stems of Giant Reed are rigid. The style can be seen in Spanish paintings around 1470, worn as visible under-dresses or as a sole overdress with contrasting colored bands used to cover the hoops. While the visible farthingale style disappeared, farthingales as an undergarment continued as an integral part of the female dress shape and were an essential element of Tudor fashion in England into the early 17th century. The perfect complement to the Quilted Bodies and the Spanish Loose Gown, the farthingale was used as a hooped petticoat worn over the chemise and bodies, under a kirtle (15th century low-necked fitted informal dress) and gown.*

Refer to the following web sites for examples of the Spanish Farthingale:  
(<http://tudorswiki.sho.com/page/The+Tudors+Costumes+%3A+Women%27s+Dress>)  
<http://calatravacastle.blogspot.com/2009/10/spanish-farthingalepart-one.html>



Isabella, who had fought to establish her own right to rule Castile and Leon, was determined to argue on behalf of her own female heir. Since her first child (Isabel) was female, it was "necessary to establish a clear precedent for female succession" (Arams, p. 18). Isabella further insisted on her great "conformity" with Ferdinand, and they presented a united image on all correspondence, seals, and coins in order to make it clear to all that they were co-rulers of a united Spain. Since Aragon was opposed to a female ruler, Isabella was determined to overcome the gender issues surrounding rights to the crown of Spain. To Isabella, insuring the right of a female heir, the *Infanta* Isabel, was particularly important should anything happen to Juan.

When Juana was born, her parents believed she needed nothing more than a modest education in public ritual in comparison to that received by her older sister and brother. When her sister Isabel departed for Portugal, Juana took her place alongside their mother.

Isabella and Ferdinand maintained complete authority over the people surrounding their daughters by selecting, rewarding, and managing them. Their daughters were not allowed to partake in decision making processes. Such actions proved to be detrimental to Juana's future, for she never developed the skill or ability to exercise any authority or develop personal loyalty among those serving her.

In 1485 Juana's accounts mention three "Canarias de la infanta," or female slaves from the Canary Islands, who attended her. Seven years later, accounts include four female servants or *criadas*. The women, Juana, Inés, Anastasia, and Catalina, remained with Juana and displayed greater loyalty toward her than other members of her mother's court who received their positions from, and gave their allegiance to, Isabella.

In 1486 the queen appointed official households for Juana and her brother. Religious personnel came first: confessor, sacristan, almoner, and chaplains. These were followed by administrative personnel: *mayordomo mayor* (governor), *camarero mayor* (principal chamberman), *cavallerizo mayor* (first horseman), accountant, and secretary. The household officials who governed her were to provide her with food, clothing, and drink. "The rituals of eating and drinking, like the domestic ceremonies that Juana would encounter in the Low Countries, appeared designed to illustrate ideal relations between subjects and their rulers" (Aram, p. 29). The rituals were recorded as well as the details in giving articles of clothing to the servants. With her mother's guidance, Juana could be generous. Clothing and gifting one's servants was crucial to the status of the ruler, and this became another issue in Juana's future.

*"Fernando and Isabel, like most rulers of their time, negotiated their children's marriages to advance diplomatic and strategic aims. They educated their daughters to represent their interests abroad, aware that Juana's skill in Latin and appreciation of music would serve her in any European court...Eager to strengthen their ties with Maximilian [of Austria], Fernando and Isabel offered Juana to his son, Philip of Burgundy, in exchange for Maximilian's daughter, Marguerite of Austria, as a spouse for Prince Juan. This double alliance, essentially designed to curtail French expansion, rested upon Austrian and Spanish animosity toward the Valois [French] monarchs"*

(Aram, p. 31).

The negotiations for the two princesses centered around foregoing the usual dowries from their parents, replaced by an annual income of 20,000 escudos from the revenues collected in their husbands respective territories. Essentially it meant that Juana's parents were not assuming financial responsibility for her. Following the insistence of Maximilian, both brides were given jewels and seventy ladies-in-waiting. Juana was the only daughter of her parents who was not marrying a ruling king or a prince immediately in line for the throne. Instead, her husband to be was a duke and she would be an archduchess.

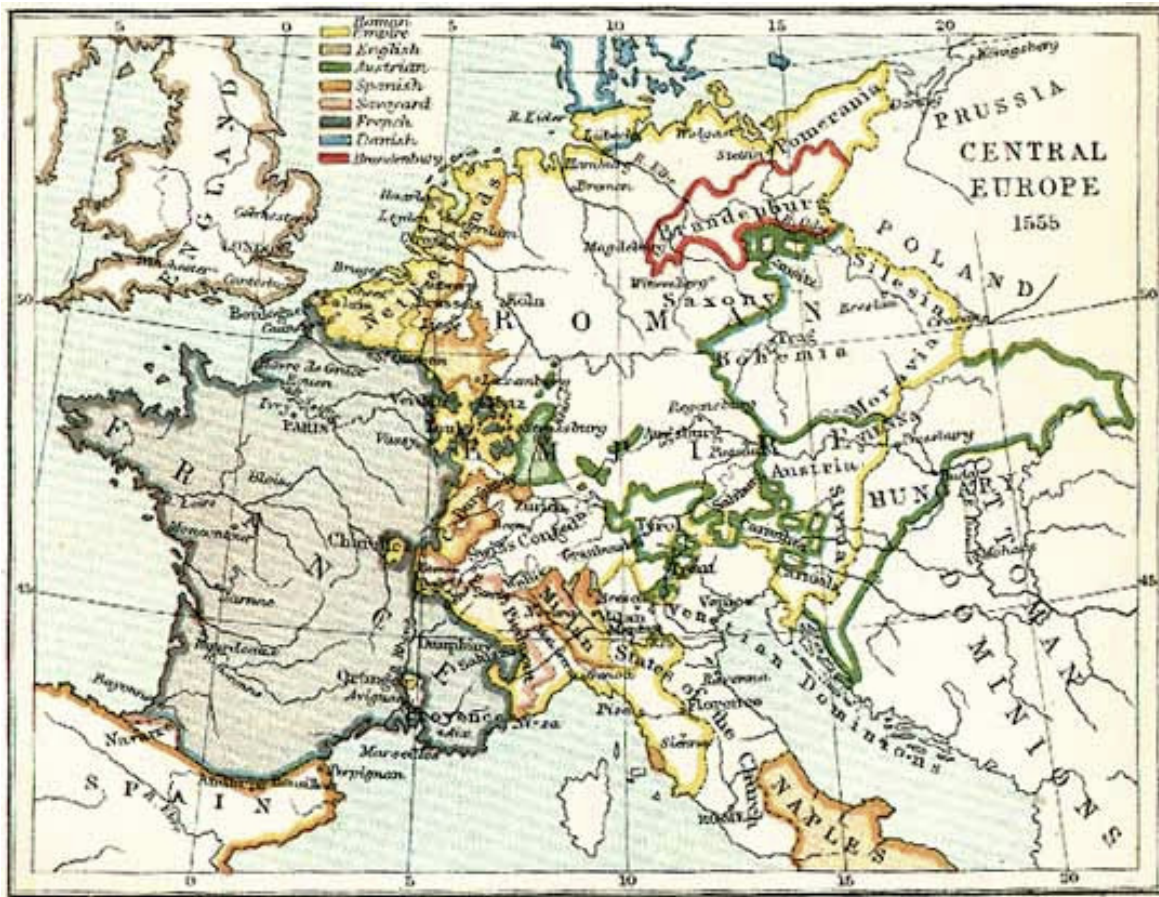
Family continuity in positions among the royal household were a critical consideration from generation to generation. Those who were selected to accompany Juana to the Low Countries gained their posts more through court connections than skill and experience. The extent of Juana's influence over her future household would be dependent on her husband's attitudes. For Juana, that fact determined her future life in many unpredicted ways.

## JUANA, THE BRIDE: DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY

Spain and France were hostile to one another, so it was not feasible that Juana travel overland through France. On 22 August 1496, Juana set out for Flanders from Laredo, Spain with an escort of 15,000 men and women on 133 ships. Isabella planned every detail of Juana's trousseau and personally supervised the outfitting of the fleet. Very importantly Isabella advised Juana on "the best way of advancing Spain's interests as soon as she became Duchess of Burgundy" (Charol, p. 15). Isabella accompanied her daughter to the ship and stayed aboard with her for two nights waiting for a good wind to set sail. The type of ship used was a carack, which was a large square-rigged sailing ship, or galleon, with three or more masts, a type of ship used by the Spanish for commerce and war.



Due to extreme winds enroute, the ships escorting Juana had to take shelter at Portland, England on 31 August. Juana went ashore to be entertained at the local castle and as the daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand the people were eager to see her. On 2 September, the fleet set sail again only to be stuck for five days in calm waters. When the fleet finally approached the port of Middelburg in Zeeland (Netherlands), one of the ships carrying 700 people, along with Juana's wardrobe and many of her personal effects, hit a sandbank and sank.



[http://www.culturalresources.com/MP\\_Frmn16.html](http://www.culturalresources.com/MP_Frmn16.html) (Europe 1555)

*The Low Countries (Dutch: De Lage Landen) are the historical lands around the low-lying delta of the Rhine, Scheldt, and Meuse rivers, including the modern countries of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and parts of northern France and western Germany. The term is more appropriate to the era of the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Europe when strong, centrally governed nations were slowly forming and were ruled by a nobleman. The Low Countries were consolidated under the rule of the strongest nobles. Their possessions were renamed into the Burgundian Netherlands and their succeeding Habsburg Netherlands, and later for the southern parts as the Spanish Netherlands and Austrian Netherlands.*

Her future husband was not there to meet her. There are two versions of why Philip was not there. One version claims the delay in his arrival was due to the deep-rooted antipathy on the part of his closest advisors toward a union between the houses of Castile and Burgundy. Philip's advisors convinced him to travel to Germany before his bride's arrival in an effort to separate him from the Spanish Juana. The second version was because he was hundreds of miles away in Lindau presiding over the Reichstag on behalf of his father. Either way, no preparations had been made for the reception of his bride or housing her enormous entourage. Accommodations had to be quickly arranged, a situation that is difficult to imagine when there were no court officials to greet her. The lack of efficient communications and the uncertainties of travel by sea or by horseback over land created tremendous difficulties in getting news of any sort in a timely manner. Still, the Burgundians knew she would be arriving in the fall because preparations were underway for her future sister-in-law to travel to Spain to marry Juan when the ships sailed for the return journey.



Juana had to travel to Antwerp, and there she was welcomed with ceremonial festivities. She and her ladies-in-waiting, gorgeously dressed to reflect their status as daughters of Spanish grandees, were accompanied by their pages and musicians. It was now October in the chilly north and Juana was immediately taken ill. Margaret, her sister-in-law to be, had rapidly travelled from Namur to welcome Juana and found her in bed without sufficient covers and very ill. As soon as Juana was well, she travelled the ten miles to a nunnery at Lierre to await her future husband.

The arrival of the Spanish princess and her large entourage of courtiers and army threatened the Burgundians, who then immediately sent for Philip. The Burgundians felt they were caught between the might of the Austrians and the Spanish. It was intended that the large contingent that had arrived with Juana would soon be returning to Spain with the Archduchess Margaret for her marriage to the Spanish Infante Juan in Spain. It had not seemed necessary to make plans for long term arrangements for such a large contingent staying any length of time.

When Philip arrived at the convent and met his bride for the first time, he insisted the Church give its blessing to the marriage immediately so it could be consummated that night. For several days, tournaments and banquets were arranged in honor of the couple. Philip was eager to demonstrate his skill in numerous contests for his bride. The entire situation was a new experience for Juana, who suddenly became the center of attention and admiration. For Juana, the entire experience of being a bride, of suddenly being intensely in love, and her new position as the archduchess, combined to create an invigorating situation.



Portrait of Philip the Handsome  
about 1500 by Juan de Flandes  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip\\_I\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_I_of_Castile)

This portrait of Juana was done in Flanders  
about 1500 by the Master of Afflighem  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_of_Castile)

The immense numbers of people along with the dramatic change in weather, conspired against the Spaniards who were not accustomed to the cold fall and oncoming winter. They were forced to stay since it was too dangerous to sail back to Spain. The huge number of people who were to be provided with food and accommodations seriously strained the resources of the Burgundians. With the late fall storms raging on the seas, the Burgundians would not risk the life of the Archduchess Margaret and expose her to such threatening conditions. Therefore, she had to wait until spring to depart, which of course meant all the Spaniards had to be accommodated during the wait over the winter.

The weather wreaked havoc among the Spaniards. Of the 15,000 who had arrived, it was estimated that 9,000 perished that winter from disease and starvation. Neither soldier or courtier had the proper clothing or blankets to deal with the cold weather, nor could they get enough food to eat. Then disease set in in their weakened bodies. Juana initially demanded that the Spaniards be treated in accordance with the specifications of the treaties, but the Burgundians countered that she was thinking more about the Spaniards than her new subjects.

