

control over the court space as a whole.⁴² Indeed, at the time the *validos* managed to take over three types of offices that were key to controlling the space where the monarch went about his main tasks: firstly, the post of *sumiller de Corps* (groom of the Stole) of the Household of Burgundy (and in the Count-Duke of Olivares's case also that of *camarero mayor* (lord chamberlain) of the Household of Castile) to control the Royal Chamber and, accordingly, the most private areas of the royal residences;⁴³ secondly, that of Master of the Horse, in order to control the space around the monarch when he left the palace to appear before his people or undertake longer journeys;⁴⁴ and third and last, by securing either personally or through his "followers" the governorships of the main royal sites of Castile, as stated earlier.

Social integration and welfare under Philip IV: the role of the royal sites

As a result of the aforementioned development of the system of Castilian royal sites, these places drew attention on account of their splendour because of the increasing number of individuals employed to serve at them, who were in most cases of higher standing than they had been under previous monarchs.⁴⁵ At the same time, royal sites were discovered to be important places for creating opportunities for patronage for the different *validos*, helping consolidate their power and strengthening their patronage networks in a process of top-down integration. The Junta de Obras y Bosques was undoubtedly one of the main tools used by the *validos* in this process, as it allowed them to manage the huge volume of requests that were received in relation to the staff of the royal sites during Philip IV's reign.

It is worth noting that during the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, in the monarch's absence, these royal sites were looked after and guarded by a minimal number of servants who were often related to one another. The royal family only visited some sites regularly during this period, such as Aranjuez, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, and Valladolid (when the court settled there from 1601 to 1606).

All this changed during Philip IV's reign as great court patrons were in charge of these royal sites and had closer links with the court. As a result, from this point onwards, one of the few ways for new individuals to join the royal households was by serving firstly at the royal sites, something that would have been impossible under earlier regimes. For example, the main chaplains at Aranjuez could be transferred to the royal chapel through a chaplaincy of Castile until 1625 and through one of Santiago from 1625 onwards. Even Gaspar Alonso de Reluz managed to secure a post in the royal chapel without being the main chaplain.⁴⁶ Similarly, some physicians at this site

⁴² On the spatial dimension of the court and the role of the royal sites in these matters, José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "Courtly and Ceremonial Spaces in Spanish Royal Sites: An Evolution from the Renaissance to the Baroque," in *Power and Ceremonial. Rituals and Ceremonies of Courts and Representative Bodies from the Late Medieval to the Modern Era*, ed. Anna Kalinowska and Jonathan Spangler (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 87–104.

⁴³ The Duke of Lerma (1599-1618), the Duke of Uceda (1618-1621), the Count-Duke of Olivares (1621-1626), the Duke of Medina de las Torres (1626-1636), and, once again, Olivares (1636-1645) served successively as *sumiller de Corps*.

⁴⁴ The Duke of Lerma (1599-1618), the Duke of Uceda (1618-1621), the Duke of Infantado (1621-1622), Olivares (1622-1645), the Marquis of Carpio (1645-1648), and Don Luis de Haro (1648-1661) were masters of the horse.

⁴⁵ Regarding the evolution of the type of individuals who lived at the royal sites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "El personal de los Sitios Reales desde los últimos Habsburgos hasta los primeros Borbones: de la vida en la periferia a la integración en la Corte," in *Siti Reali in Spagna e in Italia. Tra Madrid e Napoli: aspetti e temi di una storia del territorio*, ed. Lucio D'Alessandro, Félix Labrador Arroyo and Pasquale Rossi (Naples: Università Suor Orsola Benincasa, 2014), 75–95.

⁴⁶ Studied in José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "Los capellanes de los Sitios Reales durante el reinado de Felipe IV," *Libros de la Corte* Special issue 3 (2015): 96–97.

were also appointed to the royal household of Castile, and after completing eight years of service at Aranjuez they were promoted to the Royal Alcázar.⁴⁷

In addition to these collective examples there are other isolated cases. For example, Alejandro Pingüeta, a watchmaker at Buen Retiro (1635-1641), became the groom of the fourrier's department (1641-1667),⁴⁸ and Joaquín Cobos, concierge of the palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1615-1656), was appointed yeoman of the fourrier's department (1642-1657).⁴⁹ Naturally, the royal hunt was the section of the household that had the greatest contact with royal sites, since most of the huntsmen lived in villages that belonged to El Pardo—such as Fuencarral or San Sebastián de los Reyes—and there were at least twelve former servants of royal sites who were integrated into the *caza de volatería* (falconry) and *montería* (hunting) departments.⁵⁰

