# THE SPANISH HABSBURGS AND DYNASTIC RULE, 1500–1700

ROUTLEDGE

# The Spanish Habsburgs and Dynastic Rule, 1500–1700

Providing a novel research methodology for students and scholars with an interest in dynasties, at all levels, this book explores the Spanish Habsburg dynasty that ruled the Spanish monarchy between c. 1515 and 1700.

Instead of focusing on the reigns of successive kings, the book focuses on the Habsburgs as a family group that was constructed in various ways: as a community of heirs, a genealogical narrative, a community of the dead and a ruling family group. These constructions reflect the fact that dynasties do not only exist in the present, as kings, queens or governors, but also in the past, in genealogies, and in the future, as a group of hypothetical heirs.

This book analyses how dynasties were 'made' by the people belonging to them. It uses a social institutionalist framework to analyse how family dynamics gave rise to practices and roles. The kings of Spain only had limited power to control the construction of their dynasty, since births and deaths, processes of dynastic centralisation, pressure from subjects, relatives' individual agency, rivalry among relatives and the institutionalisation of roles limited their power.

Including several genealogical tables to support students new to the Spanish Habsburgs, this book is essential reading for all students of early modern Europe and the history of monarchy.

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# The Spanish Habsburgs and Dynastic Rule, 1500–1700

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**To**

**Harald Gustafsson**

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# Introduction

## Who Was Prince Filiberto of Austria?

Prince Filiberto of Austria never existed. Yet in 1624 an Andalusian printer published a short treatise on 'the great victory achieved by His Highness Prince Filiberto of Austria, viceroy of Sicily'.[1] The details of neither the victory nor the treatise need concern us here. Of greater interest is the victor himself. If there was no Prince Filiberto of Austria, then who was this man? The suffix 'of Austria' obviously implies membership of the House of Habsburg, but there were no Habsburgs named Filiberto. Besides, Habsburgs tended to be either archdukes or infantes, or possibly simply 'don', like that other famous vanquisher of the Ottomans, Don Juan de Austria – not princes. The princely title was reserved for the heir to the Spanish throne, and we know of no heirs called Filiberto. So who was this man?

To some degree, we are dealing with a case of mistaken identity. Prince Filiberto of Austria was in fact not normally called 'of Austria'; although this little pamphlet is not alone in calling him thus,[2] he was more commonly known as Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy (de Saboya; di Savoia) (Fig. 0.1). He was born in 1588, the third son of Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. He was styled 'prince' because he was a son of a ruling duke.[3] Filiberto held several offices on behalf of the kings of Spain: he was grand prior of Castile and León in the Order of St John, admiral of the Mediterranean fleet and viceroy of Sicily. While holding office in the Spanish monarchy did not automatically lead to presumed membership of the dynasty, this does seem to have been the case for Filiberto. Apart from the few, possibly misguided, references to him as 'of Austria', the court addressed him with titles that were meant to mark his belonging to the dynasty ('His Highness' – the details and implications of this style are explained in Chapter 6). And when he died, Philip IV ordered him to be buried in the dynastic crypt in the Escorial, next to Charles V, Philip II and Philip III, with the ceremony normally reserved for a Spanish infante (see Chapter 3). Even in his guise as 'Filiberto di Savoia', then, the kings of Spain unmistakably considered our Filiberto to be part of their family.

So how does a Savoyard princeling become an 'Austria', and thus, a Habsburg[4] – not just in the pamphlet of an Andalusian printer but even in the eyes of the kings of Spain? The easy answer to this question is genealogy: his mother was a Spanish princess, the Infanta Catalina Micaela of Spain,

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*Figure 0.1* Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy (1588–1624), by Anthony van Dyck (1624).
*Source*: Alamy.

younger daughter of Philip II. This made Filiberto a grandson of Philip II, nephew of Philip III and cousin of Philip IV. But none of this erased his identity as a son of Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy and grandson of Duke Emmanuel Philibert – after whom he was named. And none of this determined that he should be loyal to the Spanish Habsburgs either. His elder

brother Vittorio Amedeo, who obviously shared Filiberto's pedigree, became a staunch ally of France, Spain's greatest rival; Vittorio's spouse Christine was Louis XIII's younger sister. Pedigree alone hardly solves the puzzle of Filiberto's Habsburgness.

This book is about finding the complicated but more truthful and compelling answer to the question how someone like Filiberto of Savoy became a Habsburg – and in the process, to examine how the Spanish Habsburg dynasty was shaped by the dynamics among its actual and aspiring members. The answer involves much more than genealogy. As I will argue, Filiberto's role within the Habsburg dynasty as a viceroy had come about as a result of socialisation (as a teenager, he spent several years at the Spanish court), as well as geopolitics (he received favours so that his father would remain loyal to Spain and to ensure the Alpine roads in and out of Italy stayed open to Spanish troops) and family conflict (if Charles Emmanuel was lost to France, the Spanish king wanted to make sure the next generation of rulers of Savoy would be loyal). But that is only the Spanish perspective. The House of Savoy had something to say on the matter as well. At their end, Filiberto's Habsburgness was a result of desperation-fuelled determination (could the king of Spain not share some of the burden of providing for five sons and four daughters?), as well as appeals to honour (should not the king of Spain make sure that his grandchildren were properly taken care of?) and of status rivalry (were the Savoyard nephews not entitled to the same treatment as earlier generations of nephews, like Archduke Albert of Austria who had become a cardinal, an archbishop, a viceroy and even a sovereign lord of the Low Countries?). In short, complicated dynamics between relatives, which played out over several generations and were made up of equal parts affection and distrust, determined who was considered to be a Habsburg and thus – as this book argues – dictated the shape of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty.

## New Dynastic History

This work belongs to the field of dynastic history, a field which has seen vigorous renewal over the past years. Older works on dynasties often focus on the sequence of rulers, devoting chapters to successive men or women in power.[5] Compared to this type of 'old dynastic history', we can confidently argue that the field is in the process of reinventing itself, offering us a 'new dynastic history' characterised by a focus on family networks, self-fashioning, cultural representation and the reciprocal roles of both men and women. New dynastic history focuses on individuals – not just male rulers but also every other type of person imaginable – as part of groups that are no longer identified exclusively with a particular state but rather with family interests. Many rivers flow into the delta that we can call new dynastic history, among them court studies, gender studies, state formation studies and the history of the family.

A better understanding of dynasties is not only relevant for how we think of the Spanish Habsburgs, or any other dynasty, but also for how we see the territories they ruled. Dynasties and states existed in a form of symbiosis throughout the early modern world – neither seemingly able to exist without the other before the age of republics.[6] This was particularly true for so-called 'dynastic agglomerates', or composite monarchies: monarchies that consisted not of one cohesive territory but of a cluster of realms and lordships. If there was little else but the ruling dynasty to hold such clusters together, the shape this dynasty took and the internal dynamics that made it operate became highly relevant to the workings and the survival of the monarchy as a whole.[7] Piecing together the inner workings of dynasties thus belongs to the realm of state formation studies as much as it is a field in its own right.

The re-evaluation of the role of dynasties in state formation owes a great deal to German historiography on princely ruling houses. While state formation historians have always assigned considerable agency to rulers, dynasties were rarely the centre of attention. How kings dealt with their relatives might seem irrelevant to the development of a territorially cohesive state like, say, France. But the Holy Roman Empire is a different case. The Empire was home to innumerable principalities governed by endless numbers of dynasties that had the habit of dividing into countless branches, all ruling their own minute portion of the patrimony. How such partitions were organised and whether patrimonies managed to be reunited again became a topic of research in the late 1980s, since this area of history was key to understanding how princely states turned out. Because primogeniture was only introduced in many of the German principalities towards the eighteenth century, questions about marriages, inheritance practices, partitions, family treaties and the position of younger sons were quite relevant even from a strict state formation perspective.[8]

Such a focus on dynasties long clashed with traditional European-centred state formation narratives, which focused on institutional developments (bureaucracies, fiscal apparatus and armies)[9] and which only used the term 'dynastic states' as a periodisation (to refer to a post-feudal but pre-nation state period),[10] or to indicate that they were ruled by hereditary monarchs.[11] But under the influence of anthropology, the state formation field moved away from strictly institutional perspectives and started to focus on the social groups and power networks that characterised these institutions.[12] This has brought social networks and the practices that shaped them into focus. One of the social settings where these processes took place, the court, has been the focus of an extensive historiography since the 1970s.[13]

The aristocratic and royal power networks at the centre of early modern states that became evident when scholars started examining courts were often family based and constructed by marriages. This has highlighted the role of women and gender. Attention to the role of women in the operation of such networks and to the gendered aspects of court society in general has led to a thorough revaluation of the part played by princesses, queens, consorts

and female regents as power wielders, which in turn has resulted in a more corporate view of monarchical power.[14] Rulers were not alone: they had their courtiers, favourites, mistresses and dissidents, but also their spouses, mothers, siblings and legitimate children, as well as their in-laws and their bastards. They governed in a shifting and complicated force field of interests and relationships. Theresa Earenfight has characterised rulership therefore as a 'flexible sack' that allows space for the ruler and any of his immediate 'co-workers', who were his partners in rule.[15] Rule is no longer seen as an individual affair, and while a ruler's 'co-workers' are not necessarily part of his family, relatives and their interests can no longer be seen as separated from the act of ruling. Even increased state centralisation in the seventeenth century had to come at the expense of – and thus to some degree with the agreement of – relatives, who were forced to renegotiate their roles within more absolutist states. While such relatives eventually lost much of their political autonomy, negotiations with them remained an essential part of rule.[16] This holds true not just for ruling houses. A common view of the people (such as nobles, courtiers or diplomats) who were shaping and manning the state in the early modern period is that they were not serving the abstract interests of the state, but rather the interests of their own families, making government 'dynastic' at all its levels.[17] Against this background, it seems logical to consider ruling families also as groups working to further dynastic interests, instead of merely a sequence of individual rulers succeeding each other.

One final voice adding to the choir that makes up the new dynastic history is the history of the family. It provides a periodisation for the emergence of aristocratic family groups that were cohesive enough to be considered dynasties. Older views on aristocratic families posited that they developed between 1000 and 1300 from a broad kinship group to smaller patrilineal groups governed by primogeniture. More recent studies, however, situate this development in the period stretching from the post-Carolingian era into the seventeenth century, and really taking off between 1400 and 1700.[18] This would lead us to argue that the kind of family groups that were cohesive enough to have shared interests and even, perhaps, a shared identity, and enough internal discipline to manifest themselves as a unit, emerged somewhere between 1400 and 1700 as well.[19] 'Dynasty' as a cohesive family group is an early modern phenomenon. While dynastic history can be approached from a national perspective, the field lends itself well to transnational approaches[20] and has, more recently, even taken an increasingly global turn.[21]

Because of this renewed interest in dynasties, the concept of 'dynasty' appears to be having its defining moment in history writing as well; quite literally, since ever more historians are concerned with providing a clear definition of the concept. The most prominent criticism levelled at scholars who have engaged with dynasties in the past is that they used the term quite uncritically and in very different ways. Many authors seem to assume that we already know what a dynasty is and that the term therefore does not need definition or problematisation. Whereas abundant conceptual work exists on

such notions as the court, patronage, networks, the nobility and so on – all creditable works on these subjects start with some form of definition – 'the dynasty' has long been left strangely un-conceptualised, as if it were an unchanging and unproblematic term.[22] We need not review decades of historiography to bring some of these differences to light; a brief discussion of some recent works will suffice.

Natalia Nowakowska recently explored the etymology of the term 'dynasty', tracing it back to Aristotle, who used the term to denote 'power, lordship or dominion, with the implication of arbitrary rule by "an extreme oligarchy" of aristocrats or top property owners'.[23] The term is still in use in American sports with this meaning: when, say, the Boston Red Sox win the Major League Baseball World Series a few times in a row, the team becomes a 'dynasty'.[24] But in more general usage, and certainly among historians, the term changed meaning in the course of the eighteenth century, when the *Encyclopédie* defined it as 'a line of princes from the same lineage who reigned over one country'. While words changing meaning is nothing new, it is of course relevant to the field of dynastic history that those of us who focus on the period before 1750 do not possess a *contemporary* definition of the phenomenon we study. In her analysis, Natalia Nowakowska identified at least three ways the term dynasty has been used. Firstly, some researchers use the term dynasty to indicate a monarchical regime, turning 'dynasty' into 'an umbrella term for early modern monarchy'. Secondly, she notices how the term is used to describe succession regimes, or the politics of succession. A third use of the term is as self-fashioning discourse, focusing on dynastic self-awareness and identity, which highlights the fact that dynasties are families.[25] When we consider some recent works on dynasty, we easily recognise these three tendencies.

Nowakowska identifies one of the modern benchmarks of dynastic studies, Jeroen Duindam's *Dynasties. A Global History of Power*,[26] as falling in the first category. Under the rubric of dynasty, Duindam offers a breathtaking, anthropologically inspired overview of kingship in Afro-Eurasia between 1300 and 1800, focusing primarily on similarities and constants. Defining dynasty briefly as a 'family in power', Duindam goes on to discuss a set of concentric circles, sketching the ideal of the 'ruler' at the centre and analysing how individual rulers lived up to the ideal. A second circle is made up of the ruler's wider family, from which a successor is recruited. The court in which the ruler is embedded constitutes a third circle. A final circle is formed by peripheral elites to which the ruler is connected in various ways. The inclusion of courts and peripheral elites means that Duindam's idea of 'dynasty' is considerably wider than just 'a family in power', but perhaps it also shows that his interest lies mainly in how this family constructed and maintained its power position – he discusses the mechanics of 'dynastic rule' rather than the dynasty at the heart of it.

Duindam's view of and approach to dynasty appear to have little in common with John Morrill's recent contribution to the field, which is a prime example of the second category, the politics of succession. In the recent

collective volume *Monarchy Transformed. Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe*,[27] he argues forcefully for the importance of dynastic developments and accidents – births, marriages and deaths – for the formation and consolidation of conglomerate, or agglomerate, states in early modern Europe. Morrill places dynastic life cycle events at the heart of state formation. Closely related in approach is Robert Bartlett's recent work on dynastic politics in medieval Europe, in which he, too, highlights the impact of dynastic life cycle events on politics and successions.[28] In both these works, we can see how dynasty is to a high degree equated with succession regimes – dynasties are relevant to the extent that they determine who sits on which throne.

A compelling work analysing self-fashioning strategies (the third category) is Sue Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent's *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau*,[29] which shows how the Orange identity was shaped and kept alive over several generations of women by the strategic deployment of objects, which were often inherited in the female line, and certain styles of representation, like including orange trees in portraits. The objects, portraits and correspondence allowed female descendants to uphold a clear Orange identity and pass this on to their own children, complementing these children's paternal dynastic identities. Seen from the perspective of these daughters and granddaughters of the princes of Orange, dynastic belonging was something to be cultivated, not something merely determined by birth or marriage. Apart from showing the versatility of dynastic identity, it also questions an all too patrilineal approach to the concept of dynasty itself. Dynasty is here considered to be a social and cultural construct, potentially quite divorced from succession and rule.

The works cited here bring out the various uses of 'dynasty' as an analytical term. The differences between these authors' views on dynasty can be ascribed to the different sources they use: inventories of Nassau granddaughters' possessions will yield different results than royal testaments. This attempt to highlight the differences between these works should therefore not be taken as a criticism of their scholarly value. They merely illustrate the diversity in historians' use of the term 'dynasty'. But for all these diverse ways in which we use the term, 'dynasty' has in fact been defined. The definition that is used most widely, including by myself, was offered by Wolfgang Weber in 1998, and it weaves together several of the usages Nowakowska sketches. He argues that a dynasty was

> an optimal manifestation of the family, that marks itself through a heightened sense of identity and definition to the outside world; a collection of assets that form an expressly collective possession, such as territories, rank, rights and offices; marriages and inheritance practices that are intended to pass on the patrimony undiminished or enhanced; and an increased sense of historical continuity. Both the formation and the consolidation should be seen as the result of conscious actions, according to certain elements and patterns.[30]

In focusing on the transgenerational transfer of resources, Weber captures the succession politics view of dynasties, while his focus on a family identity points towards the importance of self-fashioning and the resulting sense of the dynasty as a group. In bringing in marriages, he even covers the topic of life cycle events. This definition has, however, been seen as problematic because it focuses rather too much on the agnatic family, leaving little space for the women who marry into it, or outside of it, and the resulting connections to other dynasties.[31] Natalia Nowakowska considers this definition to have issues as well. She found that, on closer inspection, the Jagiellonians which were at the centre of her own research project did not call themselves Jagiellonians at all; individuals might present themselves as belonging to either their father's family or their mother's family; in their self-fashioning they might emphasise their office or monarchy rather than their family (referring to themselves as prince/princess of Poland instead of N. Jagiellon); and their awareness of who else were members of the same family could be hazy.[32] Hardly an 'optimal manifestation of the family', indeed.[33]

The case of the Jagiellonians might make one wonder if dynasties existed at all in the eyes of the people on whom we would like to stick this label. It certainly challenges historians not to take anything for granted. Rather, it shows that the extent to which ruling families considered themselves to be a group is an open question that needs to be answered for each family that we might hypothesise to be a dynasty. But there are few reasons to doubt that the Habsburgs did indeed see themselves as a family. We are quite aware that no one called the Habsburgs 'Habsburgs' in the early modern period – this nineteenth-century invention has become so entrenched in modern scholarship that I have decided to refer to them by this name nevertheless – but a family identity as the House of Austria was firmly established even so. This is perhaps demonstrated most clearly by the fact that those among the Habsburg bastards who were recognised as members of the family were awarded the moniker 'of Austria' – an ultimate marker of belonging. Charles V's son Don Juan of Austria is the best-known example, but there were many more. Even Filiberto was marked as a Habsburg by calling him 'of Austria'. And during the early modern period a veritable avalanche of genealogies was published referring to the 'Domus Austriae' (see Chapter 2).

Still, this family group is not unproblematic either. When we focus on the historical narratives of the House of Austria in genealogies, the family group that emerges is very different from another, equally real family group: the coeval relatives including cognatic nephews and bastards who worked together in governing the Spanish Habsburg monarchy. Among the ranks of the latter, we find Don Juan of Austria and Filiberto 'of Austria', both as admirals and governors, whose monikers obviously mark them as Habsburgs – but they are often omitted from the genealogies. What can we make of this? Clearly, genealogical narratives constructed *one* dynasty, while participation in rule constructed another. These two groups overlap to a certain extent – a ruler's children might be members of both – but are quite simply not the same, as

the omission of Filiberto and Don Juan from most genealogies shows. My problem with Weber's definition therefore is not that an 'optimal manifestation of the family' called the House of Austria did not exist, but rather that this family manifested itself in different guises dependent on the context in which it operated, and dependent on how, and by whom, it was constructed.

I would argue that the differences between authors like Duindam and Broomhall and Van Gent in their concepts of dynasty are only partly due to the different sources they used, and thus what they found in them – it is more than that. Genealogies are not only a source on dynasties but also a means of constructing them by including some individuals and excluding others and by presenting the dynasty either as a continuation of the medieval Habsburgs or of the medieval kings of Castile. Appointment to certain offices is another such means. For instance, the estates of the Low Countries had forced the king to appoint only close family members as their governor, which meant that the king was careful to present his appointees *as his relatives*. Appointments confirmed relatives' membership of the House of Austria. In contrast to genealogical narratives, this was not a historical construction: the individuals appointed were contemporary kinsmen and kinswomen of the ruler, who belonged to his horizontal family. But if they were cognates or bastards they might not show up in genealogies. Therefore, a focus on either genealogies or appointments will not merely illuminate different aspects of the same phenomenon but will rather bring to light altogether different constructions of dynasty. The *real* question that should concern us is what dynamics drove the construction of dynasty.

## Reconstructing the Spanish Habsburg Dynasty

This book is about the Spanish Habsburg dynasty in the two centuries between 1500 and 1700, as it ruled its enormous monarchy. The focus of this work is neither on Habsburg rulers nor on individual non-ruling Habsburgs – male or female – but rather on the group as a whole, and how it was shaped and how it operated during a period of two centuries. The main assumption of this book is that 'dynasty' is not something that is a simple, biological reality – a line of descent from one ruler to another – but something that is socially constructed.[34] Kinship and life cycle events are of course hugely important in dynastic matters,[35] so this is not to dismiss biology. But biology merely supplies the 'hardware' – people – while identity, socialisation, negotiation and representation provide the 'software' – a sense of belonging.[36] This is particularly the case for individuals who, unlike rulers, are not obvious members of dynasties, but who are further removed from the dynastic centre or have become potentially detached from it: married or widowed sisters, independent brothers, illegitimate offspring, nephews, nieces, cousins, etc. The focus lies on the horizontal family group, as opposed to the vertical line of rulers, with particular attention to its fringes – where the demarcation line between insiders and outsiders can be assumed to lie.

The Spanish Habsburg dynasty is a particularly rich case to study since it needed so many of its members. The nature of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy – a conglomerate of territories each with their own political structures – meant that the king could not be present in all political centres at once.[37] Certain territories, like the Low Countries, Castile and Portugal, required royal governors in his absence. Since the king could not rule this monarchy alone, many other Habsburgs, sometimes quite 'obscure', had an essential role to play. A string of formidable women governed the Low Countries in the ruler's absence, starting with Charles V's aunt Margaret of Austria and including his sister Mary of Hungary – both important patrons of the arts and more than competent governors.[38] They were followed by a host of nephews, like Alessandro Farnese and Archduke Albert of Austria, who was governor of Portugal before transferring to the Low Countries.[39] The few younger sons born to the kings of Spain were appointed to territorial governorships, while also serving in offices like the archbishopric of Toledo and the grand priorate of Castile in the order of St John.[40] Relatives did not merely take care of the practicalities of rule; they were buried alongside the kings of Spain in the Escorial, they were mentioned in genealogies, and in some cases, they were even part of the more far-fetched and unlikely succession scenarios laid out in testaments.[41] But for many of them, this was not given. Nephews or widows could not automatically lay claim to a dynastic office or a Habsburg burial. Their role was a result of negotiations and family dynamics.

In this book, I will analyse four different dynastic constructions: dynasty as a genealogical narrative, as a community of heirs, as a community of the dead and as a ruling family group. The four constructions not only illuminate different aspects of dynasty but also represent the different temporal dimensions in which it existed. The various constructions of dynasty could come about concurrently: in 1578, one nephew of Philip II was buried in the Escorial, while he appointed another as governor in the Low Countries, his eventual heir was born and the Brabantine painter Pieter Baltens was at work on his *Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre*.[42] Yet dynasties transcend time as well: genealogies create a dynastic *past*, while testaments, while their succession clauses, set parameters for possible *futures*. Appointments are responses in the *present*, while burial sites represent accumulated individual '*presents*' that have over time fossilised into a collective *past*. Focusing on these different temporal dimensions means capturing the dynasty on various temporal planes of existence.

To understand the family dynamics that shaped the constructions of the Habsburg dynasty, I will make use of the theoretical concept of social institutionalism,[43] which assumes that certain uncodified roles and practices were the result of expectations and dynamics that were developed over time. For this research, it means that the relationship between a king and his relative was never purely individual. It rested on the examples of previous relationships, which set the parameters of the new relationship without determining it. Over and over again, kings and their relations showed the world how

things were done within the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, and by whom, which in turn created hopes, aspirations and obligations: the career of a royal nephew like Albert of Austria offered a blueprint of what was possible both to the next generation of nephews and to a new crop of royal brothers-in-law. This is one of the reasons why it is imperative to take a long-term perspective if we wish to understand the shaping and workings of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. Family heads were among the most powerful actors shaping these roles and expectations – in the Habsburg case, this was the king of Spain. As the one with most decision-making power, he could determine the fates of his kinfolk. But the other relatives were not entirely powerless. They could refuse to take on certain roles (as bride, as governor) or could manoeuvre themselves into the right position to attempt to follow in the footsteps of relatives whose dynastic belonging had already been established. A constant pulling and pushing characterised the relationship between the family head and his relatives; the result of this dialectic was the family group that was discussed in genealogies, that held dynastic offices and that lies buried together in dynastic crypts.

Methodologically, I focus on dynastic markers. The kings of Spain had several ways of marking out those whom they considered part of the dynasty: inclusion in genealogies or testaments, or eligibility to become governor of the Low Countries, to enter the Descalzas monastery or to be buried in the Escorial. Not all these honours were exclusive to members of the Habsburg dynasty – the duke of Alba became governor of the Low Countries and the Descalzas was populated by a host of aristocratic ladies who laid no claim to Habsburgness – but this book argues that these elements, in combination with titles and styles, and ceremonies at death, were dynastic markers. Whether or not an individual attained these markers depended on the two-way interaction that we sketched for Filiberto above: a cocktail of kinship, socialisation and geopolitics, as well as the outcome of negotiations between family heads and relatives about their status. Moreover, the 'road to Habsburgness' was different for male and female relatives, adding gender to the mix as well.

The sources that I have used in this book can best be described as various forms of group representations, which I have used to reconstruct the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, that is sources that discuss or represent the dynasty *as a group*. Such sources include testaments, genealogies and burial sites. Sources that focus on individuals, like portraiture, have been deliberately left out. The dress of the sitter, the props and furnishings on display, as well as the composition and style of the painting, all potentially express dynastic belonging, but a consideration of individual self-fashioning would have broadened the scope of this work far too much. My aim is not to analyse how individuals were represented as Habsburgs, but rather to analyse how the group as a whole was constructed.

The different sources are explored in the following seven chapters. The first chapter uses testaments to examine the dynasty as a community of heirs:

how were inheritance and succession arranged, who was thought eligible to take the reins of the monarchy? The second chapter is based on a set of genealogies and examines how the dynasty was constructed in genealogical narratives: what origins were ascribed to the dynasty, how were the various branches dealt with and how did potential outsiders like cognates and illegitimates fare in dynastic narratives? The third chapter turns to burial arrangements, reconstructing the dynasty as a community of the dead, mainly based on testaments, reports of ceremonies and correspondence: how did the great dynastic crypt of the Escorial come about and how inclusive was it? The final chapters are based on a more eclectic set of sources, mostly correspondence, and examine the dynasty as a ruling group in various periods: who could participate in dynastic rule and what dynamics made them eligible? Taken together, these chapters show how the Habsburgs 'made' the Spanish Habsburg dynasty.

## On Names

I generally follow the convention of referring to crowned heads by translated names (Charles V, Charles Emmanuel of Savoy) and using names in the vernacular to refer to others (Don Carlos, Filiberto). All medieval Austrian dukes and archdukes were officially rulers, so they are referred to by their translated names (Frederick of Tyrol), and I have continued this practice for early modern Habsburgs (Archduke Ernest). However, in some cases I have followed other historians when they have deviated from this convention: Philip II's sister is often called Empress Maria instead of Empress Mary (which also makes it easier to distinguish her from her aunt Mary of Hungary), and the dowager duchess of Mantua will be referred to as Margherita instead of Margaret. I have also chosen to call the grand duke of Tuscany Ferdinando II to distinguish him from his uncle Emperor Ferdinand II. Alessandro Farnese and Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy are mentioned mostly when heirs, and for consistency's sake they retain their untranslated names even after they ascended their ducal thrones.

## Notes

1 *Relacion de la grandiosa vitoria, que su Alteza el señor Principe Filiberto de Austria, Virrey de Sicilia, alcançò…* ([Seville], 1624).
2 On the printer, see Carmen Espejo and Antonio Alías, 'Juan Serrano de Vargas, impresor y mercader de noticias', in Sagrario López Poza (ed.), *Las noticias en los siglos de la imprenta* (A Coruña, 2006), pp. 37–48. He repeated the mistake in another print, *Verdadera relación de las famosas presas que… hizo el Capitán Salmerón* (Seville, 1624), where Filiberto is again mentioned as 'Príncipe Filiberto de Austria, virrey de Sicilia'; Fray Esteban Rallón, *Historia de la Ciudad de Xerez de la Frontera y de los Reyes que la dominaron desde su primera fundación* (4 vols, Jerez de la Frontera, 1997–2003), vol. III, pp. 339–41, devotes a chapter to 'La venida del príncipe Filiberto de Austria al Andalucía y las fiestas que Xerez

le hizo'. A manuscript in the library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial is ascribed to Filiberto de Austria: Ms. J.I.6 *Las memorias del Señor Phelippe de Comines Cauallero, y Señor de Argenton: de los hechos principales de Lvis Onzeno y Carlos Octauo su hijo Reyes de Francia / [Traducidas por el principe Philiberto de Austria]*. The mistake has also crept into a few modern works: José Rújula y de Ochotorena, 'Los Cepeda, linaje de Santa Teresa: ensayo genealógico', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 99-2 (1931), pp. 607–52, p. 621, mentions a son of Don Rodrigo de Tordesillas Cepeda, don Gonzalo, who was a page of 'Príncipe Filiberto de Austria', and Celestino López Martínez, *Mudéjares y moriscos sevillanos* (Seville, 1994; first edition 1932), p. 33, mentions some houses in an area of Seville that was under the jurisdiction of the Order of St John, where certain individuals lived on behalf of the Order's grand prior, 'el Serenísimo Príncipe Manuel Filiberto de Austria'.

3 In Italy, the title held no connotations of succession, although Filiberto did have a shot at it – in 1624, he was directly in line for the throne after his elderly father and childless elder brother Vittorio Amedeo.

4 It is well known that the medieval and early modern Habsburgs never referred to themselves as such, but rather as 'von Österreich', 'de Austria'. Evemarie Clemens highlights how unusual the style of 'Habsburg' was for contemporaries by citing a fifteenth-century Austrian chronicler, who reported an exchange between Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg and the Austrian duke Ernest: 'Er (Herzog Ernst) was kaines fursten zag, er sorgt auch kayser Sigmundten nichtz. Wann ainsmal was im der kayser etwo gram, do kam der Hertzog Ernnst zu im gein Prespuck: da emphieng in der kayser mit ubermuet und sprach: "Seyt willikum, der von Habspirg!" Do dannkt er im und sprach: "Got danck, herr von Lutzelburg!"'. (He – Duke Ernest – did not fear any prince, neither did he fear Emperor Sigismund. Once, when the Emperor was angry with him, Ernest met him outside Pressburg. The Emperor received him with arrogance and said 'Welcome, of Habsburg!' Duke Ernest thanked him and said: 'Thank God, lord of Luxemburg!') Apparently, this exchange was unusual enough for the chronicler to recount it, while the references to anger (gram, ubermuet) suggest that Sigismund meant it as a slight. Evemarie Clemens, *Luxemburg-Böhmen, Wittelsbach-Bayern, Habsburg-Österreich und ihre genealogischen Mythen im Vergleich* (Trier, 2001), pp. 1–2.

5 On the Habsburg dynasty, see Andrew Weatcroft, *The Habsburg. Embodying Empire* (London, 2005); Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs. Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (Chicago, 2014). Books on other dynasties are also usually organised around rulers and reigns; see, for instance, Oliver Thomson, *The Impossible Bourbons: Europe's Most Ambitious Dynasty* (Stroud, 2009); Joseph H. Shennan, *The Bourbons: The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2007), and Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians. The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2004).

6 Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 2–3.

7 John Morrill, 'Dynasties, Realms, Peoples and State Formation', in Robert von Friedeburg and John Morrill (eds), *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 17–43; Liesbeth Geevers and Harald Gustafsson, 'Building Dynasties, Shaping States: Dynasty and State Formation in Early Modern Europe', in Liesbeth Geevers and Harald Gustafsson (eds), *Dynasty and State Formation in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2023).

8 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Protestantism and Primogeniture in Early Modern Germany* (New Haven, 1989); Karl Heinz Spiess, *Familie und Verwandtschaft im deutschen Hochadel des Spätmittelalters 13. bis Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1993); Klaus Neitmann, 'Die Hohenzollern-Testamente und die

brandenburgischen Landesteilungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in Friedrich Beck and Klaus Neitmann (eds), *Brandenburgische Landesgeschichte und Archivwissenschaft* (Weimar, 1997), pp. 105–25; Jörg Rogge, *Herrschaftsweitergabe, Konfliktregelung und Familienorganisation im fürstlichen Hochadel: das Beispiel der Wettiner von der Mitte des 13. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2002); Daniel Schönpflug, *Die Heiraten der Hohenzollern: Verwandtschaft, Politik und Ritual in Europa 1640–1918* (Göttingen, 2013).

9 The modern classic on this development is Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992* (Cambridge MA, 1992). See also Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change* (Princeton, 1992); Jan Glete, *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic, and Sweden as Fiscal-Military states, 1500–1660* (London, 2002); Tuong Vu, 'Studying the State through State Formation', *World Politics* 62 (2010), pp. 148–75; Harald Gustafsson, *Makt och människor. Europeisk statsbildning från medeltiden till franska revolutionen* (Göteborg-Stockholm, 2010); Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, 1978; original German edition 1922); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge, 1993); Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1974); Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997); S. E. Finer, *The History of Government from the Earliest Times* (3 vols, Oxford, 1997).

10 Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States* (Oxford, 1991).

11 For instance, Frank Bealey, *Power in Business and the State: An Historical Analysis of its Concentration* (London, 2001), pp. 26–28.

12 The seminal early publication in this field, Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), has led to a plethora of studies on factions at courts and in bureaucracies. See, for example, Antoni Mączak (ed.), *Klientelsysteme im Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1988); José Martínez Millán (ed.), *Instituciones y elites de poder en la Monarquía Hispana durante el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1992); Wolfgang Reinhard (ed.), *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford, 1996); John H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven, 1999).

13 Court history has blossomed into a sprawling field ever since Norbert Elias's seminal text on Louis XIV's court was rediscovered and thoroughly critiqued: Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie* (Neuwied, 1963). Some of the path-breaking publications are A.G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe* (London, 1977); Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450–1650* (Oxford, 1991); John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750* (London, 2000); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals* (Cambridge, 2003); René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaekers and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds), *A Constellation of Courts. The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555–1665* (Leuven, 2014).

14 The historiography on powerful royal women is by now impressively extensive. A few examples include Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore, 1998); Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain 1660–1837. Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester, 2002); Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815. The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge, 2004); Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (eds), *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800* (London and New York, 2017); James Daybell and Svante Norrhem (eds), *Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1800* (London, 2016).

15 Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender & History* 19 (2007), pp. 1–21.

16 Jonathan Spangler, *Monsieur. Second Sons in the Monarchy of France, 1550–1800* (London, 2021); Alexander Isacsson, 'Dynastisk centralisering i 1560-talets Sverige. "Reservens dilemma" och hertigarnas resning 1568', *Scandia* 87 (2021), pp. 11–37.

17 Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 1999); Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV* (Cambridge, 2002); Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 2002); Hamish S. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Northern, Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1995; second rev. ed. Basingstoke 2007); Gemma Allen, 'The Rise of the Ambasadress. English Ambassadorial Wives and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *The Historical Journal* 62 (2019), pp. 617–38; Laura Oliván Santaliestra, 'Mein lieber lúiß': Aloys von Harrach and the Diplomacies of Motherhood during the Last Years of Carlos II's Reign (1698–1701)', *The Court Historian* 23 (2018), pp. 198–214.