*“She was not endowed with a fighting temperament, and her education had not been of a kind to foster independence, for Isabella had never been disposed to tolerate any manifestations of spontaneous purpose on her daughter’s part. Joan (sic), being sensitive and easily wounded, was, in the Netherlands, soon taught the advisability of avoiding unpleasantness, and of withdrawing into herself” (Charol, p. 23).*

Serious problems were beginning for Juana. The Spaniards viewed her as unsympathetic to their plight because they did not see her taking measures to remedy their conditions. Worse yet according to the Spaniards, she seemed to be turning from her Catholic religious heritage by allowing Mass to be read to her by “frivolous French priests” (Charol, p. 24).

Juana was soon made aware of the close relations between Philip’s advisors and the French court. She was immediately thrown into conflicting demands on her allegiance between her new position in Burgundy and her homeland of Spain. Her father-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian, pursued the Spanish-Burgundian alliance in an effort to isolate the Valois monarchs of France. On the other hand, Philip had been raised by Burgundians, not Habsburgs, and his allegiance was clearly with the Burgundians.

When Philip’s mother, Mary of Burgundy, died the Netherland Council had assumed the Regency for Philip and set about educating the heir to the Habsburg throne in a manner that would make certain the concerns of the Netherlands would always be his first priority. His father, Maximilian I Holy Roman Emperor, regarded the Low Countries as a mere outpost of the Habsburg Empire. Since Philip lived in the Netherlands, with few visits to or from his father, the Netherland Council naturally took precedent in influencing the young man.

Juana was experiencing a very different environment than that in which she had grown up. The surroundings, customs, men, women, religion, a wealthy and independent burgher class, powerful and privileged trade guilds that had a strong role influencing the government, all were so different. Life was more casual than in formal, conservative, Catholic Spain. Spain had just been through the Inquisition, a period of complete religious intolerance. In the Lowlands, Juana experienced a more tolerant and casual form of Catholicism that was not the ruthless form she had grown up with, and she liked it. She saw that Christians could be joyful and enjoy the pleasures of life as well. The initial period of adjustment was difficult for her as she travelled with Philip throughout the country observing the customs. Initially she was gloomy and constantly weeping. When she finally accepted the new practices, she wanted to have the French priests conducting her services. Since she wanted to avoid conflict, she did not respond to her mother’s letters or her Spanish confessor or even the Spanish ambassadors, all who were chastising her. Juana was about eighteen years old at this time, far away from the strict life with her parents whose upbringing had not allowed her to make decisions on her own. In hindsight, her behavior can be viewed as that of a rebellious girl, and as an attempt to assert her independence in her new environment.



Juana's parents had given her neither the opportunity nor responsibility of managing her household, and she did not understand or know what to look for. The people around her who were in charge took advantage of this by withholding her household expenses from her. She was granted a privy purse of 20,000 gold talers, which she never saw. Martin de Moxica, the Spanish treasurer assigned by Isabella, was sympathetic to the Burgundians, and told Juana the amounts he disbursed without giving her an accounting of what they were for. Madame de Halevin, who had been Philip and Margaret's governess, dealt with the housekeeping. Juana would authorize and sign for the payments as the two advisors informed her of them. The requests of the Spanish ladies and gentlemen were ignored by Madame de Halevin who favored the Burgundians.

While Juana was going through the adjustments to a husband, a new culture, and a new status, Maximilian and the Spanish monarchs were encouraging war with France in an attempt to gain the Italian territories. The Burgundian States General wanted trade, not war. Trade would bring wealth. War would be a financial drain on the economy in addition to causing devastation throughout the country. The Low Countries, located between Austria and France, were anxious to maintain peace with France.

Suddenly, disaster struck Isabella and Ferdinand. Juan, Prince of Asturias, heir to the throne, died in October, six months after his marriage to Archduchess Margaret of Austria in April, 1497. The couple had been passionately in love. The child Margaret was carrying was stillborn in December. The male line of the Trastámara family of Aragon was now extinct and the permanent union of Castile and Aragon was threatened with the loss of the male heir. The Crowns of Castile and Aragon passed to the eldest daughter, Isabel, Queen of Portugal, who was pregnant with a possible heir.

In 1490 Isabel, Princess of Asturias and *Infanta* of Castile and Aragon, had married Afonso, Prince of Portugal and heir to the throne, but he died in 1491. She returned to Spain and a life of seclusion for several years until her parents arranged her marriage to Afonso's uncle, Manuel of Portugal, in 1497. With the death of her brother and his stillborn child, the Infanta Isabel became heir to the throne of Castile.

Since a woman could not rule Aragon, it was hoped Isabel's child would be a male child. A son, Miguel de Paz, was born. Disaster soon struck again as the young Isabel died in childbirth in August, 1498. When Miguel, a sickly child, died in 1500 a crisis of succession arose.

The devastated Catholic Monarchs had to turn to their daughter Juana as the remaining legitimate heir to the Crown, and the situation became very complex. Juana could succeed to the Crown of Castile, but the issues of female accession to Aragon remained. Juana, living in Flanders, was expecting a child. Since Juana was reluctant to correspond with her mother, Isabella sent a special envoy, Subprior Thomas de Matienzo, to the Netherlands to find out what was happening with Juana. The Spanish rulers were in a habit of sending emissaries to all the courts of Europe, which made them the best informed monarchs of the time, so another to the Burgundian court was not unusual. Thomas de Matienzo wrote that Juana had no interest in what was going on in Spain, and not only that, she was remiss in going to confession and receiving the Eucharist on Holy Days. He wrote that the people of Flanders were corrupt and more interested in liquor than leading decent lives, and that was the environment in which their daughter lived.

Juana reported to the Subprior that she had to act as she did because de Moxica and Madame de Halevin, along with members of the Archducal Council, isolated her from anyone they did not approve of, which meant the Spanish court. Isabella was worried because she felt Juana was too weak-minded as well as weak-willed and could not be counted on for political support.

Juana's first child was a girl, Eleanore of Austria, born in November 1498, a great disappointment to the Spanish and Austrian dynasties.

It was not long before news arrived at the Spanish court that Juana was once again pregnant. On 25 February, 1500, a male heir was born. Philip named him after his maternal grandfather, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The child was christened at Ghent as “Count of Luxemburg.” He was to become Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, ruler of a realm “on which the sun never set” (Charol, p. 35). Spain and Austria joined in celebrating the birth. As soon as the celebrations were over, a messenger arrived in Brussels from Granada to announce that the young heir, Miguel de Paz, was dead. Juana’s fate was sealed.

## **JUANA, HEIRESS TO AN EMPIRE**

Philip, Juana’s husband, was – and still is –referred to as Philip the handsome. His life was often independent from that of his wife, who jealously ranted about the many female relationships her husband enjoyed and complained that she was ignored by the members of the Burgundian court. Philip’s lifestyle and allegiances to his personal court caused a great deal of dissension between husband and wife and often resulted in Philip having his wife forcefully confined to her rooms.

Philip’s political alliances were with France, a policy encouraged by his Burgundian councilors who wanted to promote a close, peaceful, and prosperous relationship with their neighbor. His French tutor, and closest and most trusted advisor, François de Buxleiden, Archbishop of Besançon, managed the finances of the realm.

Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Cordova, wrote to Isabella from Brussels concerning the status of her daughter. “If she tried to do any more than she has done, she would only harm herself and gain nothing thereby, for there is not a living soul to support her by so much as a word” (Charol, p. 40). Isabella gave Fonseca instructions that he was to make certain Charles accompanied his parents to Spain. Unfortunately, that was not to be.

Isabella and Ferdinand were very eager to get Juana to Spain, since she was the remaining candidate to the throne of the Spanish kingdoms. When word arrived from Isabella and Ferdinand that Juana was to come to Spain to receive homage for her position as heir, she was delighted. The Spanish monarchs realized they had to get Philip away from the Netherlands and the control of his councilors, who were doing everything possible to postpone the trip. Juana would not go to Spain without her husband, but Philip was not going to allow their infant son to go there, since the presence of the child could ruin his own chances of succession to the Spanish kingdoms. Philip was very eager to go to Spain and pursue his wife’s new status for himself, and, whether he liked it or not, Juana had to make the trip with him. In a compromise with Philip, she finally agreed that the young Charles would remain behind.

Philip envisioned his realm ranging from the Danube and the Polish frontier to the coast of the Iberian peninsula to regions overseas, with the heart of the realm in Brussels. He knew he had to go to Spain so that fealty would be sworn to him. As Juana’s husband, he would be heir to the throne of Spain in place of his wife. Philip demanded the trip be made overland through France in an effort to strengthen the relationship with Louis XII of France. The Spanish monarchs were vehemently opposed to the young couple traveling through the territory of their enemy. Louis saw to it that Philip and Juana were welcomed with a series of receptions and entertainment throughout France. However, he did not grant the couple the rights of sovereigns, but treated them as equals to French peers. Because of several slights made to Juana by the French court, she decided to hasten the departure from France and continued the trip, crossing the Pyrenees in the winter.

Carriages and wagons were shipped from Bayonne back to the Low Countries before crossing the Spanish frontier where the baggage was loaded onto sturdy Biscayan pack mules to carry it across the snow covered passes. Once in Spain, they were met by gentry dressed in black. The land appeared to the Flemish members of the entourage as poor and barren. It was not until they reached Castile they



*“saw the treasures of the numberless monasteries, nunneries, and churches, and learned how vast were the ecclesiastical possessions. They were told that the Constable of Castile received rents amounting to 72,000 gold florins and could send 1500 knights into the field. The eleven dukes of Castile disposed of 175,000 gold florins and 3500 knights; the 40 counts had no less, while the chiefs of the religious orders, the marshals, the adelantados were equally opulent and powerful. These were fabulous incomes, this was fabulous strength. Each knight wanted to vie in display with the great nobles, spending incredible sums on brocades and silks. The family revenues provided for these splendours – until Isabella thought it advisable to issue sumptuary edicts, prohibiting coloured silken raiment and, after the Infante’s death, prescribing black attire”*

*(Charol, pp. 45-46).*



“Looking down on Puerto de Frigiliana, the summit of an old mule trail over the mountains from the coast to Granada.”

<http://becausetheyrethere.com/2012/10/04/lucero-where-old-hatreds-linger/>

The somberly clad nobles displayed their wealth in the gold and silver trappings of their horses. When Juana and Philip arrived, Isabella cancelled her restrictions on clothing and the brocades and colored silks reappeared, rivaling the splendor of the French and Flemish clothing.

The Flemish gentry travelled through the valley of the Ebro where the countryside changed. Many towns, surrounded by high walls and dominated by impressive castles, rose before them. The towns, which had been defenses against the Muslims, had also served as defenses against neighboring feudal magnates prior to the rise of Isabella and Ferdinand. The entourage travelled south across Old Castile, through Burgos, the center of wool export to Flanders, then on to Valladolid, “the loveliest city of Castile, surrounded by vineyards and corn-fields” (Charol, p. 47). At Medina del Campo Philip, dressed as a Spaniard, took part in the famous fair and mingled with the crowd. In Segovia he received the key of the land. In Madrid he and Juana were sponsors at the baptism of a Muslim, an important recognition of a conversion of faith.

Isabella and Ferdinand were making certain Philip was entertained by a series of festivals, receptions, hunts, and tournaments along the trip. But everything was unfamiliar to him. The jousts, bullfights, the food and drink were different than that to which he was familiar. Banquets were followed by tournaments, at which the guests were served Spanish wines and strange delicacies and sweetmeats, not the strong beer and heavy meat he was used to. Customs were also different. The conversations with young noblewomen and the walks beneath the windows, as well as ladies shouting out from the verandas to the victors, were a new experience for him.

The entourage crossed the Pyrenees in January 1502. April was the loveliest season of the year with the ground covered in greenery. It was time to enter Toledo, the capital of Castile and the ecclesiastical center where the monarchs were crowned. Every noble in Spain came to welcome the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy. The Cortes was summoned and a reception was planned that was to be greater than Philip and Juana had ever experienced. The knights were already in their saddles when a “galloper” arrived with the horrible news that Duke Philip was suffering from measles and had been taken to bed in Oleas, a few miles away. Ferdinand went immediately to Philip’s bedside where Juana was painstakingly looking after her husband. Isabella was ill and unable to make the trip. Juana and her father lovingly greeted one another and Philip was also greeted affectionately by Ferdinand. On 7 May Philip recovered and was able to go on to the formal reception for the young couple at Toledo.

One half mile before the gates of Toledo, Ferdinand, accompanied by French and Venetian ambassadors along with Cardinal Mendoza and 6,000 noblemen, rode out to meet the young couple. Philip to the right and Juana to the left rode “beneath a baldachin adorned with the armorial bearings of Austria and Spain...” (Charol, p. 50). Kettledrums and trumpets, streets decorated with flags and lined with throngs of people, greeted them as they progressed to the cathedral. Following the ceremony, they went to the palace where Isabella was waiting for them and the family withdrew to her private apartments.

The following day Philip informed the Spanish royals that the fifteen-year-old Arthur, Prince of Wales, husband of their seventeen-year-old daughter Catherine of Aragon, was dead. The court was ordered into mourning for nine days and the celebrations for Juana and Philip postponed. This was another blow to the dynastic ties. Philip, the frivolous Burgundian, was now the hope of the Spanish royals.