Furthermore, since the different means of granting favors were diminishing, members of the royal households were rewarded with various offices at the royal sites. This occasionally enabled them to combine both posts and accordingly strengthen the link between court and royal sites. As a result, these beneficiaries enjoyed social prosperity in certain environments. Religious servants were given chaplaincies at the Reyes Nuevos in Toledo,⁵¹ or in Aranjuez,⁵² while laymen received other benefits. For example, Don Eugenio de los Ríos, yeoman of the bakehouse (1648-1652), was appointed concierge of El Pardo (1652-*c.*1674);⁵³ Alonso Gutiérrez de Grimaldo, yeoman of the jewels (1622-1645) and wardrobe (1633-1645), obtained the same posts at Buen Retiro (unknown-1645);⁵⁴ and Don Juan de Castro Villafañe, who acted both as the keeper of the offices of harbinger (1607-1627) and gentleman of the household (1624-1651), was also appointed clerk of the counting house and surveyor of the Alcázar of Segovia and royal houses of Valsaín and Fuenfría (1635-1639), as well as main guard of Valsaín (1637-1639).⁵⁵ There is no need to further highlight the movements between the royal hunt and royal sites, but the special link

⁴⁷ Amongst others, doctor Lázaro de la Fuente, a physician at Aranjuez (1616-1625) and in the household of Castile (1625-1651) (AGP, Personal, box 16931/28, and Registros 11, fols. 535v-536r and 13, fol. 136r-v); doctor Bernardo Serrano de Minaya, in Aranjuez (1628-1630) and Castile (1630-1646) (AGP, Personal, box 995/13, and Registros 12, fol. 321v, and 13, fols. 36r); AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 307, fol. 259); and the licenciado don Gabriel Gómez, Aranjuez (1630-1635) and Castile (1630-*c.*1659) (AGP, Personal, box 438/59, and Registros 13, fols. 36r-v, 168r, and 15, fols. 38v-39r; AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundles 307, fol. 259 and 308, fols. 79-80).

⁴⁸ AGP, Personal, boxes 681/38, 832/9, 840/32, 857/9.

⁴⁹ AGP, Personal, box 16793/14.

⁵⁰ Like Jusepe Méndez de Molina, *alcaide* and *guardamayor* at Valsaín (1629-1632), as well as deputy *alcaide* of El Pardo (1632-1646), also appointed foot huntsman (1639-1646) (AGP, Personal, box 666/34 and /37, and Registros 12, fol. 634v, 13, fols. 6v, 12v, 13r, 79v, 80r, and 14, fol. 223r); Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Toledo (hereafter AHN, Toledo), Frías, box 591, docs 36, 37, and box 592, doc 96), and Juan Bautista Montero, guard at the Casa de Campo until 1632 when he was appointed as riverside sampler (1632-1650) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 627, and Personal box 699/16).

⁵¹ There are eleven chaplains of the royal chapel who obtained a chaplaincy of the *Reyes Nuevos*, e.g. doctor Jerónimo de Salcedo, chaplain of Castile (1621-1641) and of the *Reyes Nuevos* (1626-1641) (AGP, Real Capilla, box 85, no fol., and Registro 6151, fol. 25v), don Diego de Herrera Gutiérrez, altar chaplain (1640-1649) and of the *Reyes Nuevos* (1648-1653) (AGP, Personal, box 7799/6, and Real Capilla box 84, no fol.), and don Jacinto March de Castellví y Lerma, chaplain of Aragón (1632-1664) and of the *Reyes Nuevos* (?-1664) (AGP, Personal, box 7797/5, and Registro 6151, fol. 34v). We even find opposite cases, such as three chaplains who first served at the *Reyes Nuevos* and then went on to become chaplains of Castile, such as Don Juan de Rojas, *Reyes Nuevos* until 1629 when he was appointed chaplain of Castile (AGP, Personal, box 913/10); Don Antonio Fernández del Campo y Angulo, in 1654 (AGP, Personal, box 7802/13, Real Capilla, box 84, no fol., and Registro 6151, fol. 49r); or the famous writer Calderón de la Barca in 1663 (AGP, Personal, box 7804/10, and Registros 6145, fol. 510 and 6151, fol. 55v).

⁵² As occurred with Martín de Ocaña, who was altar chaplain (1625-1638) and cantor (1629-1638) of Castile, as well as chaplain at Aranjuez (1637-1638) (AGP, Personal, box 750/20, Real Capilla box 121/1, and Registro 13, fol. 228r).

⁵³ AGP, Personal, box 16793/14.

⁵⁴ AGP, Personal, box 491/28.

⁵⁵ AGP, Personal, box 463/20, and Registro 13, fols. 169r, 232r-v, 277v; AHN, Consejos, bundle 4423, fol. 21.

between the royal guard and royal sites is also worth mentioning, as more than twenty guards served in both.⁵⁶ Lastly, well-known architects, sculptors, and painters, such as Sebastián and Antonio de Herrera Barnuevo,⁵⁷ Juan Gómez de Mora,⁵⁸ Alonso Carbonell,⁵⁹ and Diego de Silva Velázquez,⁶⁰ became beneficiaries of this policy.