18 David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, 'Kinship in Europe. A New Approach to Long Term Development', in David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Jon Mathieu (eds), *Kinship in Europe. Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York, 2007), pp. 1–32; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *'Those of my blood'. Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Pennsylvania, 2001); Amy Livingstone, 'Kith and Kin: Kinship and Family Structure of the Nobility of Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Blois-Chartres', *French Historical Studies* 20 (1997), pp. 419–58; Amy Livingstone, *Out of love for my Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000–1200* (Ithaca, 2010); Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, 'Introduction. From Siblingship to Siblinghood: Kinship and the Shaping of European Society (1300–1900)', in Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (eds), *Sibling Relations and the Transformation of European Kinship, 1300–1900* (New York, 2011), pp. 1–28; David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility. Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005)

19 This periodisation forms the basis for our volume on dynastic identity: Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini (eds), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe. Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham, 2015).

20 See, for instance, the HERA project 'Marrying Cultures. Queens Consort and European Identities 1500–1800', which investigated the role of foreign consorts as agents, instruments or catalysts of cultural and dynastic transfer in early modern Europe (1500–1800), directed by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (2013–16), and the many publications this project produced by Svante Norrhem, Jill Bepler, Almut Bues and others.

21 Jeroen Duindam, 'A Plea for Global Comparison: Redefining Dynasty', *Past & Present* 242, Issue Supplement 14 (2019), pp. 318–47; Ilya Afanasyev and Milinda Banerjee, 'The Modern Invention of "Dynasty": An Introduction', *Global Intellectual History* (2020), pp. 407–20.

22 Natalia Nowakowska, 'What's in a Word? The Etymology and Historiography of Dynasty – Renaissance Europe and Beyond', *Global Intellectual History* 7 (2020), pp. 453–74. For usage of the concept of dynasty in a strictly vertical sense, see Robert Folger, *Generaciones y semblanzas. Memory and Genealogy in Medieval Iberian Historiography* (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 12–14, where he sketches the development of medieval Iberian historiography from mere kings' lists to a collection of profiles of succeeding monarchs to chronicles based on chapters that concern their succeeding reigns; for a modern-day equivalent, see, for instance, Shennan,

*The Bourbons*, which contains the following chapters: 1. Beginnings, 2. Henry IV, 3. Louis XIII, 4. Louis XIV, 5. Louis XV, 6. Louis XVI, 7. Aftermath.

23 Nowakowska, 'What's in a Word?', p. 454.

24 Thisgreatgame.com, a website devoted to the history of baseball, provides a list of baseball's 'ten greatest dynasties', which consists of periods in which a certain team dominated. https://thisgreatgame.com/baseball-lists-ten-greatest-baseball-dynasties/

25 Nowakowska, 'What's in a Word?', pp. 461–62. Nowakowska refers to my and Mirella Marini's volume on *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe* as a proponent of this style.

26 Duindam, *Dynasties*.

27 Morrill, 'Dynasties, Realms, Peoples and State Formation', pp. 17–43.

28 Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal. Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2020).

29 Sue Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London, 2016).

30 Wolfgang E.J. Weber, 'Dynastiesicherung and Staatsbildung. Die Entfaltung des frühmodernen Fürstenstaates', in Wolfgang E.J. Weber (ed.), *Der Fürst. Ideen und Wirklichkeiten in der europäischen Geschichte* (Cologne, 1998), pp. 91–136, p. 95: 'eine optimierte Erscheinungsform der Familie, die sich durch erhöhte Identität (und damit verstärkte Abgrenzung nach Außen), ausdrücklich gemeinsam genutzten (individueller Verfügung durch Familienmitglieder entzogenen) Besitz (Güter, Ränge, Rechte, Ämter), im Interesse ungeschmälerter Besitzweitergabe bzw. maximaler Besitzerweiterung bewußt gesteuerte Heirat und Vererbung sowie daher in der Regel gesteigerte historische Kontinuität auszeichnet. Sowohl die Entstehung einer Dynastie als auch deren Verfestigung sind deshalb wesentlich als Ergebnis bewußter Handelns aufzufassen, welchem entsprechend typische Elemente und Muster zugeschrieben werden können'. Translation by Hamish Scott in Geevers and Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520–1700', in Geevers and Marini (eds), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 10–11. For its usage: Cordula Nolte, 'Der kranke Fürst: Vergleichende Beobachtungen zu Dynastie- und Herrschaftskrisen um 1500, ausgehend von den Landgrafen von Hessen', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 27 (2000), pp. 1–36; Stephanie Marra, *Allianzen des Adels: dynastisches Handeln im Grafenhaus Bentheim im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (2007); Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550–1650* (Leiden, 2010).

31 Heide Wunder, 'Einleitung: Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung: Geschlechter und Geschlecht', in Heide Wunder (ed.), *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der Frühen Neuzeit. Geschlechter und Geschlecht* (Berlin 2002), pp. 9–28, pp. 16–17.

32 Nowakowska, 'What's in a Word?', pp. 463–66. The same point has been made about the Tudors: C.S.L. Davis, 'What's in a Name?', *History* 97 (2012), pp. 24–42, and could no doubt be made about many other dynasties.

33 Nowakowska's research covers the late Middle Ages, a period where, according to the historians of the family cited above, family cohesion might not have been as developed as during later periods. She does indeed notice that the label 'Jagellionian' came into use, even among members of the family, in the course of the sixteenth century.

34 On collective identity and collective memory as building stones of social groups, see Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, 2009); Aleida Assmann, 'Re-framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past', in Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay M. Winter (eds), *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010), pp. 35–50.

35 A point made most recently by Robert Bartlett in his *Blood Royal*.
36 See, for instance, Broomhall and Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity*, and Geevers and Marini (eds), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe*.
37 Characterisations of the monarchy range from composite monarchy to conglomerate states, and from dynastic agglomerate to polycentric monarchy. John H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present* 137 (1992), pp. 48–71; Harald Gustafsson, 'The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 23 (1998), pp. 189–213; Morrill, 'Dynasties, Realms, Peoples and State Formation'; Pedro Cardim *et al.* (eds), *Polycentric Monarchies. How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain Global Hegemony* (Eastbourne, 2012)
38 See, for instance, the trilogy by Jane de Iongh: *Margaretha van Oostenrijk* (Amsterdam, 1941); *Maria van Hongarije, Landvoogdes der Nederlanden, 1505–1558* (2 vols, 1942, 1951); and *Madama. Margaretha van Oostenrijk. Hertogin van Parma en Piacenza, 1522–1586* (Amsterdam, 1967); also Dagmar Eichberger (ed.), *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria* (Leuven-Turnhout, 2005); Laetitia V.G. Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije regentes der Nederlanden. Een politieke analyse op basis van haar regentschapsordonnanties en haar correspondentie met Karel V* (Hilversum, 1995); Charles S. Steen, *Margaret of Parma. A Life* (Leiden, 2012); Renato Lefèvre, *Madama: Margarita d'Austria (1522–1586)* (Rome, 1986)
39 Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham, 2012); Léon Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays Bas (1545–1592)* (5 vols, Brussels, 1933–37); Maria José Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict: The Complex Relations between Alessandro Farnese and Philip II', in Rafael Valladares, Feliciano Barrios and Juan A. Sánchez Belén (eds), *En la Corte del Rey de España. Liber Amicorum en homenaje a Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez (1958–2011)* (Madrid, 2016), pp. 59–105; Violet Soen, 'Philip II's Quest. The Appointment of Governors-General during the Dutch Revolt (1559–1598)', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 126 (2011), pp. 3–29.
40 Alicia Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes en el futuro político de los infantes: la designación del Cardenal Infante don Fernando para la lugartenencia real de Bruselas', in José Martínez Millán and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds), *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621–1665). Reconfiguración de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid, 2015), part I, vol. III, pp. 1615–78; Alfred van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-Infant et la politique européene de l'Espagne 1609–1641* (Brussels, 1944); Martha K. Hoffman, *Raised to Rule. Educating Royalty at the Court of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1601–1634* (Baton Rouge, 2011), which discusses the younger sons of Philip III.
41 On dynastic scenarios in testaments, see Jasper van der Steen, 'Dynastic Scenario Thinking in the Holy Roman Empire', *Past and Present* (2021), pp. 87–128.
42 Pieter Balten, *Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre, avec brieves descriptions de leurs vies et gestes le tout recueillÿ des plus veritables, approvees et anciennes croniques et annales qui se trouvent par Corneille Martin* (Antwerp, [ca. 1580])
43 I particularly admire the way Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger has used this methodological concept lightly but insightfully in her *Des Kaisers alte Kleider. Verfassungsgeschichte und Symbolsprache des Alten Reiches* (Munich, 2008); translated by Thomas Dunlap as *The Emperor's Old Cloths. Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 2015). The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* cites the following definition of a social institution: 'a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social

structures and organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment', developed by Jonathan Turner, *The Institutional Order* (New York, 1997), p. 6. In Habsburg studies, the essence of dynasty-defining behaviours as social institutions is captured, for instance, by María José del Río Barredo, 'Rituals of the Vaticum: Dynasty and Community in Habsburg Madrid', in Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds), *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 55–75.

# 1 Dynastic Centralisation

## Tradition and Transformation in Habsburg Succession Practices

This chapter traces the distribution of the patrimony among the Spanish Habsburgs and their main predecessors. The purpose of this chapter is to chart how and why the distribution of the dynasty's assets changed over time. This analysis will serve as a baseline for the following two chapters, which focus on cultural and social formations of the dynasty in both genealogies and burial arrangements. Taken together, these chapters bring the process of dynastic centralisation into focus: the process which allowed the emergence of dominant family heads, who managed to claim a greater share of the dynasty's patrimony and (thus) could subordinate their male relatives in terms of political power; who also gained the power to limit the social role of relatives within the family group and in the wider 'society of princes' by limiting their possibilities to marry or pursue an independent foreign policy; and who, as a corollary of their greater political and social pre-eminence, became dominant in the cultural representation of the family as well. This chapter also traces the construction of the dynasty as a community of heirs.

First, I will briefly sketch the situation in the Middle Ages to provide the context for the changes in our main research period: what did succession law and actual successions look like in the three main constituent parts of the sixteenth-century Habsburg monarchy, Austria, Burgundy and Castile? What solutions were found for the perennial problem of providing for many sons? Robert Bartlett has recently dealt at length with how this question was addressed by the dynasties of medieval Europe.[1] Options for providing for younger brothers were, for instance, to endow them with lands acquired through conquest or marriage, i.e. not belonging to the original paternal patrimony; to allow them to acquire a foreign crown themselves; to endow them with an appanage in the realm of their elder brother; or to divide the paternal patrimony among all brothers. Most of these options were explored by the late-medieval predecessors of the Spanish Habsburgs as well.

After considering the situation in the Middle Ages, I will trace the development of succession law and succession attitudes throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, I will discuss its impact on the position of younger sons and daughters.

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## Medieval Archdukes, Infantes and Princes

### *Austria*

Let us turn first to the medieval dukes and archdukes of Austria. Over the past decades, much research has been conducted on the ways in which German dynasties divided their patrimonies among their descendants.[2] The Holy Roman Empire, to which the Habsburg territories belonged, was an area of partible inheritance, which means that all sons had a right to inherit part of the patrimony, while women were mostly excluded. How such partitions were enacted was often a matter of negotiation: the list of German family pacts stipulating exactly how patrimonies were to be divided is endless. Several options existed. The patrimony might be divided among all brothers, who thus became independent princes. Alternatively, the heirs might rule collectively. Collective rule could entail a less formalised division into governing spheres, or the identification of one 'executive' ruling brother and others who ruled formally, but not in practice. The deals struck between brothers, cousins or uncles and nephews were often temporary, granting ruling or usufruct rights for a set period, after which the deal should be renegotiated.[3] This was helpful when some brothers were still to achieve adulthood and could not yet be included in any deal, or simply to agree on a temporary status quo if a permanent settlement was out of reach. Some houses placed their younger sons in the Church, but this was not common among the medieval Habsburgs – a clerical career was apparently considered for a son of Albert I, but never materialised.[4] Partition arrangements only started to disappear when primogeniture made its entrance, which happened from the later sixteenth century onwards in most houses.

The Habsburgs' political ascent within the Holy Roman Empire really took off at the end of the thirteenth century, when Count Rudolf of Habsburg (1218–91) was elected king of the Romans (1273) and invested both his sons, twenty-seven-year-old Albert I (1255–1308) and twelve-year-old Rudolf II (1270–90), with the vacant duchies of Austria and Styria (1282).[5] While power would in practice lie with the mature Albert, the collective enfeoffment of both sons was meant to ensure that both they and all their male offspring would have inheritance rights.[6] This procedure was common in the Empire and ensured that the male descendants from any existing or future branch of the family would take precedence over women in the line of succession, not just the male descendants of a single first fief-holder – a precaution against extinction since female succession was extremely uncommon in the Empire.[7] It was also the basis for the right of all males of the House to carry the title 'duke of Austria', later 'archduke of Austria'. However, at that time, collective enfeoffment was not yet common in Austria and Styria and the local estates objected to being required to swear fealty to two lords. Giving in to these protests, King Rudolf agreed to exclude the younger son from the inheritance only a year later. This deal would be voided if his father did

not manage to recompense him with some other patrimony.[8] In the end, this other patrimony was never secured, but neither did the younger son regain his rights to Austria and Styria. This might have led to conflict between the two brothers, but conflict was averted because Rudolf II died at only twenty years of age. The little son he left behind, John, was also frozen out of the inheritance, which famously led him years later to assassinate his uncle, earning him the nickname John the Parricide.[9]

This first experiment with primogeniture was clearly a failure due to the lack of possibilities for the disinherited younger brother. A second attempt failed as well. In 1298, Albert I, the sole ruler of Austria and Styria, decided to invest all his five sons collectively with his duchies, securing their succession.[10] But a year later, he resolved that only his eldest son Rudolf III should rule these lands and his younger sons would receive a maintenance according to their status – an arrangement which was part of the eldest son's marriage treaty with a French princess and contingent upon the couple producing offspring.[11] His younger sons, all below the age of ten, officially renounced their rights. But the bride died only a few years later, and no children survived the marriage, so the deal was voided before any of the younger brothers, on the brink of adulthood, could stir up trouble.[12] It is of course an open question whether they would have accepted the renunciation they had made when they were still children, or whether they would have insisted on the rights they derived from the original collective enfeoffment. In 1306, Rudolf III was invested with the crown of Bohemia, which had become vacant after the death of its king. This increase in territory allowed him to leave the government of the duchies to his next younger brother. Thus, as the patrimony expanded, providing for the younger sons became easier.

After these early experiments, the Habsburgs would decide to rule jointly, even if the eldest brother would have the right to 'represent' the younger brothers in government. Younger brothers were regularly placed in charge of Further Austria, the scattered ancestral lands of the Habsburgs in the west of the Empire (also known as the Vorlande), as regents on behalf of the entire House. But not all younger brothers were happy with this. In 1326, four sons of Albert I remained: Frederick, Leopold, Albert and Otto. Frederick had contested the election of Emperor Louis the Bavarian, throwing himself into warfare, spending some years in captivity but eventually settling on co-rule with his rival – becoming 'Emperor Frederick III' in many Habsburg genealogies. During these years, he left the government of the Austrian duchies mainly to his brothers Leopold (who died in 1326) in the western territories and Albert in the east, while Otto, the youngest, played a minor role alongside Albert.[13] After Leopold's death, Frederick returned to Austria and took up the reins of government, which meant that Otto's role was further diminished. But it was precisely Otto who was the first of the brothers to become the father of a legitimate son. The child's mother was a Bavarian princess whom Otto had married in 1325. In her family, partitions were common,

and this may have led Otto to claim his own share of the Habsburg patrimony as well.[14] Otto informed Frederick and Albert that he wanted to be 'dominus and princeps' in the territories he governed.[15] Initially, his brothers refused, but as Otto got the rivalling kings of Bohemia and Hungary involved on his side, the elder Habsburg princes were forced to deal with Otto's wishes and he was granted Further Austria.[16]

The split turned out to be temporary: Otto's first son was soon joined by a younger brother, but both boys died in their teens and the territories reverted to the House.[17] Since Frederick had already died in 1330, Albert II was the only remaining Habsburg after the death of Otto and his sons. He stipulated collective rule for his own four sons.[18] The two eldest of this foursome died in their twenties. When only the two younger sons remained, the youngest of the two, Leopold III, challenged the collective arrangement, which led to the first formal partition of the patrimony in 1379.[19] This resulted in two branches until 1457, when the elder branch died out. This elder branch ruled Austria proper, while the other branch ruled the rest: Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and the Windic March (together known as Inner Austria), and Further Austria. In the senior branch, generally only one son was available for the inheritance, thus precluding any conflicts. In the junior branch, disputes were avoided when Tyrol was acquired and a further partition could be enacted.

In terms of formal arrangements, younger archdukes could hope to acquire some parts of the patrimony or be recognised as co-rulers. However, achieving the status of independent prince became harder along the way, and relations among archdukes correspondingly became more fractious. Emperor Frederick III (or IV, according to Habsburg genealogies), eldest son in the Styrian branch in the middle of the fifteenth century, was reluctant to share the patrimony with his younger brother Albert VI and had to deal with a lot of opposition as a result.[20] Albert VI was given Further Austria, a traditional enough arrangement. However, this area had become increasingly unruly and would soon be lost to the Swiss Confederacy, which meant Albert VI was not the kind of 'dominus and princeps' in the area that Otto had been. He tried everything to gain more promising parts of the patrimony – particularly after the extinction of the other branch of the house in 1457.[21] Conflicts only ceased after Albert's death. This did not stop Frederick and later his son Maximilian from also trying to push their cousin Sigismund of Tyrol out of power. Peace among brothers, or among cousins, was never easily achieved, and the fifteenth-century heads of the House seem to have been rather more ruthless in this matter than their predecessors.

Throughout the entire period, the family's women were effectively excluded from the inheritance, only having the right to succeed when there were no males at all. This was equally true for regencies, which happened rather regularly. Uncles rather than mothers served as regents, which served to heighten cohesion within the House, but also tensions between regents and (former) wards.[22] In the late sixteenth century this tradition was so deep

rooted that the widowed Maria Anna of Bavaria, mother to nine archdukes and archduchess below the age of thirteen, was prohibited from governing Styria on behalf of her eldest son and had to accept the government by two of her deceased husband's nephews instead.[23]

Karl Vocelka was right that collective rule was 'programmed to be problematic'.[24] Within this system, eldest brothers certainly had an advantage over their younger siblings, but younger brothers who felt they were treated unfairly had an array of possibilities to further their interests: they could claim to rule as a regent somewhere on behalf of the House, or to receive an outright share of the patrimony. But ongoing conflict ensued as well. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, only one male Habsburg was left, Emperor Maximilian I, who thus united all the patrimony in his own hands, to leave it at his death to his two grandsons Charles and Ferdinand. They would embark on the usual round of negotiations to determine how the patrimony would be divided between them.

### *Castile*

The 'birth' of the crown of Castile is often situated around 1230, when the crowns of Castile and Leon were united, never to be separated again. Shortly after, the Cortes of both kingdoms started to meet in joint sessions, welding the two realms together even more strongly. In stark contrast to the Habsburg patrimony in Austria, Castile was, of course, a kingdom – a structure which precluded any partitions because it implied the succession of one king after another,[25] which also meant that co-rule was unlikely. However, this did not mean that relations between rulers and their brothers were any easier. Succession law was codified in the thirteenth century. King Alfonso X the Wise (r. 1252–84), second king of the Castilian-Leonese union after his father Ferdinand III (1199/1201–1252), produced a legal code named *Las siete partidas*, in which he stipulated male-preference primogeniture and the indivisibility of the united Castilian crown.[26] This conformed largely to the existing law, but one new element was introduced: in contrast to previous succession practices, the King stipulated that the right of representation should be observed. The right of representation meant that a primary heir's heir might 'represent' the rights of the primary heir. Previously, the nearest male relative of a monarch had had the right to succeed, which meant a son always outranked a grandson. But under the right of representation, a deceased elder son's son, representing his father's rights, would outrank a living younger son. Thus, a grandson might precede his uncle as heir to his grandfather.

By removing any ambiguity or uncertainty about the identity of the rightful heir, primogeniture has been associated with smooth transitions and long, stable reigns.[27] However, primogeniture did not determine the role of younger sons, nor their rights to a certain level of maintenance. Castilian kings often had several brothers who, excluded from the succession, depended on the

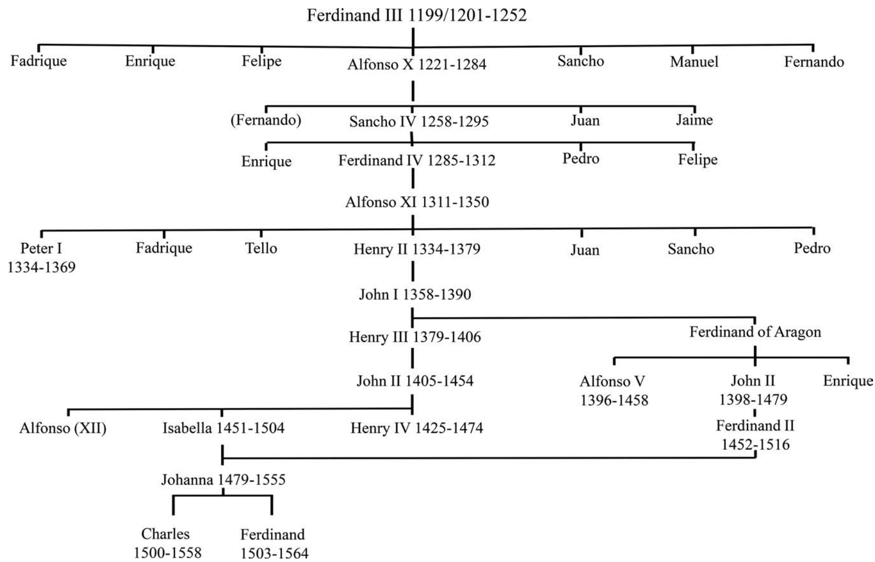


*Figure 1.1* Castilian kings and their brothers.

crown to provide them with incomes and status (Fig. 1.1). Efforts to provide for younger sons outside the realm were few and far between, and generally unsuccessful. Early in our period, we see an attempt to provide for a son abroad: Ferdinand III sent his second son Fadrique to the Holy Roman Empire to try to claim the inheritance of his mother, Beatrice of Swabia. The prince failed to acquire any patrimony, and upon his return, his father endowed him with lands in Castile instead. We must wait until the beginning of the fifteenth century to find a younger son who had success outside Castile: Ferdinand (1390–1416), the second son of John I (1358–90) and the Aragonese princess Eleanor, managed to acquire the throne of Aragon after the childless deaths of two of his uncles.[28] But he was a unique case.

Lacking possibilities outside of the realm, younger sons or brothers were normally endowed with dazzling landed wealth within Castile, turning them into powerful subjects.[29] The same Infante Ferdinand who won the crown of Aragon had been endowed as a child with lordships and titles that made him one of the richest magnates in the country. Apart from income, he acquired prestige: created duke of Peñafiel, he was the only duke within the kingdom of Castile, and his title of 'lord of Lara', an ancient title carrying much symbolic capital, placed him squarely at the head of the realm's aristocracy.[30] Primogeniture hardly meant destitution for the younger sons.

It was such generous endowments that made younger brothers quite dangerous rivals to their ruling brothers and nephews. Several successions were contested, and brothers regularly rebelled against the king. Alfonso X had

to contend with a noble uprising in which his brother Philip was involved.[31] At the end of his reign, his second son Sancho (1258–95) deposed him and pushed his nephews – sons of his deceased elder brother – aside to take the throne himself, making a mockery of Alfonso's attempts at establishing the right of representation.[32] Peter I (1334–69), nicknamed either the Cruel or the Just, was murdered by his illegitimate half-brother Count Henry of Trastámara (1334–79), who took over the throne and started the Trastámara period.[33] The man responsible for this fratricide was the eldest son of Alfonso XI's concubinage with a Castilian noblewoman. He and his many younger brothers received extensive grants during his father's reign.[34] Individually, these grants were not so sizeable as to pose an immediate threat to the King, but taken together they created a powerful network of illegitimate brothers who helped Henry II take the throne when Peter I alienated the nobility.[35]

The Infante Ferdinand (later king of Aragon), whom we just mentioned, took a quite different route. When his elder brother Henry III died, he declined the opportunity of taking the throne himself, even though the Castilian Cortes would have supported him, serving instead as regent to his underage nephew John II.[36] After taking the throne of Aragon, he set up his own teenage sons as powerful magnates in Castile, who would dominate the next reign and became known as the 'infantes of Aragon', while his daughters married the kings of Castile and Portugal.[37]

This history of fraternal conflict and the multigenerational consequences of Ferdinand's endowments caused John II, once he had grown up, to strike an agreement with the Cortes of Castile to forbid any further alienations of the crown domains.[38] John II's second son, Alfonso, went on to become master of the military order of Santiago and constable of Castile.[39] This did not, however, prevent young Alfonso from being used by a restless aristocracy as a challenger to the new king, his older half-brother Henry IV. At age twelve, the young prince was declared to be king while his elder brother was deposed – a deposition that was not accepted by most of the aristocracy, and Henry regained the throne, but only on the condition that Alfonso be recognised as his heir instead of his daughter Juana, whose paternity was disputed. The whole affair came to be known as the 'Farce of Ávila'.[40] When Alfonso died soon after, his full sister Isabella – the Catholic – assumed his rights as heiress to the throne, although she would have to fight for them after Henry IV's death. Isabella herself would have only one son, who predeceased her, and a string of daughters, who would be married to crowned heads abroad. The inheritance eventually fell to her second daughter, the famous Johanna the Mad, who would have two sons of her own – Charles and Ferdinand.

Quite a few Castilian kings were blessed – or cursed – with many sons. Only Ferdinand IV and Henry II were survived by a single son; all other kings had more, leaving their successors to deal with numerous brothers. With few

(successful) efforts made to provide for these princes outside of Castile, the vast majority remained at home, a thorn in the side of their ruling brothers. Peter I had to contend with no fewer than six half-brothers and did not survive the contest. Castilian succession law clearly stipulated that the crown should fall to the eldest, but as we have seen, this hardly meant that there were no conflicts. Castilian infantes became an object of fear. When Charles and Ferdinand were still young children, Ferdinand's candidacy for the grandmastership of the Spanish Military Orders was resolutely shot down by Margaret of Austria, who was in charge of raising Charles and governed the Low Countries on his behalf (and was the widow of the Castilian heir Prince Juan), stating that giving Ferdinand this position 'would suffice to deprive Prince Charles of the kingdom of Spain'.[41] A few years later, among the first things Charles did after arriving in his kingdom was to send away his brother Ferdinand, who was born and raised there. Considering the precedents, this was probably a wise precaution.

### *Burgundy*

We might argue that part of the reason why Castilian princes were considered to be such a threat was that the Castilian kingdom could not be partitioned. Their energy and power could not be channelled into independent authority, but always came at the expense of the king's position. The situation was different within the Burgundian domains, which were, like Austria, a conglomerate consisting of a string of principalities in the Low Countries, as well as the duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comté more to the south.[42] During the relatively brief rule of the Valois dukes (and one duchess) of Burgundy, from 1363 to 1482, younger sons were fortuitously rare: Philip the Bold, the first Valois duke, was himself the fourth son of John II of France and had been endowed with the duchy of Burgundy as his appanage. He had three sons – John, Anthony and Philip – but his successors as duke of Burgundy all had only one legitimate son. Philip was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was succeeded by Philip the Good, Charles the Bold and Mary the Rich in turn.

In gauging how the Valois handled younger brothers, we need only turn to the testamentary stipulations formulated by Philip the Bold and his spouse Margaret, who was countess of Flanders and Artois in her own right. When Philip drew up his first testament in 1386, he still only had two sons, fifteen-year-old John and two-year-old Anthony. He intended to divide his territories between them 'to preserve the peace and love among my children and the good governance of my and the duchess's territories and lordships'.[43] Their eldest son John had already received the county of Nevers in appanage and had been promised the duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comté in his marriage contract with Margaret of Bavaria, a princess of Holland. He was also to receive the duchy of Brabant after the death of his father and the county of Flanders after the death of his mother. Anthony would receive the county

of Artois (again, after his mother's death), Rethel and Nevers and the barony of Donzy (part of John's appanage, which he would be forced to renounce). This constituted a decidedly uneven partition, which would nevertheless secure aristocratic status for Anthony. The patrimony consisted of both a paternal and a maternal inheritance, but both were divided between the two brothers.

The conglomerate nature of the domains helped the parents provide for their sons. Some years after this testament, a third son, Philip, was born. When this boy had reached his teens, Philip the Bold updated the partition arrangement (1401).[44] The new arrangement did not imply equality, either. John, the eldest, was to receive Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Flanders and Artois – the core of both his father's and mother's patrimonies; he would renounce his appanage Nevers. Anthony received Brabant and Limburg, after the death of its duchess, an aunt of Margaret of Flanders. If the aunt had not yet died upon the deaths of his parents, Anthony would receive Artois, so that he would not be left (temporarily) empty handed. But he would give up Artois again, to John, once he received Brabant and Limburg, and would be required to renounce his appanage Rethel in favour of his younger brother Philip immediately after his parents' death. Philip would thus receive his brothers' appanages of Nevers and Rethel, as well as Etampes, which would be inherited from the duke of Berry (a brother of Philip the Bold) if he had no sons of his own.[45] Interestingly, the patrimony to be divided consisted in part of principalities that had yet to come into the family's possession.

All portions were legated to the relevant son 'and his heirs'. But Philip the Bold and Margaret could not dispose of their patrimony quite that freely. They were bound by local inheritance practices, and these were not the same everywhere. In the donation of Burgundy to Philip the Bold, his father John II merely stressed the fact that only legitimate heirs of his body could inherit the duchy, without setting any other boundaries – opening the door to female inheritance.[46] In the maternal inheritance, Flanders and Artois, matters were different. Flemish and Artesian succession law did not accept the right of representation. This was relevant for the Burgundian succession since in 1401 Philip the Bold's eldest son John (the Fearless) was already married and had a son of his own (Philip the Good). This meant that if John the Fearless predeceased his father, his son Philip the Good could become his grandfather's heir by representing his father's rights in some of the territories, but not in Flanders and Artois. There, the grandson could not step into his father's shoes. Instead, if John predeceased Philip the Bold, the new heir would be Anthony, since he was now the eldest surviving son. This difference in succession law is reflected in the many scenarios Philip the Bold and his spouse developed for their successions, which included scenarios in which Burgundy and Flanders were divided among different heirs. This rather contradicts the argument made by some historians that Philip the Bold set out to provide his eldest son with a viable state with Burgundy and Flanders as its nucleus.[47]

Philip may well have hoped that his eldest son would remain a power player in French and Netherlandish politics by legating the core of his territories to him, but it clearly was not entirely up to him.

When Philip the Bold died in 1404 and his wife Margaret in 1405, the three sons each took over their stipulated parts of the inheritance.[48] It was an unequal partition. Robert Stein has calculated that the revenues of the eldest son would be six times higher than those of the youngest and were also likely to be much higher than those of the middle brother.[49] Such unequal partitions were further seen among the descendants of Anthony and Philip, who both had two sons. Anthony's second son is known as Philip of St Pol, which implies he inherited his mother's county of St Pol, which was a fief of the county of Artois (itself officially a fief of the kingdom of France). This meant that Philip's status was decidedly lower than that of his elder brother, who succeeded as duke of Brabant and Limburg, both imperial fiefs.[50]

In spite of the partition, the lands held by the three brothers have been described as a 'dynastic union', characterised by close cooperation, particularly in the Low Countries.[51] When Anthony died on the battlefield of Agincourt in 1415 leaving two underage sons, his elder brother John immediately tried to become guardian and regent for his eldest nephew to secure the family's position in the duchies. But he was forcefully rebuffed by the Estates of Brabant, who intended to take this role upon themselves and were wary of losing their independence to the growing Burgundian conglomerate.[52] John's successor Philip the Good was also heavily involved in dynastic politics in the Low Countries, arranging for his Brabantine cousin to marry Countess Jacqueline of Holland and Hainaut – hoping to create a dynastic union including Brabant, Limburg, Holland, Zealand and Hainaut. While Philip was after domination in the Low Countries, he never challenged his cousins' rights to their own principalities – but as luck would have it, both of Anthony's sons died without legitimate male heirs, leaving the field open to Philip's accession in their conglomerate, while he also dispossessed Jacqueline in order to expand his territories in the Low Countries even further.[53]

Younger brothers posed much less of a problem to the rulers of the Burgundian conglomerate: most dukes did not have any brothers, and for those brothers and cousins who did exist, the Low Countries, with its plethora of independent principalities, offered plenty of possibilities for advancement. Struggles about the succession were few and far between. After a long period of brotherless dukes, Philip the Handsome (1478–1506), son of Mary the Rich and Maximilian of Austria, left a pair of sons at his death: Charles and Ferdinand (Fig. 1.2). In stark contrast to Philip the Bold's detailed succession scenarios outlining exactly what portion each of his sons was to receive, Philip the Handsome merely stated that each of his sons should succeed to 'that part and to those positions that they should inherit and succeed to according to the customs of the areas where my possessions are situated' – a likely reference to both the Low Countries and Castile, whose king Philip also was.[54] This implied some sort of partition, of course, but he gave no

*Figure 1.2* Maximilian I with his wife Mary of Burgundy, his son Philip the Fair, his grandsons Ferdinand I and Charles V, and Louis of Hungary, by Bernhard Strigel, circa 1515–20.