Philip left Toledo for the gardens of Aranjuez to play “teneyts”. As soon as possible he joined tournaments, hunting expeditions, and bullfights. He learned the Spanish technique of jousting, and went hawking with Ferdinand.

As soon as the ceremonies were over, Philip intended to leave for the Low Countries since a new quarrel had arisen between France and Spain over the claim to Naples, an Aragonese territory to which Philip was to be heir. The Spaniards were delaying several ceremonies in an attempt to keep Philip and Juana in Spain. However, the heat of the summer sun was wreaking havoc on the northerners, just as the damp and cold had done six years earlier on the Spaniards when they arrived in the Low Countries. Philip was eager to leave Toledo.

In mid-July Ferdinand travelled to Aragon where he had summoned the Cortes to deal with the issues of succession. As soon as he left, Philip banished the Spanish contingent of his court and ordered the Burgundians to leave immediately to the Netherlands. Juana and Isabella attempted to intervene, with the result they further upset Philip. Maximilian wrote to his son, urging him to see the advantages of a close collaboration with Spain. Philip interpreted all the efforts as a conspiracy against his “true friend king Louis” of France. Nothing would convince him otherwise. Isabella saw that Philip was completely devoted to the interests of Flanders, Burgundy, and France. When his minister Basançon died, Philip, who was certain he had been poisoned, became fearful the same would happen to him, and he fled Toledo with Juana.

As heir apparent of Spain, Philip could not travel through France for fear of being held hostage and wrote to Louis to obtain the right of safe conduct through the country. The seriously ill Isabella had come to understand her daughter’s predicament with the Burgundians. Juana was again pregnant. Philip had to travel to Madrid to say farewell to Isabella, and, because Juana was pregnant, she had to leave earlier to make the trip in shorter stages. In Saragossa, the couple was lavishly welcomed. Before the Cortes, they swore “to protect their customs and privileges” and Juana was recognized as “the true and lawful heiress of the Kingdom of Aragon and the appurtenant domains, and Philip to be her husband...so long only as the marriage lasts, and no longer” (Charol, p. 57).



Potential complexities were inherent in the oath. With Isabella seriously ill, it was conceivable Ferdinand would remarry. If he did and a son was born to him, the oath with Philip would be dissolved and the son of Ferdinand declared King of Aragon. Ferdinand left to be at Isabella's side and Philip was left to preside over the Cortes, for which the most important item on the agenda was the voting of supplies for the campaign against France. Philip wanted to get to Louis to arrange terms of peace. Isabella sent word to her son-in-law that she wanted to see him before he departed, so he quickly left Saragossa for Madrid, covering the 170 miles in four days. The queen asked him to abandon his plans to leave for Flanders and make his permanent home in Spain. Isabella understood that her husband would outlive her, remarry, and likely produce a male heir that would result in splitting Spain by his founding of a new dynasty in Aragon. Isabella's efforts at consolidation of the kingdoms would then come to naught.

Isabella made Philip choose. She insisted Spain's future ruler must live in Spain, must know the people and their way of life, and above all feel he was a Spaniard. The willful Philip could not see he had the chance to be the most powerful ruler in the world. He wanted only to return to the Netherlands. Isabella said he would have to go without Juana whose pregnant condition would not be able to tolerate such travel. Philip realized that if Juana were left in Spain she would become subservient to her parents but he finally agreed that she could stay until the child was born. He sent word to Juana to meet him in Alcalá de Henares.

This marks "the beginning of Joan's *via dolorosa*, which led through all the stations of suffering to hopeless loneliness and ultimately to madness at Tordesillas" (Charol, p. 61).

Philip was sick of Spain and nothing, neither his wife nor prospects of the great kingdom, were going to make him stay. He was certain that intrigues were behind the efforts to keep him in Spain, and interpreted them as actions that were threatening his freedom and self-determination. Philip told his wife he loathed Spain and nothing could induce him to sacrifice Burgundy and the Netherlands to Spanish objectives.

Juana's marriage was important to her and she found herself torn between the pressures from her husband on one side and her parents on the other. She had children, two of whom were left behind in Burgundy. In Spain she was to bring two royal crowns, Castile and Aragon, to her husband and eventually her son.

Ferdinand put every obstacle possible in the way of Philippe's efforts to travel. Philippe was determined to leave Spain, and on 28 February 1503, two months after leaving Juana, he crossed the French frontier and travelled to Savoy to meet with his sister Margaret who had remarried. From there he went to Austria to join his father.

Philip's departure made Juana extremely sad. The doctors attributed her mental state to her pregnancy. She could not be consoled. Her parents were involved with their own political activities and could not accommodate their daughter. For Juana, returning to the life of the Spanish court without Philip became unpleasant.

On 10 March 1503 Juana gave birth to a son on Spanish soil. In honor of his grandfather the child was named Ferdinand. In preaching the baptismal sermon, the Bishop of Malaga stated, "Indeed my sermon would not end for fifty years were I to recount all this fortunate princess's advantages and virtues..." (Charol, p. 66).



Juana and Philip's son Ferdinand

"Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564) at the age of ten or twelve years"

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_of_Castile)



Philip was in France negotiating the future of Naples with King Louis when the news of his son's birth reached him. Naples would be ceded to Charles after he and the French Princess Claude reached the age of majority and were married. Philip envisioned a peaceful Europe as his son would inherit the dominions of France, Austria and Spain, and consolidated them under Habsburg rule. Philip was beginning to comprehend the dynamics of international politics and allied with his father in furthering the Habsburg dynastic aims.

On the other front, war resumed between Naples and Spain. Juana was unable to travel to France to join her husband, which prolonged her depression. Her mother promised to return her to Flanders by sea, and in June the queen took her daughter to Segovia, the spot from which Juana had sailed seven years earlier. For reasons that are unclear, they had to stay there for several months. It may have been because of the war or Isabella's determination that Spain, her Catholic country, would not be corrupted by the French and Dutch clergy "who were lax and detestable" (Charol, p. 69). She was not eager for her daughter to join her husband and allow such a thing to happen.

Isabella and her adviser, Ximenes de Cisneros, the Archbishop of Toledo, decided they had to determine Juana's fate for her. Juana was to be compelled to live in Spain and assume the duties of queen, and, by separation from Philip, be Queen of Castile. To accomplish this, Isabella presented to the Cortes of Castile (who had recently sworn allegiance to Juana and Philip as heirs to the throne), a draft stating that should Juana be absent following the death of Isabella, or unwilling to rule in person, King Ferdinand should become the governor and administrator of Castile. The proposal ruled Philip out entirely. Isabella wanted Juana to be the uncontested ruler of Castile, and upon her father's death, of Aragon.

With the approach of summer came the prospects of the equinoctial gales and the loss of the chance for a sea voyage. Philippe wrote that he would be in the Netherlands by autumn, a circumstance that inflamed Juana's jealousy, as she thought of her husband with the ladies of the court. She refused to be like her mother, who had consented to bring up Ferdinand's illegitimate children. Juana was determined to reach the Low Countries before her husband. It was mother against daughter, neither understanding the desires and motives of the other.

*Rigid, unyielding, and intolerant, ruthless and harsh to herself and to others, she lived and died for her idea [lifes work]. Joan, the young wife, had asked neither for a kingdom nor for a mission in life, was a woman to whom love was all in all. Living for love alone, that was the thing for which she would fight and make sacrifices. Each in her own way would sweep the board to preserve the one piece she valued" (Charol, p. 71).*

A united Spanish kingdom was Isabella's purpose in life and she saw her life's work threatened by her daughter's singular passion for her husband, and her lack of understanding her royal duties.

Isabella was suffering from fever and pain. Juana was sleeping very little, had no appetite, and was extremely weak. The physicians insisted the two women must separate and Juana went to the Castillo de la Motta, near Medina del Campo accompanied by Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Cordova and her spiritual doctor. In November a letter arrived from Philip asking why she was so long in coming home. The result was an explosive encounter between mother and daughter. Juana packed her luggage and was prepared to go overland through France. When de Fonseca heard of her plans he exclaimed "Don't you know that Spain is at war with France?" to which Juana responded, "Spain may be, but I am not" (Charol, p. 73). Fonseca prevented her from leaving and had the loaded horses returned to the stable, the drawbridge raised, and the portcullis lowered. Juana threw herself against the bars and shook them, screaming and threatening. She remained crouched by the portcullis through the night, refusing blankets or any kind of comfort through the night or next day. Finally she took shelter in a guard room by the gate and stayed there for several days and nights.

The severely ill Queen travelled by litter to her daughter and a furious scene ensued. The intense emotions were said to contribute to Isabella's death. Isabella promised her daughter she could join her husband as soon as King Ferdinand returned. So November turned into December, then January, as mother and daughter stayed at the Castillo de la Motta. Ximenes de Cisneros advised the Queen to have the fleet made ready for Juana to sail. Philip sent a special envoy with strict orders to bring the Archduchess back to the Netherlands by land, since King Louis had promised her safe conduct through France.

The first time Juana left her parents, she was an emissary with the purpose of working for the Spanish cause, to promote Spanish power and interests. The second time she left without saying farewell to her mother, but she left as the heiress to the thrones of Castile and Aragon and to wear the crown of Spain. Her Spanish ladies stayed behind. To her, she was leaving victorious. Nothing had broken her resistance in the year and a half since Philip had left, not her mother's strength and energy, not her father's cunning, nor Cisnero's shrewdness and tenacity.

Isabella, knowing she did not have much longer to live, forged new plans. The noblemen who left with Juana were given instructions to persuade Philip to deliver the three-year-old Charles to Spain. In return, she would surrender the Kingdom of Naples, the prize for which she had gone to war with France.

Juana saw the Netherlands as her home, a place where she could fulfill her marital duties, as opposed to Spain, where she was tied to her parents' designs on her life. Her entrance to the Netherlands was completely different than her first arrival. This time she was met not only by a celebrating crowd, but her husband came to meet her ship at Blanbergen. There was a problem, though. Philippe's behavior towards her had changed. A chronicler at the time wrote, "Donna Juana felt the change which had taken place in the Prince's love. His manner to her was very different from what it had been; and as a woman who loved him beyond measure, she sought to discover that the cause of the alteration might be. She was told that the Archduke had a mistress, an exceedingly handsome noblewoman, with whom he was passionately in love" (Charol, pp. 78-79). Juana soon discovered the woman to be a young, blonde Flemish beauty and a confrontation erupted between the two women, with the result Juana had the young woman's hair cut short. Philip reacted with physical violence towards Juana and she took to her bed. All her anxieties toward her husband had come true and all her sacrifices appeared meaningless.

In an effort to prevent her husband's lustful wanderings, Juana had her attractive court ladies dismissed. She turned to witchcraft in an attempt to counter her husband's temptations. The Muslims she brought to the Netherlands were believed to be knowledgeable in the creation of love potions and sorceries. She was given potions and fragrances, dressed her hair in a more glamorous fashion, and refashioned her clothing and jewels. All worked well for one night, until Philip reacted in a rage and locked Juana in her room. Juana countered with a hunger strike until Philip released her.

A cycle of jealous rages and reconciliation began. To escape, Philip often went hunting and Juana would write him affectionate letters explaining her conduct and vowing not to behave in such a way. Philip had numerous mistresses and Juana, often suspicious, reacted with violent rages herself.

Philip directed Martin de Moxica, Juana's treasurer, to keep a diary detailing her behavior, which Philip sent to her parents. Isabella was upset and blamed herself for keeping the couple separated for so long, but wanted her daughter to return to Spain. Philip realized that if Juana were to leave him, he risked losing her heritage and she realized that if she left him it would most likely be permanently.

Close to death, Isabella was most concerned about the succession. She begged Philip to send the young Charles to Spain. Philip mistrusted his father-in-law and refused to send his son, the heir to Austria, Flanders, and Spain who had been betrothed to the heiress of France. Philip said he would return to Spain and bring Charles with him.

In consultation with his father, the Emperor Maximilian, and King Louis of France concerning the events of succession in Spain, the men concluded that with Isabella's death, Ferdinand would be considered King of Aragon, not King of Spain. Isabella's health worsened. Without the title "King of Spain" Ferdinand would lose Castile, and without Castile he would lose the rich revenues it provided, which meant he would no longer be able to call forth the armies he needed for war. Aragon would relapse to its former state as a minor principality.

The Castilian knights who had been fighting in Italy were arguing that Naples must belong to Castile, not Aragon. Juana would reign in Castile, which meant that Philip, now Ferdinand's enemy and the friend of France, would be in power.

Isabella's life work had been the unification of Spain. Ferdinand knew Isabella would not deprive Juana of her heritage, and the issue of a united Spain was in question .