The king's possessions were used on several occasions to reward servants who did not receive regular wages for their duties in the royal households due to a shortage of resources in the royal treasury. In fact, there were moments when the King decided to prioritize these payments over performing certain necessary construction work on royal buildings.⁶¹ Sites like the Lomo del Grullo in Seville, the Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia (Mint and Machine Room of Segovia),⁶² or San Lorenzo de El Escorial and all its surrounding property,⁶³ were used for this purpose. However, there were three sites that enjoyed special economic importance as part of this strategy, because they were used to pay rewards and sinecures to their own servants as well as to others without specific links to the sites.⁶⁴

The first site was Aranjuez,⁶⁵ where wheat and barley were granted as payment in kind to individuals, such as Antonia de Marquana y Alviz, daughter of the royal secretary Francisco Alviz, who received a yearly income of 400 ducats for her entire life,⁶⁶ or royal convents such as that of the Encarnación which received 300 *fanegas*⁶⁷ every year by standing order from Queen Margaret of Austria-Estiria.⁶⁸ The second site, the lesser-known Soto de Roma in Granada, was mainly used for the royal family's hunting activities until the reign of Philip II. Thereafter the forests were used for their timber, which was necessary for shipbuilding. Sustainable exploitation of the woodlands

⁵⁶ See José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "La unión de la Corte, la Casa y el Territorio en la Monarquía Hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII: las Guardas Reales y los Sitios Reales," *Revista Escuela de Historia* 18 (2017), available at http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1669-90412017000100007&lng=es&nrm=iso.

⁵⁷ The former was yeoman of the fourrier's department and great master of royal works at the Alcázar de Madrid from 1662 to 1671 (AGP, Personal, box 507/40, and Registro 15, fol. 141v). The latter, Antonio, was sculptor of the fourrier's department (1605-1646), and quantity surveyor of royal carpentry works (1627-1645), and a *reservado* of the latter office in 1645-1646 (AGP, Administración General, bundle 853, no fol., Personal, box 506/15, and Registros 14, fol. 91r-v, and 25, fol. 48v; AHN, Consejos, bundle 4429, fol. 46).

⁵⁸ Yeoman of the fourrier's department and master tracer of the royal works (1611-1648) (AGP, Administración General bundle 649, no fol., Personal box 448/6, and Registros 11, fols. 161r, 414v-415r, 432v, and 14, fol. 202r).

⁵⁹ Grand quantity surveyor of royal works (1627-1660), yeoman of the fourrier's department (1634-1660), and great master of the works of the Alcázar de Madrid (1648-1660) (AGP, Personal, boxes 200/23, and 16752/23, and Registros 12, fol. 289v, 13, fols. 38v, 39r, 174r, and 14, fols. 180v, 190r).

⁶⁰ Court painter (1623-1660), valet of the chamber (1643-1646), clerk of the counting house and surveyor of the works at the Alcázar de Madrid and surrounding royal houses (1647-1660), guard and surveyor of the *sala ochavada* (1647-1660), and harbinger of the palace (1652-1660) (AGP, Personal, box 1084/9, and Registros 12, fols. 179v-180r, and 14, fols. 66r, 148r-v, 149v; AHN, Consejos, bundle 4426, fol. 156). For all the offices he held in the palace, Feliciano Barrios Pintado, "Diego Velázquez: sus oficios palatinos," *Reales Sitios* 141 (1999): 2-17.

⁶¹ AGP, Administraciones Patrimoniales, Aranjuez, box 14131.

⁶² For coin minting since Philip II's reign see Victoria Soto Caba, "La primera fábrica de monedas: El Real Ingenio de Segovia," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie VII, Historia del Arte* 4 (1991): 95-120.

⁶³ Regarding the economic use of its meadows, José Antonio Martínez Bara, "Noticias sobre las dehesas del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 5 (1970): 109-119.

⁶⁴ The same occurred in other places, such as the royal sites of Valladolid where, for example, doña Isabel de Mercado received an allowance as well as the salary of her husband, the physician of the chamber doctor Ruíz, although to a much lesser extent (AGP, Personal, boxes 160/12, 933/42, 1063/48, 1111/65).

⁶⁵ There are excellent studies on economic exploitation, such as Carmen Magán Merchán and Jesús Espinosa Romero, "La evolución económica de un Real Sitio: Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe II," *Reales Sitios* 153 (2002): 2-13.

⁶⁶ AGP, Administraciones Patrimoniales, Aranjuez, box 14131.

⁶⁷ This Castilian measurement of capacity is equivalent, in most cases, to 55.5 liters.