*Source*: Alamy.

details about how to divide the patrimony. A division of the Low Countries themselves seems not to have been contemplated.[55] After Philip's death, Franche-Comté did manage to escape from the clutches of his father Maximilian, who was expected to take charge of the county again, by offering sovereignty to Philip's sister Margaret. She was sworn in on 17 April 1509.[56]

Each of the main parts of the monarchy thus had its own troubled history in providing for younger brothers. The fact that all these patrimonies

ended up in the hands of Charles V, who only had his brother Ferdinand to contend with, created new challenges but also solved many problems. The monarchy was now so large that neither the Low Countries nor the Austrian duchies would have to be partitioned to provide Ferdinand with an income, and nor would he have to receive extensive landed wealth in Castile. Ferdinand's fate did not need to be an internal question for any individual part of it. This also meant that conflicts with local elites could be avoided. These were territories whose leading elites were cooperating ever more closely and who therefore might not be interested in being broken up again. Maximilian had, both as ruler of Austria and regent in the Low Countries, presided over the tightening of relations between the constituent parts of those two conglomerates: in Austria, he had tried to foster institutional unification, for instance, by promulgating identical laws in his various territories and standardising the procedures of the representative organs,[57] while the beginning of the reign of Mary of Burgundy saw a unified effort by the Low Countries' estates general to maintain the internal coherence of the lands. As Blockmans and Prevenier put it: the 'delegates [of the estates] themselves sought unification'.[58] Such internal unifying processes limited possibilities for partition: at first Charles planned to give Ferdinand only five Austrian duchies, while he intended to keep Tyrol and Further Austria – the western-most part of the patrimony – for himself. But he relented because the representatives of the duchies themselves objected to being divided. As a result, Ferdinand received all of Austria.[59] Likewise, there are no traces of Ferdinand being mentioned as heir to *parts* of the Low Countries. Instead, Charles was immediately considered his father's succession in all the principalities.[60]

Luckily, the question of providing for both brothers could be resolved without breaking up any of the constituent parts, but instead by distributing complete units among them. In 1521, the brothers settled on a partition according to which the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles would receive the Burgundian and Trastámara inheritances, while Ferdinand received the Austrian lands – a rather unequal partition in the mould of the Burgundian tradition with which Ferdinand was not too happy, but through his marriage to the sister of the king of Bohemia and Hungary, he could hope to acquire those thrones one day.[61] While the Austrian legacy – its name and its traditions of dealing with the family – remained very much present in Charles's branch, the 'Spanish' Habsburg monarchy, to which we turn now, would not include any of the lands ruled by Maximilian I and his predecessors.

## The Early Modern Community of Heirs

The partition of 1521 is generally seen as the moment when the Habsburg dynasty split into a Spanish branch, headed by Charles, and an Austrian one, headed by Ferdinand. From now on, this chapter focuses on the Spanish branch. But which parts of the patrimony would constitute the 'Spanish' monarchy – that is not just Spain but all the territories under the authority

of the king of Spain – remained an open question even after the partition of 1521. There were some new additions to the patrimony, like Milan, that Ferdinand had an eye on, but which ended up staying in the Spanish branch.[62] There were also the Low Countries, which might be transferred to the Austrian branch as the dowry of a Spanish princess marrying an Austrian cousin. And there was the imperial title – technically not part of the patrimony, of course, but there was still much discussion as to whether Ferdinand or Charles's son Philip should be put forward as Charles's successor. Such issues were the subject of constant negotiation between the brothers and led to considerable tensions in the 1550s, when the succession strategy for the Empire was hammered out.[63]

The succession to the monarchy as a whole could of course be a subject of negotiation because there was no overarching succession law to guide it – neither for the Trastámara-Burgundian-Austrian conglomerate that Charles and Ferdinand divided among themselves, nor for the resulting separate conglomerates ruled by each brother (Trastámara-Burgundy and Austria-Bohemia-Hungary). Such an overarching succession law did not come into existence during Charles's reign either, but the Emperor did make efforts to streamline future successions in the various constituent parts of his realm, Castile-Aragon and the Low Countries.

Such efforts invariably hinted at a single heir. As we have seen, the succession to the kingdoms of Castile was laid down in a number of decrees and laws, foremost among these being Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*.[64] The succession laid down here – male-preference primogeniture with the right of representation – had been first codified during a session of the Cortes of Castile in 1253.[65] From the early sixteenth century onwards, the *Siete Partidas*, which dealt with many other issues besides the succession, was confirmed in several new codification projects. The 'Laws of Toro' of 1505 assembled a great body of Castilian law, with particular emphasis on laws concerning entails (*mayorazgo*), and while it did not devote any section explicitly to the succession to the throne, it did confirm the *Siete Partidas*, thus also confirming its section on the succession. Another compilation of laws, called *Nueva Recopilación,* was published in 1567. While obsolete laws had been deleted from the collection, the *Siete Partidas* in general was confirmed, again without altering or highlighting the succession law in any way.[66] These confirmations of the *Siete Partidas* in the context of *mayorazgo* law resulted in the Castilian realm becoming increasingly equated with a *mayorazgo*. Aragonese succession law was less codified than in Castile, depending on unwritten customary law, precedents and royal testaments.[67] But male-preference primogeniture was the norm, so as long as the ruler had a son – as all Spanish Habsburg kings except Charles II did – he was the undisputed heir in both Castile and Aragon.[68]

Streamlining was underway in the Low Countries as well. As we have seen, the succession laws in the various principalities of the Low Countries varied, particularly concerning the right of representation. In 1549 Charles

agreed a new succession law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, for all the Low Countries with the local Estates General.[69] The memory of the complicated succession mathematics of Philip the Bold's testament may have played a role, but perhaps also Charles's own succession: in 1549 he had a son, Philip, who already had a son of his own, Don Carlos. But he also had two daughters. If Philip predeceased him, who would become the next heir – his grandson, as would be customary in Holland and Brabant, for instance, or his remaining eldest child, as was customary in Flanders?[70] This remaining eldest child would be his daughter Maria, who had just been denied the Low Countries as her dowry when she married her cousin Maximilian (1548), much to the chagrin of her husband.[71] Maria and Maximilian might very well claim their rights if Philip were to die prematurely. The Pragmatic Sanction stipulated that all the Low Countries would always accept the same heir and that the right of representation would be observed everywhere – which would make Don Carlos the heir in the hypothetical case of Philip's early demise. This ensured the lasting unity of the Low Countries but did not forestall its separation from the overarching monarchy. Since the Pragmatic Sanction did not include a clause about primogeniture, a younger brother might very well become the independent lord of the Low Countries, as was indeed considered on several occasions.[72] When the Low Countries were ceded to Philip II's daughter and son-in-law in 1598, the act of cession confirmed the Pragmatic Sanction and the indivisibility of the Low Countries, but added a provision of primogeniture.[73]

Such codifying of succession laws did not happen at the level of the monarchy as a whole. The succession to the whole patrimony depended almost entirely on royal testaments, which were based on law,[74] testamentary precedents[75] and dynamics within the family.[76] Even here, we see that primogeniture and the indivisibility of the monarchy – characteristic traits of *mayorazgos* – were gaining ground.[77] On the whole, the Spanish kings were quite explicit in their listing of the line of succession, which started off with their universal heir. Many others were mentioned, but only in case the universal heir failed. Reflecting the general tendency in Castile to equate the realm with a *mayorazgo*, the Spanish kings emphasised ever more the indivisible nature of the entire Spanish monarchy in their testaments: it should be kept intact and passed on to a single heir. This drive towards primogeniture was at first partly a result of demography: Charles V had only one son to succeed him when he died, and so did Philip II. From Philip II onwards, the monarchs forbade any alienations.[78] Of course, Philip II himself went against this stipulation by endowing his daughter Isabella with the Low Countries when she married her cousin Albert.[79] But after this date, there were no more exceptions and the monarchy was considered an entail.[80] When Philip III died leaving three sons, he was very explicit in denying the younger ones any share of the territory.

But the testaments mentioned more family members than just the universal heir. Others were included in a hierarchical order – which I will go

into in detail because it is here that we can identify the community of heirs. Both inclusion and exclusion processes were at play. Normally, the secondary heirs mentioned were the king's children (first any other sons and their descendants, then the daughters and theirs), except for daughters marrying in France, who renounced their rights.[81] Generally, kings also mentioned their siblings and their descendants. The main group of heirs thus usually consisted of the direct descendants of the testator's predecessor. So Charles V mentioned his brother Ferdinand and his descendants (all Philip I's descendants), but Philip II left them out, only including Charles V's descendants.[82] Only Philip IV mentioned some of his cousins, the children of his aunt Catalina, duchess of Savoy.[83] The only one to exclude even his siblings was Philip III.

Mentioning or omitting secondary heirs such as cousins did not immediately impact their succession rights – if some epidemic should wipe out most of the Spanish royal family, the unmentioned surviving cousins could certainly have made a claim. Therefore, the limited list of heirs mentioned should not be seen as an exhaustive list of *all* possible heirs. Why then mention some and not others? Perhaps not mentioning them might have harmed their claims: without the deceased king's express approval, their succession could be contested more easily. In the same vein, mentioning them served to confirm their rights and establish them as members of the family circle. This was the group of individuals who were foremost in the testator's thoughts: the circle of people with whom he *wanted* his crown to end up, or who he could *imagine* one day taking over the throne. They were part of the imagined future of the monarchy. It is as much a social construction as a legally exhaustive list of *all* possible heirs.

Since royal testaments tended to follow the precedents set by predecessors quite closely, it is an interesting question why Philip III diverged from the testaments of his father and grandfather in omitting everyone except his own descendants. It was not for lack of siblings. Philip drafted his testament between April and late July 1619.[84] At that time he had one living sister, Isabella, sovereign lady of the Low Countries (who would outlive him), who was childless. Philip's other sister, Catalina, had died in 1597, but eight of her children were still alive in 1619. As the following chapters show, Philip was very close to some of these children, particularly his nephew Filiberto, Catalina's second surviving son.[85] But his relationship with others was frostier. In February 1619, Vittorio, Catalina's eldest surviving son, heir to the Savoyard duchy and thus first in line for the Spanish throne if Philip's bodily heirs failed, had married a French princess as part of his father's anti-Spanish politics. The marriage was a clear indication of the animosity between Philip and the duke of Savoy. This never hurt Philip's relationship with Filiberto, and one suspects that Philip would gladly have accepted this favourite nephew as a possible heir. But Filiberto's elder brother obviously preceded him, and *his* succession was rather the stuff of nightmares. Moreover, Filiberto was likely to be pushed further down the order of succession by Vittorio's soon-to-be born, half-Bourbon children. Philip might well have excluded all his

Savoyard nephews to weaken Vittorio's chances of taking possession of the throne if push came to shove.

Generally, however, we might say that there was a clear view of the dynastic community of imagined heirs: all the descendants of a ruler's predecessor, that is, his children, siblings and nephews and nieces. As the explicit inclusion of the House of Savoy in Philip II's and Philip IV's testaments indicates, members of his group of heirs need not be Habsburgs – either Spanish or Austrian. In fact, the other, Austrian branch of the House was not notably privileged in these testaments.[86] Only when Austrian Habsburgs happened to be descended from Spanish princesses – a not on the whole uncommon occurrence – were they included, but clearly simply as 'sibling's descendants', just like the princes of Savoy, rather than a class of backup heirs based on their common descent from Philip I. Habsburgs who were not descended from Charles V in some way make no appearance in the testaments of his successors. Neither do illegitimate children. Charles V mentioned his daughter Margaret, but only to state that he had given her a suitable dowry so that Charles's successor was not obliged to provide for her; he made no mention at all of Don Juan.[87] Philip IV did mention *his* Don Juan, but not among the heirs: he asked his successor to treat this half-brother well.[88] Bastards were thus emphatically not part of the Habsburg community of heirs.

## Hypothetical Partitions and Hypothetical Younger Sons

By focusing on a universal heir and gradually forbidding any alienations, the royal testaments display a growing tendency towards the indivisibility of the patrimony, a tendency which was aided by a dearth of excess male heirs. But all Spanish kings had several sons during their lifetimes, or sketched scenarios in case they were to leave several sons.[89] Furthermore, they had daughters, who might hope for a territorial dowry – or at least their intended husbands did. We can thus trace what the careers of such hypothetical younger princes and heiresses may have looked like and see when primogeniture and indivisibility really became part of succession thought in the monarchy. Taking the perspective of scenarios rather than realities, partitions become a surprisingly common element in the Spanish Habsburg monarchy.

The Low Countries were the most obvious territory to be separated from the monarchy to benefit a younger son, or a daughter in the shape of a dowry.[90] Isolated from the Iberian and Italian parts of the patrimony, there were always worries about their vulnerability.[91] One of the driving forces behind the continued partitions – or talk of this – was the local powers. For instance, when Margaret of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, congratulated her nephew Charles on the birth of his second son (1529), she immediately expressed the wish that the boy might be her 'stick in old age', her successor.[92] She would go on to own two portraits of this little boy, but not of his older siblings – another expression of her high hopes for his future in the Low Countries.[93]

Local elites were equally rather interested in having their own prince. This sentiment was strong everywhere. Towards the end of his reign, Philip III travelled to Portugal and was advised there to appoint a governor of royal blood – preferably the crown prince.[94] Such suggestions were repeated when Philip IV ascended the throne. Among the desired candidates was his sister, Infanta Maria.[95] In the Low Countries as well, noble elites often expressed their preference for a local prince. This heavily urbanised territory had a long history of rebellion,[96] and, in the eyes of contemporaries, the presence of a high-ranking and locally born member of the dynasty was one of the main prerequisites to keep it in check.[97] During the Revolt of the Netherlands, some sections of the local nobility thus suggested that Philip II give the Low Countries to his second son – whom he had at the time – or as a dowry to his daughter if she married one of her Austrian cousins, in order to restore order.[98] In the treaty of reconciliation between Philip II and several of the Low Countries (1577), Philip promised to *consider* sending one of his children as a successor there to be educated locally.[99] That was hardly a firm commitment to a second-son succession, but if more than one of Philip's five sons had survived into adulthood, it seems highly likely that such a second son would have been given his share.

The Habsburg family heads were less concerned with local identity and autonomy than with the security of their patrimony. The military threat from France was always acute, and dowry plans were often offered as a solution. The testaments of both Charles V and his spouse Empress Isabella indicate that not only a second son but also a daughter might inherit the Burgundian patrimony. In a testament dated March 1529, Empress Isabella referred to a future second son who might inherit the Low Countries.[100] If this son were to be born (she was indeed pregnant and would give birth to a boy in November) and go on to inherit the Low Countries, her daughter Maria should be compensated. This implies that Maria was thought of as the heir to the Low Countries in the absence of younger brothers. Indeed, in a letter to Charles from 1531, when the son born in 1529 had already died, Empress Isabella suggested that Charles had chosen Maria to succeed him in the Low Countries at this point. Concretely, the Empress argued against a marriage between Maria and the dauphin of France, since 'according to the arrangement of the succession to the Low Countries which Your Majesty made', that scenario would mean these territories would be united with France. Although in practice this would turn the Low Countries into Maria's dowry, the formulation suggests that Maria was thought of as the future lady of those lands regardless of her marriage.[101] Charles later reiterated his and Empress Isabella's wish to leave the Low Countries to Maria if no other son were born.[102]

But as in the case of Maria's possible marriage to the French dauphin, the line between inheritance and dowry was often blurred. In 1539, Charles wrote in an instruction to his son that both he and Empress Isabella had stipulated in their testaments that if they were to die without a second son, Maria

should receive the Low Countries and marry an Austrian cousin.[103] While a number of candidates were considered in negotiations for Maria's marriage over the years, she was indeed betrothed in 1548 to her Austrian cousin Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldest son. The pair might be forgiven for counting on inheriting the Low Countries. However, the situation had changed. By now, Charles's son Philip had a son from his first marriage, three-year-old Don Carlos, and he might have more sons in the future. With a new generation of hypothetical second sons in mind, Charles decided not to give Maria the Low Countries but to save it for a future second son of Philip.[104] When Philip married Mary Tudor, queen of England, in 1553, their marriage contract stipulated that any child born from the union – boy or girl – would inherit both the English throne and the Low Countries.[105] Charles V made the same provision in his final testament (1554).[106] Thus, Philip II took possession of the Low Countries after Charles's abdication (1555) (Fig. 1.3). Over the next years, the new king would not sire any sons in addition to the one he had, but he did have daughters. Throughout the 1570s, the French court proposed several marriages between a French prince and a Spanish princess, which included the Low Countries as a dowry.[107] Philip's eldest daughter Isabella never married a French prince. Like her aunt Maria, she married an

*Figure 1.3* Allegory on the Abdication of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Brussels, by Frans Francken II, circa 1630–40.

*Source*: Alamy.

Austrian cousin, Albert, in 1598, but in contrast to her aunt, she did receive the Low Countries as her dowry.

Rather than being an anomaly in a dynastic history which was otherwise characterised by primogeniture and state building, the secession of the Low Countries as an infanta's dowry had been on the cards for decades. It really is a testament to how long even the Spanish Habsburgs were comfortable with the idea of breaking up their monarchy to provide for younger sons or daughters. However, almost immediately after the alienation of the Low Countries in 1598, this practice came to an abrupt stop. Not for lack of local desire for a prince of their own: when the Estates of the Low Countries swore fealty to Philip III as presumed successor to the childless Isabella and Albert, some delegates asked the King to designate one of his younger sons as their future ruler.[108] But Philip III, who stood to regain the Low Countries after the death of Archduke Albert, would be very clear in his testament that no part of the monarchy was to be alienated for any reason, not even to provide a livelihood for his two younger sons. His experience of being deprived of part of his inheritance may very well have played a crucial role.

What is important to note in any case is that there was no law governing the succession of the monarchy as a whole, while local succession law did not necessarily prohibit the succession of a younger child. Local elites appear quite happy to forego the firstborn and settle for a younger child if it meant they would have their own prince. The Habsburg rulers toyed with such a scenario constantly: they obviously did not see the entire monarchy as one indivisible unit whose integrity must be safeguarded by a clear succession law. However, while sixteenth-century kings might have been amenable to negotiating the partition of the monarchy, they never had more than one son at their deaths, so the matter was mostly academic. Not until 1621 was a king mourned by more than one son, but by this time, things had changed. There were no negotiations about the inheritance, which was to go in its entirety to the eldest of the three princes. Over the century, views on the succession to the entire monarchy had changed rather markedly.

## Younger Brothers after 1621

As the succession of the entire monarchy became increasingly guided by primogeniture and indivisibility of the patrimony, the roles of potential younger sons became less clear. Whereas any surviving younger sons of Charles V or Philip II would almost certainly have received the Low Countries, Philip III was adamant that this should not happen. When this king died in 1621, he had three sons: Philip IV (b. 1605), Carlos (b. 1607) and Fernando (b. 1609). No parts of the patrimony were to be alienated to accommodate them, and the younger sons were always to show strict obedience to their elder brother.[109] Philip III thus envisioned a new sort of prince, a subordinated one with no independent authority. Where did these novel ideas come from?

The late sixteenth century saw the emergence of the principles of reasons of state (Machiavellianism reworked in a more moral frame), and Philip III had read the works of men like Justus Lipsius, Giovanni Botero and Jean Bodin as part of his education.[110] All these authors placed the state at the centre of their analyses and taught their students to take *its* interests as their starting point, not the dynasty's. Central to this line of thinking was that the conservation of royal power and the safeguarding of the position of the king as head of state were among the primary interests of the state. Power sharing, let alone partitioning the patrimony, was quite antithetical to this. This new approach to politics seemed particularly necessary since a sense of crisis prevailed during the first years of Philip III's reign:[111] Castile, which bore the heaviest fiscal burden and thus financed much of Spanish Habsburg politics, was going through an economic crisis, and its interests needed to take precedence over any others. A series of memoranda making policy suggestions about how to strengthen the monarchy were sent to the King – penned by a group of authors called *arbitristas*.[112] Gradually, the solution was sought in closer military cooperation among the monarchy's different territories (culminating in the ill-fated *unión de armas*), which also argued against future partitions.[113] In this context, the separation of the Low Countries in 1598 was seen as a terrible precedent that weakened the monarchy and was not to be repeated.[114]

Both new political ideologies and the monarchy's perceived strategic demands now argued against alienations of the patrimony to accommodate younger sons. This created what many historians refer to as 'the problem of the infantes'.[115] If these infantes were not allowed to play a role which had traditionally been envisioned for younger princes, then what role would they play? And how were they prepared for it? It is not the aim of this chapter to give a thorough account of the younger princes' upbringing,[116] but some elements may be highlighted. Of the two infantes, Don Carlos has impressed historians the least. He has been described as docile, or even possibly retarded (but also 'prudent'), while his younger brother Fernando is credited with a strong personality, ill-suited as it was to the clerical career towards which he was directed: he became a cardinal and an archbishop at not yet ten years old.[117] The brothers undoubtedly each had their own personalities, but it is also true that Carlos was not nearly as independent as Fernando. Philip and the two younger princes had always shared a household, but Fernando was given his own household upon becoming a cardinal. While clearly subordinated to his elder brother and directed away from a role as a secular prince, he grew up a little master in his own environment and was socialised into an independent role of authority – for instance, when learning to perform religious duties.[118] Carlos, however, continued to share Philip's household, even well after Philip had become king, without being assigned any role, but simply serving as Philip's companion.[119] Not allowed to develop his own independent authority and sharing daily activities and meals with the crown prince and later king obviously placed Carlos in a much more subdued role.

The younger princes were thus not exactly groomed to become independent, secular rulers, but this did not diminish their high birth, nor the rights and expectations that came with it – traditional notions of the entitlements of royalty had not been suppressed entirely by reasons of state. When discussing the future of these princes, courtiers were aware of the importance of providing for them according to their station. Some models were at hand.[120] During the two generations before Carlos and Fernando became adults, some nephews, cousins and bastards had taken on roles as 'surrogate second sons' – a process which will be analysed in depth in Chapters 4–7. Their roles had centred on territorial governorships, headship of religious-military orders and the admiralty of the Mediterranean fleet. The new role of Carlos and Fernando within the monarchy might easily be modelled on these examples. However, there was a distinct difference in status between these predecessors and the infantes: Carlos and Fernando were first and second in line to the throne before the birth of Philip IV's children, unlike the rightless bastard Don Juan and the nephews who were themselves younger brothers frozen out of their paternal patrimonies.

The infantes' status made them more dangerous than other royal relatives, certainly in the eyes of powerful ministers like the count-duke of Olivares. As Alicia Esteban Estríngana has argued, all persons of royal blood (other than the ruler) were thought to possess royal charisma, which meant that they could better represent the ruler and were entitled to share his sovereignty.[121] This meant Don Carlos and Don Fernando were considered entitled to a position of authority directly below the king, as ordained by providence.[122] This providential claim to authority might encourage local elites, who, as we have seen, often expressed their desire to have their own prince, to make use of the presence of a royal prince and break away from the monarchy – something which was much less likely under the leadership of a more distant nephew who might not even belong to the House of Austria.[123] The prospects and expectations of royal princes were nothing like those of cousins and nephews. Yet *not* employing the king's closest relatives, who had been given their high status by providence, could be seen as depriving them of what was rightfully theirs, which, apart from potentially causing them to rebel and stir up trouble, would dishonour them.[124]

So how did Philip IV and his ministers solve the 'problem of the infantes'? Already during Philip III's lifetime, Carlos's name had come up in all sorts of dynastic schemes, which placed him on a path towards independence outside of Spain. His father tried to set him up as a future emperor by presenting him as the successor to Archduke Albert – one of the childless archdukes who could aspire to succeed his equally childless imperial brother one day.[125] As a second son he was also a natural option for the Low Countries: he could marry a French princess who would join him there – a scheme with firm roots in sixteenth-century practice and thought.[126] Or he could marry an heiress, for instance, the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, or the heiress of Mantua. However, these possibilities were all discussed during the prince's childhood,

when royal children were frequently mentioned in all sorts of plans for the distant future.

Philip IV started to discuss the future of his brothers more seriously in 1626, when he ordered a *junta* to be convened to this end. The *junta* was led by Olivares, who was adamant that the princes should leave Spain; in an earlier memorandum he had argued that the Habsburg monarchy should not be dismembered because the different parts were linked strategically together and could not sustain themselves separately.[127] In addition, the minister saw Fernando in particular – the brother with the strongest personality – as a threat to his own position.[128] Marriage was a logical option for Carlos, but Olivares could not see many suitable candidates. The daughters of the Emperor would not bring a large dowry. Other girls had limited possibilities of actually bringing territories to the marriage (such as the sister of the childless but still young duchess of Lorraine, or the heiress of Mantua whose pretensions were, on closer inspection, quite uncertain) – and being a ruler of such a small principality was hardly commensurate with Carlos's status as a Spanish infante[129] – or were members of close but suspect family, such as the princesses of Savoy, sisters of the French-leaning Vittorio.[130] Olivares also suggested providing financial income for the prince, a household and a posting to Sicily as viceroy, with an instruction that prevented his taking over that kingdom.[131] Carlos's own children could be married off to Italian princesses and heiresses without prejudice to Philip's position.[132] In the short term, Olivares saw Carlos as a Habsburg viceroy in Italy, and in the long run his descendants would become Italian princelings – a strategy followed by the Spanish Bourbons in the eighteenth century. For Fernando, an archbishop, no marriage was contemplated.[133] Olivares thought he might be encouraged to eye the papacy. Fernando might also pursue a career in the Empire, perhaps as a spiritual elector of Trier or Mayence. To facilitate this transition, Fernando, who was still only seventeen in 1626, could be sent to the imperial court for his education.[134]

The position of the princes became critical briefly in 1627 when Philip fell gravely ill. At that point, he had no children, although the Queen was expecting.[135] But the couple's three previously born daughters had all died in infancy, so expectations for the pregnancy were low and many courtiers looked at Carlos as the imminent heir.[136] The whole episode set the courtiers around Carlos and Fernando scheming to get rid of Philip's favourite, Olivares, which fuelled his suspicion against them.[137] In the testament that Philip drew up during his illness, he designated the Queen as regent in case he died and the child survived – and if it was a girl, she should marry Carlos. The princes would help the Queen in the regency, while Olivares would educate the new monarch – a scenario designed as much to safeguard Olivares's position in the new reign as to provide for a smooth transition.[138] Once restored to health, Philip probably reached a decision about the future careers of the princes, namely that they be appointed governors of Portugal and the Low Countries, respectively.[139] But he did not make any concrete provisions for

his brothers until 1629, when Philip's first son was born.[140] Still, they were not sent on their way. Portugal had been clamouring for a royal governor once more and might have welcomed Carlos,[141] but the widowed Infanta Isabella still resided in the Low Countries. Over sixty years old by now, she had been assured of a lifelong tenure as governor in the lands she had previously ruled as a sovereign princess. Her succession was a sensitive issue and complicated further by the fact that the war between the Spanish Low Countries and the rebellious Dutch Republic was still in full swing – if a prince was sent, it would have to be done in a way that did not undermine the infanta's authority.[142] In 1631, the decision was finally made to send the infantes to their posts; however, Carlos died before he reached Lisbon.[143]

It is curious to note that Olivares never once took Carlos's position as possible heir to the throne into account in any of his memoranda. Carlos's position was obvious – particularly during the scare of 1627 – but the minister never allowed it to become a part of his plans, for instance, by arranging for a marriage to secure Carlos's line. It is hard to argue that the succession of Philip's own offspring seemed secure: the offspring from his marriage to Isabella of Bourbon had the second-highest mortality rate of all Spanish royal marriages, and this fact was not lost on contemporaries.[144] Instead of the collaborative spirit of the sixteenth century, when (hypothetical) younger princes would easily find a role as independent ruler of the Low Countries, it seemed like infantes were to be feared again, as they had been (quite rightfully) during the Middle Ages.[145] The minister probably ignored Carlos's role in the succession out of fear for his own position: like in the royal testaments, any mention of the succession rights confirmed those rights and might embolden the mentioned heir. Reasons of state and the monopolisation of power by the great favourites of the seventeenth century thus conspired to turn Philip III's younger sons into servants instead of co-heirs.

## Conclusion

### *Princes, Testaments and Dynastic Centralisation*

The Spanish monarchy was not identical to the kingdom of Castile, and neither were its succession laws. Primogeniture in the one did not preclude partitions and shared power in the other. Primogeniture did not even preclude the alienation of large, landed holdings to younger sons within Castile. When looking at the provisions for younger brothers in the three main constituent parts of the Habsburg monarchy, we can conclude that younger brothers were always well provided for, but that central powers considered them to be more and more of a threat. Already in the fifteenth century, both John II of Castile and Frederick III in Austria tried to limit the territorial power of younger sons or siblings. The union of the dynastic blocks in the hands of Charles V meant that none of the territories had to support *both* the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand. Instead, each brother ruled one or two ever more

unified parts of the patrimony. In the sixteenth century, we can almost detect a perceived *need* to partition the monarchy. Male heirs must be provided for, but in the absence of a younger son, the Low Countries should be given to a daughter.

Both princesses in line for the Low Countries – Charles V's daughter Maria and Philip II's daughter Isabella – were married to men who were nephews of their fathers-in-law and thus themselves part of a select group of named heirs. This group tended to consist of the testator's predecessor's children. Marriage wove this group together, but the renunciations of infantas marrying French kings show that marriage could also lead to exclusion. As the following chapters show, the community of mentioned heirs overlapped to a large degree with the dynastic ruling group: those relatives who were eligible to take up positions, for instance, as territorial governors in the monarchy. But not entirely: among governors, we will also find bastards, who were quite explicitly excluded from the community of heirs. Also excluded were those who were of close kinship but had drifted away politically: Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy forfeited his position in this select company when he 'became Bourbon'. This community, then, was composed of individuals whom the testator could *imagine* ruling the monarchy in the future.

This monarchy became increasingly indivisible. Under the influence of the notion of reasons of state and of favourites out to monopolise royal power for themselves, the early seventeenth century saw a wholesale disinheriting of daughters and particularly younger sons. They could now merely hope to become governors on the ruler's behalf at best, even if such appointments caused considerable anxiety among courtiers. The disinheriting of younger brothers had far-reaching consequences. Careers as governors meant younger princes still held positions of power and authority and they continued to hold succession rights, but they no longer received a share of the family patrimony, allowing them to become independent rulers. Neither did they found their own collateral lines. A career in the Church required celibacy, which obviously got in the way of marriage (although not of fathering children, as Cardinal-Infante Fernando did). For secular younger sons, a lack of independent resources made marriage almost impossible as well. After all, limited prospects of independent income meant a required princely lifestyle could not be guaranteed, either for the bride or for her children, which made fathers hesitant to marry off their daughters to second sons. Politically and socially, they became subordinated to their ruling brothers. But they did not disappear. They were rather forced to become a subordinated member of their ruling sibling's House. New succession practices thus not only influenced the power of rulers and their siblings – strengthening one and weakening the other – but also created larger dynastic groups of which juniors remained part. The construction of this larger group, with its changed balance of power, was accompanied by new internal dynamics and relationships. Before we focus on those (in Chapters 4–7), we will now first turn to the construction of dynastic groups in genealogies (Chapter 2) and burial sites (Chapter 3).

## Notes

1 Bartlett, *Blood Royal*, pp. 198–206.
2 For an overview, see Fichtner, *Protestantism and Primogeniture*.
3 Rogge, *Herrschaftsweitergabe*, gives some examples, for instance, pp. 68–81, describing three successive temporary settlements between three Wittelsbach brothers in 1368, 1371 and 1379, before they signed a permanent deal in 1382.
4 Moritz Lenglachner, 'Nulla Ardua Sine Fratris Consensu: Die Doppelregierung der Herzöge Albrecht II. und Otto von Österreich (1330–1339): Itinerare und Urkunden', MA dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität (Graz, 2014), pp. 26–27.
5 Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2013), p. 18; Christian Lackner, 'Das Haus Österreich und seine Länder im Spätmittelalter. Dynastische Integration und regionale Identitäten', in Werner Malaczek (ed.), *Fragen der politischen Integration im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Ostfildern, 2005), pp. 273–301, p. 275; Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, pp. 45 and 49.
6 Ernst Freiherr von Schwind and Alphons Dopsch (eds), *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassings-Geschichte der deutsch-österreichigen Erblande im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, 1895), pp. 132–33, no. 67.
7 The pre-Habsburg rulers of Austria, the Babenbergs, had been granted the right to observe female inheritance, the so-called *privilegium minus* of 1156, but this was limited to one duke without sons. Jean Berenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1273–1700* (London, 2013), p. 35. The question was normally moot because of the existence of male heirs. The eighteenth-century emperor Charles VI was only survived by daughters, and securing the succession of the eldest daughter required drastic changes to House laws and much diplomatic activity, but still resulted in a succession war (1740–48).
8 Schwind and Dopsch, *Urkunden*, pp. 133–36, no. 68; Alphons Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (1281–1358)* (Vienna, 1967), p. 62.
9 Gustav Turba, *Die Grundlagen der pragmatischen Sanktion. Vol. 2: Hausgesetze* (Vienna, 1912), p. 102.
10 Schwind and Dopsch, *Urkunden*, pp. 156–57, no. 78. At the time, Albert only had three sons, but a fourth would be born only about a month after the sealing of this charter. To give future sons their rights, Albert invested 'Rudolfo, Friderico Lupoldo *et aliis filiis nostris* [my italics]' (Rudolf, Frederick, Leopold *and our other sons*).
11 Turba, *Grundlagen*, vol. II, p. 103; Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs*, pp. 101–02.
12 Turba, *Grundlagen*, vol. II, pp. 103–04.
13 Lenglachner, 'Nulla Ardua Sine Fratris Consensu', p. 31.
14 Franz Fuchs, 'Das "Haus Bayern" im 15. Jahrhundert. Formen und Strategien einer dynastischen "Integration"', in Maleczek (ed.), *Fragen der politischen Integration im mittelalterlichen Europa*, pp. 303–24, p. 306, mentions a Bavarian partition in 1329, contemporary with Otto's efforts.
15 Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs*, p. 301.
16 Lenglachner, 'Nulla Ardua Sine Fratris Consensu', p. 36.
17 Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs*, p. 346. The deaths of Otto's two sons in close succession were so timely for Albert II, who had by now fathered a son of his own, that the two were rumoured to have been poisoned.
18 Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs*, p. 368.
19 Turba, *Grundlagen*, vol. II, pp. 127–28; Schwind and Dopsch, *Urkunden*, pp. 270–73, no. 138.
20 Turba, *Grundlagen*, vol. II, pp. 135–37. On conflicts between Frederick III and his brother Albert, see Konstantin M. Langmaier, *Erzherzog Albrecht VI. von*

*Österreich (1418–63), Ein Fürst im Spannungsfeld von Dynastie, Reich und Regionen* (Vienna, 2015).

21 Langmaier, *Erzherzog Albrecht VI.*

22 For instance, Albert III served as tutor to the young sons of his brother Leopold III, while William, the eldest of these boys, became guardian to the son of his cousin Albert IV. Alois Niederstätter, *Österreichische Geschichte 1278–1411. Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna, 2001), pp. 188 and 197.

23 Katrin Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich (1551–1608)* (Vienna, 2012), p. 116, 119. In 1590, Archduke Charles of Styria died. In his testament he had appointed a group of regents: his wife Maria Anna, her brother Duke William of Bavaria, his own brother Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and his nephew Emperor Rudolf II. Ferdinand and Rudolf referred to the lack of a tradition of female regents to push Anna Maria aside, arguing that the Habsburgs would become the laughing stock of the Empire if she held the regency while there were so many capable male Habsburgs around. Rudolf successively appointed his brothers Ernest and Maximilian to take up the reins in Styria.

24 Karl Vocelka, *Die Familien Habsburg und Habsburg-Lothringen. Politik –Kultur – Mentalität* (Vienna, 2010), p. 20: 'Der Konflikt war vorprogrammiert'.

25 The rulers of both the Burgundian Low Countries and Austria had attempted to turn their conglomerates into kingdoms, which would have fortified their unified nature. Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian rule, 1369–1530* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 105–07.