Martin de Moxica's diary may have served to change Isabella's mind. On 23 November, 1504 three days before her death, she added a codicil to her will:

*If Juana, my dearly loved daughter, heiress, and lawful successor should be absent from this realm, or if having come thither she should depart from it no matter when and should wish to live elsewhere, or if being here she should lack the desire or ability to rule or administer it, then Ferdinand was to rule, govern, and administer in his daughter's name."*

Charol, p. 84

Isabella sent for Ferdinand and "made him swear that neither a second marriage or any other reasons would bring him to rob Joan of her crown" (Charol, p. 85).

On 26 November, 1504 Isabella died leaving the twenty-five year old Juana, inexperienced, passionate, and self-determined, as Queen of Castile. Juana, who was to be the symbol of the consolidated royal power of Castile and Aragon, inherited numerous conflicting forces and interests that did not support her.

## JUANA, THE QUEEN

On 26 November, 1504 King Ferdinand, surrounded by prelates and grandees, mounted the platform in the public square of Medina del Campo, with the Duke of Alba holding the royal standard of Castile. The heralds called out three times, "Castile, Castile, for Queen Donna Juana, our Sovereign Lady" (Charol, p. 86).

That day, Ferdinand sent an embassy to Brussels with greetings to Juana and Philip addressing them "by God's grace rulers of Castile." The same day Ferdinand also issued a circular to all the towns and communes of the kingdom that from then on all laws would be passed and all government actions would be performed in Juana's name.

Although he was encouraged by his Aragonese courtiers to declare himself the successor of Isabella, Ferdinand realized he had to be scrupulous in conforming with her last will and testament. A league formed by Philip, Maximilian and Louis might intervene, as would the Castilian grandees, and Ferdinand could not fight such powerful forces.

In the name of Queen Juana, Ferdinand summoned the Cortes to Toro, a small town thirty miles from Medina del Campo. The Cortes claimed the codicil was effective in Juana's absence and Ferdinand swore to protect and safeguard the life of his daughter and not in any way detract from her greatness.

Philip and Juana, who were in Brussels, proclaimed themselves King and Queen. Philip sent word that the Cortes was not to be summoned before they arrived in Spain. Monsieur de Veyre, Philip's chief chamberlain, was sent to Spain to insure arrangements went in favor of Philip.

The Castilian grandees opposed to Ferdinand began to increase their resistance. During the thirty years of Isabella's reign, the monarchy had strengthened its power at the expense of the feudal aristocrats by stripping them of their rents and possessions and transforming them into knights dependent on the court. The grandees were not going to support Ferdinand of Aragon as either their king or regent of Castile. They were going to exert their independence from Ferdinand and support Juana, the Castilian, who had been named successor by her mother.



Ferdinand was ruthless in claiming state revenues and quickly contested his daughter's ability to lead and administer those revenues he claimed should be entrusted to him. According to him, Isabella had been concerned about the welfare of the kingdom under her daughter and so had added the codicil. Ferdinand had the diary of Martin de Moxica read. "Thus Joan, having first been cheated and betrayed by her husband, had hardly become Queen when her father, coveting her heritage, publicly declared her insane" (Charol, p. 89). Upon hearing this, the Cortes declared Ferdinand Curator.

Ironically, Philip's efforts to blame Juana for the unhappy marriage had worked against him.

Ferdinand tried to get Juana to declare him as regent. Whether it was for personal power or because he and Isabella had made it their life's work to consolidate Spain, Ferdinand was not going to allow the country to unravel and again become a peninsula of fractured estates.

The most influential man in Spain had been Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo. Isabella would not make decisions without his advice. He was primate of Spain and high chancellor of Castile, an unusual position for a man of his low birth. Isabella had named him joint executor of her will along with Ferdinand. Cisneros did not need Ferdinand, but Ferdinand needed him. The two men met in an effort to keep the grandees from regaining power, which would weaken Castile, and devised a plan to get Juana to hand over the governing to her father. Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Cordova, and Lope de Conchillos, Ferdinand's private secretary, were entrusted with carrying out the scheme. Fonseca was to appeal to Juana's feelings toward her mother. Conchillos was to go to the Netherlands since he had been Philip's secretary in Spain and had won the Archduke's confidence. Influenced by the two Spaniards, Juana agreed to "hand over the reins of government to her father, and to write to him to that effect" (Charol, p. 92). Fonseca returned to Spain.

While Philip travelled to Treves to meet with his father to discuss the French treaty, Juana wrote to her father giving him authority to govern Castile. The letter was signed by her and given to Miguel de Ferrera, a knight who had accompanied her to the Netherlands. He stopped in Hagenau to visit Philip, who upon hearing about the letter, broke the seal and read the document that was taking from him his right to rule Castile.

Philip, in a rage, had Conchillos arrested, and racked, extorted a confession of the plot, and forbade all Spaniards access to Juana.

Philip returned to Juana and told her of her father's plot to deprive her of her throne and heritage. He also revealed that her father had made public the diary describing her outbursts in an attempt to declare her insane to gain control of her and the throne.

The dire situation revolved around the question, was she to be Queen or not? Would she join with her husband in ruling her realm or be deprived of the right to rule on the grounds she was insane? The outcome would govern the attitude towards Juana for the next several centuries. Would she be seen as a ruling queen or considered a mad woman?

Juana wrote a letter to Philip's plenipotentiary in Spain on 3 May, 1505:

*Monsieur de Veyre...it seems right that I should say a word on my own behalf...But since a matter of so much importance is at stake, and evil rumours are rife at so critical a moment, I pray you to convey a message from me to the King, my lord and my father, since those who spread these rumours do so, not against me alone, but also against His Majesty; for some of these false witnesses declare that he himself spreads this report in order to make himself ruler of our realm, which tale I do not believe, the King being so great and so Catholic and I his so dutiful daughter.*

*"I know well that the King, my lord and husband, wrote to Spain, complaining of me in some sort, in order to justify himself. But that matter ought not to go beyond us parents and children..."*  
(Charol, pp. 94-95).

She continues in the letter to discuss her own jealousy as well as that of her mother, how God had healed her mother's jealousy and would heal her own also. She would never deprive her husband, nor their sons or offspring, the right to be King and to rule the realm.

Ferdinand's aim was to gain control of the throne of Castile. Most of the nobles had given allegiance to Philip and Juana as the rightful rulers, since Juana was the heiress of Isabella and had the right to be Queen of Castile as the legitimate heir.

Philip and Ferdinand were independently issuing their own orders in the name of the Queen. Ferdinand displaced Philip's supporters and replaced them with his own. He claimed Philip had no authority in Spain since he was keeping Juana imprisoned in the Netherlands. Truthfully, she was strictly guarded in her castle in Brussels and cut off from contact with her Spanish countrymen.

When Philip left for a campaign against Gelderland, the Spaniards in Brussels made contact with her and convinced her Philip was entering into an alliance with Austria and France against Spain and that it was Philip who was responsible for the belief in Spain that she was out of her mind. [Note: While Martin de Moxica's diary disappeared, many Spanish chroniclers referred to it as the source for the events.]

Juana was surrounded by people she could not trust: Moxica wrote hateful invectives about her; Philip was unfaithful to her, craftily blaming her while relating falsehoods about her father. She told Moxica to dismiss the courtiers he had appointed and return to Spain. Philip told Moxica to make no changes and give her pregnancy as the reason for her behaving in such an outrageous manner. Further, Philip ordered that none of the Spaniards were to talk to her and posted a sentry at her door with orders to admit no one. Juana was in no way to make contact with Spanish representatives in order to send word to her father.

When Philip's emissaries, the Prince of Chimay and Monsieur de Frenoy, entered Juana's rooms, she was furious and raised her hand to strike them, with the result the guard at her door was increased and no one admitted who did not have Philip's complete confidence.

The Queen of Castile and Leon was a prisoner in the land to which she had been sent and the place she declared as her home.

She was seized with hatred toward the people of the Low Countries and became determined that no foreigner would rule her country. She swore to resist Philip in all political matters and bar his way to the throne. She believed passive resistance to be her strongest weapon.

Ferdinand, known for his adroit skills in conducting political maneuvers, put them to use. He pitted Burgundy and Austria against France, then revealed to France the intended invasion and said he would break with his Flemish and Austrian allies if France would come to an understanding with him and give him in marriage Germaine de Foix, niece of King Louis. A male heir was the motive. Louis, surrounded by the Netherlands, Spain, the German Empire, and northern Italy, agreed.

Philip, encouraged and assisted by his father, attempted to regain Juana's favor. They communicated to the Castilians how wrong it was of Ferdinand to undermine the heritage of Isabella. They forbade the payment of Castilian revenues to Ferdinand. Finally, they announced that "the rightful Queen would come speedily 'to take over the government of the realm'" (Charol, p. 101). Juana tore up the documents when they brought them to her for signature, stating she would not disregard her mother's will. If her father chose to marry again, so be it that he should live as a good Christian.

Ferdinand warned Philip that if he entered Castile without Juana he would be treated as an enemy. But if he came as a son rather than as a foe, he would be embraced as such.

Louis, appointed by Ferdinand as arbitrator, forbade Philip passage through France until it was determined who the actual ruler in Castile actually was.



On 24 November, 1505 a treaty was signed at Salamanca by which Ferdinand gained a great victory by regaining the title King of Castile. The kingdom was to be jointly ruled by Ferdinand, Juana, and Philip. Juana was recognized as proprietress, and Ferdinand as Governor. One half of the revenues were to be Ferdinand's, the other half were to belong to Juana and Philip.

Philip, in an effort to make certain he could gain entry to Castile, took a guard of two thousand German mercenaries with him. Ferdinand was determined to prevent Philip's entry into Castile.

Philip spent the fall provisioning and equipping a fleet for the dangerous winter voyage in order to get to Spain as quickly as possible and foment rebellion. His plan was to use the sympathy of the Spanish against Ferdinand's hasty marriage to the French woman, who the Castilians opposed as successor to the great Isabella. On the other hand, the Castilians sympathetic to Ferdinand, could quickly turn on Philip. Philip also needed Spanish funds to cover his cost of outfitting a fleet, so he secretly sent Juana to Zealand to avoid the populace from holding her as hostage in the Netherlands.

As Philip and Juana boarded the ship another heated quarrel broke out between them. This one revolved around the ladies who were accompanying them. Juana refused to sail with the ladies on board her ship, so Philip secretly had them put on another ship.

On 8 January, 1506 the fleet left Flushing. Philippe was determined to take Castile for himself, if need be by force. Juana was just as determined he would never govern Castile. For three days the ships sailed without problem. As they sailed out of sight of land, an unexpected calm set in and no progress could be made. Suddenly, a "sou'wester" sprang up and a terrific storm raged for three days. Twenty of the forty ships disappeared from sight. Fortunately, they had made it into the port of Falmouth, the nearest port, but there they were refused the right to land. They were sold food – at twice the cost. Philip's ship was one of those lost, but ten days later his battered ship made it to Weymouth. As other ships arrived at Falmouth, the ban was lifted and they were allowed to land. Philip's ship, a 450 ton merchantman, had been in the thick of the storm. Fire had broken out on the first night of the storm, but brought under control. A huge wave had carried away the mast and main sail, with the ship taking on a strong list. A seaman named Heinrich of Stettin jumped overboard and cleared the main sail so that it could be pulled back on deck. Philip and his knights took refuge in the poop cabin as they prayed and took vows in the midst of their seasickness and exhaustion. It was reported Juana remained calm. The knights pooled their money in collection for "Our Lady of Guadalupe, the Protectress" but Juana pulled from her purse filled with gold pieces, a half ducat. When asked if she wasn't afraid, she answered, "No, for I never heard of a King that was drowned" (Charol, p. 107). Philippe had been stitched into a leather case that was inflated and on the back was painted in bright colors, "The King Don Philip."

Initially the royal ship was not welcomed at Weymouth, but messengers were sent to the court at Windsor announcing the arrival of a ship larger than any seen in the port, with a handsome man and a Spanish lady on board. English noblemen were immediately sent to the port with supplies and word was sent to all the towns along the coast that should any such ships turn up, they were to be supplied. King Henry ordered that none of the Netherlands were to be allowed back on ship without his authority. It was his intent to take advantage of holding the Archduke in consideration of their historical alliances. At Windsor, Philip was welcomed and a treaty made between the two kings, in which Henry pledged to help Philip against France and Ferdinand. Since it required Juana's signature, she was brought, arriving alone and dressed in black to signify her reluctance in the entire matter. Juana favorably impressed Henry. The visit was the last time she would see her sister, Catherine of Aragon, who had been sent to England as a bride. While Philip was amusing himself at the court of Henry, Juana travelled back to Falmouth, convinced by her husband that the treaty was one of amity and commerce.

When news arrived of Ferdinand's marriage to Germaine, Philip's pleasurable visit ended. He went to Falmouth to join Juana, where they had to stay another month until the ship's were fully refitted, provisioned, and manned. Without the distractions of the court, Philip and Juana spent a peaceful month together. It was during this time Princess Catherine was conceived, the child to be born after the life and death struggle between her parents.