⁶⁸ AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 302/2 fol. 150.

had to be implemented to prevent deforestation.⁶⁹ The third site, El Pardo, was where the King sourced the firewood he used to reward his officials, as well as the religious houses of the Capuchins, Trinitarians, Carmelites, Santa Isabel, and the Barefoot Franciscans of Barajas, a tradition initiated by Philip III.⁷⁰

At this point, it is necessary to consider the impact that Philip IV's new strategy for improving social integration of the kingdom of Castile had on the royal sites. This system involved creating a system of social welfare for anyone directly or indirectly related to royal households and royal sites.⁷¹ Of course, most of the resources that were going to be used for this system were taken from the royal sites themselves. The system established two categories, the *reservados* (reserved) and the *pensionistas* (pensioners). The *reservados* were officials who had served for several years and had to retire because of old age or health-related issues. They could collect their entire wage or part of it, or another reward, without being obliged to serve. The *pensionistas* received a pension from the Junta de Obras y Bosques for being relatives of royal servants. The difference was based on what their prior service to the Crown had been.

These categories began to take shape at the beginning of the Spanish monarchy. Under Charles V there is barely any record of the use of a system of *reservas* except for with respect to the royal guards, who were pioneers in this process.⁷² The document known as the *Tour de Rolle* was particularly significant in this regard. It was granted by the monarch in 1548 to the guard of Corps and established that certain offices of the royal patrimony in the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries were reserved for all the archers who retired or returned to their native province, which they could do after ten years of service, and would be allocated *à tour de rôle*, that is, in turns, in order of length of service.⁷³

It was during the reign of Philip II that reserved posts began to appear more clearly in the royal household, though they were very few in number, as well as the abovementioned practice of granting offices to the spouses of incumbents' children, *para con quién casare*. The figure of the *reservado* continued to gain momentum during Philip III's reign, especially after the court was moved to Valladolid, chiefly to alleviate the significant income shortages experienced by the assorted servants who accompanied the monarch to the Castilian city as a result of their transfer.

At the same time, various confraternities began to emerge at the court, particularly to help integrate the people of different nations into court life and encourage them to mingle by providing them with a meeting point, which was usually the chapel of some church. These confraternities likewise gave rise to an important social welfare system as they provided for widows, orphans, burials, and other expenses after a member died, as well as granting loans to members in need. Their funds came from the membership fees paid by their various members, as well as from fines and gifts from prominent people at the court. The most significant confraternities were undoubtedly those linked to the royal household, especially the royal guard as they were made up of people of various nationalities. We thus find the Brotherhood and Confraternity of Our Lady of Good Remedy and the Incarnation for the Spanish Guard, which was founded in 1582 while

⁶⁹ Félix Labrador Arroyo and Koldo Trápaga Monchet, "Forestry, Territorial Organization and Military Struggle in the Spanish Monarchy," *Environmental History* 23 no. 2 (2018): 318–341.

⁷⁰ Some examples can be found in AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 302/2 no fol.

⁷¹ This issue is discussed in detail in José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "Reservados y pensionistas: Una nueva vía de integración de los reinos en la Casa Real," in Martínez Millán and Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV*, 2:2283–2341.

⁷² As studied in José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, *Las guardas reales de los Austrias hispanos* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013), for the guard of archers of the Corps (232–248), for the Spanish guard (312–318), and for the German guard (375–380).

⁷³ Studied in relation to court space in Hortal Muñoz, "La importancia de la articulación del territorio."

the guard was in Lisbon;⁷⁴ that of Saint Andrew of the Flemish for the archers of the Corps, which was up and running in Valladolid in 1605;⁷⁵ and that of Saint George for the German guard, established between 1606 and 1608.⁷⁶ Also linked to the royal households was the Royal Brotherhood of Kings' Servants, founded in 1604 in Valladolid,⁷⁷ and the Brotherhood and Confraternity of Saint Ildephonsus, established by Archduke Albert in Lisbon in 1588, which accompanied him to Madrid and Brussels to provide shelter to the members of his royal household in those various destinations.⁷⁸

However, it was during Philip IV's reign that a large-scale welfare system was fully developed thanks to the closer link the royal sites and their resources enjoyed with the court through the *validos*. This can be seen in the following tables (charts 1 and 2), which show the number of people who attained the status of *reservado* or *pensionista* during this reign, listed by the royal household and section to which they belonged.

SECTION	RESERVADOS	PENSIONISTAS
Household of Burgundy		
Royal Chapel	66	10
Household Offices	46	117
Royal Chamber	23	38
Royal Stables		
Stables	102	203
Pack animals	36	52 ⁷⁹
Royal Guards		
Guard of Archers of Corps	103	28
Spanish Guard	93	0
German Guard	50	0
Household of Castile		
Hunting		
Falconry	22	5
Hunting	26	4
General	14	8
TOTAL	581	467

Chart 1. *King's households*⁸⁰

⁷⁴ As studied in Hortal Muñoz, *Las guardas reales*, 312–314.

⁷⁵ Hortal Muñoz, *Las guardas reales*, 238–242.