26 *Las siete partidas. Vol. 2. Medieval Government: The World of Kings and Warriors,* ed. Robert I. Burns, S. J.; transl. Samuel Parsons Scott (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 366–67: Partida II, Title XV, law II.

27 Andrej Kokkonen, Jørgen Møller and Anders Sundell, *The Politics of Succession. Forging Stable Monarchies in Europe, AD 1000–1800* (Oxford, 2022).

28 Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, 'El compromiso de Caspe en su sexto centenario. Una revisión bibliográfica', *Índice Histórico Español* 125 (2012), pp. 192–216.

29 For some examples: Alfonso X endowed his younger brother Manuel with extensive holdings: Juan Torres Fontes, 'La descendencia del infante don Manuel y el señorío de Pinilla', *Murgetana* (2003), pp. 9–17; Isabel García Díaz, 'Los señoríos murcianos del infante don Manuel', *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 13 (1986), pp. 185–200. Ferdinand IV did the same with his brother Pedro in the early fourteenth century: Máximo Diago Hernández, 'Vicisitudes de un gran estado señorial en la frontera de Castilla con Aragón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV: los señoríos sorianos del infante Don Pedro', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 35 (2005), pp. 47–90.

30 Victor Muñoz Gómez, 'Las bases de poder de un príncipe real castellanos en la Baja edad Media. El infante Fernando de Antequera en el reinado de Enrique III (1390–1406)', in Beatriz Arízaga Bolumburu *et al.* (eds), *Mundos medievales. Espacios, sociedades y power* (2 vols, Santander, 2012), vol. II, pp. 1647–62.

31 Manuel González Jiménez, *Fernando III: el santo* (Sevilla, 2006), pp. 241–48.

32 *Las siete partidas*, pp. 370–73: Partida II, Title XV, law II; Jerry R. Craddock, 'Dynasty in Dispute: Alfonso X el Sabio and the Succession to the Throne of Castile and Leon in History and Legend', *Viator* 17 (1986), pp. 197–219, p. 199; Fernando Arias Guillén, 'El linaje maldito de Alfonso X. Conflictos en torno a la legitimidad regia en Castilla (c. 1275–1390)', *Vínculos de la historia* 1 (2012), pp. 147–63, p. 156.

33 Luis Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía. Entendimiento y rivalidad. El proceso de construcción de la Corona española* (Madrid 2003; first edition 1959), pp. 9, 301–66.

34 Fernando Arias Guillén, 'Family Matters: Marriage Strategy and the Strengthening of Royal Authority in Castile during the Reign of Alfonso XI (1312–1350)', *Viator* 47 (2015), pp. 293–312, p. 306.
35 Arias Guillén, 'Family Matters', pp. 308–09.
36 Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía*, p. 157, n5; Juan Torres Fontes, 'La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964), pp. 357–429, p. 378.
37 Víctor Muñoz Gómez, *Corona, señoríos y redes clientelares en la Castilla bajomedieval (ss. XIV–XV). El estado señorial y la casa de Fernando de Antequera y Leonor de Alburquerque, infantes de Castilla y reyes de Aragón (1374–1435)* (Valladolid, 2015).
38 Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada and César Olivera Serrano (eds), *Documentos sobre Enrique IV de Castilla y su tiempo* (2 vols, Madrid, 2016), vol. I, doc. no. 57: Juramento, Valladolid, 5 May 1442. The king swears not to alienate any cities or towns from the royal demesne (realengo), except for the towns he has already given to his wife, eldest son and daughter-in-law.
39 *Documentos Enrique IV*, vol. I, pp. 262–64: doc. no. 704: Testamento de Juan II, Valladolid, 8 July 1454.
40 Angus MacKay, 'Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile', *Past & Present* 107 (1985), pp. 3–43.
41 Correspondence between Margaret and Maximilian in 1510, published in M. Le Glay (ed.), *Correspondance de Maximilien I avec sa fille Marguerite* (2 vols, Paris, 1839), vol. I, pp. 271–72 and 274–75. Quoted in Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven, 2019), p. 26 (endnote 5 on p. 601).
42 For an overview, see Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*.
43 Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne* (4 vols, Dijon, 1739–81), vol. III, p. civ: 'pour conserver bonne paix & amour envers mes enfans, & le bon gouvernement des Terres & Seigneuries de moy de & ma compaigne la Duchesse'.
44 Plancher, *Histoire générale*, vol. III, p. civ and p. clxxxxix [sic], letter of partition 1401.
45 This county was held by the duke of Berry, who had promised to testate it to the House of Burgundy. However, the fierce rivalry between French ducal houses descended from royal princes led to the assassination of the duke of Orléans on the orders of the duke of Burgundy (then John the Fearless). As a result of this, Berry reneged on his promise. Richard Vaughn, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge, 2011; first edition London, 1962), p. 102.
46 Plancher, *Histoire générale*, vol. II, p. cclccviii, doc. CCCXV, Donation of the duchy of Burgundy by King John II to Philip, his fourth son. No mention was made of female inheritance either, neither allowing nor forbidding it. This led to conflicts when Louis XI of France claimed Burgundy after the death of its last male duke in 1477. Paul Saenger, 'Burgundy and the Inalienability of Appanages in the Reign of Louis XI', *French Historial Studies* 10 (1977), pp. 1–26.
47 Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 111: 'in every scheme from 1386 onwards Flanders and the two Burgundies were kept together, which shows that he intended them to form the permanent nucleus of the Burgundian state'.
48 Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless. The Growth of Burgundian Power* (Woodbridge, 2004; first edition London, 1966), pp. 7–8.
49 Robert Stein, *Magnanimous Dukes and Rising States: The Unification of the Burgundian Netherlands 1380–1480* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 32–33.
50 J. F. Nieus, *Un pouvoir comtal entre Flandre et France: Saint-Pol, 1000–1300* (Brussels, 2005).
51 Stein, *Magnanimous Dukes*, pp. 33–35.

52 Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 238–39.
53 Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 2004; first edition London, 1970), pp. 31–50.
54 Louis Prospère Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1976), vol. I, pp. 493–96: 'En outre, en tous et quelzconques mes autres bien meubles et aussi mes royaulmes, duchez, contez, païs, seignouries et bien immeubles, je nomme et institue mes héritiers universaulx mes enfans masles, et vueil que iceulx héritent et succedent chascun en telle part et portion et à telle charge que, selon les coustumes et usances des lieux où mesdits bien sont et seront situez et assis, hériter et succéder y debvront'.
55 Raymond Fagel, 'Don Fernando en Flandes (1518–1521): un príncipe sin tierra', in Alfredo Alvar (ed.), *Fernando I, 1503–1564. Socialización, vida privada y actividad pública de un emperador del Renacimiento* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 253–71, pp. 267–70; Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria. The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1982), p. 18–19. Aunt Margaret of Austria did stipulate that she renounced her rights to the inheritance. She had received several lordships, among them the county of Burgundy, Charolais and Malines for her lifetime. In her testament, she made Charles her universal heir. Jane de Iongh, *Margeretha van Oostenrijk* (Amsterdam, 1941), pp. 142, 231–32 and 255.
56 Édouard Clerc Salins, *Histoire des États généraux et des libertés publiques en Franche-Comté* (Geneva, 1882), vol. I, p. 238: sessions of 23, 24 and 25 November 1506, offer of sovereignty to Margaret; pp. 239–40: sessions of 13 April 1507, Maximilian's initial refusal and intention of governing the county on Charles's behalf; pp. 248–49: Margaret's swearing in as countess.
57 Lackner, 'Das Haus Österreich', p. 275.
58 Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 207–09.
59 Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, pp. 18–19: one reason to finalise the partition was to facilitate the finalisation of Ferdinand's marriage to Anna Jagiellon, as Anna's brother refused to marry his sister to a landless prince.
60 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 14–20.
61 María José Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg authority, 1551–1559* (Cambridge 2008; first edition 1988), p. 35.
62 Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, pp. 36–37, 161. Apart from Ferdinand, Empress Isabella's brother Don Luis was also interested, as was her sister Beatrice, duchess of Savoy. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra, *La emperatriz: Isabel y Carlos V: amor y gobierno en la corte española del Renacimiento (1503–1539)* (Madrid, 2012), pp. 307–08.
63 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, pp. 33–40.
64 Horst Pietschmann, 'Reichseinheit und Erbfolge in den Spanischen Königreichen', in: Johannes Kunisch (ed.), *Der dynastische Fürstenstaat: zur Bedeutung von Sukzessionsordnungen für die Entstehung des frühmodernen Staates* (Berlin, 1982), pp. 199–246.
65 Pietschmann, 'Reichseinheit und Erbfolge', pp. 205–07.
66 *Leyes de Toro*, ed. María Soledad Arribas González (Madrid, 1976), p. 48; *Recopilacion de las Leyes destos Reynos* (Alcalá de Henares, 1567); José Manuel Pérez-Prendes y Muñoz de Arraco, 'La *Recopilación* de las leyes de los reinos castellano-leoneses: Esbozos para un comentario a su libro primero', *Interpretatio: revista de historia del derecho* 10 (2004), pp. 407–76. *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* (6 vols, Madrid, 1804–07). Only several decades after the War of the Spanish Succession and the succession of the Bourbons was the succession law explicitly included in yet another update, the Novísima

Recopilación, in which females were excluded from the inheritance as long as there were any male family members left.

67 Adela Mora Cañada, 'La sucesión al trono en la Corona de Aragón', in Josep Serrano Daura (ed.), *El territori i les seves institucions historiques. Actes de les Jornades d'Estudi* (Ascó, 1997), pp. 547–66, p. 548.

68 Mora Cañada, 'La sucesión al trono', p. 552.

69 A. S. de Blécourt and N. Japikse (eds), *Klein plakkaatboek van Nederland: Verzameling van ordonnantiën en plakkaten betreffende regeeringsvorm, kerk en rechtspraak (14e eeuw tot 1749)* (Groningen, 1919), vol. X, pp. 77–79.

70 The text mentions that in Flanders, Henault, Artois and several other places the right of representation was not valid. *Klein plakkaatboek van Nederland*, vol. X, pp. 77–79.

71 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, 2001), p. 20. Fichtner also notes that Charles decided against appointing Maximilian and Maria governors in the Low Countries because Maximilian's relations with German princes were much better than Philip's, and Charles did not want to undermine Philip's position there.

72 Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, p. 149; Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 65–66; José Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar, *La fama austriaca, o Historia panegirica de la exemplar vida, y hechos gloriosos de Ferdinando segundo* (Barcelona, 1641), p. 132, notes that Charles V had intended to leave the Low Countries as a separate kingdom for his younger son Fernando (who died young). The Emperor later stipulated in his testament that the Low Countries would be inherited by a possible son born to Philip II of his marriage to the queen of England. *Testamento de Carlos V*, ed. Manuel Fernández Álvarez (Madrid, 1982), p. 29.

73 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 61–62.

74 Pietschmann, 'Reichseinheit und Erbfolge', p. 236. Pietschmann discusses only the succession laws of the Spanish kingdoms.

75 *Testamento de Felipe II*, ed. Manuel Fernández Álvarez (Madrid, 1982), pp. xv–xvi, shows the similarities between some clauses of the testaments of Charles V and Philip II. All testaments can be found in Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Patronato Real, legajos 29–31. The final wills have been published.

76 Liesbeth Geevers, 'The Miracles of Spain. Dynastic Attitudes to the Habsburg Succession and the Spanish Succession Crisis (1580–1700)', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 46 (2015), pp. 99–119.

77 Luis María García-Badell Arias, 'La sucesión de Carlos II y las Cortes de Castilla', *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho* 13 (2006), pp. 111–54, p. 147.

78 *Testamento de Felipe II*, pp. 21 and 41–43; *Testamento de Felipe III*, ed. Carlos Seco Serrano (Madrid, 1982), pp. 47–49; *Testamento de Felipe IV*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Madrid, 1982), pp. 75–77.

79 *Testamento de Felipe II*, pp. 73–77.

80 García-Badell Arias, 'La sucesión de Carlos II', p. 147.

81 Luis Antonio Ribot García, *Orígenes políticos del testamento de Carlos II: la gestación del cambio dinástico en España* (Madrid, 2010), p. 25. María Teresa's exclusion was also reflected in Philip IV's funerary decorations in an emblem that depicted three suns, which, according to Steven N. Orso, represent the deceased Philip IV and his children Charles II and Margarita. See Steven N. Orso, *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Royal Exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia, 1989), pp. 74, 87 and 145.

82 *Testamento de Carlos V*, pp. xxv, 35.

83 *Testamento de Felipe IV*, pp. 21–23.

84 *Testamento de Felipe III*, p. xxviii.

85 See Chapter 6.

86 Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, *A Question of Empire: Leopold I and the War of Spanish Succession, 1701–1705* (Boulder, 1983), p. 13, argue that there was an agreement in place between the Austrian and Spanish branches of the dynasty that one should succeed if the other became extinct and that girls marrying outside the House of Austria renounced their rights to the succession. See also Jean Bérenger, 'Une tentative de rapprochement entre la France et l'Empereur: Le traité de partage secret de la succession d'Espagne du 19 janvier 1668', *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique* 79 (1965), pp. 291–314, esp. 294–95. This idea appears to be based on a misreading of the Oñate treaty, which stipulates that Philip III's male heirs preceded Archduke Ferdinand's female heirs, but only in the succession to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary – and it did not mention the succession to the Spanish throne at all. Magdalena S. Sánchez, 'A House Divided: Spain, Austria and the Bohemian and Hungarian Successions', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994), pp. 887–903, pp. 890 and 901.

87 *Testamento de Carlos V*, p. 57.

88 *Testamento de Felipe IV*, pp. 69–71.

89 See Jasper van der Steen, 'Dynastic Scenario Thinking in the Holy Roman Empire', *Past & Present* (2021), pp. 87–128, gtab029, https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtab029, for a critique of historians who tend to focus on actual successions and thus overlook 'the unknowns, what-ifs and might-have-beens that dynasties faced and tried to control' (p. 91).

90 Alicia Esteban Estríngana, '¿Renunciar a Flandes? La disyuntiva de separar o conservar los Países Bajos durante la primera mitad del reinado de Felipe II (1555/6–1579)', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 43 (2018), pp. 85–110, p. 91: Milan or the Low Countries had been discussed as a dowry for a match between a Habsburg princess and Francis I's second son; p. 89: in 1572 the French court suggested a marriage between the duke of Anjou, Charles IX's younger brother and the Infanta Isabella with either the Low Countries, Milan or the county of Burgundy as a dowry; p. 102, the French again in 1578, hoping for marriage between the new duke of Anjou, François, with Infanta Isabella with either Milan, Burgundy or the Low Countries as a dowry, this time to dissuade him from travelling to the Low Countries to take command of the rebels there.

91 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, pp. 36, 40.

92 Fernández Álvarez, Manuel (ed.), *Corpus documental de Carlos V* (5 vols, Salamanca, 1973–81), vol. I, p. 186: Margaret to Empress Isabella, Brussels, 15 December 1529: 'según me prometió Su Magt, yo tengo esperança que este será mi hijo y caña para mi vejez que me vendrá a consolar de la pena que yo tengo cada día'. This sentiment was reflected by Georg-Johann Haubenreich von Hirschhorn's genealogy (pp. 44–45) as well. When mentioning the same Ferdinand, he related how his father Charles was in the Netherlands when he received news of his death. Charles supposedly said 'Ich zwar bin betrübt das ich meinen Sohn verloren, aber ir Stände des Niderlands möcht wel trawren dass ir ewers herrn un Königs entrahten müsset'.

93 María José Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal. Una Emperatriz entre reinas y otras mujeres de estirpe real', in María Leticia Sánchez Hernández (ed.), *Mujeres en la corte de los Austrias. Una red social, cultural, religiosa y política* (Madrid, 2019), pp. 155–220, p. 195.

94 Joana Isabel Pacheco da Costa Bastos Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia, duquesa de Mântua (1589–1655). Percurso biográfico e político na monarquia hispânica', MA dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Lisbon, 2014), pp. 18–19; Alicia Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes en el futuro político de los infantes: la designación del Cardenal Infante don Fernando para la lugartenencia real de Bruselas', in José Martínez Millán and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds), *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621–1665). Reconfiguración de la*

*Monarquía Católica*, part I, vol. III (Madrid, 2015), pp. 1615–78. Digital version consulted 14 April 2020: p. 7.

95 Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Conte-Duc d'Olivares (1621–1640). Le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique* (Madrid, 2001), online version, Chapter 3, paragraph 4. Cites a letter from the duke of Villahermosa to the marquess of Gouveia, 29 April 1621, suggesting a sister of the King, Infanta Maria.

96 Marc Boone and Maarten Prak, 'Rulers, Patricians and Burghers: The Great and the Little Traditions of Urban Revolt in the Low Countries', in Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (eds), *A Miracle Mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 99–134.

97 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, p. 36.

98 Esteban Estríngana, '¿Renunciar a Flandes?', p. 98.

99 Esteban Estríngana, '¿Renunciar a Flandes?', pp. 107–08: the estates asked for this younger child to be sent; Philip promised that he, speaking in the plural, 'prenderons regard tel que trouverons convenir', which was of course hardly a solid promise. The royal governor Luis de Requesens had already suggested such a scenario in 1574, not long after such a second son had been born. Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes', p. 5.

100 Alvar Ezquerra, *Emperatriz*, p. 181. If such a second son were to inherit the Low Countries, Maria must be 'compensated' by her father; if such a son did not inherit the Low Countries, Maria's maternal inheritance would be increased by 100,000 *doblas*. While the first clause suggests that Maria was thought of as an heiress of the Low Countries, the second clause suggests that she would receive monetary compensation instead of the territories. The testament in question is Isabella's. Of course, the Empress could not appoint Maria as heiress to the Low Countries, which were her husband's lands.

101 María del Carmen Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel de Portugal. Emperatriz y reina de España* (Madrid, 1951), Apéndicae documental, pp. 243–535, pp. 306–08: Empress Isabella to Charles V, Ocaña, 21 February 1531: when discussing the various downsides of a proposed marriage between Maria and the dauphin of France, Isabella wrote: 'paresce qosa de gran daño para el estado de v.m., segund la dispusicion que v.m. tiene fecha en la subcesion de Flandes, que en efectuándose este casamyento [between Maria and the Dauphin], se juntasen aquellos estados con los de Francia'. However, the plan was still alive in 1539 on the provision that no other sons be born. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, p. 36.

102 Alicia Esteban Estríngana, 'La Tregua de los Doce Años: fracaso del principio de reunión pactada de los Países Bajos bajo el dominio de los Archiduques', *Pedralbas* 29 (2009), pp. 95–157, p. 104. Such precedents meant Maria's contesting the succession of her nephew Don Carlos in Flanders if her brother Philip were to predecease Charles was quite a real threat.

103 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 263.

104 Esteban Estríngana, 'La Tregua de los Doce Años', pp. 107–08.

105 Esteban Estríngana, '¿Renunciar a Flandes?', p. 85.

106 *Testamento de Carlos V*, pp. 29–31.

107 Esteban Estríngana, '¿Renunciar a Flandes?', pp. 89, 91 and 102.

108 Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes', pp. 1615–78.

109 *Testamento de Felipe III*, p. 39.

110 Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 21–24; Magdalena S. Sánchez, 'A "Spanish" Reason of State in the Early Modern Period', *Mediterranean Studies* 1 (1989), pp. 53, 55–62.

111 Feros, *Kingship*, pp. 48–52.

112 Anne Dubet and Gaetano Sabatini, 'Arbitristas: Acción política y propuesta económica. Introducción', in Anne Dubet and Gaetano Sabatini (eds), *Arbitristas: Acción política y propuesta económica* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 867–70.
113 John H. Elliott, *El conde-duque de Olivares. El político en una época de decadencia* (Barcelona, 1990), pp. 225–37, a programme of unification of the monarchy, partly inspired by the writings of Botero.
114 Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *El conde duque de Olivares. La búsqueda de la privanza perfecta* (Madrid, 2017), p. 193.
115 See, for instance, J. H. Elliott and J. F. de la Peña, *Memoriales y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares* (Madrid, 1978–80), p. 159; Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, p. 147.
116 This has been studied in detail by Hoffman, *Raised to Rule*.
117 Elliott, *Olivares*, p. 27. For the description of prudence: Martha K. Hoffman, 'Childhood and Royalty at the Court of Philip III', in Grace E. Coolidge, *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 123–42, p. 139.
118 Hoffman, 'Childhood and Royalty', pp. 138–39.
119 Elliott, *Olivares*, pp. 184, 293 and 489, describes how Carlos joined Philip on his travels to Andalusia and to Cortes' meetings in Aragon and Catalonia. Hoffman, 'Childhood and Royalty', pp. 124 and 139; also Hoffman, *Raised to Rule*, p. 45, where she argues that the structure of the common household of Philip and his brother clearly reflected the eldest brother's superior position.
120 Hoffman, *Raised to Rule*, p. 148.
121 Jack Goody (ed.), *Succession to High Office* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 24: corporate dynasty was characterised by plurality of potential heirs and paucity of actual offices, 'hereditary vocation not of an individual but of a dynasty'. [quoted from Bloch, *Feudal society*, 1961]; p. 26: conflict derives from the presence of a plurality of 'royals' who regard the crown as in some sense a common property, even though it has to be held by one member at a time.
122 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', p. 15.
123 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', p. 41, points out that for this reason, sending Don Carlos to the Low Countries as its governor was seen as more risky than sending Don Fernando, the third son, who had never featured in such secession plans before.
124 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', pp. 9–14, discusses the objections raised against appointing an Austrian archduke governor of Portugal while the two infantes remained unemployed.
125 Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes', p. 4. As the only legitimate grandchild of Maximilian II, Philip III felt he had considerable rights to the succession of the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns, which were considered a stepping stone to the imperial throne. These rights might be secured for his sons. Sánchez, 'A House Divided', pp. 889–90.
126 Hoffman, *Raised to Rule*, p. 148.
127 Olivares, 'Sobre el estado de los señores infantes don Carlos y don Fernando', Elliott and de la Peña (eds), *Memoriales y cartas*, vol. I, p. 165, written between April and September 1625.
128 Rivero Rodríguez, *El conde duque de Olivares*, pp. 192–93.
129 Rivero Rodríguez, *El conde-duque de Olivares*, p. 193.
130 Olivares, 'Sobre el estado de los señores infantes', p. 167. This in itself was an interesting reflection on the status of the Savoyards in Madrid. Charles Emmanuel, husband of Infanta Catalina, ruled until 1630 and had been an ally of the French since the 1610s. There were two unmarried princesses, who were both more than ten years older than the infante.
131 Olivares, 'Sobre el estado de los señores infantes', p. 168.
132 Olivares, 'Sobre el estado de los señores infantes,' p. 169.

133 Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, pp. 152–53.
134 Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, pp. 157 and 173; Olivares, 'Sobre el estado de los señores infantes', pp. 169–70.
135 A girl was born who died in November of the same year.
136 Matías de Novoa, 'Historia de Felipe IV, rey de España', *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ed. Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle *et al.* (112 vols, Madrid, 1842–95), vol. 69, p. 62; R.A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621–1665* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 69, also ignores the Queen's pregnancy and simply mentions Carlos as Philip's heir.
137 Elliott and de la Peña (eds), *Memoriales y cartas*, vol. I, pp. 211–12.
138 Rivero Rodríguez, *El conde-duque de Olivares*, p. 200.
139 Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes', p. 21.
140 Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, p. 172.
141 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', p. 8.
142 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', pp. 25–27.
143 Hoffman, *Raised to rule*, pp. 174–75.
144 Gonzalo Alvarez, Francisco C. Ceballos and Celsa Quinteiro, 'The Role of Inbreeding in the Extinction of a European Royal Dynasty', *PLoS One* (2009), https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0005174 [accessed 2 August 2022]. Table 3. Inbreeding coefficient (F), mortality and survival of eight progenies of Spanish kings. Of Isabella's seven pregnancies, only two children reached the age of ten (but only one reached adulthood, the other dying in his teens). The only marriage with a higher mortality was that of Philip II and his niece Anna of Austria: of six pregnancies, only one child (the future Philip III) survived past age ten.
145 Rivero Rodríguez, *El conde duque de Olivares*, pp. 193 and 196.

# 2 The Trunk and the Foliage

## History versus Reality in Genealogical Narratives

This chapter is one of the two that focuses on the formation and representation of the Habsburgs as a group (see Fig. 2.1 below for a modern family tree, which is in use on Wikipedia). The present chapter discusses genealogies, while the next chapter focuses on communal burial sites. The aim of these chapters is to explore the construction of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty as a genealogical narrative and as a community of the dead. Both chapters are based on group representations: collective family histories (genealogies) and clusters of physical remains (burial sites). In this way, we can get the Habsburgs as a group of people into focus.[1] After all, dynasties *were* groups and focusing on them as such captures one of their essential characteristics.[2] Genealogies and burial sites have in common that they served to create a memory of the (deceased) family members; they can both be seen as belonging to *memoria* practices, the purpose of which was to connect deceased family members to present generations and create the illusion that the dead continued to belong to the realm of the living.[3] While burial monuments tend to play a large role in *memoria* research, genealogies served the same purpose. By constructing 'a community of the entire clan that presents the deceased head ancestor as a presence among the living', genealogies, too, evoked the presence of deceased forebears, and rights or prestige could be derived from them.[4] Both genealogies and burial sites constructed diachronous social groups, connecting the long dead, the living and the as yet unborn,[5] a particularly powerful way of suggesting dynastic continuity.

Burial sites and genealogies thus had a common purpose, but there are also important differences between them. Whereas we might argue that burial sites were always rooted in the biological bodies of the deceased, genealogies were literary productions that could take great freedom in including or excluding individuals as family members. Genealogical groups were highly malleable. The constructive element in genealogies is captured well by Eviatar Zerubavel, who recently argued that 'not only are genealogies more than mere reflections of nature, they are also more than mere records of history. Rather than simply passively documenting who our ancestors were, they are the narratives we construct to actually *make* them our ancestors'.[6] Unconstrained by 'biological hardware', genealogical narratives constructed family

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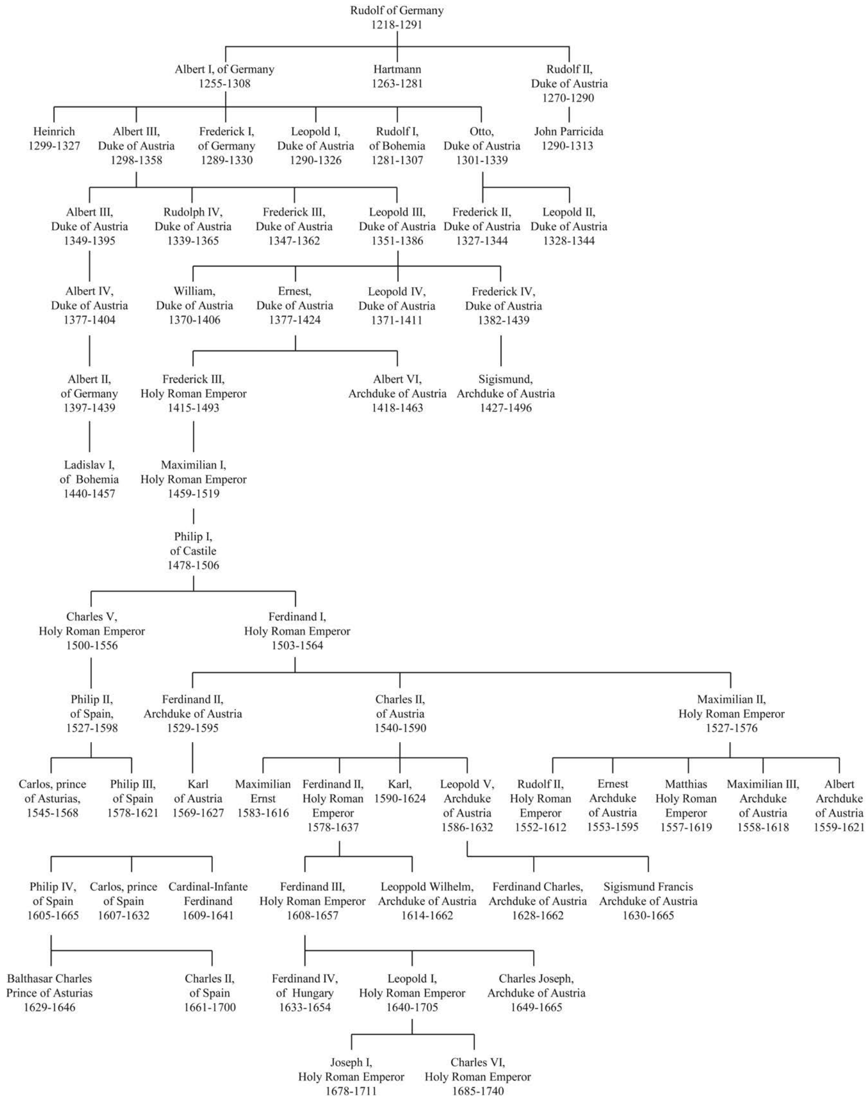



*Figure 2.1* A modern family tree of the Habsburgs (Wikipedia), based on one in use on Wikipedia in 2023.

groups, freely adding never-existing figures or quite unrelated individuals as (mythical) ancestors, and omitting very real people, including most cognatic relatives and illegitimate offspring.[7]

In this chapter, I have chosen to focus on a sample of forty texts, which have been selected to cover both a long period of time and a wide geographical area. This approach differs from the more usual approach of analysing the

discursive aspect of a single genealogy[8] – how was the preeminent position of the Habsburgs in Europe legitimised? Most modern scholarly works on genealogies focus on one or maybe a few genealogical texts.[9] The advantages of such an approach are obvious: a small sample allows close reading of the text, distilling its historiographical and philosophical underpinning, highlighting the author's intentions and even reconstructing the production of knowledge that went into it.[10] Each genealogy indeed deserves to be given that thorough treatment. However, my quantitative approach will, I hope, do justice to the unfathomable diversity of Habsburg genealogies: the Habsburgs ruled territories all over Europe for many centuries, and certainly dozens, but more likely hundreds, of genealogies were written about them all over Europe.

The forty genealogies of my sample represent of course a highly random and incomplete selection (see the Appendix for a list of the genealogies I consulted). They were written between c. 1500 and 1680, spanning most of the period during which the Habsburgs ruled Spain. The authors were based both in and outside Habsburg territories: Spain, Austria, the Holy Roman Empire, the Low Countries, Naples, Milan, France and Switzerland. Since the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs had a common medieval family tree and authors do not normally distinguish sharply between the two branches, both branches will feature in this chapter. Most genealogies consist of written accounts of the family, with biographies of individual Habsburgs. Some also include visual materials, like family trees. I have traced the formation of the family group in them, sacrificing thoroughness along the way but hopeful that this will let me sketch a broad picture of the early modern construction of the House of Austria.

Considering that genealogies were literary constructions rather than an actual assembly of physical persons (as burial sites were), we can expect a great deal of flexibility in how these narratives were shaped, which was connected to *why* a genealogy was produced. A general reason for producing genealogies was to assert hereditary rights to a certain territory or status. For instance, to gain access to certain clerical positions or for a marriage to be considered *ebenbürtig* (between partners of equal birth), one had to prove one's nobility over several generations.[11] In some cases, rulers themselves commissioned genealogies to extoll their lineage.[12] But there could be other reasons as well: some of the authors that we will discuss below seem to have been driven by purely commercial motives, simply trying to sell as many copies as possible.[13] Yet other genealogies were published to celebrate weddings, for instance, that of Joanna of Austria and Francesco de' Medici in 1565, and that of Emperor Leopold I and the Infanta Margaret of Spain in 1666.[14] Another reason could be to defend the honour of a dynasty against attacks on its worthiness, as happened when an anonymous French author challenged the claims of a pro-Habsburg genealogist who had extolled the Habsburgs at the expense of the French.[15] At the turn of the seventeenth century, we even see the emergence of genealogy as a scholarly pursuit, where source-based historical accuracy became an end in itself.[16] In most cases, genealogists had only indirect and loose ties to the people they wrote about: often, the author

merely lived in territories governed by the dynasty he described, and sometimes not even that. The resulting genealogies vary greatly: they were written by different authors, with different objectives, in different periods and in different territories of the monarchy. While genealogical narratives thus indisputably construct diachronous social groups, we should not see them as an expression of a dynastic identity adopted by the Habsburgs themselves, but rather as an expression of the identities that the genealogists projected onto the Habsburgs. Each portrait added to the generally available images of the dynasty, reflecting and propagating the existing ideas of what and who constituted the House of Austria, in different times, places and contexts.

In the following three sections, I will focus on three different themes that the genealogies dealt with and that are all closely connected to the shaping of the family group: the dynasty's earliest origins, its various branches and its 'current' generation (at the time of writing, of course). The focus on these three themes will shed light on the dynamics that shaped dynastic narratives. First of all, the discussion on the dynasty's earliest origins will show how the dynasty itself quickly lost control of its own genealogical narratives. Discussing origins was primarily a scholarly affair, conducted generally by learned men with very little connection to any of the Habsburg courts. The second section, on the House's various branches, shows how the House of Austria – multi-branched as a result of its partible inheritance practices – became unilinear in hindsight: junior branches and childless ancestors, however powerful and prestigious in their lifetimes, simply disappeared from view. Over time, the Habsburgs *became* a patrilineal and unilineal house, showing us that this vertical conception of the dynasty was a historical construction. This point will be reinforced in the third section, where we discuss how genealogists dealt with the dynasty's current generations – the 'living memory' of the House, as it were. This section shows how the Habsburg dynasty took on different shapes in different contexts, since local memories of who had been a member of the House could differ. The contemporary dynasty was far more inclusive than the historical one, including illegitimate and cognatic relatives.

## The Origins of the House of Austria

One of the main objectives of genealogical narratives is to exalt and honour the lineage.[17] Inherent to genealogies is that this is achieved by constructing the most prestigious ancestry available. Medieval and early modern genealogists tended to do this by starting the genealogy off with culturally significant personalities: the Greek and Roman heroes of Virgil's saga, primordial kings such as Merovech, or Biblical characters like Noah and any of his sons and grandsons – but other mythical or semi-mythical characters that were significant in local contexts could also serve as the family group's 'big bang' moment, blasting it into being. The reconstruction of such origins can be connected to a general competition about status in medieval and early modern Europe.[18] One of the Habsburgs most concerned with such questions of status was Emperor Maximilian I,[19] who took a personal interest in genealogy

and put a team of scholars to work on the origins of his family. Maximilian, however, was an exception. Other Habsburgs do not seem to have become quite as involved. Instead, a host of scholars, often with rather limited connections to the court, took up the debate. From being a court-sponsored status-oriented endeavour, the search for the dynasty's origins turned into a scholarly debate. This debate became so heated and intricate that most non-scholarly genealogists decided to pass over the controversy altogether. In the course of the seventeenth century, the origins debate lost its salience, and Habsburg courts appeared to lose interest in it. We will analyse the development of the origins narrative in the thirty genealogies in our sample that deal with it.