## ARRIVAL IN SPAIN

Ferdinand expected the ship to land at Laredo or another port on the Biscayan coast and stationed himself at Torquemada. Philip, anticipating a hostile reception, went to stay with the Duke of Medina Sidonia near Seville. It was his intent to slowly travel across the breadth of Castile between Andalusia and the Bay of Biscay in order to receive the homage from the towns, as befitted their King. The calm weather at sea changed his plans and he had to land the fleet on the afternoon of 26 April, 1506 at the little town of Corunna at the north-western corner of the peninsula. The ships, flying the banner of Castile, were warmly welcomed by the town. Juana refused to vow to observe the statutes of the town, so Philip had the ladies-in-waiting attend the ceremony. When Juana saw what was happening, she flew into a rage and refused to enter the town until the ladies were returned to the ship. There was the new Queen, dressed in black, appearing very dour, standing along with two thousand brightly dressed knights. In response to the inquiry of why she refused to honor the town, she stated she must first consult with her father before performing any governmental act and withdrew to the Franciscan monastery. Philip took the oath alone.

Juana wanted to make it clear she was going to consult with her father. Philip had no intention of keeping his promise that Juana could see her father as soon as they landed in Spain, since that would have meant the loss of the kingship for him. Philip was issuing decrees in Juana's name against her will. She wanted her father to rule, so Philip had to do all in his power to keep the two apart.

## THE BEGINNING OF A NEW AND STRICTER IMPRISONMENT OF THE SPANISH QUEEN ON SPANISH SOIL

The Treaty of Salamanca stated the Juana, Philip, and Ferdinand were to rule jointly. Undecided about his course of action, Ferdinand set out with a few noblemen towards Corunna to welcome Philip and Juana and arrange a speedy meeting.

Philip's demands became arrogant and imperative, while Ferdinand appeared to become more conciliatory. On his way, Ferdinand set up his forces on the Galician frontier. Philip saw his access to the interior of Castile cut off if he waited to move, so he rapidly marched south into the sierras to flank Ferdinand and make his way into Castile. Philip then asked the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximenes de Cisneros, to arrange an understanding regarding the only question at issue: government by the Queen. Philip's motive was to detach the powerful Archbishop from Ferdinand by putting him in the position of making arrangements with Juana, who, still in isolation, continued to be a threat. Juana refused to sign any documents or take any part in governing. The only grandee she would receive was the Marquis of Villena who had been her faithful attendant on the earlier Spanish journey. Philip meanwhile surrounded himself with Spaniards who had accompanied him from the Netherlands and who he could count on for support.

Unable to withstand the intrigue and tension, Philip went hunting, keeping himself surrounded by his closest confidantes, ignoring Spaniards who asked for an audience. The grandees did not understand why Juana was keeping herself secluded since she was the rightful ruler, not Philip.

Ferdinand had to weigh his options. Philip was travelling with two thousand mercenaries, artillery, and the baggage train. Juana, faithful to her father, was defying her husband. Ferdinand chose to sacrifice his daughter, who did not have the substantial support her husband had, and gave the Archbishop authority to negotiate with Philip.

Ferdinand and Philip arranged to meet halfway, so Philip set out with six hundred heavily armed German mercenaries, followed by 200 archers. Philip rode behind the noblemen of the court, followed by cavalry and bowmen.



Accompanied by two hundred men, Ferdinand waited unarmed. Philip approached Ferdinand, who embraced and kissed him. Philip, dressed in heavy armor and sweating, was in a bad humor. He had been breathing the dust of those marching in front of him. He was made to look absurd by this seemingly guileless old man.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Philip informed his followers that Ferdinand proposed to surrender Castile unconditionally and leave for Naples. Juana was to be excluded from any share of governing Castile. Ferdinand had not even asked to see his daughter.

On 27 June, Ferdinand signed the Treaty of Villafáfila, signed the next day by Philip at Benavente. The treaty completely undermined Juana's authority. Her father and husband had joined together and declared she did not wish to reign, and if she did reign, they claimed it would lead to the destruction of Castile. Without Ferdinand's knowledge, Philip published the document, making him the unrestricted ruler of Castile.

Ferdinand had his own motivation for aligning with Philip. He need only bide his time until the grandees turned against Philip, who it was believed would rule Castile by the methods of the Low Countries. If Juana had been able to reign over the powerful Castile, Ferdinand would have no hope of gaining a place there. He had to align with Philip in order to cast Juana aside. However, Ferdinand's cunning realization that the Castilians would side with Juana, caused him to protest the treaty on the day he signed it, issuing a manifesto declaring it null and void. He claimed he had to sign it by the force of Philip's army, since he would never approve of his daughter's being deprived of her liberty as well as her kingdom.

Philip believed he had gained a victory over Juana, who was, of course, furious when she heard of the meeting. She first turned her wrath on the Marquis of Villena and the Count of Benavente as traitors for having accompanied her husband. She was the monarch of Castile, not Philip. Then she turned her wrath on Philip. Her outburst was followed by exhaustion that rendered her passive.

On 28 June, Philip attended a bullfight celebrating the treaty. Juana went for a horseback ride with the Marquis of Villena and the Count of Benavente. Without warning, she spurred her horse, jumped the *ha-ha* (a fence set in a ditch to hide it from view) and galloped off. She took refuge in the first available house, which was that of a pastry cook, and there the Queen sat in a bakehouse for the next two nights. Philip had her pursued by his mercenaries. She refused to come out until she had seen her father, who was reported to be nearby. Eventually she relented and came out.

The next move was to Valladolid, where Philip planned to read the treaty he and Ferdinand had signed. The Cortes was to meet at Mucientes and swear fealty to Juana as Queen and to Philip as her consort. Instead, Philip was going to declare his wife mad and have her put away so that he could enter Valladolid as sole monarch and ruler.

Philip wrote to Ferdinand describing Juana's actions and asked for his advice. Ferdinand wrote back he was sorry to hear of such troubles, but since he had no experience with such matters, he would leave it to Philip who was accustomed to dealing with her, to "...discover the appropriate remedies" (Charol, p. 124) stating he wanted to hand the kingdom over in "peace and prosperity."

Philip called a meeting of the Cortes in an effort to quickly decide the matter of Juana, who accompanied him to the meeting without objection. However, before the Cortes could take the oath, Juana intervened and asked if they recognized her and knew her to be the "legitimate daughter of the late Queen." The Cortes answered affirmatively. Juana then said, "Since you recognise me, I command you to betake yourselves to Toledo and await me in that city, for I have decided that there shall I be solemnly acclaimed Queen of Castile and there also shall swear to abide by your laws and safeguard your rights" (Charol, p. 124). Then she left the assembly hall. Toledo, the ancient city of Castile, was to be true to Isabella's daughter. Until the Cortes had sworn allegiance to Juana, the authority was not hers for Philip to take.

The stunned curators asked for an audience, which Juana granted as Philip sat alongside of her. Did she want to reign alone, or have her husband associated with her in governing? Would she wear Spanish dress and take Spanish ladies in her service as befitted a Spanish Queen? Juana replied that it would be proper for her father to rule Castile until her son came of age. Certainly she would wear Spanish clothes. Knowing her husband's inclination toward her ladies, she said her choice was of no concern of the procurators.

Philip's intentions were crushed, as there was to be no accommodation with Juana. A bitter struggle ensued between husband and wife.

Philip was enraged. The Cortes, summoned by him, was confused. Ferdinand, who was preparing to leave Castile, was to be king. Ximenes de Cisneros had gone over to support Philip, favoring him over Juana and what he saw as her limited ability to rule. Cisneros conspired with Philip to have Juana declared insane.

Juana sent her chaplain on a secret mission to beg her father not to leave Castile until she talked with him. The chaplain was intercepted and Philip realized nothing was going to break Juana's determination.

A powerful group of nobles, led by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, organized in Andalusia to set Juana free. Philip was convinced the Queen, his wife, had to be put out of action once and for all.

Meanwhile Philip was desperately in need of at least 400,000 ducats to pay for supplies, for court expenses, and to pay his German mercenaries.

Various factions began forming to support either Juana, Philip, or Ferdinand. The nobles were upset by the Treaty of Villafáfila. The Admiral of Castile insisted on an audience with the Queen before signing the document, and Philip was forced to agree to the meeting. Juana, dressed in black with a French hood, rose and met the Admiral. Her first question to him was whether he brought a message from her father. For the next two days, the Queen and Archbishop talked at length. He declared that she never uttered a word that was not perfectly sensible.

The Admiral persuaded Philip that it would not be wise to enter Valladolid without Juana, since she was not believed to be insane and the people were incensed because their Queen had been imprisoned.

On 10 July, Juana and Philip arrived at the town gate and were met by the knights of Castile carrying a baldachin (elaborate canopy) and two royal banners. Juana immediately commanded one of the standards be torn from its staff. She alone was monarch of Castile and only before her could the royal ensign be carried. Philip did not dare object. Juana, covered from head to toe in black, was mounted on a jennet (small Spanish horse or female mule) and rode through the city with the banner of Castile waving before her, with Philip at her side. The demeanor she displayed was to demonstrate that she disputed the treaty signed by her husband and father. When she dismounted at the cathedral, she uncovered her face. This was not a joyous entry.

The nobility was divided between the factions. A scheme instigated by Juan Manuel served to undermine Juana. Juan Manuel ordered the Marchioness of Moya, a close friend of Isabella's, to surrender the Alcazar, a key position in Segovia. When she refused, Philip took his mercenaries and grandees, along with Juana, who his advisors knew he would attempt to lock away there for the rest of her life. At Cogeces she refused to dismount and spent the night on her mule riding back and forth. The next day news arrived that the fortress of Segovia had been handed over to Juan Manuel. There was no reason for Philip to continue to Segovia. Juana wanted to go north to Burgos where the castle was held by one of Ferdinand's (illegitimate) daughters.

Juana had become ill as a result of her riding all night she had to stop at Tudelo on the Duero. Philip, fearing she might attempt to escape, stayed with her and kept his court in the small town.

Since Isabella's death, the people of Castile had suffered under Ferdinand's heavy taxation. Now they were expected to support a foreign army marching through their lands. Discontent grew even stronger among the population.

Philip needed money. The peasants could not afford any more taxation. To add to their misery, the plague was rampaging through the towns. Philip “complained that as Count of Flanders he had been wealthy, but that now, having become the greatest monarch in the world, he was a pauper” (Charol, p. 132). He began to sell offices and royal estates while obtaining advances on future revenues. Tax gatherers had to pay for their own armed guards. Ferdinand and King Louis of France continued to foment disturbances in Gelderland. Louis broke the engagement of his daughter with the young Prince Charles, son of Juana and Philip.

By September Juana had recovered and Juana and Philip entered Burgos to find the Castilians angry and discontent with the foreign troops and their demands. The worse the situation grew, the more Philippe resolved to have Juana put under restraint to prevent her from fomenting trouble for him. Juana’s supporters demanded she be freed.

Philip put the castle of Burgos under the command of Juan Manuel who celebrated with a banquet after which the group went for a ride followed by a game of “teneys”. Philip fell ill that night and still he went hunting the next day. He became worse with chills and fever and his neck swelled with eruptions similar to small pox. Juana nursed him, and since he was terrified of being poisoned, she took a swallow of every medicine given him. Juana was five months pregnant but gave no consideration to her health or that of the unborn child. She struggled to save her husband’s life. Doctors as well as chroniclers wrote of the devoted and patient attendance she gave her husband, staying with him day and night.

Philip died six days after taking to his bed. Not quite twenty-seven, Juana was a widow, the mother of five children, four of whom were being brought up in the Netherlands, and she was pregnant with a sixth child. Her father had taken her son, who had been named after him, and who had been left in Spain following her first visit. She was Queen of Castile, prey to the struggles of the contending interests surrounding her. What had she been prepared for? Certainly not for all the responsibilities and struggles that were now thrust on her.



Juana with two of her children.

Charles is on the right.

Nicolaus Alexander Mair von Landshut  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_of_Castile)

Juana’s three oldest children, Eleanore, Charles, and Isabel, who she had to leave behind in Burgundy with their aunt Margaret.





## THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

With the death of Philip, the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximenes de Cisneros, summoned the Spanish grandees, along with Philip's noblemen, to a conference to discuss the issue of succession.

Philip's supporters wanted the six-year old Charles declared King and his Austrian grandfather, Maximilian, Regent. The Spanish Constable, the Admiral, and their supporters declared themselves loyal subjects of King Ferdinand and demanded his recall in accordance to Isabella's codicil to her will. The Andalusians, fearing Ferdinand's vengeance, refused to let him return to Castile. Ximenes supported having an outstanding citizen of Castile selected as Regent, knowing no one would vie with him for the position.

There was no one proclaiming "Castile for Juana," the person who was the rightful sovereign. Ximenes coerced the grandees into swearing no one would seize the Queen nor procure a decree from her that would recognize her as Queen. Juana had no supporters.

On the day of Philip's death, Ximenes went to the palace and assumed the reins of government, and the Council of Regency issued a proclamation that anyone who dared to raise arms in protest would be put to death. Ximenes then wrote to Ferdinand, imploring him to return to Castile and restore peace.