⁷⁶ Hortal Muñoz, *Las guardas reales*, 377–378.

⁷⁷ Studied in Rafael Sánchez Domingo, “La Real Hermandad de Criados de los Reyes de la Casa de Felipe III,” in *Evolución y Estructura de la Casa Real de Castilla*, ed. Andrés Gamba Gutiérrez and Félix Labrador Arroyo (Madrid: Polifemo, 2010), 1: 263–295.

⁷⁸ José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, “La espiritualidad castellana en las diferentes Cortes de la Monarquía: La Hermandad y Cofradía de San Ildefonso de Lisboa, Madrid y Bruselas,” *Anales del Cincuentenario/Annales du Cinquentaire* no. 5 (2011–2012): 191–218.

⁷⁹ We only found lists of pensioners up to 1627, so this number might be substantially higher (AGP, Administración General, box 5644/10).

⁸⁰ This information has been taken mainly from the following AGP sections: Administración General, Histórica, Personal and Registros; AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas; and AHN, Consejos Suprimidos. See Martínez Millán and Hortal Muñoz. *La Corte de Felipe IV*, CD at Vol. II.

SECTION	<i>RESERVADOS</i>	<i>PENSIONISTAS</i>
Royal Chapel	2	1
Household Offices	75	44
Royal Chamber	37	55
Royal Stables	22	3
TOTAL	136	103

Chart 2. *Queen's Households*⁸¹

During Philip IV's entire reign there were around 7,500 servants in the king's households and 2,500 in the queen's, so the percentage of *reservados* and *pensionistas* amounted to around fourteen in the king's entourages and ten in the queen's.⁸² The difference could be attributed to the fact that some offices in the queen's household were meant for noblemen's widows, especially in the Royal Chamber, such as the *camarera mayor* (High Stewardess) or the *dueñas de honor* (Mistresses of Honour). The ladies-in-waiting rarely received a pension (or *reserva*) as they left the post when they got married, in which case they were entitled to a million *maravedís* as a dowry. The same system applied to the maids (*mozas*) of the chamber, although they only received half a million *maravedís*. In both cases, the sum of money could also be used as a payment to enter a convent.⁸³

The number and "rank" of *reservados* and *pensionistas* shows that this strategy was designed to further integrate servants of a certain type, those that served in middle- and low-level posts in royal households. The nobility was rewarded with other bonuses such as monetary pensions, new titles, and viceroalties. Interestingly, in the King's quarters there were only four stewards,⁸⁴ one gentleman of the chamber,⁸⁵ one gentleman of the *boca*,⁸⁶ and one gentleman of the household,⁸⁷ but no lord steward, groom of the stole, master of the horse, or captain of the guard. In the Queen's quarters, however, there was one lord steward, the 7th Count of Altamira (1663-1669),⁸⁸ one *camarera mayor*, the Countess of Eril (1674-?),⁸⁹ one *dueña de honor*, the Countess of Ullivervall

⁸¹ This chart includes the royal households of Elisabeth of Bourbon (1615-1644), the Infanta Margaret (1644-1649), and Mariana of Austria (1649-1679). Aside from records of the King's Households, the information was obtained from other sections of the AGP in Reinados. See Martínez Millán and Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV*, CD in Vol. II.

⁸² We should take into account the fact that there were other royal services during this reign, such as that of Don Juan José of Austria, where, for example, there was one *reservado* in the royal chapel, five in the household offices, one in the royal chamber, eight in the royal stables, six in his guard, and fifty-two pensioners. On Don Juan José of Austria's household, see Koldo Trápaga Monchet, *La actividad política de don Juan [José] de Austria en el reinado de Felipe IV (1642-1665)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2018).

⁸³ As occurred with Doña María de Tello (AGP, Personal, box 1026/8), Margarita de Agramonte (AGP, Administración General, bundle 649), Josefa Ortiz (AGP, Administración General, bundle 649), or Doña Francisca de Marbán y Villagrán (AGP, Personal, box 617/2).

⁸⁴ Don Gómez Manrique Mendoza (1636-1640) (AGP, Administración General, bundles 629, 644), the Marquis of Malagón (1643-1647) (AGP, Personal, box 608/11), and the Counts of Castro (1646-1662) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 644), and Montalbán (1646-1666) (AGP, Personal, box 695/21).

⁸⁵ The Prince of Esquilache (1639-1658) (AGP, Personal, box 2216/77).

⁸⁶ Don Jerónimo Funes y Muñoz (c.1658) (AGP, Personal, boxes 381/30, 794/22, 2643/13).

⁸⁷ Don Fernando de Soto y Verrio (1661-c.1668) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 866, and Personal, boxes 1011/33, 1013/1).

⁸⁸ AGP, Personal, box 521/26.

⁸⁹ AGP, Personal, box 16868/35 and /36.