Emperor Maximilian I is rightfully famous for his attention to genealogy. One of the pressing issues his genealogists had to grapple with was the absence of a clear founding ancestor, a '*Spitzenahn*'. Devising narratives that took care of this lacuna was of utmost importance, since the origin of a lineage was generally meant to distinguish it from, and exalt it over, other lineages.[20] Not surprisingly, it was during Maximilian's reign that one of the great narratives about the origins of the Habsburgs was created by court genealogists like Johannes Trithemius and Jakob Mennel (Manlius). This narrative centred on a French descent from Merovech – an ancestor of Clovis, the first king of the Franks to be baptised. According to the narrative, Clovis's son Chlotharius divided his domains among his sons, one of whom was Sigebertus, who received Austrasia. Some generations later, this line would produce Othobertus (whose father was either called Odobertus, Theodobertus or Sigebertus II), the first count of Habsburg. Sigebertus I was therefore a key ancestor who connected the Habsburgs with the Franks and with Merovech, while Count Othobertus became the Habsburg *Spitzenahn* (Fig. 2.2).

This view of the dynasty's origins was quickly picked up by several authors with various connections to the court. Of the genealogies in our

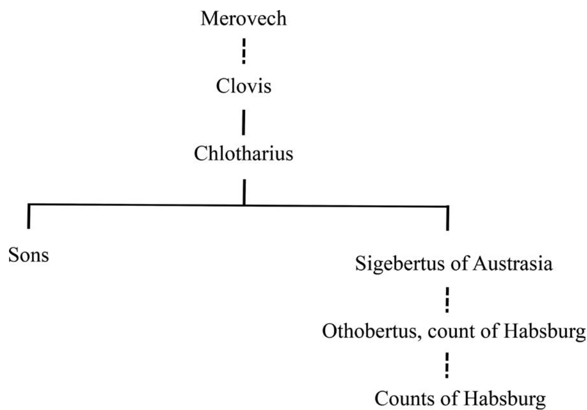



*Figure 2.2* Merovingian descent.

sample – which starts with texts produced after Maximilian's death – Gebweiler is the first to adopt this narrative.[21] A humanist and schoolmaster in Hagenau,[22] it is unknown whether he had any connection to the court, but he clearly knew the latest genealogical works. He devoted his '*liber primus*' to tracing the lineage from Noah via Priam of Troy and Francus to Pharamund – the latter two being mythical French kings – and in his '*liber secundus*' he traced the line onwards from Pharamund to Sigebertus, Othobertus and finally King Rudolf, the first Habsburg to be elected king of the Romans (1273). Only a few years later, the Brabantine engraver Robert Péril produced a spectacular engraving of the Habsburg family tree, starting with Pharamund and also including Sigebertus and Othobertus. A near-contemporaneous and very similar painted manuscript traced mostly the same line, except that it started with Noah.[23] Péril can be placed in proximity to the Habsburg court in Brussels. His works show his particular connection to Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter and governor of the Low Countries until 1530. In addition, his engraving explicitly states that he had worked with several high-ranking bureaucrats, theologians and courtiers while devising the genealogy – among others the chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, who might be expected to have considerable genealogical knowledge.

We also encounter Sigebertus and Othobertus in an Italian text of 1561. Girolamo Bossi's work is an epic poem in ten cantos, the first nine of which relate the tale of Heliodoro and Marfisa, mythical ancestors of the Habsburgs. In the tenth canto, Bossi gives a genealogy of the House of Austria. It starts with Zeus and Alcmena, parents of Hercules, and Hercules's son Aventino. Then a long line of kings follows, which includes people like Priam and Francus, onwards to Meroveo and Lothario, whose second son Sigeberto was 'king of Austria',[24] followed by Oberto. Bossi obviously confounds Austrasia and Austria (he would not be the last to do so) and goes on to state that the heirs to the 'kingdom of Austria' held the title of count of Habsburg.

The most authoritative author to espouse the Merovingian narrative was Wolfgang Lazius, a well-known humanist at the court of Ferdinand I.[25] We can tell he was authoritative because quite a few later authors refer to him. His authority rested on the quality of his work, but undoubtedly also on his close ties to the Habsburgs. He had written the work as Emperor Ferdinand I's court historian and curator of the imperial collections, and as such he had ample access to sources. His main work on the House of Austria was published in two parts: one was a visual family tree, and the other was the associated commentary.[26] The work was published in 1564, the year in which Ferdinand I died. The visual tree had clearly been finished before Ferdinand's death, since it still depicts him as emperor and his son Maximilian only as king. The text was dedicated to both Ferdinand and Maximilian. The work started with a discussion of authors; then it dealt with the kings of Austrasia, from which not only the Habsburgs descended but also the houses of Brabant, Lorraine, Bouillon and Luxemburg. Then the connection between the kings of Austrasia and the house of Austria was developed;

Lazius strengthened the connection by also stating that Austrasia and Austria were really interchangeable, speaking of the 'Austriae sive Austrasiae reges' (the kings of Austria or Austrasia).[27] The origins of the House of Austria were traced back to Sigebertus, who was reported to be a son of King Theodebertus of Austrasia.[28]

Whereas Lazius had made painstaking efforts to prove that his view on the dynasty was correct, authors in the second half of the sixteenth century would largely take his view for granted. We find much less discussion about it. It seems the narrative had become rather firmly established. In 1565, Francesco Sansovino wrote a work celebrating the ancestry of Archduchess Joanna of Austria, who married Francesco de' Medici. In his work he simply states that 'I say that your House of Austria … is descended from the ancient kings of France. They trace the line back either to Francus …, or to Pharamund',[29] after which he sketched a line from Pharamund via Sigebert to King Rudolf. Authors at the end of the sixteenth century, like Morigi, Haubenreich of Hirschhorn and Heuterus, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, like Hosmann and Piespordius, all adopted the Merovingian perspective, while dealing with the exact connection between Pharamund or Clovis, Sigebertus and King Rudolf of Habsburg in more or less sketchy detail.[30] The Merovingian descent would remain popular in the seventeenth century. Ortensio Palacivino also presented the genealogy from Pharamund via Sigebertus to the Habsburgs, while Lázaro Díaz del Valle, Dauber and Franz Adam von Brandis followed suit. Schönleben's work was really devoted to all the saints the House of Habsburg had produced. In his brief overview of Habsburg descent, he, too, traces a line from Meroveus to Sigebertus 'a quo communis opinio derivat Habspurgicos' (from whom the Habsburgs are commonly known to descend).[31] Clearly, throughout our sample and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this Merovingian descent narrative was amazingly popular and stable.

Still, the narrative came under threat from two sides. Firstly, some authors chose to overlook the French connection and focused instead on a Roman origin, which we might call the Anician narrative. Cornelio Vitignano published a work in Naples in 1599, in which he traced the Habsburgs back to the kings of Troy and Aeneas. From Aeneas descended the Roman House of the Julii, which was later known as the House of the Anicii and even later as the Perleoni, who were counts of the Aventine. According to this narrative, members of the House of Perleoni conquered 'Habsburg' during the reign of Emperor Frederick I, around 1160. After this conquest, they took the name Habsburg. One Pietro Perleoni was the father of Albert of Habsburg and the grandfather of King Rudolf (Fig. 2.3).[32] Admittedly, this narrative was far less popular than the Sigebertus/Othobertus narrative. We can find it again in the work of Johannes Seifridus and Cirpriano Boselli, who accordingly adorned King Charles II with the following list of adjectives: 'Carlo II Hispanico Burgundico Austriaco Habsburgese Pierleone Olibrio Probo Flavio Anicio Giulio Romuleo Eneada Troico'.[33]

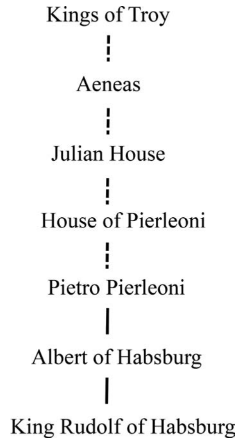



*Figure 2.3* Anician descent.

This approach had the advantage of connecting the Habsburgs with Aeneas, but the disadvantage of giving them a very long Italian history before they suddenly burst onto the Austrian scene a generation or two before King Rudolf. The authors who espoused this view were mostly Italian; on balance, the French origin narrative was far more popular – at least in the present sample.

Both the Merovingian and Anician viewpoints, however, would come under scrutiny from antiquarian scholars.[34] They were part of a new wave in genealogy writing that required knowledge to be source based.[35] In the sample, Johannes Rasch was the first to cast doubt on both lines of reasoning from this new perspective. He based his work on a Swiss chronicle whose author, Johannes Stumpf, had had access to the chronicles of the monastery of Muri in Aargau. That monastery, founded by an early Habsburg, actually held the earliest documents that mention the Habsburgs by name. Here, then, we have an attempt at reconstructing the Habsburg origin based strictly on sources. Rasch discussed a list of older genealogists and historians who had traced the Habsburg origin to Aventinus, the Scipiones, Perleones, Japhet and even Mars,[36] but took issue with their interpretations. His own sources showed that the very earliest proto-Habsburg was a man named Gontramus, who was mentioned as the grandfather of Rapoto (Radbot), who founded Muri Abbey and probably built Habsburg Castle. Although Rasch added that the Roman coins that had been found in the vicinity indicated a Roman ancestry for Gontramus and Rapoto, he did not engage in speculation and started his genealogy with Gontramus.[37] Rasch's scepticism about the Habsburg origin myths was in no way inspired by any anti-Habsburg feeling. He dedicated his work to Archduke Matthias, who was governor of Further Austria at the time – the region closest to the Swiss Confederacy. Instead, Rasch insisted that he wanted to add to the Habsburg greatness and to persuade all the

'anti-Austrians, who out of suspicion of the current much-blessed condition of the world, plot its downfall', of the error of their ways.[38]

Franciscus Guillimannus followed suit. In his work, first published in Milan in 1605, he complained about the great number of authors who contradicted each other.[39] In the first book of his work, he discussed both the Anician and Merovingian origin narratives and rejected both. Instead, he presented a pre-Habsburg history consisting of the counts of Windisch, in the Aargau region, who later became the counts of Altenburg and then of Habsburg. That the town of Windisch was located on the site of an old Roman *castrum* indicated a Roman descent for its counts, but this did not persuade Guillimannus to adopt the Anician narrative.[40] Guillimannus's Windisch origin would later be copied by Caspar Schoppe for his collection of fourteen family trees.[41]

Dominicus Tschudi, an abbot of Muri Abbey, devoted his entire work to the genealogical connection between Gontramus and Albert I, son of King Rudolf and first Habsburg duke of Austria. He argued that Lazius was unaware of the true origin of the House (absolving him from his myth making), while he lauded Guillimannus for exploring the archives of Muri. However, Tschudi lamented that Guillimannus wrote his genealogy as if the Habsburgs had become extinct, presumably because he had ended his work with King Rudolf – Tschudi himself ended his work only one generation later with Rudolf's son Albert, but did add that 'ab hoc *Alberto* Cesare deinceps ordine recto Duces Austriae descendunt' (the dukes of Austria are descended from this Emperor Albert in a straight line).[42] After these preambles, he launched into his genealogical narrative, starting with Guntrannus 'Comes de Altenburg cognomento Dives' (the count of Altenberg, known as the Rich).

The works written by antiquarian genealogists mentioned archaeological finds, like Roman coins, which seemed to favour the Anician narrative. While neither Rasch nor Guillimannus explicitly championed it, they did hint at it. But as Gerard de Roo remarked, the Anician myth implied that Anician descendants had come to Austria only two generations before King Rudolf I (see Vitignano and Boselli), while the Muri documents allowed for possibly as many as ten generations between Rudolf and Gontramus. The Anician myth did not square with the sources!

This scholarly discussion found some supporters among more courtly authors. Wolfgang Kilian, for instance, explicitly omitted myths about the Habsburg origin, whether Roman or Merovingian.[43] In 1669, Claude DuBosc de Montandré wrote 'I would like to give you the ancestors of this first fortunate one [King Rudolf of Habsburg], but since I cannot give you anything but uncertainties and chicanery, I have wanted to spare you the bother of reading them and the risk of not being at all satisfied'.[44] Many other authors ignored the scholars and stuck with the mythical origin narratives, but without taking sides between the Anician and Merovingian schools. This stance is illustrated by the captions, now vanished, that were (possibly) placed under a series of portraits of the counts of Tyrol in the 'Spanish Hall' of Ambrass

Castle outside Innsbruck – a project which was fostered by De Roo. They read: 'You, Habsburgs, whether the ancestor of your lineage is Anicius the Roman, or whether royal French blood course through your veins, you rule beautiful Tyrol.'[45] Perhaps these authors realised that the debate could not be solved one way or another – after all, no firm basis of evidence existed for either mythical interpretation. But we might also consider that both interpretations gave the Habsburgs what they wanted: an old and highly prestigious pedigree, either through the Merovingians or the Julians, which placed them at the apex of medieval and early modern society.[46] Conversely, we might argue that the antiquarians' search for sources on the Habsburg origins only resulted in the Habsburg ancestors becoming ever more obscure, making this approach less appealing to courtly authors. Surely this fellow Gontramus could not compete with the Merovingians! Therefore, it did not really matter which mythical origin was propagated. And since Habsburg rulers sponsored authors who advocated both versions, they did not take sides either.

Politically, the Merovingian descent narrative caused friction with French authors. On the French throne, Merovech's line had been usurped by the Carolingians, who in turn lost their power to the Capetians, from whom the Valois and Bourbons were descended. The Habsburg claim to be descendants of Merovech through the male line would mean they had a stronger claim to the French crown than the current Capetian kings, a conclusion which was not lost on the French. Even though the Merovingian descent narrative had existed for decades, it was Piespordius's work from 1617 which drew several furious responses from French authors, for instance, an anonymous author writing in 1624.[47] In this work, the anonymous author criticised fellow historians who constructed ancient genealogies for their monarchs with no basis in facts or sources (such as charters, funerary monuments, seals and coins). The author argued that Habsburg claims to Merovingian descent were just that, claims, and he set out to undermine these claims by exposing ten '*nullitéz*' in Piespordius's work. These irregularities ranged from the use of modern authors instead of contemporaneous sources (for example a Merovingian-era author like Gregory of Tours never mentioned any Othobertus), to lack of agreement among authors (Mennel had already been criticised by his competitors/colleagues in Maximilian's service), to genealogical inaccuracies (one of the Merovingian ancestors that Habsburg authors hail as a king of Austrasia was in fact a bastard and could thus not have been a king) and other inconsistencies (Piespordius mentioned counts of Habsburg long before Habsburg Castle was even built). Interestingly, the French 'Anonymous' traced the Merovingian genealogy of the Habsburgs explicitly back to the coterie of authors that worked for Maximilian, confirming the importance of their work for later genealogical narratives, while he used Franciscus Guillimannus to undermine these arguments.

The Spanish author José Pellicer de Ossau meddled in this discussion, suggesting that several Frenchmen had accepted the Habsburg claim. He recounted, for instance, that Piespordius's work had been offered to Louis XIII

when he married the Spanish Infanta Anna – and he had presumably accepted the gift and thus the veracity of its contents. Others simply failed to refute it effectively. He mocked Scipion Dupleix, a historiographer of France, who sought to undermine the Habsburgs' Merovingian descent, but who could only trace Louis XIII's ancestry back to Louis VI the Fat – a Capetian king – thus tacitly agreeing that the Bourbons had no connections to the Merovingians. To drive the point home, Pellicer de Ossau proceeded to present a genealogy from Pharamund via the Merovingians to Rudolf I, and then onwards to the Habsburgs of his day.[48]

While Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar and another Spanish author, Lázaro Díaz del Valle (1653), championed the Merovingian descent narrative, earlier Spanish authors included in the sample of genealogies had actually not engaged in this discussion. After all, the Merovingian myth explains the origins of the Habsburgs, whose rule of Spain was not established until 1516. Until the early seventeenth century, indigenous genealogical myths concerning the medieval kings of Castile were still in vogue and genealogies took the form of kings' lists: connecting, say, Philip IV to his medieval Trastámara predecessors in Castile rather than his Austrian medieval ancestors. Taking this perspective, Spanish authors from Alonso de Cartagena (died 1456), Antonio Gómez de Montemayor (writing in the last quarter of the sixteenth century) and Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (1618) onwards drew a straight line from Tubal, a grandson of Noah, to the later Visigoth kings and the houses which engaged in the Reconquista. But as Spanish genealogists made the switch from kings' list to patrilineal (Habsburg) lineage, the Tubal narrative became unfashionable and Spanish genealogies become 'habsburgified'.

Of all the authors we have mentioned in this section, only a handful can be placed in the entourage of a member of the Habsburg family. Of Lazius, Piespordius and Gerard de Roo we know that they held some sort of office at a Habsburg court. Lazius was a physician and keeper of Emperor Ferdinand I's collections and Gerard de Roo was Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol's court historian, while Piespordius worked as a secretary in Archduke Albert's German chancellery. Others, such as Péril, can be placed in contact with the court. But a large majority of our authors had no such connections. Instead, they were local scholars and publicists, driven by scholarly or political interests. The dynastic origin narrative, which had clearly been important to Emperor Maximilian I, was perhaps shaped first by courtly genealogists, but very soon became a subject of a debate waged far beyond the court. The debate had two dimensions. First, authors had to choose between the Merovingian and Anician narratives, but it is clear that many later authors preferred to sit on the fence. The need to establish exactly which origin narrative was the correct one was not felt so keenly in the seventeenth century. Second, all 'myth-based' narratives came under attack from antiquarian scholars. Although it seems that the myths were convincingly exposed as having no basis in the sources, they easily survived this challenge until the end of Habsburg rule in Spain. Maybe the Merovingian narrative was just too enticing, or

maybe scholarly standards were not deemed applicable when dealing with sensitive matters of dynastic honour.[49] What is clear, however, is that the Habsburgs themselves very soon lost control of the narrative.

**Branches: Alberts, Ferdinands and Philips**

In modern historiography on early modern Europe, the two-branched nature of the House of Austria is taken for granted. After 1521, or perhaps 1558, the 'Spanish Habsburgs' and the 'Austrian Habsburgs' are a given. But as this chapter shows, the fact of several branches often posed a challenge to genealogists, who favoured straight patrilineal lines and uncomplicated sequences of rulers. This section focuses on the representation of the various branches of the dynasty, both the medieval Albertine, Leopoldine and Tyrolean branches, and the early modern Spanish and Austrian branches. How were dynastic dead-ends woven into the genealogical narratives, and how was the problem of a two-branched dynasty solved? How was one group constructed out of a fragmented collection of ancestors?

As Chapter 1 points out, the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Habsburgs had tried to co-rule their patrimony, although some members of the House managed to obtain sole control of their own part of it. In the fifteenth century, there were efforts to effectively bar younger brothers from the inheritance – in particular, Emperor Frederick III tried to exclude his younger brother Archduke Albert VI (1418–63) from their paternal inheritance (allowing him to usurp parts of their cousin's paternal inheritance instead), which led to incessant warfare between them. Nevertheless, throughout the medieval period, co-rule offered male Habsburgs enough material security and status to be able to marry. Only Emperor Rudolf II, who ruled during the last decades of the sixteenth century, managed to keep some of his brothers unwed and excluded from the patrimony. What is more, it was not at all uncommon for a Habsburg duke or archduke to have around four sons who reached adulthood. In this marriage-happy and fecund medieval context, we would expect numerous different branches within the House. That did not happen. It was often the case that only one of the Habsburg brothers would produce sons of his own; the others would remain childless or have only daughters, who were barred from inheriting the patrimony. Only on three occasions did the dynasty split into several branches. Albert III and Leopold III, the two younger sons of Albert II (1298–1358), founded a branch each, known as the Albertine and Leopoldine branches after the deaths of their elder brothers (Fig. 2.4). The Albertines would be a lean branch, producing one adult male per generation (Albert IV, Albert V and Ladislaus, who died in his late teens but was king of Hungary from birth). Leopold III had four sons. Of the four, only two produced sons, splitting the Leopoldine branch into a further two branches, the Leopoldine main branch and the first Tyrolean branch (there would be a second Tyrolean branch in the seventeenth century). Of the three branches, the Albertines may well be

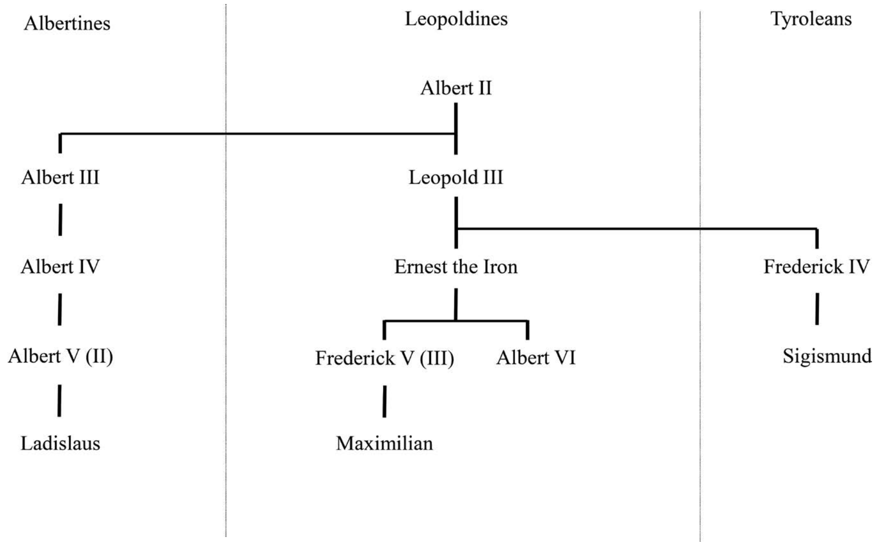



*Figure 2.4* Albertine, Leopoldine and Tyrolean branches.

considered the senior branch, while the Tyroleans ranked lowest. Albert IV, for instance, was known as *Mirabilia Mundi*, while his cousin Frederick of Tyrol had the questionable nickname 'with the Empty Pockets' (*mit der leeren Tasche*). Albert V married into the House of Luxemburg, which supplied the emperors at the time, which led to his own accession to the imperial throne as Albert II (leading to some confusion about this Albert V/II) as well as to his succession to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia. If his son Ladislaus had not died as a youth, this branch would undoubtedly have remained the senior branch. However, since both the Albertine and Tyrolean branches failed, in 1457 and 1496, respectively, the early modern Habsburgs were descendants of the Leopoldine branch.

Since we do not have any fifteenth-century genealogies in our sample, it is impossible to say here how contemporaries represented the various fifteenth-century Habsburg branches. We can only analyse how our sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors dealt with them. The first thing to note is that a good many genealogies in our sample did not reference the Albertines and Tyroleans at all because they were not interested in the medieval Habsburgs. Those focusing on the rulers of Spain or Flanders naturally ignored them, since the medieval Habsburgs had no business appearing in such works.[50] Authors only focusing on the patrilineal descent line ignored these collateral branches as well.[51] Some later authors in our sample chose not to go back further in time than c. 1500, starting their genealogies with either Maximilian or his son Philip I, which also excluded the medieval Habsburgs.[52]

To those genealogists that did include them, the Albertines presented something of a problem to be dealt with. Generally, the genealogists in the

sample do not like 'dead-ends' but rather wish to focus on the uninterrupted line of individuals from ancient times to the present – the suggestion of continuity was after all an important aspect of legitimising strategies. Hieronymus Gebweiler, the schoolmaster of Hagenau,[53] was the earliest author in our sample to deal with the various branches of the dynasty, and in doing so, he set a pattern. In both the German and Latin versions of his work he presented the medieval Habsburgs essentially as a unilineal dynasty.[54] He did this by devoting chapters to single Habsburg males and their immediate offspring. Of most generations of brothers, only one managed to produce male offspring himself, so the next chapter focuses on this one brother and his offspring, while the non-reproducing males were discussed as part of their father's biography. In this way all males were mentioned, but most were relegated to a subordinate position as children of their father, regardless of birth order and regardless of their position of power in life. Even an ancestor as prestigious as Frederick the Fair (1289–1330), who was elected anti-king of Germany and whom Habsburg genealogists often proudly counted as Emperor Frederick III (and thus the conventionally accepted Emperor Frederick III as Frederick IV), was only briefly mentioned in his father's entry.

Gebweiler decided to deal with the entire Tyrolean line in the same vein. Leopold III's younger son Frederick of Tyrol was not given a chapter of his own, even though he had a son Sigismund; instead, both he and his son were 'buried' in the entry on Leopold III. Likewise, Gebweiler discussed Albert III and Albert IV in the chapter on their ancestor Albert II. The entire Albertine line represented perhaps too many generations to be subsumed into Albert II's chapter, or (more likely), Emperor Albert V/II was rather too prestigious to be dealt with in this unceremonious way. However, Albert V/II did not receive a chapter of his own either. We find him in a following chapter dedicated to his second cousin, Ernest the Iron (the elder son of Leopold III and propagator of the main line). Here we encounter, after entries on Ernest's children, the children of Albert IV, that is Albert V/II and his sister Anna, followed by Albert V's children, including Ladislaus. Why were they discussed as part of Ernest's entry? There was probably a generation strategy at play: Albert V was of the same generation as Ernest's children (see Fig. 2.4). What we find in Gebweiler is a slightly awkward combination of 'compressing' collateral lines into one entry on their ancestor, while also gathering the members of generations together under the same heading. Both strategies would be reproduced by future genealogists. In any case, by dealing with collateral lines under the headings of the dynasty's main propagators (Albert II, Leopold III and Ernest represented the straight line of descent leading to Maximilian I), Gebweiler created a unilineal narrative of the Habsburg House.

Robert Péril's engraving of 1535 adopted Gebweiler's compression approach. On Péril's tree Gebweiler's chapter protagonists were the ones occupying a spot on the main trunk, representing a continuous line from Pharamund to Charles V. Other Habsburgs, including their descendants, were represented as branches growing out of the trunk. Whereas the trunk

Habsburgs were given a portrait in a circular vignette placed on the trunk, the others were generally represented only with their name, set in a less ornate circle. By stressing the continuous line, the essentially multi-branched nature of the house was downplayed. When dealing with the Albertines, Péril's approach became somewhat awkward. As explained, Albert II and his descendants formed the *senior* branch of the Habsburgs as long as it existed, a line which, moreover, encompassed no fewer than four generations. Albert V/II in particular was problematic because, as emperor and king, he outshone his Leopoldine contemporaries in every respect. The paradox of his prestige in combination with the subordinate status (in hindsight) of his line was solved by Péril by placing Albert in an especially elaborate vignette, which included his portrait, but was still next to, rather than on, the main trunk (Fig. 2.5).[55]

Other sixteenth-century authors used Gebweiler's strategy of discussing the whole Albertine line along with its founder. Girolamo Bossi's epic poem was not as strictly ordered into chapters as Gebweiler's works. But still, he wrote of Leopold III that he 'must happily continue the main line, but before I speak of him, I wish to speak of his [Albert II's] other sons'.[56] Among

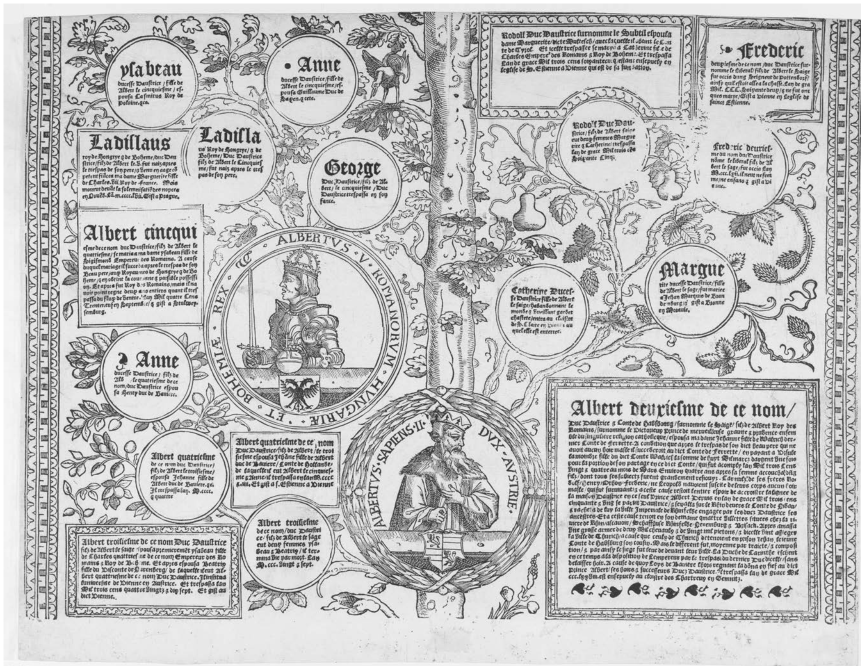



*Figure 2.5* Péril, leaf 12. The leaf shows Duke Albert II on the main trunk. Immediately to his left are the small circles depicting Albert III and Albert IV, followed by Albert IV's children Anne and Albert V/II in a vignette which is almost as elaborate as the trunk vignettes.

*Source*: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

these other sons were the childless Rudolf and Frederick, who were dealt with swiftly: 'See here Rudolf, and see here Frederick, both ended their days without any offspring'[57] Albert III, Albert IV and Albert V, however, brought great honour to the Habsburgs, as Bossi recounts in a number of strophes, after which he resumes his account of the '*linea dritta*' (straight line). Bossi allowed for a second digression to account for the Tyrolean line, after which he again returned to the 'main' line represented by Ernest the Iron, 'who will be the greatest son of Leopold, and his successor'.[58] This meandering narrative thus also managed to focus attention on the main line by dealing with dead-end lines all at once and clearly identifying the propagators of the main line.

Wolfgang Lazius seems to have taken the generation approach, grouping together individuals belonging to the same generation regardless of the branch they represented. When he discussed the sons of Albert II, he mentioned Albert III briefly but skipped over the rest of the Albertines to continue with Leopold III, Albert II's other son. He dealt with Leopold's sons William, Leopold and Frederick under their father's heading, while for the moment omitting Ernest, the son who would continue the Leopoldine line. Frederick was the son who was given Tyrol. He and his son Sigismund were also included in Leopold's chapter. So far, it seemed thus that all the childless sons of Leopold were dealt with as part of Leopold's biography, as well as the entire, compressed Tyrolean branch. All the dead-ends had been mopped up. The next chapter does not discuss Ernest, the propagator of the line; instead, Lazius chose to jump to his cousin Albert IV and his descendants, the Albertines, first, compressing the rest of the Albertine branch into this chapter. He focused on Albert V/II and particularly on the latter's son Ladislaus, the last of this line, and the civil wars that wrecked the house of Austria during his minority. After having discussed the Albertine branch, Lazius finally turned to Ernest. In this rendering of the various branches, Lazius thus used both the compression and generational strategies: he compressed the Tyrolean line and parts of the Albertine lines. But if we look at the chapter protagonists, we see that he first discussed the brothers Albert III and Leopold III, and then the cousins Albert IV and Ernest. Clearly, the Albertine line was considered to include too many generations to simply compress into one line, and neither would that have done justice to the glories of Albert V/II, or the eventful – if short – life of Ladislaus. The Tyrolean line, on the other hand, consisting only of Frederick IV and his son Sigismund, neither of whom was particularly distinguished, was summarised in one paragraph. Gebweiler had set a pattern which we encounter again in the work of Sansovino and Rasch, and even in the sequence of engravings produced by Wolfgang Kilian.[59]

Two texts in our sample depart most notably from Gebweiler's model. The first was a work by Markus Henning about the counts of Tyrol in 1599. The body of the work consists of brief biographies followed by an engraving of each of the counts, from Albert, a pre-Habsburg count who was recorded as number 1, to Emperor Rudolf II in Henning's present day.[60] Focused as it was on Tyrol, the Tyrolean branch was for once not half-overlooked, but

rather the main line in this work: Leopold IV was succeeded not by Ernest but by Frederick IV (of the Empty Pockets). Ruling counts as well as regents for underage successors were included – which meant that characters like Archduke Ernest and Emperor Frederick III were mentioned as short-term rulers for an underage brother (Ernest for Frederick of the Empty Pockets) or cousin (Emperor Frederick III for Sigismund). If the Tyroleans were finally given their due in this work, the superiority of the Albertines was also made clear, nevertheless. Between count number 16, Ernest the Iron (who only held the county for a year or so) and count number 17, Frederick IV, we find an unnumbered 'count' who is none other than Albert V/II. He was given an engraving and biography, which said that 'he possessed neither Tyrol, nor any other provinces of his lineage, except Austria'.[61] Clearly, Albert V is included as one of the most prestigious Habsburgs, but not placed in the order of Tyrolean counts; neither were any other members of the Albertine line mentioned. Albert V/II had become a stand-alone star ancestor.

Another slightly deviating work is that of Caspar Schoppe (1619). In this work, he presented a collection of family trees that showed many different descent lines of the seventeenth-century Habsburgs – among them their descent from Hugh Capet and the Merovingians (through the Burgundian inheritance, not through 'Count Othobertus'), as well as from the royal lines of the Norman kings of England, Austria, Castile and Aragon. In the Austrian line of descent, the Albertines were visualised as a collateral branch of the family. The Tyrolean branch, on the other hand, was omitted entirely. The goal here appears not to have been to give a complete overview of the medieval Habsburgs, but rather to include those members of the dynasty that had been most prestigious. This idea is further corroborated by the fact that Schoppe also included Frederick the Fair, the sonless Habsburg anti-king whom many genealogists presented as Emperor Frederick III. The texts of Henning and Schoppe show how star ancestors could be remembered centuries after their death, but how lesser dead-ends would be included only in those works that somehow focused on them: if the office they had held was the central subject of the genealogical work. Somehow, the Habsburg House with all its independently governing males was squeezed more and more into a unilineal narrative.

Then, of course, there were those authors who simply could not keep track of the sequence of Alberts. Georg-Johann Haubenreich von Hirschhorn, an extraordinarily sloppy author, normally started every little biography by saying whose son or brother his subject was, but he does not do so in the case of either Albert IV or Albert V/II,[62] indicating that he was not sure. He clearly mixed up Albert IV and Albert V/II, both of whom he described as married to Elisabeth of Bohemia (only Albert V/II's spouse was called so). He also followed Albert IV's biography by those of George and Ladislaus, who were actually sons of Albert V.[63] The Neapolitan author Cornelio Vitignano was equally confused about the Alberts. He focused strictly on the patriline leading up to Philip III (1599). Naturally, this led him to ignore the Albertines,

who were not patrilineal ancestors of this king. However, he did manage to incorporate an *emperor* Albert II, whom he presented as a son of Albert I and father of Leopold III. Clearly, he was confusing Archduke Albert II and Archduke Albert V/Emperor Albert II, which conveniently allowed for a unilineal representation of the house while still including the star ancestor.[64]

But more and more, we see that the Albertines, as well as the Tyrolean line, disappear from the genealogies as the narratives became more patrilineal.[65] As time went on, the medieval Habsburgs remained of course historical ancestors, but they lost relevance relative to the more recent ancestors. All those Habsburgs who were not connected directly to the present-day Habsburgs tended to fade away in the mists of time, no matter how important they had been in their own day. The Albertines managed to hold on to a place in the narratives a little longer than the Tyroleans, no doubt because of the glory and prestige of Albert V/II. But with the steady flow of emperors produced by the Habsburg dynasty since (the conventional) Frederick III, there was less and less need to highlight the medieval emperors. The Tyroleans lacked such a member and were forgotten even more quickly.