Ferdinand, not trusting Ximenes, wrote to the grandees, prelates, and towns of Castile declaring he had no intention of violating or infringing on his daughter's heritage and rights. He would recognize Juana's sovereignty and affirm her sanity.

Ximenes would have to turn to the Queen to obtain written authority to provide legal justification for his decrees, exactly what he had made the grandees swear not to do!

Knowing that the situation in Castile would only get worse, Ferdinand continued on to Naples. His spies kept him informed of the events at the court of Castile with the intention they would let him know when the time was right for him to return.

Juana was defiant, refusing to sign the documents Ximenes brought her. She refused to approve appointments of those persons she considered unsuitable. She was waiting for her father to return and guide her in her decisions.

Chaos had broken out in the country. Brigands took over the roads. To famine and inflation was added Plague. The knights took up arms to protect their land. Partisan groups in the towns fought one another. Grandees and their personal armies laid siege to castles and cities. The Council of Regency, with no legal power, was ignored. Ximenes claimed to act in the name of Ferdinand, but since Ferdinand had no legal authority in Castile, Ximenes was ignored. The Habsburg faction, led by Juan Manuel, contested with the faction supporting Ferdinand. Both vied with one another to influence Juana.

The Cortes of Castile was the only body with power and the authority to give Ximenes governmental powers, or to recall Ferdinand, and to do so they would have to declare Juana unfit to rule. Legally the Cortes could be summoned only by a writ from Juana, who refused to sign such a document. Juana summoned the Privy Council and told them to keep her informed. She ordered that the government should be conducted exactly as it was under Isabella.

Prawdin reports that in the last half of the nineteenth century new documents were discovered in the Spanish archives which recorded the contradictions in the records between the opposing camps and reignited the controversy over Juana's mental state. Was her "behaviour (sic) the outcome of a lunatic's whimsies, or was it the result of well-considered reasons? – The only way of solving the problem is to undertake a review of the day-to-day records of what followed Philip's death. Then perhaps we shall find out whether what she did was reasonable or unreasonable" (Prawdin, p. 145)

Juana had three choices following her husband's death. She could appoint an interim regent, which she did not do. She could name either the Emperor Maximilian or her father to reign in her name, which she did not do. Her other option was to invoke the Cortes of Castile and Leon.

Juana did nothing to actively assume the reins of the power she was entitled to. For three months following Philip's death, she ignored the royal councilors, the ambassadors, and the municipal delegates who demanded meetings with her.

On 18 December 1506 she emerged from her seclusion to sign "a provision revoking all of Philip's grants in state bonds, revenues, and jurisdictions" (Aram, p. 88). Her decree, countersigned by four members of the royal council along with secretary Juan López de Lecárraga, stated Philip had distributed grants and privileges without Juana's knowledge or permission. She demanded all the lands and income given by Philip "be incorporated in my said crown and royal patrimony for now and forevermore" (ibid).

Following her efforts to exercise her royal authority, her priority was to bury her husband's body alongside her mother's as he had stipulated in his will.

She began a slow and arduous journey south. She left those of Philip's servants behind who were clamoring for the pay due them. As was customary, Philip's heart had been given to the Netherlanders for burial in the Low Countries. Rumors spread that they had also taken his body. She began elaborate ceremonies for her husband as she journeyed to prove she had the body. Possession of the body was also a measure to prove not only her inheritance but that which belonged to her son and heir, Charles. Also, she was pregnant with Philip's sixth child and unable to travel fast. "While revoking Philippe's policies, Juana affirmed the rights of their common heir" (Aram, p. 89).

Juana's journey to bury her husband has inspired numerous interpretations. Her rivals interpreted her actions in a way to best suit their own motives in their quest for power. Was she motivated by an intense passion, as most interpretations claim, or was it fear that made her protect her son's inheritance in the way that seemed most reasonable to her. The consolidated empire of Spain and Austria was the most powerful and extensive the world had known and they came together in Juana as the Queen of Castile and the mother of the heir to the Habsburg empire. The next few years proved to be challenging in the attempts of her father to take her Spanish inheritance from her. Ultimately, her son rose to take it all.

From 1507 through 1518, Ferdinand of Aragon asserted his authority over Juana, her household, and her realms. Juana could not believe her father would betray her. She kept waiting for him to come see her, saying to those around her she could not make a decision without him as her guide. Juana, unlike her mother, was very naïve. She had neither her mother's determination coupled with intelligence, or her father's cunning. She had been a bride in love who had been overcome with jealousy, resulting in her actions being repressed by her husband's abusive reactions. As Philip, then Ferdinand experienced her behavior, both turned it to their benefit by locking her up, claiming she was irrational, and crazy. On this the story of Juana grew. There was an empire at stake with riches galore and her behavior provided the opportunity to take everything from her because Juana was not making wise decisions. She let her emotions govern her.

Isabella had believed the reports about her daughter sent from Flanders and in her will on 26 November 1504 had commanded Juana to obey and respect Ferdinand. Within a year of Isabella's death, Ferdinand had remarried. His wife, Germaine de Foix, was the niece of King Louis of France. Not only was this a political maneuver to ally with France, but most importantly, it was an effort by Ferdinand to produce a male heir.

The most prominent Castilians implored Ferdinand to return and govern the kingdoms and console his daughter. Ferdinand, who had travelled to Naples following Philip's death, returned to Castile. Father and daughter met for the first time on 28 August 1507, since her return to Spain in April 1506. Juana was ready to submit to her father, as she viewed it as his parental right.

Ferdinand's motives included having Philip buried as far north as possible, to have him out "out of mind". He began looking for suitors for his daughter to distract her and get her out of his way. Juana's continued insistence on traveling with Philip's body was an obstacle to Ferdinand and his quest for power. Juana strove with all her being to protect her son's right to the throne, and another marriage would likely threaten that. Juana had possibly been influenced by a letter written by St. Jerome, who praised the moral and political virtues of widowhood while warning against remarriage and the threat it held against the offspring of the first marriage. He wrote, "A mother sets over her children not a stepfather but an enemy, not a parent but a tyrant...If it should happen that you have sons by your second husband, domestic warfare and internecine feuds will be the result. You will not be allowed to love your own children, or to look kindly on those to whom you gave birth" (Arams, P. 97). For Juana, whose primary objective was to protect her sons heritage, this proved to be a powerful warning.

Ferdinand wrote to his ambassador in England in 1507, "you must know that the said queen, my daughter, carries the body of her husband, King Philippe, with her continually, and that she refused to consider remarriage until her former spouse was buried" (Aram, p. 99).

It was at this time Ferdinand took his namesake, the infante Ferdinand, Juana's second son, and departed for Andalusia, saying it was for the boy's "health".

To protect her firstborn son and assure his succession, Juana "commemorated Philippe as the former King of Castile, Leon, and Granada" (ibid) by travelling with the coffin. The funeral procession was an effort to make certain their subjects had evidence of his presence, so from December 1506 through August 1507 Juana made nighttime pilgrimages with her husband's coffin, surrounded by torches because "widows should not see the sun, since their own sun has set" (Pravdin, p. 149). The travel by night was strategically motivated to keep the pregnant queen out of the hot sun, allow her to travel in the cooler nights, and keep her from the pressing crowds, especially since the plague threatened the countryside. Juana had to stop at Torquemada to wait for the birth of her sixth child. Catherine was born on 14 January 1507.

The differing factions gathered at Torquemada in an effort to influence events. Ferdinand's supporters were the strongest faction. Ferdinand reduced Juana's household staff and transferred troops loyal to him to guard her. His former ambassador, Mosen Luis Ferrer, was given control of her finances, her household, and the mercenaries guarding her. The last of the Flemish members of Philip and Juana's staff were sent back to the Low Countries. Finally, the servants who the queen had kept around Philip's body were dismissed. Led by the Duke of Alva, the Castilian grandees were strongly opposed to Ferdinand's severity and were determined to uphold not only their queen, but their power and prestige in Castile. Ferdinand would not tolerate Juana's presence in a place where the nobles had access to her. He determined to move her to a fortress where she would be guarded and intruders denied access. Tordesillas was the desired location, just twenty-four miles from his headquarters at Valladolid. When she refused to move, Ferdinand decided to carry off his grandson and namesake, the five-year old Ferdinand.

By the end of 1508, Juana took drastic measures. Unable to fight in any other way, she staked her Person against her opponents. The Bishop of Malaga wrote to her father that she refused to eat, dress, wash, or worship appropriately, and she slept on the floor. The queen demanded her father's attention by violating royal as well as civilized norms of behavior. If Juana died, her father's right to rule Castile would be ended. Charles would become king of Castile with the Emperor Maximilian as the regent. Ferdinand ordered 12,000 mrs to be distributed among selected monasteries for prayers and masses to beg God to restore Juana to health. The money was deducted from her household allotment. Ferdinand relented and brought her son to visit her. She met them dressed in her royal attire.

On 6 February 1509 Ferdinand returned to Arcos. On 14 February, Juana was awakened at 3:00 am with the command she was to be ready to travel immediately. She refused to leave without either Philip's coffin or her infant daughter, from whom she had not been separated since the child's birth. Ferdinand had to give in or it would have been too evident his daughter was not consenting to the move. The journey was made with the coffin at night in the bitter cold. Upon arrival she deposited Philip's corpse in the Royal Monastery of Saint Claire, alongside the palace in which she would live for the next forty-six years of her life.





Major Spanish cities.



Ornamented Coat of Arms of Queen Joanna of Castile  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_of_Castile)



Doña Juana “la Loca” by Francisco Pradilla Ortiz, painted in 1877  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_Pradilla\\_Ortiz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Pradilla_Ortiz)

Monastery of St. Claire, Tordesillas, taken in 2004.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna\\_of\\_Castile](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joanna_of_Castile)



The isolation Ferdinand imposed on his daughter, by putting her in seclusion in a small town in central Castile, was an important step in the attempts to remove her from her role as queen. Henry VII of England and Maximilian of Austria contested Ferdinand's right to govern Juana and her realms. Henry VII demanded her hand in marriage. Maximilian wanted to rule Castile on behalf of his grandson Charles, who was being raised in Mechelen by his aunt Marguerite of Austria. Both rulers threatened to invade Spain. Ferdinand recognized he had to negotiate a settlement, and through clever diplomacy he gained support for assuming the role of governing the realms by insisting Juana and Charles both were to be consulted regarding the proposed marriage between young Charles and the daughter of Henry VII. Henry VII meanwhile insisted on a marriage with Juana be finalized. Ferdinand said she would not consent until Philip was buried.

Henry VII was preparing to invade Castile and to take Juana as his bride whether she was healthy or not. He died 21 April 1509. The succession of Henry VIII, and his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (Juana's sister), removed consideration of any potential English marriage for Juana.

On 3 May 1509 a male child was born to Ferdinand of Aragon and his bride Germaine, but the child lived only a few hours. Ferdinand was desperate to produce a male heir of his own, and pursued several risky potions to enhance his virility. The only result was that he ruined his health.

Maximilian's goal was to ensure the interests of the house of Habsburg. In December 1509 a treaty between Ferdinand, Maximilian, Charles, and Juana agreed Ferdinand "would govern Castile, Leon, and Granada during his lifetime unless Juana died, or Fernando and Germaine de Foix had a son. In either case, Charles would rule after attaining his majority" (Aram, p. 102). The key point in the treaty revolved around Juana's presence in Castile, which served to safeguard her son's inheritance. Ferdinand became the legitimate caretaker and administrator, with a clear mandate to govern Juana and her kingdoms. Juana consented to the regency of Ferdinand and the succession of Charles. The agreement of 1509 had deprived her of exercising royal authority. The heiress who had the titular rights was not to wield any political power.

Ferdinand accomplished his goal to govern Spain. The 1510 Cortes of Castile confirmed Ferdinand as administrator and governor for the queen and affirmed Charles as his mother's successor. Without informing Juana in advance, Ferdinand brought the members of the Cortes to Tordesillas to meet with her. She appeared before them dressed in humble clothing. Her living conditions were very barren. The impression she gave was that of a heretic, a manner totally inappropriate for a ruler of Spain. While the damage was done for her, she had protected the dynasty that would belong to her son.

Ferdinand began negotiating with various rulers in Europe, playing one off against the other to stabilize his positions in Castile and Naples. He worked to consolidate his border with France by creating the Holy League made up of the Pope, the North Italian States and Venice, the Emperor, and the King of England. But the alliances did not last long, and soon his foreign policies and his personal life were crumbling.

To control the household of his daughter, Ferdinand appointed his trusted servant, Mosen Luis Ferrer, to govern it. Ferrer limited the queen's contact with the outside world. As time passed, he would use more physical and emotional abuse to keep her under control, all of which was sanctioned by Ferdinand. Tordesillas was a secure and secluded castle, occupying a hill overlooking the Duero River. It was surrounded by walls. The town contained several churches. The palace was alongside a portion of the river that was not navigable. Outside the town, the terrain consisted of flat plains extending south to Medina del Campo.