(1651),⁹⁰ one master of the horse, Don Fernando de Borja (1659-1665),⁹¹ and two stewards.⁹² This was mainly under the reign of Mariana of Austria, when lavish rewards of this kind were common.

On the other hand, we are aware of the existence of around 370 examples of both categories of the system for people related to the royal sites (a total of approximately 2,000 servants are recorded, amounting to just under twenty per cent), as shown in Chart 3:

ROYAL SITE	<i>RESERVADOS</i>	<i>PENSIONISTAS</i>
<i>Junta de Obras y Bosques</i>	0	4
<i>Obras Reales (Royal Works)</i>	3	9
Alcázar de Madrid	1	19
Alcázar de Toledo	0	8
Aranjuez	35	155
Casa de Campo	12	31
Buen Retiro	0	2
El Pardo	7	23
San Lorenzo de El Escorial	1	4
Alhambra de Granada	0	1
Segovia	1	8
Alcázar de Segovia	1	2
Ingenio de la Moneda	0	15
Valsain	0	8
Valladolid	1	19
TOTAL	62	307

Chart 3. *Royal Sites*⁹³

As for *pensionistas*, under Philip II it was already customary to grant widows an allowance after their husbands' passing, as we can see in several memorials sent to the Junta de Obras y Bosques.⁹⁴ Servants associated with the Junta itself and the royal works received a food allowance in addition to a pecuniary remuneration for their post. The amount of money or goods (*especies*) they were paid was fixed under Philip IV,⁹⁵ when it went from 200 ducats per year for family members of the High Master of the Works (*maestro mayor de las obras*) at the Alcázar de Madrid and the royal residences surrounding it (El Pardo and Casa de Campo), to the daily *real*⁹⁶ that was given to the apothecary of Aranjuez. At first, these sinecures were not permanent. In theory they had to

⁹⁰ AGP, Personal, box 1105/19.

⁹¹ AHN, Consejos, bundle 4423, fol. 30.

⁹² Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (1634-1643) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 644, and Personal, box 687/19; AHN, Consejos, bundle 4423, fol. 55), and the Marquis of Castañeda (1644-?) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 644, and Personal, box 16769/28; AGS, Estado, bundles 2962, 2963, 2968).

⁹³ This information has been taken mainly from AGP, Registros 11–15, which are the "*Libros donde se asientan todos los despachos tocantes a obras y bosques*" [Books where all the offices related to works and woodlands are set down] for the last years of Philip III's reign and the entirety of Philip's IV reign, as well the sections of the Administración General, Administraciones Patrimoniales, Personal, and other Registros in the same archive. AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundles 304-314 were also consulted, where all decisions taken by the *Junta de Obras y Bosques* between 1600-1665, and the Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, bundles 1569–1572, that refer to particular royal sites, are recorded. It should be realized that there were many more, and that there are gaps in the records available for some of these royal sites.

⁹⁴ Like the one kept at AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 305, fol. 112.

⁹⁵ A table containing all the rewards related to every office at the royal sites can be found in Hortal Muñoz, "El personal de los Sitios Reales desde los últimos Habsburgos," 88–91.

⁹⁶ Castilian currency used from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. It was made of 3.35 grams of silver.

be renewed every two years,⁹⁷ but from the 1640s onwards they were granted for the span of a lifetime or more with the possibility of passing them on to the next generation. This renewed and strengthened the bonds between the king and his servants. Although the process was managed by the Junta de Obras y Bosques, it was the king, with the support of the *valido*, who had the final say.

As for the *reservados*, concessions depended on each royal site. Records show that they maintained positions of importance only at Aranjuez, Casa de Campo, and El Pardo, as well as at Buen Retiro, although we do not have much information about this site.⁹⁸ Aranjuez was where the *reservados* gained most prominence. They collected their wages through “reservation”; in other words, they continued to receive the same wage after retiring as they had received while working. They were paid with monetary rewards as well as in kind, particularly *fanegas* of wheat or barley. These rewards were allotted to every officer, starting with the governors themselves. Sebastián Antonio de Contreras y Brizuela, who was a *reservado* in 1654, serves as an example.⁹⁹ There were also two chaplains who received 180 ducats per year,¹⁰⁰ one sexton who received two *reales* daily,¹⁰¹ one master builder and construction foreman,¹⁰² one constable,¹⁰³ and two clerks who received 400 ducats yearly that could be shared with their wives and children;¹⁰⁴ as well as two distiller’s aides,¹⁰⁵ two gardeners,¹⁰⁶ one mayoral of the mares,¹⁰⁷ one mayoral of the camels,¹⁰⁸ two “ordinaries,”¹⁰⁹ a main guard,¹¹⁰ a *sobreguarda*,¹¹¹ a pond-worker and guard of the sea of Ontígola,¹¹² a ferret hunter,¹¹³ and fifteen guards.¹¹⁴

⁹⁷ See for example, AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 309, fol. 74.