There is even a visible trend to forget *all* the medieval Habsburgs. From around the 1640s, we can see several works that do not go very far back in history. Wurffbain (1645) only takes his various genealogies back five generations. His work constituted essentially an *Ahnenprobe* of the Emperor, the king of Spain, other kings in Europe and the temporal electors of the Empire. An *Ahnenprobe* was a proof of nobility for, in this case, all sixteen great-great-grandparents, which was often a requirement for noble office in the Empire.[66] For the Habsburgs, this meant that the descent of Ferdinand III and Philip IV was traced back to the generation of Philip I the Handsome. Wurffbain may have stopped with Philip I because the *Ahnenprobe* did not require any more generations, but Philipp Killian also stopped at him in his work, written in honour of the marriage between Leopold I and Margaret of Spain (1666). In this case, the objective was no doubt to trace the lineages of both the bride and groom back to their most recent common, male ancestor: Philip. Both works accorded the status of *Spitzenahne* to Philip the Handsome, even though this prince, who died young, can hardly be considered a star ancestor. His only merit was to have been the father of both Charles V and Ferdinand I, but precisely because of this he became of paramount importance for the conceptualisation of the Habsburgs as a two-branched dynasty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The medieval branches had disappeared through extinction. During the early modern period, two new branches appeared: the well-known Spanish and Austrian branches, the latter of which divided into several branches again over two periods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fig. 2.6). These branches offered new challenges, since they existed at the time our genealogists wrote their texts and thus could not that easily be hidden from view. The earliest genealogies in the sample tend to position Charles V and Ferdinand I sequentially, granting precedence to one of the brothers and not

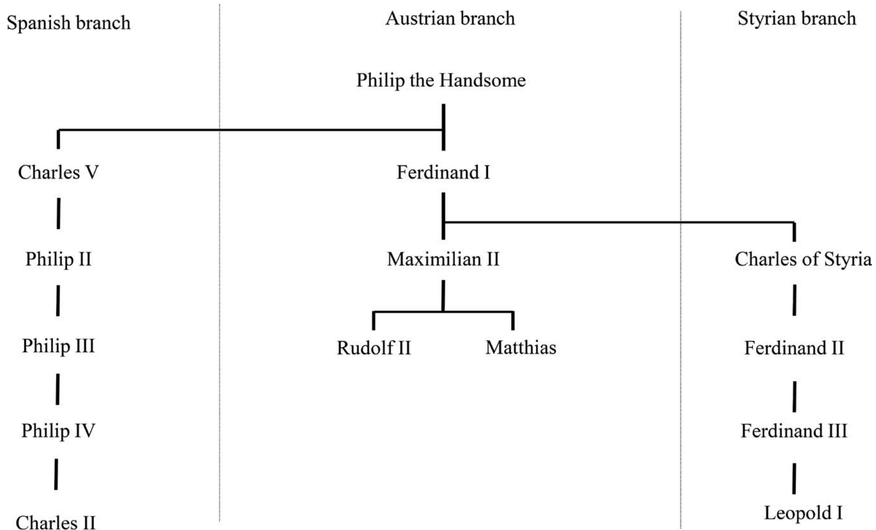



*Figure 2.6* Spanish, Austrian and Styrian branches.

yet representing them as the founders of two more or less equal branches. Which brother was granted precedence depended on the vantage point of the genealogist: Gebweiler, who had dealt with members of the same generation under the same heading, abandoned this structure in the last chapters of his work, where he discussed the two brothers each in their own chapter.[67] In this sequence, Ferdinand, the younger brother, took up the final chapter and is thus presented as the culmination of the house. This was undoubtedly because the author was based in Further Austria, where Ferdinand ruled from 1522, and Gebweiler dedicated the work to Ferdinand. There, Ferdinand was Charles's successor, rightfully taking up the last pages of the genealogy. In the two 1535 family trees (Péril and Anonymous), Ferdinand and his children were relegated to a distinctly secondary position, like the one occupied by the Albertine and Tyrolean branches. He was not integrated into the trunk of the tree, but pictured in a large vignette with his portrait. This signalled that his branch was considered subordinate to his elder brother's, which continued on the trunk. That was the Netherlandish view. Wolfgang Lazius, writing in Austria, portrayed his patron Ferdinand as Charles's successor, but then as emperor, visually depicting the younger brother and his living offspring as the final stage of the family tree.[68] These authors presented the brothers either in sequence – with Ferdinand as the heir to Charles – or as differently ranked family members, with Charles outranking his brother.

The Italian author Paolo Morigi avoided the issues of the hierarchy between the brothers and their branches by presenting a decidedly hotchpotch version of the Habsburg dynasty, barely distinguishing between the two lines at all. He dedicated his work to Empress Maria. As a daughter

of Charles V, sister of Philip II, spouse of the Austrian Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II and mother of numerous Austrian Habsburgs, two of whom married into the Spanish line again (which made her both aunt and grandmother to Philip III), she virtually embodied the connection between the two branches. Morigi's aim was to laud the Catholicism of the Habsburgs. Although such religious narratives were obviously connected to the Habsburgs' legitimacy as rulers, his primary focus was not on the succession to the thrones of Spain or the Holy Roman Empire. Rather, he expressly wished to include the family's pious women, whether they had married or not, to extoll their virtue and thus to legitimise the position of the entire dynasty at the apex of European Catholic society. Since piety takes pride of place instead of succession, no specific order can be found in the description of sixteenth-century Habsburgs. Morigi jumps from Charles V to his youngest daughter Juana and then to his illegitimate children (who were not normally included in genealogical narratives), onwards to Charles's brother Ferdinand, Ferdinand's married daughters and then to the houses of Bavaria and Lorraine (connected to the Habsburgs through marriage), and back to Ferdinand's daughters who became nuns. Then he discusses Ferdinand's sons, including Emperor Maximilian II, his wife Maria and two of their daughters (Margaret and Elisabeth, who had both become nuns), their son Emperor Rudolf II and then finally Charles V's son Philip II. Even if we account for his focus on piety rather than succession, it is still quite striking that Morigi did not even try to present the two branches as separated or ordered hierarchically.

But as the generations wore on and the branches became more distinct, genealogists found a way to present the two branches as basically equal. The Spanish author Lázaro Díaz del Valle who gave the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand III pride of place offered an interesting model.[69] Starting with Adam, he presented a direct line running from him to the seventeenth-century Habsburg rulers of Spain and the Empire. Each lineal ancestor was placed in a circle with a short biography, leaving aside other descendants, while each generation was numbered. After generation 119 (Philip the Handsome), the genealogy split into two lines, one descended from Charles and the other from Ferdinand (both generation 120). From then on, the pages in the manuscript are split horizontally: the upper half is dedicated to the Spanish line, while the lower half discusses the Austrians. Generation 121 is represented by Philip II (Charles V's eldest son) and Charles of Styria, who was Ferdinand's third son, but only his line would survive into the seventeenth century. In generation 123 we find Philip IV and Ferdinand III, while generation 124, which should present their successors, is shown as empty and merely expresses the hope of succession. The text mentions that Ferdinand III (generation 123) had married the Infanta Maria of Spain and that he had two sons and a daughter, who was 'now' queen of Spain (Mariana; the marriage took place in 1649). Not only does Díaz del Valle present the two branches as virtually equal (one could see the Spanish branch, placed in the upper half of the page, as

outranking the Austrian branch), yet strictly separated, but he ends his work with a sort of unification of the branches around 1650.[70]

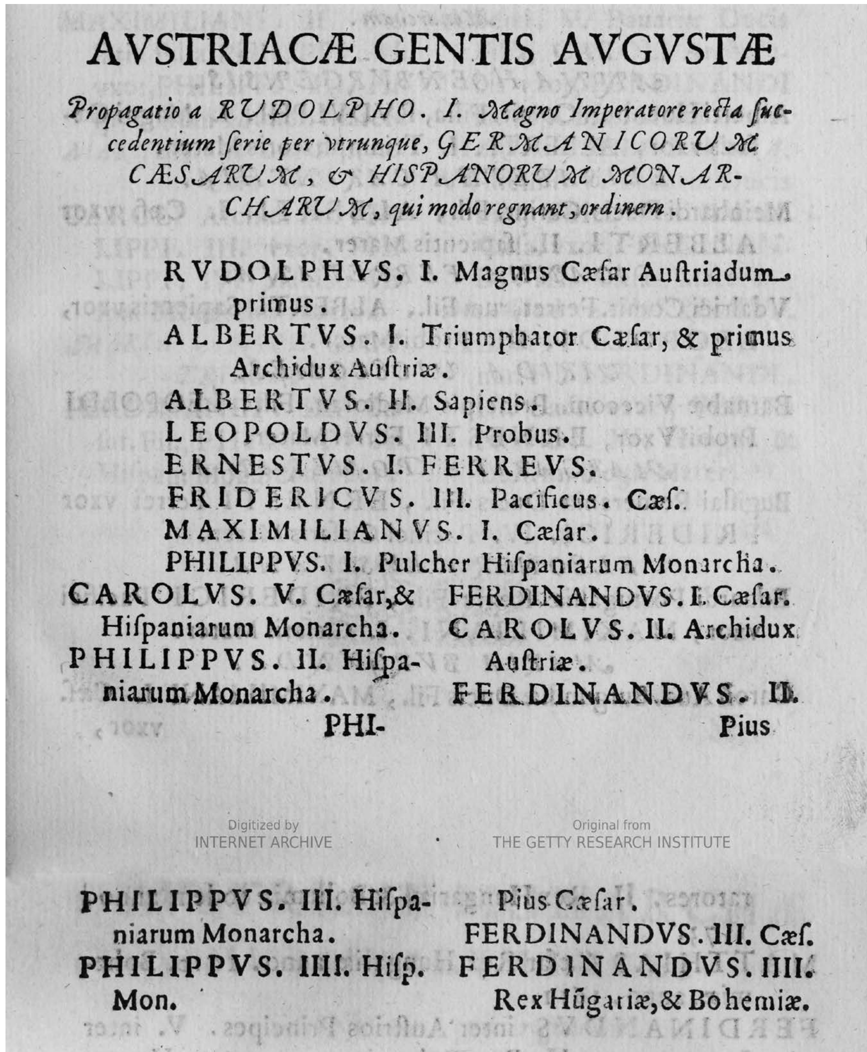
Díaz del Valle's work was undoubtedly connected to the marriage between Philip IV of Spain and the Austrian Archduchess Mariana in 1649. Such marriages tended to inspire works that focused on the relationship between the branches. The 1649 marriage also sparked the work of Ortensio Palavicino, while the marriage between Emperor Leopold I and Infanta Margarita led to Philipp Kilian's work of 1666.[71] In these works, Philip the Handsome gained relevance as a 'second founder' of the House of Austria, mainly because he was the last male-line ancestor that both branches had in common.

The two branches were sometimes nicknamed the Philips and the Ferdinands. For the Spanish branch this makes sense, seeing that Charles V was succeeded by three Philips. For the Austrians this implies a link between Ferdinand II and his grandfather Ferdinand I, which was constructed as rather more direct than it had been in reality, omitting as it did Maximilian II, Rudolf II and Matthias. Here we see, in fact, a certain tension between a lineage-based narrative (Ferdinand II as son of Charles of Styria and grandson of Ferdinand I) and a list of emperors (Ferdinand as successor to Matthias, Rudolf, Maximilian II and Ferdinand I).[72]

This new way of presenting the two branches as equal and separate, yet united, also led to a novel way of depicting the old Albertines. Palavicino presented a number of descent lines of Mariana of Austria, for instance, through the French kings since Pharamund, and various imperial and royal lines. These lines are strictly patrilineal except where the descent line ran through a woman, which means all collateral lines are omitted. However, he ends the work with a list of Habsburg emperors, starting with Rudolf I and ending with Mariana's father Ferdinand III. In this list, Albert V/II finds a place as well, of course, as do other emperors who were not Mariana's direct ancestors (Maximilian II, Rudolf II and Matthias). Interestingly, Palavicino also added little sections about the genealogical connections between the emperors, who were not always fathers and sons, and in this light, the connection between Albert V/II and his successor Frederick III is of interest. They were third cousins. For the first time in our written genealogical narratives, we see the Albertines and Leopoldines visualised next to each other (Fig. 2.7).

We normally only see this representation for the early modern branches, the Philips and the Ferdinands (see next page), and Palavicino's rendering was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that he rendered the Philips and Ferdinands in exactly this way many times in his work. But it is still striking. Listing the Albertines on the left, he even seems to accord them the superiority over the younger line which was their due, but which they never received from other authors, who generally depicted Leopold III and his descendants as the main line or trunk. Finally, it seems, the issue of the branches had been solved.

All in all, it is quite clear that the multi-branched nature of the medieval Habsburg dynasty was problematic for genealogists, and so were the two



AVSTRIACÆ GENTIS AVGVSTÆ

*Propagatio a RVDOLPHO. I. Magno Imperatore recta succedentium serie per vtrunque, GERMANICORVM CÆSARVM, & HISPANORVM MONARCHARVM, qui modo regnant, ordinem.*

RVDOLPHVS. I. Magnus Cæſar Auſtriadum primus.
ALBERTVS. I. Triumphator Cæſar, & primus Archidux Auſtriæ.
ALBERTVS. II. Sapiens.
LEOPOLDVS. III. Probus.
ERNESTVS. I. FERREVS.
FRIDERICVS. III. Pacificus. Cæſ.
MAXIMILIANVS. I. Cæſar.
PHILIPPVS. I. Pulcher Hiſpaniarum Monarcha.

| | |
|---|---|
| CAROLVS. V. Cæſar, & Hiſpaniarum Monarcha. | FERDINANDVS. I. Cæſar. |
| PHILIPPVS. II. Hiſpaniarum Monarcha. | CAROLVS. II. Archidux Auſtriæ. |
| PHI- | FERDINANDVS. II. Pius |
| PHILIPPVS. III. Hiſpaniarum Monarcha. | Pius Cæſar. |
| | FERDINANDVS. III. Cæſ. |
| PHILIPPVS. IIII. Hiſp. Mon. | FERDINANDVS. IIII. Rex Hũgariæ, & Bohemiæ. |

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*Figure 2.7* Palavicino's tree of the Habsburgs, unilineal until Philip I and then the two branches.

*Source*: Palavicino, pp. 21–22.

branches of the early modern period until authors invented the parallel genealogy which we see in later works. In hindsight, genealogists were keen to present a patrilineal and unilineal dynasty, compressing collateral branches and mopping up dead-ends – such efforts were also required to represent the Austrian Habsburgs, split into three lines after Ferdinand I, as a unilineal sequence of 'Ferdinands'. These constructions have undoubtedly had a great impact on modern historians' views on dynasties, but the difficulty

genealogists had in constructing them shows that they hardly conformed to historical reality. The patrilineal constructions really are trying to shape a group of people into something they had never been in practice. This is highlighted in the next section, when we discuss how genealogists dealt with contemporaneous family members. Once genealogists were confronted with the current reality of dynasties – for instance, that the Emperor had a brother, that the King's sororal nephew was a local governor or that his sister wielded power from her monastery – the construction of the dynastic group changed dramatically.

## Local Dynastic Narratives and Local Dynastic Memory

Among the most interesting sections of genealogies is the representation of the current generation of the family. The mythical and historical ancestors were increasingly presented in a patrilineal fashion, excluding younger siblings and often women. Bastards were normally not included at all, although the Flemish genealogies were rather generous towards them. Cognatic relatives – descendants from the family's women – were included only very rarely. But all this changes when we look at the current generation. The inclusion of relatives in the current generation was less bound by the standard rules of genealogy, and there was more room for local influence. Two elements come into play when we focus on these youngest generations. Firstly, unlike in the discussions on the dynasty's origins, authors did not have any recourse to previous authors. When reconstructing the current family members, often including young children, authors could not rely on previous genealogies since older authors had not had a chance to include the newly born yet, and they thus had to rely instead on their own knowledge. This knowledge was often locality bound and could be quite faulty when discussing contemporaneous Habsburgs in other regions of Europe. A prime example is offered by Abraham Hossmann, who discussed the marriage between Infanta Isabella and Archduke Albert, in reality a childless pair, who ruled the Low Countries, and their 'three sons'![73] This means that authors are particularly prone to making mistakes when discussing current family members. Secondly, in presentations of the current dynasty, individuals who would normally not be a part of genealogical narratives but still had an important role to play in governing the monarchy (mainly bastards and cognatic relatives) often found themselves included, but only if they were (or had been) prominent enough to gain a place in (local) dynastic memory. It seems that dynastic narratives were slightly less malleable when discussing the current generations, since they involved people who were either still alive or part of living memory – making it harder to omit individuals. That means that the representation of current generations in genealogies was more strongly rooted in physical bodies than the representation of previous generations (let alone mythical ancestors). These two aspects of the contemporary parts of genealogies – possible knowledge gaps and dealing with

biological realities – highlight the role of local knowledge and memory in the formation of the dynastic group.

Robert Péril's engraving of the Habsburg family tree was dated 1535. Many aspects of this genealogy betray the artist's local affinities. At the time the family tree was produced, Charles V, his siblings and their children formed the current generations of the lineage. Charles's aunt Margaret of Austria had died rather recently, in 1530. Thrice widowed but childless, this lady played no role of significance in any genealogy in the sample, but Péril treated her much like he had treated Albert V/II: she was pictured not on the trunk but alongside it, in an ornate circle with a text vignette which was larger than any other in the engraving – it held more text than the vignette of her brother Philip I the Handsome, in a telling contrast to his favourable treatment in the seventeenth century. To Péril, Margaret was clearly of utmost significance as the previous governor of his natal Low Countries. She was the predecessor of his patron Mary of Hungary and may well have been the original commissioner of his work.

Péril honoured all the sisters of Charles and Ferdinand with portraits in circles. Three of the four sisters – Eleanor, Mary and Elisabeth, but not Catherine – had grown up in the Low Countries and were thus well known to him. At the time of writing, Mary was serving as governor. Elisabeth had married the Danish King Christian II, who had been deposed, after which the family went into exile in the Netherlands, where she died in 1525. Her children grew up in the Low Countries – her son Hans died in 1532, and her two daughters, Dorothea and Christina, had only just left Brussels for their marriages, in 1534 and 1535, respectively (more on them in Chapter 4). Péril would inevitably have known about them. Elisabeth was pictured like her sisters, in a circle with a block of text to her right. The circle was placed next to the trunk, which displayed the name of her brother Charles. Apart from a circle with her portrait, she was also given a block of text mentioning her marriage to Christian II – but without mentioning his deposition and their exile – and that she had had three children with him. Of Hans it was said that 'he died while he travelled with his uncle Emperor Charles V to go against the Turks'.[74] It also mentioned Dorothea's marriage to Count Palatine Frederick and Christina's marriage to the duke of Milan (the engraving was finished before her marriage to the duke of Lorraine) and that Elisabeth was buried in St Peter's Church in Ghent. Although this may not seem to be all that much, Gebweiler's practically contemporaneous German genealogy, first produced in around 1527, mentioned Elisabeth and her marriage, but had nothing to say about her children. It is surely not a coincidence that a Netherlandish engraving should pay more attention to the children than a German text, considering that the children had grown up there. In later texts, the Danish branch received even more limited attention. We do not find references to the children in any other genealogies of the House of Habsburg. That serves to show how patrilineality determined the way royal houses were generally conceptualised. This usually left room for the dynasty's women, but only rarely

for their children – except if those children had a special connection to the author of the work. Hans, Dorothea and Christina were real-life Habsburgs for an author like Péril, but not for any of the other authors in our sample.

Charles's youngest sister Catherine had been born and raised in Castile, sharing the captivity of her mother Joanna 'the Mad' and marrying the king of Portugal. Péril mentioned her marriage, as well as some of her children: 'Emanuel, Philippe, Marie, Ysabeau'.[75] In including Philippe, Péril showed himself to be quite up to date, since this prince was born in 1533. But in including Ysabeau, he showed himself misinformed, since this infanta had died already (other children who had already died were not included). This sketchy grasp of young children who were born far away is also on display in Péril's treatment of Charles V's own legitimate children, who were born in Castile. Here he mentioned two sons, Philip and Ferdinand, and two daughters, Ysabeau and Jehanne.[76] But there had never been an Ysabeau (Isabella/Elisabeth). The children's mother was called Isabella, but the eldest daughter was named Maria. That news had clearly not really reached the engraver.[77] Although Charles's illegitimate daughter Margaret, who had also grown up in the Low Countries, was already in her early teens and engaged, as Margaret of Austria, to the duke of Florence, she was omitted from the tree.

Péril's depiction of Charles V's children illustrates the fact that most of those children grew up in Spain and were thus much farther from him geographically. Yet even when dealing with them we can see Péril's Netherlandish bias. For instance, he mentioned Ferdinand as Charles's second son (a boy who had already died by the time of writing, as Péril acknowledged) and styled him '*conte de Flandres*'. Charles's eldest son Philip was styled '*roy Despaigne*'. Both titles were still firmly held by Charles himself, so instead of a reality, they reflected ideas about the future succession: Péril clearly expected a second son of Charles to inherit the Low Countries, a hope that had been pointedly shared by Margaret of Austria.[78]

A generation later, when the Viennese humanist Lazius published his genealogy and family tree, we see other echoes of the generation of Charles V. The final sheet of the family tree presents the latest generations of the family, starting with Philip the Handsome and Joanna of Castile, followed by their children and grandchildren. The ruling couples Philip and Joanna, Charles and Isabella of Portugal, and Ferdinand and Anna of Hungary are depicted in a vertical sequence from the bottom of the page up, supported by a trunk. Their children feature on branches extending to the left and right of the trunk. All Philip and Joanna's daughters are pictured to the right of their parents as crowned queens – Elisabeth, Mary, Eleanor and Catherine. While three of these queens had children, only Elisabeth is accompanied by two of hers: Dorothea and Christina. Her son Hans is absent, as are Catherine's Portuguese children (who were all dead in 1564, but her grandson Sebastian was alive) and Eleanor's daughter, who was still alive. Here, we may detect Lazius's German bias: Dorothea was the Electress Palatine, clearly

*Figure 2.8* Lazius's family tree depicting Dorothea and Christina of Denmark. Wolfgang Lazius, *Arbor genealogiae Austriacae* (Vienna, s.a.). ÖNB/Wien.

a well-known figure in the Empire. Christina is evidently less known, she features as '*N. Dorotheae soror*' ('unknown sister of Dorothea'), duchess of Lorraine – neatly highlighting Lorraine's liminal position in the Empire (Fig. 2.8).[79]

The influence of locality on the position of collateral relatives can also be shown by focusing on some cognatic family members who we know played an important role in Habsburg rule, like Filiberto of Savoy (1588–1624), a grandson of Philip II, younger son of Philip's daughter Catalina and the duke of Savoy (for his involvement in rule, see Chapter 6).[80] As a junior Savoyard prince, we would not expect Filiberto to show up in many Habsburg genealogies, yet he does. Three authors mention him:[81] Paolo Morigi (1593), whose work was published when Filiberto was five years old; Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, whose work saw the light in 1618 when Filiberto was arguably at the height of his power; and lastly José Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar, writing in 1641, when Filiberto had been dead for almost twenty years.[82] None of the descriptions is very elaborate. Morigi and Salazar de Mendoza merely mentioned him as one of the children of Catalina and the duke of Savoy. Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar mentions Filiberto's offices in the Spanish monarchy, as well as those of his siblings Marguerite and Tommaso (both still alive at the time of writing). They are not explicitly called members of the House, but their inclusion indicates that Catalina's children (and the children of other Habsburg women) were worth mentioning. These mentions may not seem

to amount to much, but in fact it is more than what most collateral relatives could hope for. Péril, who mentioned the Danish Habsburgs, and these three authors are in a minority. In Filiberto's case, the authors' local roots must also have played a role: two were Spanish and one Italian, which were the areas where Filiberto was most visible and best known as a Habsburg nephew. As a Savoyard prince, an admiral of the Mediterranean fleet and later also viceroy of Sicily, Italy and Spain was where he operated and thus was best remembered.

We should add here that Salazar de Mendoza was very generous to collateral offspring. He dwelt on the grandchildren of Charles V through his daughter Maria at length as well – somewhat more extensively than Filiberto and his siblings. Of course, Maria had married her cousin Maximilian of Austria so these children were also Habsburgs. But more important was the fact that many of them would go on to spend time in Spain, where they became well known to courtiers and authors alike. These were the children Salazar y Mendoza mentioned most prominently: the eldest daughter Anna, who would marry her uncle Philip II; the two elder sons Rudolf and Ernest, who spent time at Philip's court in their youth, and particularly their younger brother Albert, who merits quite a long entry which includes his education in Spain, the many offices he held in his uncle's service and his marriage to his Spanish cousin Isabella.[83] In prioritising those of Maria's children who had a clear connection to the Spanish court, Salazar y Mendoza illustrates again how the author's locality and his personal knowledge, or the local memory, influenced the way in which he portrayed the dynasty and allowed family members who might not normally warrant a place in genealogical narratives to be included.

Where the author was based thus somehow shaped his view of who were part of the dynasty. Such local bias might not only benefit collateral relatives but also illegitimate ones, who normally had no place in genealogies at all. Margaret of Parma, Charles V's illegitimate child, is a case in point. She had been omitted from Péril's work, which is not likely to have been because the author did not know her. Her illegitimate birth likely played a larger part. She was, however, not overlooked at all by Girolamo Bossi (1560), who displayed his own local 'interpretation' of the dynasty. When he discussed the current Habsburgs, he stated that Charles V had two daughters, Maria and Margaret. Although both were indeed Charles's daughters, there was a third, Juana, who was a legitimate child. Bossi did not merely mix up the names of Margaret and Juana, because he described Margaret as married to Ottavio Farnese, her second husband and current husband at the time of writing, thus identifying her quite accurately. He simply omitted Juana completely. Locality can explain it. Between 1533 and 1556 Margaret lived in Italy, first as fiancée of the duke of Florence, later as his wife and widow, and even later as spouse of Ottavio Farnese, who was a scion of a powerful papal family. Margaret lived mostly in Rome, in a palazzo that is still named after her (Palazzo Madama), and may be said to have represented the Habsburg

House there. Her inclusion at the expense of her half-sister Juana, who never left the Iberian Peninsula, is most likely a reflection of Bossi's local background, since he must have been very well aware of Margaret's prominent position, in spite of her illegitimate birth, but may not have known much about Juana.

That Bossi was motivated by an Italian bias can be corroborated by other sections of his work. In canto 5 he sings the praises of Philip II and predicts that he will dominate the entire world, with the aid of his lieutenants. These lieutenants are a whole list of Italian noblemen and *condottieri* – like his cousin Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy ('*del Rè cugino*', grandfather of the Filiberto we mentioned earlier); Francesco Ferdinando d'Ávalos d'Aquino, marquis del Vasto then governor of Milan; Cesare and Andrea Gonzaga, who were commanders of Spanish troops; and Gianbattista Castaldi, a *condottiere*, member of the government of Milan and captain general of Milan.[84] Surely it is no coincidence that they were all mainly active in northern Italy, near Milan, Bossi's hometown, which, incidentally, bordered on the duchy of Parma, where Margaret was duchess. Salazar y Mendoza, too, included Margaret, although he gave even more attention to Charles's other illegitimate child, Don Juan, and to Margaret's son Alessandro, who seem to have been more important to the author.[85]

But local knowledge may not have been the only reason for such variations in dynastic narratives. Another author who sketched a very particular picture of the present-day house of Austria was Caspar Schoppe, who published a collection of fourteen family trees to show the various lines of descent of the Habsburgs. He included in the first one (the Windisch-Laufenburg-Habsburg line, mentioned earlier) not only Philip IV as a member of the thirty-first generation, but also Duke Ranuccio Farnese of Parma – great-grandson of Charles V through Margaret of Parma – and on the Austrian side, not only Rudolf II, Matthias and Ferdinand (II), but also Duke Ferdinand of Mantua, great-grandson of Ferdinand I through his daughter Eleanor.[86] This is a rather puzzling selection. Why would Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy, a grandson of Philip II and also a member of generation 31, be excluded? Or any of the other princely grandsons of Ferdinand I, like the duke of Bavaria? Why would the offspring of an illegitimate daughter be preferred over those of legitimate daughters? Why would daughters (Margaret and Eleanor) be preferred over sons in the first place? It is all rather striking. The solution, however, lies in the biography of the author. Schoppe was a convert to Catholicism and had worked directly for the future Emperor Ferdinand II. While travelling in Italy on Ferdinand's business, he received a pension from Duke Ferdinand II of Mantua – which he presumably 'repaid' by including him in the Habsburg family tree. Local patronage thus also guided the inclusion and exclusion of family members.

When we take a look at how genealogists dealt with the current generations of the dynasty – individuals who were still present in living memory – a very different picture emerges to the one we sketched in the previous section.

Multiple branches, cognatic offspring and even extramarital family members were just as much part of the narrative as the patrilineal line of Habsburgs. In contemporary contexts, dynasties were horizontal family groups – in stark contrast to historical contexts, in which genealogist went to a great deal of trouble to present a unilineal and patrilineal narrative. We might conclude that such patrilineal genealogies are quite simply constructions after the fact and do not reflect what we might call everyday dynastic realities.

## Conclusion

Taken together, this chapter has shown that the Spanish Habsburg dynasty itself was hardly in control of its 'image'. What we are analysing when we analyse genealogies is, of course, the genealogists' view. What their narratives tell us is that the patrilineal and unilineal dynasty is a construction that required considerable intellectual gymnastics. It served to make sense of the historical dynasty, narrowing it down considerably. Genealogists had a more inclusive and diverse view of the current and local incarnations of the dynasty. The dynasty was not the same in Milan as it was in Castile or the Low Countries, but everywhere, the view of the family in living memory was much broader than only that line of males who had sons and heirs. Taken together, the dynasty was shaped as a long historical trunk with most of its twigs removed that blossomed into rich and varying foliage once we arrive at the present day. Dynastic histories may have been unilineal and patrilineal, but the everyday reality of dynasties was that they were, and were seen as, horizontal groups, not vertical ones.

The construction of a dynastic group in genealogies was in fact more than just a literary construction – although much of it was just that. Those illegitimate, cognatic and female relatives who came to the fore as part of the current generation were individuals who might not have had any rights to the succession, but still played an active part in governing the monarchy: they were governors, admirals and viceroys. Their inclusion in genealogies is an immediate result of their role in the ruling family group, which will be analysed in greater detail in Chapters 4–7. The patrilineally constructed slimmed-down, vertical 'trunk' reflected the channel through which rights and entitlements had been passed down to the present-day Habsburg rulers, while the multifaceted, horizontal foliage represented all those individuals who had a stake in upholding and exercising those rights.

## Notes

1 Kilian Heck and Bernhard Jahn, 'Einleitung: Genealogie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Leistungen und Aporien einer Denkform', in Kilian Heck and Bernhard Jahn (eds), *Genealogie als Denkform in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 1–12, p. 4: 'eine Gemeinschaft der ganzen Sippe, die den toten Spitzenahn als Anwesenden unter den Lebenden vorstellt'. Here, as elsewhere, we point out that contemporaries often preferred the term 'house' to other terms such

as family or dynasty. Michael Hecht, 'Das Adels-Haus in der Frühen Neuzeit. Genealogisches Konzept, Verwantschaftliche Ordnung, architektonische Gestalt', *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 1, special issue *Das Einfamilienhaus* (2017), pp. 29–48, p. 30: a *Haus* is a 'term for a chain of descent over many generations and the ensuing organisation of a relatively large group of relationships' (Ausdruck für eine viele Generationen umfassende Abstammungskette und die davon abgeleitete Organisation eines grösseren Verwandtschaftsverbandes).

2 Geevers and Marini, 'Introduction', in Geevers and Marini (eds), *Dynastic Identities*.

3 See for a recent overview of this debate: Truus van Bueren, Kim Ragetli and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'Researching Medieval Memoria: Prospects and Possibilities', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 14 (2011), pp. 183–234; Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'Royal Burial Places in Western Europe. Creating Tradition, Succession and Memoria', in R. de Weijert *et al.* (eds), *Living Memoria. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren* (Hilversum, 2011), pp. 25–43.

4 Heck and Jahn, 'Einleitung', p. 1: genealogies are a 'cultural form of organisation that is able to produce relationships in time and space' (kulturelle[n] Ordnungsform mit der Kompetenz, zeitliche und räumliche Relationen herstellen zu können); see also Gert Melville, 'Zur Technik genealogischer Konstruktionen', in Cristina Andenna and Gert Melville (eds), *Idoneität – Genealogie – Legitimation. Begründung und Akzeptanz von dynastischer Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2015), pp. 293–304.

5 Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Memoria als Kultur', in Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, 1995), pp. 9–78, pp. 37–41. This is illustrated by Oexle's triad 'Tradition – Sukzession – Memoria', which means 'commemorating one's predecessors (memoria) as it had been done and will be done (tradition) and being aware that one's actions followed those of one's predecessors and would precede those of one's successors'.

6 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Ancestors & Relatives. Genealogy, Identity, & Community* (Oxford, 2012), p. 10.

7 Heck and Jahn, 'Einleitung', pp. 4–7.

8 Markus Friedrich summarised the field's main questions as follows: 'Which social and political functions did family histories and genealogies have? And how was the genealogical past presented to fulfill these functions in the most successful way?' (Markus Friedrich, 'Genealogy and the History of Knowledge', in Jost Eickmeyer, Markus Friedrich and Volker Bauer (eds), *Genealogical Knowledge in the Making. Tools, Practices, and Evidence in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, 2019), pp. 1–22, p. 1.

9 Liesbeth Geevers, 'Being Nassau: Nassau Family Histories and Dutch National Identity from 1541 to 1616', *Dutch Crossing* (2011), pp. 1–19; Walter Dietl, *Die Elogien der Ambraser Fürstenbildnisse: die Kupferstiche des Dominicus Custos (1599); Leben und Werk ihres Autors Marcus Henning* (Innsbruck, 2000); Fabio Martelli, *L'Arbor Aniciana di Joannes Seifried: una teologia politica asburgica alla vigilia della guerra dei trent'anni* (Bologna, 2012); Erica Bastress-Dukehart, *The Zimmern Chronicle: Nobility, Memory and Self-representation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, 2002).