The convent of Saint Claire, founded in 1365, was next to the palace. For the remainder of her life, the Claires of Tordesillas became the most regular recipients of Juana's meager charity. Her largesse was limited by her belongings, for she was given virtually nothing to live on. Ferrer diverted the money that was to go to her for his own purposes. Her official confessor, fray Tomás de Matienzo, earned 60,000 mrs per year without ever going to Tordesillas. Her unofficial confessor, fray Juan de Ávila became the tutor of Catalina in 1514.

Juana's erratic behavior was her way to express her rejection of her new household and the routines she was subjected to. Ferrer as *cerro mayor* in Tordesillas, controlled all expenditures of Juana's household. The royal council was eventually forced to concede 100 ducats to assist in Juana's clothing expenses. Ferdinand supported and encouraged Ferrer in his control over Tordesillas, even going so far as to inform the royal accountants that Ferrer provided Juana with all her needs.

When Ferdinand died on 23 January 1516, many of the residents of Tordesillas, along with members of Juana's household, unleashed their fury on Ferrer. Local guards stormed the royal palace and expelled him. The bishop of Mallorca was sent to investigate the charges against Ferrer, and forbade him further contact with the queen when he heard the charges of neglect and abuse. The most serious complaint was the force used upon the queen. Ferrer defended himself by claiming her "illness could not be cured, and that King Fernando had 'ordered her given the rope [i.e., whipped] to maintain her life, so that she would not die from refusing to eat in order to enforce her will'" (Aram, p. 108).

The day before he died, Ferdinand sanctioned the continuing rift between Juana's titular status and her actual authority in a written testament. She held the rights as Queen of Castile, Leon, and Granada in addition to being his heiress in Aragon, Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and other territories. However, he confirmed his conviction of her inability to rule, stating "According to what we have been able to know about her during our lifetime, [she] is very far from governing or ruling kingdoms, nor does she have the disposition that would be suitable for it, which Our Lord knows how much we regret" (Aram, p. 109). Ferdinand had essentially destroyed his daughter's credibility. He had wanted to name his grandson, the *Infante* Ferdinand as his heir in Aragon, but was warned it would likely cause civil war. Charles was his legitimate male heir. The cruel aspect of the affair was that Juana was not to be told of her father's death, so she kept waiting to hear from him. Her continually asking about him and waiting for him to come for the next few years was just another facet for those who did not know of her ignorance of her father's death, to think of her as deranged.

Ferdinand, who had ruled in Juana's name, chose Cardinal Cisneros as regent, to govern in Castile until Charles could rule in person. Charles representative, Adrian of Utrecht, governed alongside Cisneros until Charles arrived in Spain in late 1517. In the Kingdom of Aragon, Ferdinand chose his own illegitimate son by a Catalan noblewoman, don Alfonso, archbishop of Zaragoza and Valencia, to serve as regent. The action was seen as a threat to the united kingdom of Spain, with the result the *justicia mayor* (chief justice) of Aragon, Juan Lanuza III, stepped in and prevented Alfonso of Aragon from assuming the regency. Lanuza declared Juana the legal guardian of Charles. Arams concludes it was Lanuza's resistance to Ferdinand's last will that "led to Habsburg rule of those kingdoms" (Aram, p. 109). It was the law of the crown of Aragon that dominated over the paternal authority and gesture of Ferdinand. Spanish unity was to prevail with the Habsburg succession.

Ximenes was determined to find out what was going on at Tordesillas and sent the Bishop of Majorca to undertake an exhaustive enquiry. When it was revealed how the queen was treated, her care was entrusted to the physician Soto and to her confessor, Juan de Avila. Ferrer was dismissed and Hernan Duque de Estrada was appointed major-domo and commandant of the palace. He was intelligent, experienced, candid, and possessed a gentle manner. It was reported that Juana's symptoms of "mental disorder" instantly disappeared. She had been in captivity for seven years at Tordesillas and because of her treatment, and the lies she was constantly told, she had lost her perspective on events. With the new considerate treatment of her and her daughter Catherine, her behavior changed.

Over her seven years of confinement, she never renounced her role as queen and she was determined to guard it against all threats. She refused to give up her rights, titles, and realms. She had become constantly vigilant and suspicious of anyone supposedly serving her. When it was reported to her, "Señora, our ruler King Charles, Your Majesty's son, has come to Spain" she responded, "I alone am Queen, and my son Charles is nothing more than a prince" (Charol, p. 183). Technically, Spain had been unified under Juana, who had kept it for her son Charles.



## A NEW RULER

Sixteen-year-old Charles assumed the title of King of Castile, Leon, and Aragon in Brussels on 14 March 1516, and in so doing claimed the “monarchical authority without the consent of the affected realms” (Aram, p. 111). Charles assumed the policy Ferdinand had followed “in claiming the right to govern Juana so fundamental to ruling her kingdoms (Aram, p. 109). Castilians claimed that by adopting the title King of Castile and Aragon, Charles was essentially declaring the queen was dead. The Spanish councilors were strongly opposed to Charles assuming the title during his mother’s lifetime as it “would diminish the honor and reverence due to the queen, our lady, your mother, by divine and human law, and would contravene God’s commandment to no effect or benefit” (Aram, p. 113). The Privy Council of Castile wrote in no uncertain terms, “Now during the lifetime of the Queen, our Sovereign lady, you have no warrant for using the title of King, for that title belongs to her alone...your Highness has not, by the death of the Catholic King, acquired any more rights than he himself possessed, and these realms were not his” (Charol, p. 184). The teenage Charles had completely ignored his mother’s rights as proprietary queen. He was heir to the crown of Aragon, but not of Castile while his mother lived. Charles was to hold the same position in Castile as his grandfather had, “Gobernador of Castile.”

Seaver describes the landscape the young Charles would have seen as he entered Castile, from the flat low-lands of Burgundy, passing through the mountain passes of the Asturias, which were of bleak granite, and into valleys along the vast plains of Castile, dun colored at the end of the summer. The forests of earlier years had vanished due to the constant cutting necessary for the building of the numerous ships sailing to America as well as the sheep grazing so necessary to the Spanish wool economy. Even though there were tremendous herds of sheep, food was scarce and the royal cortege had to adjust travel accordingly. The wool growers gild, the Mesta, the most powerful corporation in Castile, recorded 2,860,000 sheep migrating in 1517. Sheep were important for their wool, not meat. The herds migrated between the highlands of Leon and the plains of Estremadura and Andalusia.

The cities of Castile had come into existence as garrisons over the many years of strife, and appeared as walled fortifications spread over Castile in large numbers. As the fortifications developed under the control of a lord or nobleman, they were granted charters (*fueros*), with a *corregidor* appointed by the crown who had extensive powers in the city. Eighteen of the greater cities of the realm chose deputies who constituted the Cortes or national legislature: Ávila, Burgos, Córdoba, Cuenca, Guadalajara, Granada, Jaén, León, Madrid, Murcia, Salamanca, Segovia, Sevilla, Soria, Toledo, Toro, Valladolid, Zamora. The monarch, who did not own palaces around the country, had to accept the hospitality of the grandee or obtain lodging in public houses, or very often in monasteries. Such was the situation when Charles and his entourage arrived in Spain. Food and shelter for such a large company was a problem. Ferdinand was no longer. Juana had been discredited. The government was in an uproar, with fighting between the various nobles, either for or against Charles. Crime was rampant in the cities and on the open roads. And yet, Spain was the greatest power in Europe.



Portrait of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558)  
Bernard van Orley, after 1515

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_V,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_V,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)

When Charles, his councilors, and his sister Leonor arrived in Spain 1517, they proceeded to Tordesillas to obtain Juana's blessing and her sanctioning of their use of royal authority in Spain. Juana had left Flanders in January 1506 and had not seen her son or daughter since November 1505. There were twelve years in between. Charles had been five, and Leonor seven. Juana was thirty-eight years old. What had transpired between them during that time? They had been told that their mother was crazy, and they arrived to see her living in confinement.

The Flemish court reached Tordesillas on 4 November 1517 with no advance notice to Juana. The Chamberlain Chièvres was first presented to Juana, who thought he must be bringing her word of her children. Juana's chambers were very basic. Her floor was covered with straw matting. She wore a simple grey, woolen dress. Chièvres informed her the children were there to pay their respects to their mother, and that they had been royally welcomed upon their arrival in Spain. Juana was overjoyed to see them. Chièvres told Juana Charles had come to Spain to learn how to govern since he was destined to become king and succeed her in ruling over the kingdom. He then obtained the queen's approval "that D. Carlos should at once assume full royal right; and the boy king resumed his progress, thus dexterously relieved of an embarrassing parent" (Seaver, p. 16).

Cardinal Ximenes had exercised power since Ferdinand's death. He felt that he would be able to control the young Charles. However, Charles had come with his Flemish and Burgundian advisors, who were in no way going to relinquish control over their young charge and his power in Spain. This was to be the great Habsburg world empire: the Netherlands, Burgundy, Austria, and Spain with its New World holdings, along with the imperial title of the Emperor. While the Trastámaras had been the "Catholic Monarchs", the Habsburgs saw themselves as predestined to found a universal Christian realm. Spain was to launch the Habsburgs onto a world empire. As it happened, Ximenes died shortly after Charles arrival in Spain.

It did not take long before the Burgundians were establishing their power and rule in Spain. To the great consternation of the Spanish nobility, Charles set the Burgundians up to govern over the Spanish, and they could not even speak Spanish! The highest ecclesiastical position in Spain went to Adrian of Utrecht. Charles, who was not considered Spanish, had put Spain in the hands of the Burgundian foreigners.

The Cortes of Castile was summoned in Valladolid to pay homage to Charles. The burghers, led by Dr. Zumiel, procurator of Burgos, protested the participation of foreigners in the deliberations of the assembly. He declared two issues must be addressed before homage was paid to Charles. First, was it possible that Charles could be sworn in as king during his mother's lifetime? Secondly, Charles should "begin by swearing to maintain the rights of his lieges and pledging himself not to grant offices or dignities to persons of foreign birth" (Charol, p. 195). Both issues were to plague Charles throughout his realms until he abdicated. The procurators were firm in their demands. Charles was not fluent in Spanish, so he had to have his ministers reply to the Spaniards. The youthful and inexperienced Charles did nothing to impress the Spaniards, and his advisors kept him tightly under control, allowing no one free access to him.

A month later the Cortes presented their documents to Charles in which they stated he was "to preserve the liberties, customs, and practices of the country, and to have none but Castilians as members of his immediate circle" and to swear "that if at any future time God shall grant health once more to Queen Doña Juana, the Sovereign Lady and owner of this Kingdom, I will desist from its governance, and no longer style myself King but only *Infante* of Spain, and that thence forward the Queen shall reign alone" (Charol, p. 196). If Charles was to rule as king, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that Juana must remain officially mad for the rest of her life.

On 5 February 1518 Charles' oath to respect the rights of Castile was administered. Two days later the act of homage took place. Before the procurators would supply Charles with the supplies he demanded, they presented him with a list of seventy-four points specifying their demands. The first was that the house and residence of the Queen should be appointed as befitting her status as the sovereign of the realm. Charles and his councilors set out for Tordesillas on 16 February.

For the brief period Juana had decent support in her household, her symptoms of mental disorder vanished. She went out, attended Mass, and received visitors with whom she had normal conversations.

In March life changed dramatically for Juana. Charles saw the cloistered life his youngest sister, Catherine, led and decided to remove her from Tordesillas. On the night of 12-13 March Catherine and her ladies were removed from the room adjoining Juana's through a little used passage way, and she was carried on a litter to Valladolid to Charles's court. The next day, when Juana learned of her daughter's disappearance, the palace of Tordesillas rang with her "shrieking". No one would tell her what had happened to Catherine. She refused to go to bed that night until her child was restored to her. Charles relented and brought his sister back to Tordesillas, along with 200 attendants for the Queen, so that they should live in a manner befitting their status.

Charles appointed the Marquis of Denia, don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, and his wife as "governor and administrator of the Queen's establishment, with full power to control all persons of the royal household and also the municipal council and the burghers of the town of Tordesillas" (Charol, p. 201). On 22 March he set out for Aragon to extract from the Cortes an act of homage and a positive vote for supplies for Charles' contingent.

With the Marquis of Denia, life took another turn for the worse for Juana. Everything had to be done to insure Juana would not be able to assert her rights as queen, and so her imprisonment began under a new captor. The court members who had been sent by Charles were not allowed access to the queen. Denia's primary task was to isolate her. Two women, one in her room and the other outside her door, guarded Juana night and day. After the queen had thrown pitchers at the women, Denia said she had to be guarded for her own safety. She was to make a request to the woman in the room, who would then relay it to the woman outside the room, and the request would be carried out. Her privilege of attending Mass was denied. In the correspondence between Denia and Charles, Denia wrote how he told the queen the weather was not suitable for walking outside. Charles replied Denia was correct in doing so. The correspondence between the two men has been preserved. It clearly describes Denia's reports, along with the king's instructions, while describing the queen's behavior, the staff and the burghers (Charol, p. 201). Denia wrote that the townspeople were saying the queen was being kept prisoner because she was no longer seen at church, even on days of obligation. Charles wrote he did not want the Privy Council aware of what was going on at Tordesillas. To prevent them from finding out, the staff would not be allowed out to converse with the townspeople. No mention of Juana's behavior or comments was to go beyond the palace walls. Philip's internment in the monastery garden opposite the palace was not to be referred to.