⁹⁸ As can be seen in the “*Memoria de los ofizios acrezentados en el Sitio Real de Buen Retiro desde su creación, con noticia de los que estubieron unidos y de las plazas de bordinarios que se podrán suprimir como fuesen bacando en aumento de la Consignazión aplicando su ymporte para reparos y manutención del Sitio*,” in AHN, Estado, bundle 1412 no fol., s.d.

⁹⁹ AGP, Personal, box 16802/3, and Registros 13, fols. 184v-185v, 208r, 14, fols. 143v-144r, 382r, 385r, 424r, and 15, fol. 133v.

¹⁰⁰ Like Bartolomé de Eriás (1634-?) (AGP, Personal, box 16868/32, and Registro 13, fols. 10v, 142v, 143r, 152v; AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 307, fol. 467).

¹⁰¹ Alonso García (1644-?) (AGP, Registro 14, fol. 75r-v).

¹⁰² Diego Agudo, who received 25,000 *maravedís* yearly plus 20 *fanegas* of wheat and 3 of barley yearly, as well as 5 *reales* daily (AGP, Personal, box 17/7, and Registro 15, fol. 79v).

¹⁰³ Pedro de Castro, who received yearly 30,000 *maravedís*, 24 *fanegas* of wheat, and 36 of barley (AGP, Registros 12, fol. 294v, 13, fols. 140v-141r, and 14, fol. 32r-v; AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 307, fol. 204).

¹⁰⁴ As occurred with Pedro Martínez de Haro, *reservado* in 1628, who decided in 1634 to give 200 ducats per year to his wife, keeping another 200 for himself, an amount that was passed on to his son after his death in 1636 (AGP, Personal, boxes 496/39, 641/14, and Registros 12, fols. 106v, 108r, 267v-268r, 315v, and 13, fols. 160v-161r).

¹⁰⁵ Salvatore Bruno (1628-1631) (AGP, Administración General, bundle 897, no fol.), and Sebastián Rugero (1633-?) (AGP, Registro 13, fols. 123v-124r).

¹⁰⁶ Juan Ruiz (1656-?) (AGP, Personal, box 928/50, and Registro 14, fol. 442v; AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, bundle 1568, no fol.) and Mateo Guerra (1665-?) (AGP, Registro 6708).

¹⁰⁷ Jerónimo Vasco (1653-?) (AGP, Personal, box 1070/2, and Registro 14, fol. 360r).

¹⁰⁸ Juan de Guelves (1639-1645) (AGP, Registro 14, fols. 119v, 468v).

¹⁰⁹ Alonso Redondo (1631-?) (AGP, Registro 13, fol. 50v), and Marcos de Escamilla (1632-?) (AGP, Registros 13, fol. 94r-v, and 23, fols. 110r, 126r).

¹¹⁰ Juan Martínez de la Higuera “El mozo” (1658-1670) (AGP, Personal, box 641/26, and Registros 14, fols. 281v-282r, 384r, and 15, fol. 26r).

¹¹¹ Pedro Vasco, who received 27,000 *maravedís* and 40 *fanegas* of wheat and barley every year (AGP, Registros 11 fol. 711v, and 12, fol. 249v).

¹¹² Tomás de Peralta (1663-?) (AGP, Registro 15, fol. 181r).

¹¹³ Francisco Cano (1655-?) (AGP, Registro 14, fol. 423r).

¹¹⁴ The pension could cover the whole salary or half of it. It consisted of 30,000 *maravedís*, 36 *fanegas* of wheat and another 36 of barley every year.

At the Casa de Campo, the most important office that was “reserved” was that of the deputy *alcaide*, of which there were three.¹¹⁵ They were assigned the salary that they had received while they were actively employed, 20,000 *maravedís* yearly,¹¹⁶ five *reales* daily, and twenty-four *fanegas* of wheat and thirty-five of barley at Aranjuez. They were also given a chaplain,¹¹⁷ an orchard-worker,¹¹⁸ a pond-worker,¹¹⁹ four gardeners,¹²⁰ a doorkeeper,¹²¹ and a guard.¹²² All of these workers earned the same salary they had received when in service, except the gardeners who received a daily allowance of two or three *reales*.

Lastly, at El Pardo there were seven *reservados*: two lieutenants of *alcaide* who received sixty *fanegas* of wheat and sixty of barley per year,¹²³ a main guard who received 60,000 *maravedís*, forty *fanegas* of wheat and forty of barley per year,¹²⁴ three equestrian guards who received half of their salary (two *reales* daily),¹²⁵ and a fox hunter,¹²⁶ who received two *reales* daily. Of course, all of the wheat or barley came from Aranjuez.