10 This last element is rather new in genealogical studies and has been illustrated by Markus Friedrich. Friedrich, 'Genealogy and the History of Knowledge', pp. 1–22.

11 For an example, see the genealogy created for the morganatic spouse of a prince of Nassau, who tried to prove that she was of high noble birth and thus was, in fact, not a morganatic spouse at all. Van der Steen, 'Dynastic Scenario Thinking', pp. 120–22.

12 In the sample, the works of Lazius, Péril, de Roo and possibly Piespordius. All genealogies used for this chapter are listed in the Appendix. In the footnotes to this chapter, I will forego their (often) long titles and refer only to the author.
13 Hossman is a prime example of a commercial author. The author of his biography in *Algemeine deutsche Biografie* does not pull his punches in describing him as an incompetent hack: Colmar Grünhagen, 'Hosemann, Abraham', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 13 (1881), pp. 179–80. Georg-Johann Haubenreich von Hirschhorn is another excellent example.
14 Sansovino; Kilian/Patho/Widmanstetter.
15 Piespordius argued that the Habsburgs were directly descended from the Merovingians. This would give them a better claim to the French throne than the Bourbons, who could only claim descent from the Carolingians, and thus it was contested by the French: Anonymous 1624.
16 For instance, Rasch/Stumpf and Guillimannus.
17 Godfried Croenen, 'Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Century: Form and Function', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 84–95.
18 Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993); Thomas J. Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014); Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975); R. W. Scheller, 'Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII', *Simiolus* 12 (1981–82), pp. 5–69; and idem, 'Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII', *Simiolus* 13 (1982), pp. 75–141; idem, 'Gallia Cisalpina: Louis XII and Italy 1499–1508', *Simiolus* 15 (1985), pp. 5–50. For later periods, see Alexandre Y. Haran, *Le lys et le globe: Messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Seyssel, 2000); Liesbeth Geevers, 'The Conquistador and the Phoenix: The Franco-Spanish Precedence Dispute (1564–1610) as a Battle of Kingship', *International History Review* 35 (2013), pp. 23–41, and Michael Rohrschneider, 'Das französische Präzedenzstreben im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV. Diplomatische Praxis – zeitgenössische französische Publizistik – Rezeption in der frühen deutschen Zeremonialwissenschaft', *Francia* 36 (2009), pp. 135–79.
19 Beate Kellner and Linda Webers, 'Genealogische Entwürfe am Hof Kaiser Maximilians I. (am Beispiel von Jakob Mennels Fürstlicher Chronik)', *Lili. Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 37 (2007), pp. 122–49, pp. 122–23; Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, 2008); Clemens, *Luxemburg-Böhmen, Wittelsbach-Bayern, Habsburg-Österreich*.
20 Heck and Jahn, 'Einleitung', p. 4; Howard Louthan, 'Austria, the Habsburgs, and Historical Writing in Central Europe', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400–1800* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 302–23, p. 308. On Mennel's *Fürstliche Chronik*, see also Kellner and Webers, 'Genealogische Entwürfe', pp. 128–47.
21 Gebweiler 1527, 1530.
22 Heinrich Kämmel, 'Gebwiler, Hieronymus', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1878), pp. 486–87 [Online-Version]; https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd124436366.html#adbcontent.
23 Péril; Anonymous 1536.
24 Bossi, p. 52.
25 Adalbert Horawitz, 'Lazius, Wolfgang', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 18 (1883), pp. 89–93.
26 Lazius 1564 and Lazius s.a.

27 Lazius 1564, p. 50. In 1508, Maximilian I, ever genealogically resourceful, had planned to unite his domains in the Low Countries and Austria in one kingdom, to be called Austrasia. He referred to his grandson Charles, then only a child, as the future king of Austrasia. Parker, *Emperor*, p. 24.
28 Lazius, s.a., p. 108.
29 Sansovino, fol. 2vo: 'dico adunque che la vostra Casa d'Austria… discese da gli antichi Re di Francia, o prendasi il principio loro da Franco…, o pur si prenda da Faramondo'.
30 Morigi, fol. 2ro; Haubenreich von Hirschhorn; Heuterus; Hossman; Piespordius.
31 Schönleben, p. 5.
32 Vitignano.
33 Boselli, p. v.
34 Kira van Ostenfeld-Suske, 'Juan Páez de Castro, Charles V and a Method for Royal Historiography', in Patrick Baker *et al.* (eds), *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance. The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 363–90; Sebastián Sánchez Madrid, *Arqueología y humanismo: Ambrosio de Morales* (Córdoba, 2002); Lucia Binotti, 'Coins, Jewelry and Stone Inscriptions: Ambrosio de Morales and the Re-Writing of Spanish History', *Hispanófila* 157 (2009), pp. 5–24.
35 Friedrich, 'Genealogy and the History of Knowledge', pp. 3–4.
36 Rasch/Stumpf, letter to Rudolf II.
37 Rasch/Stumpf, Chapter 13.
38 Rasch/Stumpf, letter to the reader. 'Antiaustriaci, welche aus vermuetung des jezigen muchsaeligen stands der weld, dessen untergang practiciren.'
39 Guillimannus, dedication to Emperor Rudolf II.
40 Guillimannus, book II, chapter II.
41 Schoppe: 'Stemma I' is the Windisch-Laufenburg-Habsburg tree; a direct reference to Guillimannus and his work in the 'Letter to the reader' (Lectori Scioppius S.).
42 Tschudi, pp. 1 and 125.
43 Kilian.
44 DuBosc, fol. II-ro: 'Je vous eusse bien donné les Ancestres de ce premier heureux; mais ne pouvant vous entretenir que d'incertitudes & de chicanes, je vous ay voulu épargner la peine de les lire & le hazard de n'en estre point satisfait'.
45 Dietl, *Die Elogien*, p. 44; Henning, unfoliated, 'Acclamationes ad ppr comites Tyrolis domus Austriae': 'Vos quoq;, seu vestri Romanus Anicius auctor est generis, Regum sanguis seu Francicus estis Austriaci proceres, quotquot tenuistis habenas, pulchra metlliferae rexistis & arua Tyrolis'.
46 Markus Friedrich also reminds us that non-source-based genealogies continued to have 'social value' even after the rise of antiquarianism. Friedrich, 'Genealogy and the History of Knowledge', p. 2.
47 This work was most likely written by the well-known French master of ceremonies Theodore Godefroy, of whom a manuscript of the same title is known. Institut de France, Bibliothèque, Ms Godefroy 522–523 bis. The famous humanist Peiresc wrote a refutation as well. Peter Miller, 'The Ancient Constitution and the Genealogist: Momigliano, Pocock, and Peiresc's Origines Murensis Monasterii (1618)', *Republic of Letters. A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1 (2009), pp. 1–22.
48 Pellicer de Ossau, pp. 16vo–17ro.
49 This certainly seems to have been the case for the dispute about precedence between the French and Spanish kings, in which Spanish publicists shamelessly used the discounted history works of Annius of Viterbo. Geevers, 'The Conquistador and the Phoenix', pp. 23–41.
50 Cartagena; Salazar de Mendoza; Borello; Jollain; Balten.

51 Gómez de Montemayor; Seifridus.
52 Morigi, Wurffbain, Kilian/Patho/Widmanstetter.
53 Kämmel, 'Gebwiler, Hieronymus', pp. 486–87.
54 Gebweiler 1527 and 1530.
55 The near-contemporaneous Anonymous 1536 deals with him basically the same way.
56 Bossi, 56ro: 'felicemente / Dritta la linea deve mantenere/ Leopoldo, ma prima che di lui/ Dica, vuò dir de gli altri figli sui'.
57 Bossi, 56ro: 'Ecco Rodolfo & Ecco Federico / E l'uno, e l'altro senza prole alcuna / Finirà i giorni suoi'.
58 Bossi, 56ro–vo: 'che será il maggiore/ figlio di Leopoldo, e successore'.
59 Rasch/Stumpf; Sansovino, fol. 13ro; Kilian.
60 After the death of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol in 1595, who had held the county as an independent principality, Tyrol reverted to the House of Austria whose head Rudolf II was. In 1612, Rudolf II's younger brother Maximilian III took over the county. After Maximilian's death (1618), the county reverted again to the House but was awarded to Leopold V in the 1620s. A later edition of Henning's work, from 1623, continues the list of counts after Rudolf with Maximilian III, Emperor Matthias, Emperor Ferdinand and Leopold.
61 Henning, unfoliated: 'neq; Tyrolim, neq; alias gentis suae provincias, sola excepta Austria possedit'. Albert's engraving, which is unnumbered, appears between engraving XV and XVI.
62 Haubenreich von Hirschhorn, pp. 28 and 32.
63 Haubenreich von Hirschhorn, pp. 28–29.
64 Vitignano, p. 19.
65 De Roo; Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar; Díaz del Valle.
66 See, on this topic, the volume of Elizabeth Harding and Michael Hecht (eds), *Die Ahnenprobe in der Vormoderne. Selektion – Initiation – Repräsentation* (Münster, 2011).
67 Gebweiler 1530, Aii–vo.
68 Lazius, s.a., p. 8.
69 Díaz del Valle finished in 1653.
70 Rubén González Cuerva, 'The King of Hungary and the Cardinal of Toledo: The Creation of a Common Dynastic Image around the Two Ferdinands, 1631–35', in Roberto Quirós and Tibor Martí (eds), *Habsburgs in the West and East: Ceremony and Representation in Spain and Hungary in the Early Modern Period* (Turnhout, 2020), pp. 197–215, argues that Spanish authors and politicians switched from a national ideology, based on the kingdoms of Spain, to a dynastic ideology, which was 'more cosmopolitan, inclusive, and adaptable to the whole Habsburg world (as seen in Flanders), lacking the impression of a Spanish imposition'. In part, this was a reflection of tighter connections to the Austrian branch since the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. The narrative of unity expressed in Díaz del Valle's work might also be considered a contribution to this new ideology.
71 Palavicino; Kilian/Patho/Widmanstetter.
72 Dauber has the same structure, giving a strict patrilineal genealogy of Leopold I: Maximilian I, Philip I, Ferdinand I, Charles of Styria, Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III.
73 Hossmann, p. 127: Albert married Isabella 'and begot with her, as I have heard, three sons and a daughter. The names and date of birth of the first son are unknown to me, the other son Philippus was born in 1605 on 21 October. The third one, Albertus, was born in 1607 on 27 January. The daughter is Anna Maria Mauritia. If I receive more information in the future, a more complete report will be given'. (und hat mit ihr gezeuget, so viel ich bericht bekommen, 3. Söhne und eine Tochter. Des ersten Sohns Namen und Geburtzeit ist mir verborgen, der ander Philippus, ist geboren Anno 1605, den 21 Octobr. Der dritte Albertus, ist

geboren 1607, den 27 Januarii. Die Tochter ist Anna Maria Mauritia. Wann ich in künfftig mehr nachrichtung haben werde, soll alles vollkömlicher angemeldet werden.)

74 Péril, sheet 17: 'ung filz nommé Jehan, lequel mourut a Stymburch allant avec son uncle l'Empereur Charles V contre les Turcqz'.

75 Péril, sheet 17.

76 Péril, sheet 20.

77 Anonymous 1536, which resembles Péril very closely, did identify her correctly as Maria.

78 *Corpus documental de Carlos V*, vol. I, p. 186: Margaret to Empress Isabella, Brussels, 15 December 1529: 'in accordance with to His Majesty's promise, I hope that he will be my son and my stick in old age who will come to aleviate the pain I suffer every day' ('según me prometió Su Magt, yo tengo esperança que este será mi hijo y caña para mi vejez que me vendrá a consolar de la pena que yo tengo cada día').

79 Lazius, s.a.

80 And not to be confused with his grandfather and namesake Duke Emmanuel Philibert who was Philip II's cousin, a son of Beatrice of Portugal, who was a sister of Empress Isabella.

81 A fourth has been omitted: Vredius focuses on the counts of Flanders. The work mentions the marriages of all daughters to show which lineages the counts of Flanders married into. Catalina and four of her sons are mentioned here as descendants of Marie de Bourgogne, daughter of Margaret of Male and Philip the Bold of Burgundy, who had married Amedeo of Savoy, seven generations earlier. The line is traced to Catalina's grandsons Francis Hyacinth and Charles Emmanuel, the reigning duke at the time of writing. That Catalina was a daughter of the Spanish king is not highlighted. Her children are therefore included as distant descendants of Marie de Bourgogne and Amedeo of Savoy, rather than of Philip II.

82 Morigi; Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar; Salazar de Mendoza.

83 Salazar de Mendoza, pp. 158–59.

84 Bossi, canto 5.

85 Salazar de Mendoza, pp. 159–60.

86 Schoppe, Stemma I, generation 31.

# 3 Communities of the Dead

## Family Dynamics and the Formation of the Dynasty at the Escorial

The previous chapter discusses how the House of Austria was constructed as a group in genealogical narratives. One of our main conclusions was that family members themselves hardly had any control over such narratives. Only rarely did members of the House commission genealogies. Instead, all manner of scholars, local authors and commercial hacks shaped them. Another conclusion was that genealogies tended to reflect the ruling family group when dealing with the current generations of the dynasty, featuring widowed aunts, illegitimate brothers, sororal nephews and others who did not have a place in patrilineal narratives but were remembered locally as governors. We might say that the representation of recent Habsburgs was more firmly based upon biological hardware than more historical parts of genealogies, which were relatively malleable literary constructions including fictional and mythical ancestors. This chapter focuses on burial sites, a vehicle for dynastic construction that was even more expressly rooted in physical bodies: thousands of genealogies can be written about one family, but each member can only be buried in one spot, and it was the family itself that decided where to bury its members.[1] Dynastic burial sites thus present much more unambiguous insights into the construction of the dynasty by the dynasty.

Many royal burial sites are approached from an art historical perspective – more attention is usually paid to tombs and their cultural trimmings than to underground crypts and their inhabitants.[2] Since royal monuments often exemplify a high artistic standard, and legitimacy, power and dynasty were represented through sculpture, heraldry and architecture, this makes perfect sense. Indeed, a person's remains need not even rest within a specific monument for the monument to proclaim her status in life. Among the best-known Habsburg monuments is Maximilian I's cenotaph in Innsbruck, but as the term 'cenotaph' suggests, his remains do not rest there. Another way of looking at burials is through funerary ceremonies – great occasions of 'theatre of state' which combined religious and dynastic markings of status and power to both local subjects and the wider society of princes.[3]

This chapter takes a different approach. Rather than analysing the external features of monuments or funerary rituals, the chapter focuses on the demographics of burial sites: who was buried where and why? Whose remains

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rested together and who decided where people would be buried? What does this tell us about the post-mortem construction of dynasty? Burial practices in both Spain and Austria culminated in the giant dynastic vaults in the Escorial and the Kapuzinergruft, respectively, where dozens of members of the House of Habsburg (and Bourbon in Spain) now rest – an ultimate expression of family unity, at least after death, and a testament to the longevity of power.[4] But the road leading to the emergence of these two sites was long and winding. This chapter analyses how burial practices changed in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what this tells us about the internal structure and dynamics of the Habsburg dynasty.

Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld noticed in his overview of royal burial practices in early modern western Europe how 'the concern to have all members of a royal house buried or interred in the same church or at the same spot, is mostly an early-modern one'.[5] He also noted how dynasties strove to connect their present members to the past by rearranging older tombs or transferring the remains of predecessors to new burial sites, as well as connecting them to the future by creating space for the burial of many more family members in the future. All these processes are clearly on display in the Escorial, as we will discuss below. While Bijsterveld focuses mostly on monarchs and their spouses, the Escorial would also house the remains of non-ruling relatives. This makes its crypts even more inclusive: it is not just the long line of monarchs who are all resting together, but also their children, siblings and other relatives – creating an image not just of a powerful line of kings but of a much wider, powerful family group. In adding such deceased relatives to their burial sites, family heads exalted their dynasty rather than their kingship.

One of the main arguments of this chapter is that the ability to make decisions about the burial of others (one's children or spouse, and later on also one's siblings, cousins, etc.) indicates authority over them. The emergence of the Escorial as a site of mass burial, and the concomitant disappearance of individual burial sites, really means that the authority to decide on burials became increasingly concentrated in the heads of the family, and individual family members had less and less scope and resources to decide upon their own burials. Two intra-dynastic dynamics brought about these changes: pull factors, which led family heads to draw as many family members into their burial crypts as possible; push factors, which led relatives to *want* to be buried along with their family head. In claiming the authority to 'gather' their relatives around them, family heads exercised their growing power within the entire dynasty. Burials sites, thus, illuminate not only legitimising strategies, but also intra-dynastic power dynamics.

This chapter places the emergence of the Escorial as a dynastic burial site in a long context of burial practices in Austria, Castile and the Low Countries. This will show which established practices and traditions were available to the Spanish Habsburgs, and thus how the emergence of the Escorial broke with them. The first section accordingly discusses the respective burial

traditions in Castile, Austria and Burgundy. The second section focuses on changes during the reign of Charles V, who pioneered a different grouping of relatives compared to earlier traditions but stayed within traditional Castilian burial spaces. The third section focuses on the emergence of a new burial space: the Escorial, developed by Charles's son Philip II. The fourth section focuses on the new family dynamics – first introduced by Charles V – which informed the demographics of the new crypt at the Escorial. In the conclusion, I connect these changing burial practices to the changing dynamic within the dynastic family group.

## Traditions: Castile, Austria and Burgundy

What practices guided the burials of monarchs, their spouses, but also their young children and adult relatives – categories of relatives who would be united in the Escorial – in the predecessor principalities of the Spanish Habsburgs? This section answers this question for Austria, Castile and Burgundy. These areas have been chosen because the early Habsburg kings of Castile – Philip I and Charles V – both referenced the Low Countries (and Burgundy) and Castile in their testaments as possible burial sites.[6] Since neither of them ruled directly in Austria, they did not mention any possible burial sites there. But still, internal family dynamics, which were characterised until the early seventeenth century by a measure of equality among all the dynasty's males (see Chapter 1) and which also influenced burial practices, were an Austrian legacy. Other sites or traditions – Aragonese, imperial and Neapolitan – went unmentioned. Taken together, it is the Austrian, Castilian and Burgundian legacies that shaped the way the Habsburgs would be buried, and thus how the post-mortem family group was constructed in the early modern period. I will trace burials back to the thirteenth century in Castile and Austria, corresponding to the reigns of King Rudolf I of Germany (r. 1240–91) and St Ferdinand III of Castile (r. 1217–1252), and to the late fourteenth century in the Low Countries, when Philip the Bold of Valois was invested with the duchy of Burgundy.

### *Austria*

Brigitta Lauro's *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger* gives an overview of all Habsburg burial sites, from that of the eleventh-century count Radbod to that of Zita, the last empress of Austria, who died in 1989. Here, we will start with King Rudolf I of Germany, probably the most important ancestor of the Habsburg House. The Habsburgs practiced partible inheritance, or shared inheritance (as we have seen in Chapter 1). This meant all males were essentially equals and equally entitled to rule all or part of the patrimony. To what sort of burial practices did this lead?

There were twenty-eight adult Habsburg dukes and archdukes between Rudolf I and Maximilian I at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Since

they officially ruled collectively, there is no real distinction between ruling and non-ruling brothers, but we can distinguish between the males, their spouses and their young children. The medieval Habsburgs represent a rather scattered group (see Table 3.1). Rudolf I had been elected king of Germany and chose to be buried with his predecessors in that office, in Speyer, as did

*Table 3.1* Habsburg rulers and their burial places

| *Ruler* | *Last resting place* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|
| Rudolf I | Cathedral of Speyer | King of the Romans |
| Albert I, son of Rudolf I | Cathedral of Speyer | Holy Roman Emperor |
| Rudolf II, son of Rudolf I | St Vitus Cathedral, Prague | |
| John, son of Rudolf II | *Unknown* | |
| Rudolf III, son of Albert I | St Vitus Cathedral, Prague | |
| Albert II, son of Albert I | Carthusian monastery Gaming | |
| Leopold I, son of Albert I | Königsfelden Monastery | |
| Frederick I, son of Albert I | Carthusian monastery Mauerbach | |
| Otto IV, son of Albert I | Cistercian monastery Neuberg | Also underage sons Frederick II and Leopold II |
| Rudolf IV, son of Albert II | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Leopold III, son of Albert II | Gruftkapelle, Burg, Wiener Neustadt | |
| Frederick III, son of Albert II | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Albert III, son of Albert II | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Albert IV, son of Albert III | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| William I, son of Leopold III | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Leopold IV, son of Leopold III | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Ernest I, son of Leopold III | Cistercian monastery Rein | |
| Frederick IV, son of Leopold III | Stams, Tyrol | |
| Albert V, son of Albert IV | Székesfehérvár Cathedral | Emperor Albert II |
| Sigismund, son of Frederick IV | Stams, Tyrol | |
| Albert VI, son of Ernest I | Herzogsgruft, St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna | |
| Frederick V, son of Ernest I | St Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna (not crypt) | Emperor Frederick III |
| Maximilian I, son of Frederick V/III | St George Chapel, Burg, Wiener Neustadt | |

*Source*: Brigitta Lauro, *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger. Kunstdenkmäler einer europäischen Dynastie* (Vienna, 2007).

his son and successor Albert I. Two of Rudolf's younger sons (one died in infancy and the other in his late teens) and his wife were buried in the Minster church in Basle. Another son, Rudolf II, the second surviving son, had been excluded from the Habsburg patrimony but had married into the Bohemian royal family. He died while in Prague and was buried there in St Vitus Cathedral. John, Rudolf II's son, famously murdered his uncle Albert I. The monastery of Königsfelden was erected at the spot of the crime, and several of Albert I's daughters and childless sons were buried there. However, the location was very remote; Albert himself was buried in Speyer, and several of his more successful sons established their own individual burial sites.[7]

Albert I's sons Albert II and Frederick I both established Carthusian foundations. Albert II would be buried there with his wife and daughter-in-law, while his sons opted for burial elsewhere. Frederick I was buried alone – even his wife had chosen another place – although one daughter was later laid to rest with him. Clearly, these two foundations were individual affairs and the number of burials was limited.[8] Another monastery was founded by Otto, Albert I's youngest son, who was buried there along with his wives and two sons who died in their teens.[9]

The sons of Albert II (1298–1358) would continue the line by fathering sons who survived into adulthood. The eldest son, Rudolf IV, created a crypt, the Herzogsgruft, in the Viennese church of St Stephen's.[10] From 1362 onwards, many Habsburgs were buried here: Rudolf and two of his three brothers, Frederick III and Albert III (but not Leopold III); Albert IV, only son of Albert III; William and Leopold IV, sons of Leopold III; and Albert VI, a grandson of Leopold III (via his son Ernest, who was not buried in the crypt) (Fig. 3.1). Rudolf IV's spouse also rested with them, and George, a son of Albert V (himself buried elsewhere) who had died in infancy.[11] Renate Kohn has argued that this meant a clear break with earlier Habsburg burial traditions, which had seen more individual burials among spiritual communities.[12] She noted that the crypt's function as a dynastic crypt was upheld until the second half of the fifteenth century, when Habsburgs from both the Leopoldine and Albertine branches who died in or near Vienna were buried there.[13]

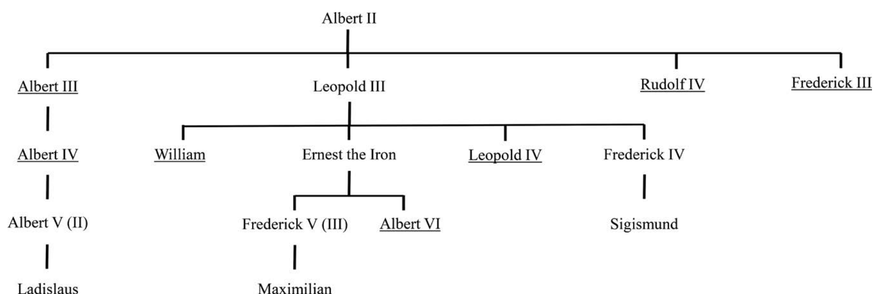


*Figure 3.1* Descendants of Albert II. Individuals buried in the Herzogsgruft are underlined.

Albert III and Leopold III had formally divided the patrimony between them, with Albert taking Austria proper and Leopold the rest.[14] Albert and his descendants thus ruled Vienna, explaining their presence in the crypt. Does the presence of Leopold's descendants there as well mean the crypt was truly dynastic? Not necessarily. The dynasty was plagued by minorities in the generations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. When Leopold III died, he left only underage sons. They accepted their older cousin Albert IV as their guardian until the latter's death. Then it was the turn of Leopold's sons to serve as guardians to Albert IV's underage son, Albert V. Two of them, William and Leopold IV, both died as Albert V's guardians and thus as *de facto* rulers of Vienna. It is therefore no coincidence that *they* were buried in crypt. And as further evidence that the Viennese crypt was not necessarily dynastic, we may point to Leopold III's other sons, Ernest and Frederick IV. Albert V had long since come of age and become Vienna's ruler by the time they died. Ernest was buried in a monastery he had founded himself, while Frederick, who had ruled Tyrol, had chosen the burial site of the county's pre-Habsburg counts in Stams. His son Sigismund would be buried there as well. Rather than dynastic unity, then, the burial of so many Habsburgs in the Viennese crypt was linked to the fact that they all ruled there – either as hereditary duke or as regent.

What we may conclude is that Vienna had its rulers' crypt, and so did Tyrol in Stams. The other 'hereditary lands', Further Austria and Inner Austria, did not have such a site, at least not one that was used by the Habsburg rulers. Habsburgs who died while ruling these areas simply founded new monasteries. These foundations had a lot to do with the independent position of the Habsburg males. When Otto, the youngest son of Albert I, founded his monastery, he made the connection to independent rule explicit: 'thus we have firmly followed in the footsteps of our forefathers and the most illustrious lord, Frederick king of the Romans, our lord and most beloved brother, who in the hope of divine recompense *founded monasteries from his inheritance*' (my emphasis).[15]

The crypts in Vienna and Stams and the various monastic foundations were used by Habsburgs who held titles no loftier than duke (later archduke). We already saw that the Habsburg emperors Rudolf I and Albert I were buried alongside other emperors in Speyer. Emperor Frederick III, another regent and then ruler of Austria, did decide on a burial in Vienna. He was buried in the church of St Stephen, but not in the crypt. An elaborate monument to him was erected there. Albert V – Emperor Albert II and also king of Hungary – ended up buried in Székesfehérvár.

What most of these burial sites had in common was that non-ruling relatives normally found no place there. Speyer and Prague were for emperors and kings, not for their family members. Even in the Herzogsgruft in Vienna, the only non-ruler is little George, firstborn son of Albert V/II – and it is rather doubtful whether the remains ascribed to him are in fact his.[16] (All other non-ruling relatives are children of Maximilian II who died in the second half of

the sixteenth century.[17]) Family members were more typically buried in monasteries, although not necessarily with their parents. Many children of both Rudolf I and his son Albert I were buried in Rudolf's foundation at Tulln, while the children of Ernest the Iron were buried together in a crypt in the cathedral in Wiener Neustadt and those of Emperor Frederick III in Wiener Neustadt's Neukloster.[18] Rule, rather than dynasty, was also the reason the ducal crypt in St Stephen's became the final resting place for many Austrians. We find little precedent for a dynastic crypt which housed all family members: rulers and non-rulers, males and females, adults and children.

### *Castile*

Whereas kings in France and England were being buried at one single location from the thirteenth century onwards,[19] members of the Castilian royal houses, from Ferdinand III to the Catholic Monarchs, were buried in over twenty different locations. There were twelve ruling monarchs between Ferdinand III (d. 1252) and Isabella of Castile (d. 1504) (see Table 3.2). The first two (Ferdinand III and his son Alfonso X) were buried in Seville, the town

*Table 3.2* Castilian monarchs and their burial places

| *Monarch* | *Final resting place* | *Earlier resting places* |
|---|---|---|
| Ferdinand III, 1199–1201 | Cathedral of Seville, Capilla Real | |
| Alfonso X, 1221–1284 | Cathedral of Seville, Capilla Real | |
| Sancho IV, 1258–1295 | Cathedral of Toledo | |
| Ferdinand IV, 1285–1312 | Cathedral of Córdoba | |
| Alfonso XI, 1311–1350 | Cathedral of Córdoba | First Jérez de la Frontera, later cathedral of Seville |
| Peter I, 1334–1369 | Monastery of Santo Domingo el Real, Madrid (1446) | Castle of Montiel after death, moved to Puebla de Alcocer at an unknown date. After the demolition of the monastery of Santo Domingo, moved first to Museo Arqueológico Nacional (1869) and then to Cathedral of Seville (1877) |
| Henry II, 1334–1379 | Cathedral of Toledo | |
| John I, 1358–1390 | Cathedral of Toledo | |
| Henry III, 1379–1406 | Cathedral of Toledo | |
| John II, 1405–1454 | Carthusian monastery Miraflores | |
| Henry IV, 1425–1474 | Royal Monastery of Santa María, Guadalupe | |
| Isabella, 1451–1504 | Capilla Real, Granada | |

*Source*: Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla* (Madrid, 1954).

Ferdinand had conquered from the Almohads.[20] Their successor Sancho IV was buried in Toledo,[21] while Ferdinand IV chose Córdoba. Alfonso XI died and was initially buried in Jérez de la Frontera, but his remains were later relocated first to Seville and then to Córdoba. His successor was Peter I, who was deposed and murdered by his illegitimate half-brother Henry II. Peter was initially buried in the castle where he was murdered, but was later moved to a monastery in Madrid, where his granddaughter was abbess. Henry II and his successors John I and Henry III would all be buried in a new chapel in Toledo's cathedral. John II opted for the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores,[22] while Henry IV, who had been involved in civil wars with his half-sister and eventual successor Isabella, was buried in a monastery in Guadalupe. Finally, Isabella herself erected a cathedral in Granada, which she had conquered, and was buried in an adjacent chapel there, the Capilla Real. All in all, these twelve monarchs are buried in seven different locations. But nine of them rested in one or other of the great cathedrals of the realm, connected to the Reconquista of the Peninsula: the cathedrals of Sevilla, Córdoba and Toledo were all built on the sites where the main mosques had been located, while Ferdinand III and Isabella the Catholic were buried in the towns they had reconquered themselves.[23]

Usurpation was another reason for the selection of new or different burial sites. Both Sancho IV and Henry II had deposed their predecessors, and Isabella had been at war with her predecessor. Since it was the obligation of monarchs to bury their predecessors, engaging in this sort of sovereign behaviour could bolster a usurper's legitimacy and strengthen their position.[24] At the same time, usurpers might feel uneasy being buried alongside the usurped predecessors, since this would highlight their own shaky rights to the throne. This may have led Sancho IV and Henry II to choose to be buried in a different place to their predecessors, obstructing the development of truly dynastic mausoleums in both Seville and Córdoba.[25] Reconquista and usurpation thus caused Castilian rulers to be scattered across many burial sites.

But where were other family members buried – rulers' adult siblings and young children? In theory, Castile was a primogeniture monarchy. Most non-inheriting sons were endowed with rich lordships, or they married an heiress, or a combination of the two. This meant that they essentially entered the highest echelon of the aristocracy.[26] Adult royal relatives were not normally buried in proximity to their ruling brothers or father, but mainly in convents and monasteries that were royal foundations, as in Austria, or in prominent churches of their own lordships.[27] The very few sons who entered the clergy were buried in their own church. The royal archbishop of Toledo was buried in his cathedral; the infante who became the master of Santiago was buried in a foundation connected to the order.[28] Princesses who married would normally be buried along with their husbands in their new homeland. Princesses who entered the Church were usually buried in the monasteries where they had professed, like Ferdinand III's daughter Berenguela, who was a nun in Burgos. Royal siblings thus awaited the resurrection in a myriad of different places.

The same is true of royal children who died young: they rest scattered among a host of monasteries and convents. They were normally buried in whatever religious house was near their place of death, which, considering the peripatetic nature of medieval courts, might be anywhere. González Jiménez notes, for instance, the death of a very young 'infantita' in 1235 who was buried in the convent of San Isidro in León, 'which seems to indicate that the little infanta died while the monarchs were in that city'.[29] Throughout the Middle Ages, monarchs made no efforts to gather these dispersed children in one place. Instead, they all remained where they were, often clearly marked as royal offspring but resting in isolation from their families. Evidently, medieval Castile was no place for a royal necropolis, understood as a burial ground for kings only, let alone for dynastic crypts, where *all* family members found their last resting place.[30]

***Burgundy***

The third, and briefest, tradition available to the Spanish Habsburgs was the Valois tradition in Burgundy and the Low Countries. The cenotaphs for the dukes and their burial chapel at the Carthusian monastery of Champmol have received much interest from art historians.[31] Valois rule in Burgundy was relatively short, lasting until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. His great-grandfather Philip the Bold had received the duchy of Burgundy in appanage of his father, John II of France, in 1363. The previous ruling house of Burgundy, which had ruled the duchy since 1032, had died out in the male line only a few years earlier. In 1378, a son of Philip died in childhood and was buried in Cîteaux, the old ducal burial site.[32] But a few years later, Philip would start work on a Carthusian monastery in Champmol, outside Dijon, which would develop into a ruler's crypt: Philip the Bold, his son John the Fearless and grandson Philip the Good, all dukes of Burgundy, were buried there. When the latter's son Duke Charles the Bold died, the French king took advantage of the fact that he left only a daughter, Mary, as heir to reincorporate the duchy within the French crown.[33] This meant that Charles the Bold and his successors could no longer be buried in Champmol. Still, both Philip the Handsome (Charles's grandson) and Charles V (his great-grandson) explicitly mentioned Champmol as their preferred burial site in their testaments.[34] Their wish to be buried with their ancestors was not very realistic but shows the importance they attached to the Burgundian legacy and indicates their belief that they were still the rightful dukes of Burgundy – even though Charles V accepted its loss in 1529.[35]

At first sight, it appears that the Champmol crypt was more than a ruler's crypt. A manuscript drawing based on a sketch made during a visit of the prince of Condé, governor of Burgundy, to the crypt on 22 July 1766 shows eight coffins.[36] They belonged not only to the three dukes but also to Philip the Bold's daughter Catherine, duchess of Austria, John the Fearless's spouse Margaret of Bavaria, his two daughters Isabelle countess of Penthievre and

Jeanne, Philip the Good's second spouse Bonne of Artois and his third spouse Elisabeth of Portugal. The presence of several daughters shows that the crypt was not exclusively meant for rulers and their spouses. Catherine, duchess of Austria, was buried there at her own request, after her Habsburg brother-in-law had confiscated her dower.[37] The other daughters died in childhood. However, none of the three children of Philip the Good who died in childhood made it into the crypt. Most daughters who married into other families were buried elsewhere, as is to be expected. Likewise, neither of Philip the Bold's other two adult sons were buried in the crypt, since they acquired their own patrimonies. Philip was buried in a monastery in his county of Rethel,[38] while Anthony rests in the St John the Evangelist Church of Tervueren outside Brussels, the capital of his duchy of Brabant.[39] In Tervueren, both of Anthony's sons (who both succeeded him as duke), his young daughter and spouse rested alongside him.[40] Their absence from the crypt in Champmol indicates that it was closely tied to the Burgundian ducal title and not meant as a burial site for the entire House. Notably, Philip the Bold's spouse Margaret of Male, as countess regnant of Flanders, was buried along with her parents in St Peter's Church in Lille.[41]

Two spouses of Charles the Bold, as well as Philip the Good's first wife, were buried in churches in the Low Countries, in Brussels and Ghent.[42] They were buried close to where they died. That did not necessarily mean they were never to be transferred to Champmol, but the loss of Burgundy after Charles the Bold's death made that impossible. Philip the Good's son Josse was born in Ghent and died when only a few weeks old. He was embalmed by an '*épicier*' (grocer) of Ghent,[43] and, as we might expect, was buried there as well, in the church of St John.[44] The same may go for Josse's elder brother Antoine, who died in the same year, also in Ghent.[45] In any case, as in Austria, younger sons who received their own patrimony chose to create their own burial sites, while as in Castile, children would often be buried near to where they died.