Charles wrote to Denia "...the affair is extremely delicate and touches me closely" (Charol, p. 207) and so Denia must communicate only with and directly to the king. Not even Charles' brother Ferdinand (the young brother of Charles), was to hear what went on in Tordesillas. Under the restrictive conditions imposed on her, Juana took up her rebellious actions again. Interestingly, Denia wrote to Charles that Juana was interested in the affairs of the world and the two would sit for hours talking about politics and her imprisonment. She wanted to know the details of Charles' life, as well as the lives of all her children. She wanted the grandees to visit her and discuss politics, and wondered why they did not come. Denia told her that some were in Barcelona with Charles and others were with her father (having still made certain she was not informed of his death), and if not with her son or father, they were at their castles. She was told her son Ferdinand was in Barcelona.

To anyone inquiring, Charles responded his mother did not want to reign, that she was not interested in affairs of state, and furthermore, she was out of her mind. It was imperative to him to keep her unaware of her position and to keep her out of the public eye.

*That explains why no word might transpire about her state of health and her interest in public affairs, no word which might lead the Cortes, the Privy Council, or the grandees to enquire into her state of mind. That explains why [Juana] was to see no one and be seen by no one. The Marquis writes again and again: 'It is out of the question to admit anyone for she is so persuasive;...her speeches could soften a stone;...so touching are her words that the Marchioness and I find it difficult to withstand them;...her complaints fill me with compassion' (Charol, p. 208).*



Denia filled Juana's life with lies. Juana repeated them, causing her listeners to consider her crazy for making such statements. He swore to her that her father was still alive and everything was done for her benefit at her father's direction, so she agreed to follow his directions. No money ever passed through her hands.

On 12 January 1519 Emperor Maximilian died and six months later Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor. Juana was told Maximilian had abdicated and had secured the election of Charles as his successor. Juana replied to Denia that Charles could not be elected Emperor unless Maximilian was dead, but Denia was adamant and insisted she write to Maximilian to thank him for his kindness to her son. She finally relented and told Denia to write in her name. She wanted to confer with the grandees, but Denia said that if she did not write to Maximilian, as well as to her father, she could not write to anyone. The letters to the dead rulers were to be used by Denia as a way to prove she was insane without a doubt.



"Charles V" by Titan, 1548  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_V,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_V,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)



Portrait of Charles' advisor, Gattinara, painted by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen. Vermeyen accompanied the armies on the military expeditions.  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan\\_Cornelisz\\_Vermeyen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Cornelisz_Vermeyen)

## UNIFICATION OF THE SPANISH AND HABSBURG EMPIRES

Juana's marriage to the heir of the Habsburg Empire along with the events resulting in her becoming heir to the Spanish Empire, brought together the two major European empires whose possessions stretched around the world, the empire on which "the sun never set". Technically Charles did not inherit Castile, the wealthiest of the domains, until his mother died. But he had her declared insane and took over as ruler.

At 6:00 on the morning of Good Friday, 12 April 1555, Juana died.

*"Juana of Castile, Juana of Trastamara, Queen of half the world, daughter of Isabel the Catholic, Infanta, Archduchess, the young girl who had ridden in a cloth of gold through the streets of Antwerp decked with fresh flowers, the Princess who danced in the Great Hall of Blois with her Spanish rubies and her head held high ..." (Miller, p.350).*

Juana spent the last decades of her life in captivity. She was physically and mentally abused by Denia with the full knowledge of her son Charles.

Charles abdicated his sovereignty over Castile, Aragon, Sicily and the Indies on 16 January, 1556. He had abdicated from the Netherlands in October 1555, and years before, had given the Habsburg Empire to his brother Ferdinand.

While his mother was in captivity during the three decades he took power, he had become Holy Roman Emperor, waged war with France, Italy, and the Turks. In the German estates, he had to deal with the issue of Luther and the Protestants. In the Indies, he was confronted by the issues surrounding the conquistadors and abuse of the native populations. The tremendous amount of wealth pouring in to Castile from the Indies was the primary source for supporting his military activities and the personal wealth he accumulated.

*“He made [expenditures] haphazard, as the need arose. Moreover, the money he raised for his wars was not used in Spain but outside it. And thus, in spite of the influx of bullion from the Indies, Spain grew poorer rather than richer during the glorious sixteenth century” (Brandi, p. 464).*

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Aragon, Prince of Castile, left Spain bankrupt at the end of his reign. The taxes he collected in Castile and the wealth from the Indies never covered the costs of the wars he was engaged in throughout Europe.

Charles spent the end of his life living in the warm Spanish climate in the Monastery of Yuste, where special accommodations had to be made for his living quarters. He had been in excruciating pain for years as a result of gout. He moved with a small number of his court to the monastery in February 1557. He died on 21 September, 1558. In essence, he had been King of Castile for a little over three years following his mother's death.

Juana's children married into the ruling houses of Europe:

Eleanor, Queen of Portugal and France

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, Prince of Castile, King of Aragon

Isabella, Queen of Denmark

Ferdinand I, King of the Romans; Holy Roman Emperor (Austria, Bohemia, Hungary)

Mary, Queen of Hungary

Catherine, Queen of Portugal

Ferdinand I  
10 March 1503 – 25 July 1564  
Holy Roman Emperor;  
King of the Romans

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand\\_I,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_I,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)





Eleanor  
15 November 1498 – 25 February 1558  
Queen of Portugal and France  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eleanor\\_of\\_Austria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eleanor_of_Austria)



Isabella, Queen of Denmark  
18 July 1501 – 19 January 1526  
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella\\_of\\_Austria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_of_Austria)



Mary  
15 September 1505 – 18 October 1558  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary\\_of\\_Austria,\\_Queen\\_of\\_Hungary](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_of_Austria,_Queen_of_Hungary)



Catherine  
14 January 1507 – 12 February 1578  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catherine\\_of\\_Aus-  
tria,\\_Queen\\_of\\_Portugal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catherine_of_Austria,_Queen_of_Portugal)



## Study Questions

1. Describe Juana as a young woman, her personal characteristics, the relationship with her parents and how these could have influenced her once leaving Spain to be married.
2. Discuss, with examples, the role Isabella and Ferdinand prepared Juana to assume.
3. Do you think Philip and Juana could have had a good marriage? Explain your reasons.
4. What motivated Ferdinand, Philip, and Charles in their treatment of Juana? Give examples to support your statements.
5. By virtue of her position Juana came into contact with factions in the Low Countries as well as Spain. Where did she find her support and why? Were they effective or not?
6. Would you call Juana “Mad” or would you use another term to describe her behavior?
7. Do you think modern psychology could explain why Juana did what she did? Explain your reasoning.
8. Juana was a Queen, but she was not treated as a queen. What factors motivated those around her to treat her as they did?
9. Devise a timeline illustrating important events leading to the declaration of Juana’s lunacy.
10. Discuss Juana’s role as a mother and the events that kept her from performing that role. How do you think it effected Charles treatment of his mother?
11. Considering Juana was a product of fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe, do you think she could have overcome her situation? To answer this question, list her personal qualities, her parents attitudes toward her, and the situations she experienced with her husband, her father, and her son Charles.
12. Juana’s mother was a very strong and determined woman. Do you think Juana’s life would have been different if she were more like her mother? Discuss your reasons for the conclusions you have come to.

## APPENDIX I: The titles of Charles V

The full Charles' titlature went as follows:

Charles, by the grace of God, Holy Roman Emperor, forever August, King of Germany, King of Italy, King of all Spains, of Castile, Aragon, León, Navarra, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Sevilla, Cordova, Murcia, Jaén, Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, King of Two Sicilies, of Sardinia, Corsica, King of Jerusalem, King of the Western and Eastern Indies, Lord of the Islands and Main Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Luxembourg, Gelderland, Neopatria, Württemberg, Landgrave of Alsace, Prince of Swabia, Asturia and Catalonia, Count of Flanders, Habsburg, Tyrol, Gorizia, Barcelona, Artois, Burgundy Palatine, Hainaut, Holland, Seeland, Ferrette, Kyburg, Namur, Roussillon, Cerdagne, Zutphen, Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Oristano and Gociano, Lord of Frisia, the Wendish March, Pordenone, Biscay, Molin, Salins, Tripoli and Mechelen.

The titles of King of Hungary, of Bohemia, and of Croatia, were incorporated into the imperial family during Charles' reign, but they were held, both nominally and substantively, by his brother Ferdinand, who initiated a four-century-long Habsburg rule over these eastern territories.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\\_V,\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_V,_Holy_Roman_Emperor)

## APPENDIX II: CURRENCY SYSTEMS

Old Currency used in Spain: After the unification of Spain in 1492, the *real* became the principal unit of account, according to Financial Data. The Real was a silver coin struck in Spain in areas not conquered by the Moors, initially at Seville and Burgos by Pedro III, King of Castile (1350-1368), explains Albert Frey in "A Dictionary of Numismatic Names." The *real* was one eighth of a peso and divided into 34 *maravedis*, the unit of copper coinage. The peso was the Spanish equivalent of a dollar.

[http://www.ehow.com/about\\_6714039\\_old-currency-used-spain.html](http://www.ehow.com/about_6714039_old-currency-used-spain.html)

The 15th century was one of extreme monetary confusion in Castile, especially under Henry IV (1454-1474). The monetary system was finally reformed and stabilized under Ferdinand and Isabella, when they issued the Ordinance of Medina del Campo, June 2, 1497. The reform was completed by Charles I, when he replaced the *ducado* with the *escudo* as the standard gold coin in 1537. The *maravedí* then became the smallest Spanish unit of account, the thirty-fourth part of a real. In the New World, nonetheless, there are documents which testify to the reduction of their value to less than the thirtieth part of a *real*. This reduction was on account of the cost and risk of their transportation from Spain, before the establishment of the first mint houses of Mexico and Santo Domingo. The *maravedí* remained a money of account in Spain until 1847.

After the discovery of America, copper *maravedís*, along with silver *reales*, were the first coins struck in Spain for the purpose of circulation in the New World colonies. These coins, minted with a special design for specific use of the Americas, were first coined in Seville in 1505 for shipment to the colonial island of Hispaniola the following year, thus giving these coins their distinction as the first coins for the New World. By 1531 these coins were still being minted, by now in both Seville and Burgos, and subsequent shipments have been confirmed to Mexico, Panama, and Puerto Rico. These *maravedís* were used as Spanish Colonial change for smaller transactions and after mints were later established in the New World, in both Mexico (ordered in 1535, production began in 1536) and Santo Domingo (ordered in 1536, production began in 1542), coins of this type were also minted there.

[http://www.maravedis.net/a\\_nombre\\_de\\_los\\_reyescatolicos.html](http://www.maravedis.net/a_nombre_de_los_reyescatolicos.html)

<http://www.monnaiesdantan.com/vso6/espagne-rois-catholiques-maravedis-p1337.htm>

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## PROLOGUE

In her book, *Cleopatra*, Stacy Schiff comments on those who wrote about the Egyptian queen, very few being contemporaries, most writing some time after her death. Those who wrote about Cleopatra during her lifetime were Romans who were influenced by the political events from their own perspectives. There are several similarities in the historical perspectives of Cleopatra and Juana.

Of the Romans, Schiff states “They conflated accounts, refurbishing old tales. They saddled Cleopatra with the vices of other miscreants. History existed to be retold, with more panache but not necessarily greater accuracy... History is written not only by posterity but for posterity as well. Our most comprehensive sources never met Cleopatra” (p. 5).

Do we think of Cleopatra as the woman who was fluent in nine languages, was knowledgeable in politics, diplomacy, and governance, in addition to being charismatic and the wealthiest person in the world? The woman that has been portrayed over the centuries was a cunning, *femme fatale*. We think of Elizabeth Taylor in her splendor and glory portraying the great queen as the seductress of powerful Roman leaders. Cleopatra symbolizes how without actual knowledge of a person, that person can be transformed into the greatest figment of imagination.

*“For well over two thousand years, a myth has been able to outrun and outlive a fact” (p. 9). “...her story would be shaped by a Roman she met once, in the last week of her life, who elevated her to a perilous adversary, at which altitude thick mists and obscuring mists settled comfortably around her. She counts among the losers whom history remembers, but for the wrong reasons. The myth makers all aligned on one side” (p. 298).*

*“In her adult life Cleopatra would have met few people she considered her equal” (p. 302).*

In the above quotes it would be feasible to insert “Juana,” who was also cast by the interpreters of her history as incompetent. Such writers too often portray Juana, not as the rightful queen, but as a woman who was regarded as “mad” by her contemporaries.

Researchers within the last century have examined original documents in the Spanish archives and have come up with a completely new approach to explaining Juana’s behavior. Hopefully, the reader of the above article will see possibilities of approaching the question of Juana’s “madness” from a new perspective.