Conclusion

As we have seen throughout this essay, the Spanish monarchy was structured around the court from the reign of Charles V onwards, in order to organise the many territories and kingdoms the monarch received through inheritance and aggregation. The kingdom of Castile soon became one of the main sites, especially after Philip II decided to establish the capital in Madrid and confessionalize the Spanish monarchy. The creation of the Junta de Obras y Bosques was a milestone achievement of this process as it helped structure and lend coherence to the Castilian royal sites.

The significance of these spaces in the courtly political system gradually increased from this moment onwards, reaching a peak when the *validos* began to secure governorships of the royal sites for themselves or their “followers” in the seventeenth century. All this made it possible during the reign of Philip IV for the monarch to use these places’ resources as a chief means of attempting

¹¹⁵ Andrés de Soto (1622-1627) (AGP, Registros 11, fols. 198r, 298v, 480r, 685r, 745v, and 12, fols. 33v, 85v, 107r, 118r, 126v, 288r; AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 305, fol. 181), Mattheo de Reynalte (1636-1640) (AGP, Personal, box 873/21, and Registros 12, fols. 275r, 293r-v, and 13, fols. 17r, 87r-v, 184r), and Juan María Forno (1643-1645) (AGP, Personal, box 1033/16, and Registros 13, fols. 182r-v, 286v, 14, fols. 28v, 45r, 51v-52v, 144v-145r, 25, fol. 288r, and 26, fols. 2v-3r).

¹¹⁶ Castilian currency from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. A *real* was equivalent to 34 *maravedís*.

¹¹⁷ Licenciado Martín de Segura y Puebla (1644-?) (AGP, Registros 11, fol. 524r, 13, fol. 233r, and 14, fol. 65v).

¹¹⁸ Gabriel Llorente “El Viejo” (1634-1647) (AGP, Personal, box 587/36, and Registros 13, fol. 180r and 14, fol. 147v).

¹¹⁹ Marcos Montero (1627-1644) (AGP, Registro 12, fols. 307v-308r).

¹²⁰ Miguel de Aragón (1628-?) (AGP, Registro 12, fol. 339r), Felipe Alfaro (confirmed in employment 1658-1665) (AGP, Administraciones Patrimoniales, boxes 72, 73), Miguel de Aragón (1659-1663) (AGP, Registro 15, fol. 63r), and Francisco García Pantoja (1659-?) (AGP, Registro 15, fol. 36r).

¹²¹ Antonio Baldini (1637-?) (AGP, Registros 13, fol. 203r and 24, fol. 295r; AGS, Casa y Sitios Reales, bundle 309, fol. 79).

¹²² Pedro de la Torre (1631-?) (AGP, Registro 12, fol. 71r-v).

¹²³ Jusepe Méndez de Molina (1645-1651) (AGP, Personal, box 666/34 and /37, and Registros 12, fol. 634v, 13, fols. 6v, 12v, 13r, 79v, 80r, and 14, fol. 223r; AHN, Toledo, Frías, box 591, docs 36-37, and box 592, doc 96), and Bartolomé Garrido (1664-1666) (AGP, Personal, box 425/29, and Registros 14, fols. 118v-119r, 310r-311v, 377r, and 15, fol. 189r; AHN, Consejos, bundle 39461/3).

¹²⁴ Bartolomé García (1664-?) (AGP, Registro 15, fol. 193v).

¹²⁵ Francisco Bravo (1633-1636) (AGP, Registro 13, fols. 116v, 190v), Francisco Morquecho (1662-?) (AGP, Personal, box 719/14), and Antonio Domínguez (1663-1671) (AGP, Personal, boxes 16856/6 and /8 and 16857/6 and Registro 15, fol. 182r).

¹²⁶ Juan de Morales (confirmed in employment 1655-1662) (AGP, Personal, box 708/59, and Registro 13, fol. 222r).

to reshape his monarchy, especially in the kingdom of Castile, though the royal households began to lose their previous efficiency at integrating the kingdoms' elites. As a result, the royal sites took on the role of integrating many Castilian elites, especially those belonging to the middle and lower social levels, through various strategies such as: transferring servants from the royal sites to the royal households and vice-versa; granting favours in kind to members of the royal households; and using their natural and economic resources to fund a highly developed social welfare system both for people who had previously served in the royal households or the royal sites themselves, and for their families.

There is no doubt that historians and art historians alike have carried out excellent studies on the architectural design and spatial distribution of royal sites in Europe, paying close attention to ceremonial pomp and courtly feasts, which have been interpreted in relation to early modern propaganda. This has also been the case of research on the Spanish monarchy. Although many studies have approached the subject from an interdisciplinary perspective, and have greatly contributed to a better understanding of the history of royal sites, these places have seldom been seen as centres that helped provide political and social structures for early modern monarchies and contributed to the cultural development and economic progress of European society. A more holistic approach reveals similarities between the different roles of early modern European royal sites, roles that go beyond mere representation and propaganda, as this paper has shown.