After Mary of Burgundy had been critically wounded by a fall from her horse, she had time to compose a detailed testament before succumbing to her injuries. She chose the church of Our Lady in Bruges.[46] Perhaps strangely, in the light of the later testaments of Philip the Handsome and Charles V, she made no mention of Champmol, apparently reconciled to its loss. On the other hand, she was very adamant that she wanted a monument, which her father and grandfather did not have at the time.[47] Bruges seems to have been a personal choice: it was an important city in the Low Countries and was where her son had been born. The specific church may have been chosen because of its connection to the Order of the Golden Fleece: in 1468 a chapter had been held there. Furthermore, she was a patron of the Church and considered the Virgin Mary, her namesake, as her special protectrix.[48] The presence of other relatives was clearly not on her mind. Charles the Bold never found his way to Champmol. Having died in battle, his corpse was only found days later and then buried in Nancy by his enemy, the duke of

Lorraine.[49] There he remained, until his great-great-granddaughter Christina of Denmark, duchess of Lorraine, had his coffin transported to Bruges in 1550.[50] He was then interred in the church of Our Lady in Gent, next to his daughter Mary.

The pattern emerging from all of these medieval practices in Burgundy, Castile and Austria is as follows: rulers were buried at significant sites connected to their rule, usually along with their spouses, but not necessarily all at the *same* site. Their relatives were buried at sites which were significant for *them* – their own monastic foundations, preferably in their own lordships. Younger children were normally buried locally, which because of the peripatetic nature of courts meant that their remains were scattered far and wide across their parents' territories. Although some royal crypts came into existence – a development which was much less pronounced in Castile and Austria than in England and France – these reflected a vertical dynasty (successive rulers), while the horizontal dynasty (all contemporaneous relatives) found no expression at burial sites. The Escorial broke with all of these traditions, becoming a gathering place for the horizontal dynasty as well as the vertical dynasty. How did that happen? And what did that mean for the formation of the dynasty as a family group?

**Innovations: Charles V and the Capilla Real**

The Habsburgs first ruled over Castile from 1504 to 1506, when Philip the Handsome (1478–1506) followed his Trastámara mother-in-law Isabella the Catholic on the throne. He was co-ruler with his mentally unstable wife Joanna 'the Mad', who would live a long life mostly in seclusion in Tordesillas, dying only in 1555. Philip's reign was brief and did not extend to the other part of the Trastámara empire, Aragon, where Philip's father-in-law Ferdinand the Catholic continued to rule until his death in 1516. Philip died suddenly in 1506, at only twenty-eight years old. His eldest son, Charles, inherited the throne but only took possession of it in 1516, when he was sixteen years old and his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon had also died.

According to their testaments, both Isabella of Castile (died 1504) and Philip the Handsome were to be buried in the Capilla Real in Granada. The Cathedral in Granada and the chapel were nowhere near finished by the time they died, and both were temporarily buried elsewhere: Isabella in a Franciscan convent in Granada and Philip in the church of St Clara in Tordesillas, near his widow Joanna. While Ferdinand of Aragon may have seemed a logical candidate to arrange for the cathedral's completion and his wife and son-in-law's burials, he instead embarked on a second marriage to Bianca Sforza, jeopardising the union of the crowns, since a male heir stood to inherit Aragon. (A son, John, was indeed born from the marriage, but lived only a few hours.) Under these circumstances, the completion of the funerary monuments in Granada fell mainly to Charles. He ordered the work to begin in 1518 while planning for it to be finished within two years.[51] This deadline

was not met, but in 1525 the remains could be placed in the crypt of the Capilla Real.[52]

While the Capilla Real was initially intended for Isabella the Catholic and Philip the Handsome, the chapel became a more inclusive burial site during the course of Charles's reign. Among the first deaths Charles mourned were those of two of his children: his sons Fernando in 1530 and Juan in 1538. In line with dynastic burial practices in all the families who were Charles's forebears, these infants were buried close to where they died: Fernando died in Madrid and was buried in the monastery of San Jerónimo el Real, and Juan died in Valladolid and was buried in the convent of San Pablo.[53] In 1539, Charles's spouse, Isabella of Portugal, died. She left her place of burial up to her husband,[54] but she had indicated in previous testaments that she wanted to be buried in Granada.[55] Instead of depositing her remains in Toledo, where she died, Charles had her immediately transported to the Capilla Real.[56] Burying his wife in Granada was in line with the stipulations of his own testament, which said that he should be buried there if he died in Spain. So far, Charles was following established paths.

But in the late 1540s, he started to change tack. In 1545, Charles's daughter-in-law Maria of Portugal, wife of his son and heir Philip, gave birth to Charles's first grandson, named Carlos.[57] Tragically, the young mother did not survive the birth, dying of a haemorrhage. She was buried where she died, in Valladolid, like Charles's young sons a decade earlier. But in contrast to the young boys, Princess Maria had just given birth to a possible heir. Notwithstanding the fact that she would never reign, she might still end up being the spouse and mother of future kings of Spain. Her dynastic rank was therefore much higher than that of her deceased little brothers-in-law. In fact, her potential status was rather similar to that of the Empress Isabella, whom Charles had so swiftly had buried in Granada. And like her mother-in-law, Maria had stipulated in her testament that she wanted to be buried alongside her husband.[58] Perhaps it is therefore not surprising that Princess Maria would not remain in Valladolid forever. Indeed, in 1549 Charles ordered his regents in Spain to move her remains to the Capilla Real, as well as those of Charles's young sons.[59] Maria's reburial was staged like a regular burial, as a *relación* of the event shows. She took centre stage, while the two young infantes only show up in the *relación* at the very end, when the remains were placed in the crypt.[60] These reburials were a significant deviation from established traditions. In burying Maria in Granada, Charles expressed an implicit expectation that his son Philip would also be buried there, since she wished to be buried alongside her husband. In a sense, Charles took this decision *for* Philip, who, as a future sovereign, surely should have been expected to make it himself. If Philip had followed Charles's plan, it would have brought the number of generations of Spanish monarchs in the Capilla Real to four – more than any other burial site in Castile.

But the most innovative element in the 1549 reburials was the moving of the remains of Charles's sons. As the previous section showed, young children

had always been buried close to their place of death and simply remained there. By reburying the children in Granada, Charles made a conscious, and costly, effort to gather *all* his dead family members in one place. He included these little children in the post-mortem family group, which had previously only consisted of rulers and their spouses. The Capilla Real was on its way to becoming a real dynastic crypt, with space for both ruling and non-ruling relatives, both adults and children. Thus it was Charles who took the first steps towards the creation of a true Habsburg community of the dead.

Why was this decision taken in 1549? These years were important years in which Charles settled his inheritance: he married his eldest daughter Maria to his eldest nephew Maximilian, appointed the couple governors of Castile (1548), but denied them the Low Countries – where he instead sent his son Philip to be sworn in as heir and for whom he wrote his final political testament (see Chapter 1).[61] Finally, Charles started to hammer out the succession to the Empire with his brother Ferdinand. In short, he was setting his house in order, making provisions for the future of his children and the patrimony. We may well include the reburials of 1549 in this impressive catalogue of decisive action, since through them Charles shaped the post-mortem destinies of his family members for decades to come. Indeed, in his final testament, signed in 1554, Charles settled definitively on Granada as his burial place, to the exclusion of Champmol or other locations in the Low Countries.[62] Philip followed suit: in his own testament written in 1557, Philip also stipulated that he wanted to be buried in Granada, with his first wife, his mother, his brothers, his grandparents and great-grandparents.[63]

But Charles's innovations do not stop there. Two more unusual individuals were buried in the Capilla Real alongside him: his widowed sisters Mary of Hungary and Eleanor of France. Mary had served as governor of the Low Countries from 1531 to 1555, and Eleanor had joined her in Brussels after the death of her husband Francis I of France, in 1547. When Charles abdicated his thrones in 1555–56 in Brussels, both were present and both decided to follow Charles to Castile, presumably foregoing any burial in the lands of their husbands. All three died in 1558, but Eleanor was the first. She left the choice of her burial up to her two siblings: the official record of her burial in 1558 states that Mary of Hungary consulted with Charles after opening the testament to decide on a place where Eleanor's remains could be placed to decompose, until both siblings decided on a permanent place of burial.[64] They decided to temporarily bury their sister close to where she had died, in Mérida – until 'something else will be decided', as Charles reported to his son.[65] Mary, who wrote her last will in September 1558, some months after Eleanor's death, expressed her wish to be buried with her sister.[66] The lack of any specific spot indicates that Eleanor's remains had not been assigned a permanent resting place yet. This then indicates that Mary left her place of burial essentially up to Charles, the remaining sibling, who was to choose Eleanor's last resting place (she also named Charles her universal heir, giving him theoretically the financial wherewithal to arrange her burial). There is

no explicit record of Charles deciding that they should rest alongside him in Granada, but that is implied by the fact that Philip, king of Castile since 1556, ordered his sister, regent in Spain at the time of Mary and Eleanor's deaths, to see if their aunts could be brought to Granada.[67]

So, concerned with preserving his legacy after 1547, Charles took an active interest in the family burials. He broadened the group of people that might expect burial in a dynastic crypt, as young children were now to be included. He also 'appropriated' his daughter-in-law's remains and thus strongly hinted that Philip should choose the Capilla Real as well – essentially stretching his authority as a family head to decide even on the burials of his sovereign successor. Charles was starting to 'pull' more and more relatives into his dynastic crypt. His sisters show another developing trend: rather than capitalising on their independence as royal widows and commissioning an individual burial somewhere (as their aunt, Margaret of Austria, had famously done by constructing a splendid burial monument for herself and her husband in Brou[68]), they were happy to delegate the choice of where to be buried to the family head. Leaving the choice up to Charles, they implicitly accepted a subordinate position in their brother's family crypt. Financial reasons probably played a role. Mary had always had trouble securing income from her Hungarian dower and had been dependent on a salary during her tenure as governor of the Low Countries. She later received a yearly allowance from Ferdinand, but taken together, these revenues had never been enough even to cover her day-to-day costs.[69] Eleanor had received the duchy of Touraine after her husband's death, but the new king, her stepson Henry II, confiscated her dowry, so she might well have been short of funds to finance any individual tomb.[70] (Their aunt Margaret, on the other hand, held dower incomes from rents and lands after two of her marriages and had in the course of her governorship of the Low Countries acquired, among other smaller lordships, the Franche-Comté, Charolais and Malines.[71]) In addition, Eleanor and Mary's relatively weak loyalty to their marital dynasties probably played a role. Mary had remained childless; Eleanor only had a daughter from her Portuguese marriage. While Mary had preserved the memory of her heroic husband Louis II, the traditional burial site for Hungarian kings was at the time of her death firmly in Ottoman hands.[72] By the time the choice had to be made – after their deaths in 1558 – Charles had himself abandoned his authority as family head, so it was Philip who decided that the three siblings should be united in death, but all three had made their wishes known quite clearly. In any case, both Charles's 'pulling' and his sisters' discrete 'pushing' for a burial at his side led to the formation of quite a large post-mortem family group.

### A New Site: The Escorial

Charles had remained faithful to the Catholic Monarchs' burial chapel in Granada, linking himself powerfully to his Trastámara grandparents and

*Figure 3.2* San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Artist: Anonymous.
*Source*: Alamy.

predecessors, and also the final resting place of his father – the Emperor had mentioned all of them explicitly in his testament of 1554. His son Philip would 'habsburgify' burial arrangements by constructing a whole new burial site, the royal monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Fig. 3.2).[73] The Escorial, built between 1563 and 1584, was a huge complex that included a basilica, monastery, seminary, library and royal palace. The foundation charter of the monastery notes that Philip intended the Escorial to serve as a mausoleum for his father and himself, separating Charles from his immediate ancestors. The complex was further intended to express gratefulness to God for a victory over the French, which Philip had achieved in 1557, on St Lawrence's Day.[74]

Work on the Escorial began in 1563. Among the first parts to be finished was the Hieronymite monastery. In the early 1570s, Philip started to gather the remains of many relatives in the monastery church – not to be confused with the complex's main basilica.[75] This was the group of people Charles had already gathered around him in Granada – reburying the Emperor entailed reburying all of them, or disregarding Charles's and their last wishes – plus the relatives who had died since 1558. In 1586, when the main basilica was consecrated, they were relocated to their final resting place.[76] This was a

small underground vault directly below the basilica's altar, since Charles had stated in his codicil that he wanted to be buried under the feet of the officiating priest.[77] By 1586, the group of corpses consisted of sixteen individuals: Charles, his spouse Isabella, his sisters Mary and Eleanor, his sons Fernando and Juan, and the illegitimate Don Juan († 1578); Philip II's first wife Maria of Portugal and her son Don Carlos († 1568); his second wife Isabella of Valois († 1568); his third wife Anna of Austria († 1580) with four children, Fernando († 1578), Carlos Lorenzo († 1575), Diego († 1582) and Maria († 1583); and his nephew Wenceslaus († 1578). Two spaces were left vacant for Charles's living children, Philip himself, who would die in 1598, and Charles's eldest daughter Maria, who had returned to Spain after becoming a widow and would die in 1603.[78] Conspicuous by her absence was Charles's younger daughter Juana († 1573), who was buried in her own monastery of Las Descalzas in Madrid. This group of people represented a much more inclusive dynastic group than any that had been gathered in a Habsburg, Trastámara or Valois-Burgundian crypt before, shaping the Habsburg dynasty in a truly innovative way.

The 'audience' for this dynastic representation was limited, since access to the crypt was restricted after the translation ceremony. Only the monastery's prior and the first sacristan held the keys, and they were to admit people only with Philip's express permission.[79] However, there were parts of the burial site that were meant to be seen, namely the cenotaphs for Philip and Charles, which were placed on both sides of the main altar of the basilica.[80] Here, too, we encounter an inclusive port-mortem family group, although less so than in the crypt itself. Two statue groups depict Charles and Philip, respectively, kneeling in prayer with a selection of the family members who were buried in the crypt: Charles with his wife, his sisters and daughter Maria (not yet deceased) at the side of the Gospel (to the left, when facing the altar); Philip with three of his four wives and his son Carlos at the Epistle side (to the right).[81] Charles's young sons Fernando and Juan had been included in the plans for the cenotaphs in 1591, but were eventually excluded.[82] The other small children as well as the illegitimate Don Juan and the nephew Wenceslaus were never part of the plans. The two rulers took up a privileged position, but their direct family members, at least the adults, were also very clearly represented. In a way, the Habsburg dynasty was now represented by a wider family group than ever before.

The group of corpses only increased, of course, as more and more relatives died, and the Escorial became the default burial place for them. The increase in the number of coffins led to some transformations of the burial site. Philip III and Philip IV chose another subterranean chapel to house the coffins of their relatives and gave the site its modern appearance. A space earlier designated as a chapel was now transformed into the Panteón de Reyes – the pantheon of kings (Fig. 3.3). This implied a new destination not only for the kings but also for the other relatives, who were placed in a new Panteón de Infantes – the pantheon of princes and princesses. The new pantheon of

*Figure 3.3* The Panteón de Reyes, showing three rows of coffins of kings. Charles V, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV on the far right.

*Source*: Alamy.

kings was larger, grander and seemingly more accessible to a wider public. For instance, whereas guardsmen had carried royal coffins into the old crypt, grandees took them into the new Panteón.[83] There are also a number of travel journals describing the Panteones.[84] The new Panteón de Reyes was finished in 1654, and the bodies could (again) be moved. The Panteón de Reyes became the final resting place of Charles V, Philip II, Philip III and the wives who had given birth to their successors. Philip IV's first wife, Isabella of Bourbon, was also buried here. The Panteón de Infantes would house the bodies of all the other members of the dynasty: those already mentioned previously, an additional twelve children of Philip III and Philip IV (including two illegitimate sons), and some more distant relations, a brother of Queen Margaret of Austria and three princes of Savoy (Fig. 3.4).[85] The change in the architectural environment and the treatment of the corpses meant that the dynasty – a group which had grown to be very large – was now represented as a historical sequence of rulers in one pantheon, and as a very large family group in the other. No longer would Charles V be surrounded by his wife, sisters, children and grandchildren, but by the three kings who succeeded him and their spouses. While this might seem like a return to the medieval situation, the difference is that there were no *other* Habsburg burial sites anymore:

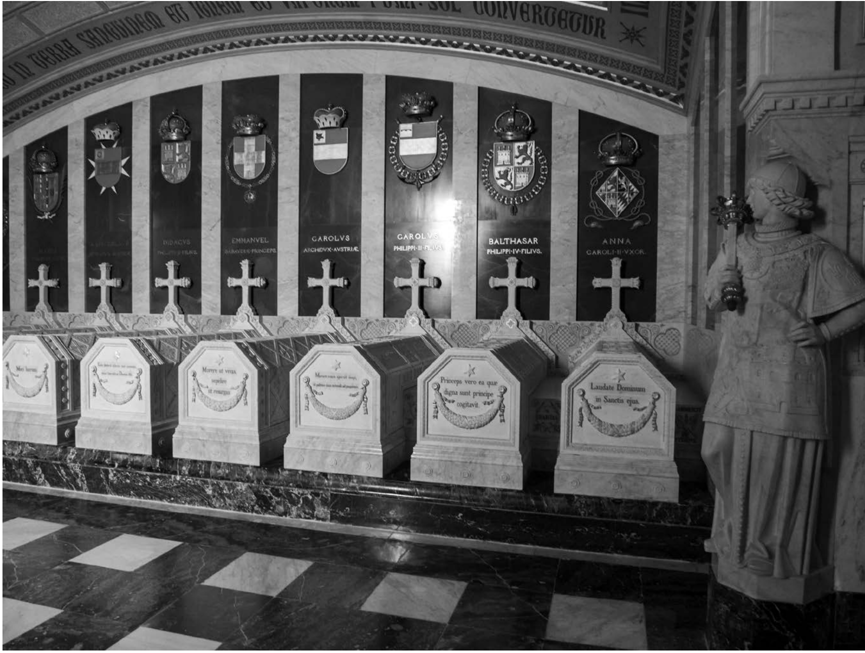


*Figure 3.4* The modern, nineteenth-century Panteón de Infantes, showing the coffins of Maria of Portugal, Archduke Wenceslaus, Prince Diego (son of Philip II), Filippo Emanuele of Savoy, Archduke Charles of Styria, Infante Carlos (son of Philip III), Prince Baltasar Carlos (son of Philip IV) and Queen Maria Anna of Neuburg, spouse of Charles II.

*Source*: Alamy.

even if attention was focused on the patriline, in fact all the royal siblings and children were neatly gathered together, only out of sight. The new pantheons thus had the effect of elevating the kings and queens over their non-ruling relatives, much more so than had been the case in the sixteenth-century crypt: the dynasty had become larger, more inclusive, but also more stratified.

## Pull

When examining Spanish Habsburg burial practices, certain social dynamics come into view that give a clear insight into how the whole group functioned. These dynamics can be divided into 'push' and 'pull' factors, already briefly touched upon above. Spanish kings became ever bolder in burying relatives in the Escorial who had expressed other wishes. For example, Philip II's son and heir Don Carlos died in 1568 at the age of twenty-three. He had written his testament in May 1564, some weeks before his nineteenth birthday. He was obviously old enough to write his own will, and although his later mental state might have cast doubts on his capacity to testate, Philip had not

yet given up on him in 1564.[86] The Escorial was already under construction, but the Prince stipulated a burial in the Toledan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes instead. This monastery had been founded by Isabella the Catholic to commemorate her important victory over her rival for the throne, her niece Juana 'la Beltraneja', to celebrate the birth of her son Prince Juan and to serve as her own burial site – a motivation not unlike Philip II's reasons for building the Escorial.[87] Maybe it was Don Carlos's way of connecting himself to his predecessor as prince, or to his Trastámara ancestors more generally (he mandated 10,000 masses for the souls of the deceased kings in all the monasteries of Toledo as well).[88] It was certainly not unheard of for a crown prince to be buried separately from his ruling parents, since Prince Juan had also been buried individually in the monastery of Santo Tomás in Ávila.[89] However, when Don Carlos died, his father ignored these testamentary stipulations and had him temporarily buried in the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid, until the Escorial was ready to receive his remains.[90]

Even though ignoring an adult heir's testament is a particularly forceful example of Philip's 'pull' on his relatives, it is not the only one. On 22 September 1578, Wenceslaus died. Wenceslaus was Philip's nephew – son of his sister Maria – and died when he was at the Spanish court, being educated along with his brother Albert. The very next day, the King signed an order arranging his burial in the monastic crypt in the Escorial, where all the other royals rested,[91] and not, for instance, in the nearby San Jerónimo monastery in Madrid where a young nephew of Charles V had been laid to rest in 1535.[92] It is of course unthinkable that Philip could have consulted Wenceslaus's Austrian family at such short notice (his mother Maria had not yet arrived in Spain). Instead, Philip clearly took matters into his own hands. What is more, he signalled his plans for Wenceslaus's permanent burial. His remains were placed in the monastic crypt at the Escorial 'until he will be buried and placed in the main church in the place which we will indicate'.[93] This stipulation meant that Wenceslaus's remains were treated identically to all the other royal corpses that were deposited in the crypt in the monastic church, waiting to be transferred to the crypt in the basilica. That *that* place would be Wenceslaus's final resting place is corroborated by the fact that the wording of the order is identical to the one Philip unfortunately had to issue a mere month later, after the death of his eldest son and heir. If the same rules applied to Wenceslaus as applied to the royal heir, that must mean his burial, too, was meant to be permanent and that his remains were to rest in the main dynastic crypt. It is noteworthy that Philip felt free to make this choice, disregarding any thoughts that Wenceslaus's elder brother Emperor Rudolf II or his mother might have on the matter.

Future kings would go even further in pulling in their relatives. An excellent example is given by Philip III. Between 1603 and 1606, the three eldest sons of his sister Infanta Catalina and the duke of Savoy stayed at his court for their education. In 1605, the eldest prince, Filippo Emanuele, fell ill with smallpox and succumbed.[94] Everyone took the death hard. Just like

in Wenceslaus's case, the King, Philip III, immediately arranged for Filippo's burial in the Escorial. As the Savoyard ambassador pointed out in his letter to Filippo's father, the Duke might be 'quite opposed to the thought of having him here [in Castile]', but he need not be, since Philip III had honoured the young prince as a son: he had been transported to the Escorial with the honours due to a royal prince who was not the heir, that is an infante.[95] The King was not inclined to let Filippo be returned home: two weeks after the funeral, the ambassador reported to Charles Emmanuel that Philip III intended it to be a '*sepoltura e non deposito*' (burial, not a repository).[96] We might argue that Philip II's easy appropriation of Wenceslaus's remains was due to the fact that Wenceslaus had been more or less marooned in Castile after his father's death, and his brother Rudolf had been more than happy to abdicate financial responsibility for his youngest brother to the Spanish king, but such was not at all the case with Filippo. This prince's father was exceptionally fond of his children, took a very active role in their upbringing and was genuinely heartbroken after Filippo's death – and was quite bluntly told that his remains would stay in Castile. Filippo's burial in the Escorial, with the honours of an infante, made a strong statement about which dynasty Philip felt the boy belonged to – the House of Austria. Philip IV was just the same. He would show himself willing to take unilateral decisions about family burials. His brother, the Cardinal-Infante Fernando, died as a governor in the Low Countries but had stipulated in his will that he wished to be buried in the cathedral of Toledo (his archbishopric). Philip had him buried in the Escorial instead.[97] Comparing Philip II, III and IV, it seems that the Spanish kings grew only more assertive in pulling in their relatives.

## Push

But not everyone was reluctant. The pull dynamic refers to family heads appropriating the remains of their relatives and taking the initiative to bury them in the dynastic crypt. The push dynamic refers to relatives abandoning any thought of erecting individual monuments but instead seeking burial in the dynastic crypt. There is plenty of evidence of individuals leaving their place of burial up to the family head. This is, for instance, obvious (but not very surprising) when we look at spouses, who had always been mostly likely to be buried alongside their husbands. We already saw that Charles V's wife stipulated in her testament that she wished to be buried next to her husband, wherever he decided that may be. Philip II's first wife, Maria of Portugal, left her burial place up to her husband as well, by stating she wanted to be buried next to him and that he could bury her wherever he saw fit if she died before the time of his own death.[98] (Of course, it was initially Charles who made the choice for her.) Philip's other wives repeated these statements. Philip II's third wife Isabella of Valois was clearly influenced by the marital hierarchy which had reigned between them in life: she left the choice of her burial site up to Philip 'because just as I was obedient to him in life, so I wish to be in death'.[99]

Having died in 1568 before the Escorial was ready to receive her remains, she was temporarily deposited in the Descalzas monastery.[100] Philip's third wife, Anna of Austria, wrote in her testament that she left the choice up to her 'lord and husband', adding that she wished to be buried in the same church and chapel he would be buried in. Instead of marital hierarchy, she pointed to marital harmony: 'Like I have kept him company in life with such love and harmony, I would like my remains to keep his company after I am dead'.[101]

Such deference to the family head was not limited to spouses. Charles himself, who had left various specifications about his preferred burial sites in his wills, attached a codicil after his abdication stating that his son Philip II should have the last word. He explained his reasons for doing so as follows: 'Because I renounced my kingdoms in favour of King Philip after I granted the said testament, I now see fit to leave it [place of burial], as I leave it, up to the King, my son'.[102] He only insisted on being buried together with his spouse and gave some specifications in case Philip should decide to bury his parents in the monastery in Yuste. But the main impression given by Charles's codicil is that the former emperor, having abdicated his thrones to his son, clearly no longer considered himself to be the head of the House. This was now Philip, and therefore Philip should decide where Charles should be buried. If anything, that sentiment speaks volumes about how Charles saw the authority of the family head. Building a funerary site for one's own family and determining the last resting place of others therefore indicated the lofty status of the builder and the subordination of all those who were buried there alongside him.

The willing submission to the authority of the family head – if only in matters related to burial! – can also be discerned in other family members, who would traditionally not be buried alongside rulers. We have noticed how Charles's sisters had pushed for a burial close to their brother. Another example is offered by Philip II's illegitimate half-brother, Don Juan. Don Juan died while serving as governor in the Low Countries in 1578. As an extramarital son, he had not been able to inherit and was dependent on his brother. At his deathbed, Don Juan conveyed his wishes to his confessor: 'With regards to my corpse, I want to ask you [confessor] to request in my name that the King, mindful of … the willingness with which I have served him, grant me this favour, that my remains be placed somewhere near those of my lord and father'.[103] Philip II acceded to this request and had Don Juan's remains transported to Castile and buried in the Escorial.

As far as I am aware, no previous extramarital child had ever received this honour. A mere decade before Don Juan's death, at the end of 1557, Leopold de Austria, a bastard son of Emperor Maximilian I, had died as an archbishop of Córdoba (more on him in the next chapter). The cathedral of Córdoba housed the tombs of several kings of Castile, and one administrator of the diocese consulted the royal court about the most suitable place of burial for Leopold: in the royal chapel with these kings, reflecting his high birth, or in between the two choirs. The response from Philip II was clear:

Leopold was to be buried in a suitable place anywhere in the cathedral but *not* in the royal chapel.[104] This shows that, even though Charles V had started to gather a broader group of relatives than before, illegitimate offspring were as yet not considered eligible for burial in the proximity of kings, but when Philip had to decide about his bastard brother a decade later, he had changed his mind. Don Juan's wishes and fate illustrate both pull and push factors: an increased desire on the part of peripheral relatives to be buried along with the family head at the dynasty's central burial site, and an increased willingness of family heads to admit ever more relatives into this inner sanctum.

Don Juan's wishes and actions were mirrored a generation later by those of Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy, a nephew of Philip III. As a teenager, he had spent some years at his uncle's court (along with Filippo Emanuele, who died so tragically), and he had since embarked on a long career of service to his uncle Philip III and cousin Philip IV (see Chapter 6). In his testament, he did not make provisions for his own burial, even though he had been granted the appanage of Oneglia, and neither did he leave his burial to his immediate dynastic superior (his father, Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy). Instead, he left it up to Philip IV.[105] Philip was only too happy to oblige and arranged for Filiberto's burial in the Escorial. Filiberto died as a viceroy on the island of Sicily. His burial in the Escorial was thus not simply a matter of convenience, taking the remains from the court in Castile to the nearby Escorial, but entailed a long sea journey from Palermo. It was generally rather unusual for a male dynast to choose burial in a cousin's crypt, but this path had of course been opened by Philip III when he buried Filiberto's brother in the Escorial. Filiberto's express wish that Philip decide on his burial seems, in any case, quite a clear indication of where Filiberto's primary dynastic loyalty lay: with the Spanish Habsburgs. In the same year Filiberto died, Philip IV lost another relative: his uncle, Archduke Charles of Austria, who had travelled to Madrid to take up the government of Portugal, only to die shortly after his arrival.[106] He, too, was quickly buried in the Escorial after leaving his place of burial up to his royal nephew. Neither Filiberto nor Charles expressly wrote that they wished to be buried in the Escorial, because this was obviously not something they could decide independently. It was up to the King. But leaving the choice up to the King signalled their wishes equally clearly. In any case, their pushing for burial in the Escorial led to a great change in the demographics of Spanish royal burial sites – from scattered bodies to a highly centralised community of the dead.

Why did peripheral relatives want to be buried in the Escorial? First, it probably mattered that the Escorial existed in the first place. Supply could very well create demand. And since the Escorial also included a monastery, prayers for the deceased's soul were assured, making it a fortuitous place from the perspective of salvation. Furthermore, the prestige of the place and of the other deceased resting there (most importantly, Emperor Charles and the kings of Spain) made for a socially very desirable location. In the early eighteenth century, Johann Christian Lünig would 'codify' this sentiment in

his *Theatrum Ceremoniale*, noting that: 'It is an honour and, depending on the status of the involved persons, a favour when a foreign prince or high-ranking person is buried in the crypt of the lord at whose court he dies, provided that the rank of the deceased is lower than that of the ruler of the court, in whose dynastic crypt [*Erb-Begräbniß*] he is granted a place'.[107] Burial in the Escorial thus bolstered the honour of people like Don Juan and Filiberto of Savoy, while also reinforcing their subordinate status relative to the kings of Spain.

But when we look at all the unlikely relatives who ended up in the Escorial, it also appears that a combination of a sense of dynastic loyalty and resources was at play – two matters that were intimately connected. Charles's widowed sisters likely felt very little connection to their countries of marriage. Eleanor's relationship with her husband's successor was icy. Mary of Hungary had not set foot in Hungary for thirty years when she died. Once in Brussels and later Castile, they became financially dependent on their brother. People like Don Juan, Filiberto of Savoy and Archduke Charles the Posthumous had no great patrimony of their own either and were financially largely dependent on their Habsburg kinsmen. For Archduke Charles, his penury was among the reasons he had travelled to Spain in the first place (more on him in Chapter 6). Their main resource may well have been their service and loyalty to the Spanish crown, or at least to the family head, which might be rewarded post-mortem by a spot in the dynastic crypt – granting them an honourable burial, with masses said for their souls, and solidifying their membership of the family for all eternity. Their pushing to be buried in the dynastic crypt illuminates their lack of independent agency and their subordination to the Habsburg family head. Taken together, pull and push dynamics led to many more relatives being buried together; dynastic crypts would no longer be limited to rulers and spouses, but also included siblings, young children, illegitimate family members and even more distant relatives. Family heads and peripheral family members seemed to work together to strengthen the family head's authority within the family group.

## A Female Alternative: The Descalzas

So far, we have mainly discussed *male* relatives, apart from Charles V's sisters. Philip II had two sisters, Maria (1528–1603) and Juana (1535–1573), who followed a markedly different path. In contrast to their aunts, neither would be buried alongside the King in the Escorial. Both returned to Castile as widows and spent their final days in the Descalzas convent. Juana, the younger sister, had founded the monastery in 1557. She signed her testament on 30 August 1573, about a week before her death. She was actually at the Escorial during her final days – she both signed her testament and died there[108] – which makes it almost ironic that she mentioned neither it nor her brother in the testament.[109] She was very clear that she intended to be buried in her own foundation. She indicated the exact place where she wanted to

be buried (a small chapel which she used as her oratory) and left a model of the tomb to be erected.[110] If burial in the Descalzas turned out to be impossible, she wanted to be buried in whatever Franciscan monastery was nearest to her place of death – which again explicitly excluded the Escorial, which only housed a Hieronymite monastery. She left a lot of money to the convent, which allowed it to bear the costs. As a widowed princess of Portugal, she had the independent agency and resources to make it happen.[111] There is no sign that Philip ever tried to change her mind.

The picture is slightly more complicated for Maria. She had had a hard time making up her mind about her place of burial. Apart from her testament, dated 1581, she left several codicils, dated 1589, 1594 and 1600. The testament was written when she was already widowed – her husband Maximilian had died in 1576 – but still in Vienna, although planning to travel to Spain. Accordingly, she decided that she would be buried in the Chapel of Saint Wenceslaus, in St Vitus Cathedral in Prague, close to the graves of her husband and father-in-law, if she was still in Austria.[112] But if she died in or on her way to Spain, she wished to be buried in her sister's convent of Las Descalzas Reales.[113] In a codicil drafted in 1589, Maria, by now in Spain, stated that she had told her confessor where she wanted to be buried and that he would communicate her choice to the King.[114] Her next codicil, dated 25 February 1594, mentioned the Escorial as her preferred place of burial. However, to console her daughter Margaret, who had travelled with her to Spain and had become a nun in Las Descalzas, Maria wished her coffin to remain at the Descalzas convent until Margaret's death, only to be taken to the Escorial later.[115] In 1600 she changed her mind again and settled on the Descalzas convent as her permanent resting place.[116] Yet two days after her death, Philip III ordered her remains to be transferred to the Escorial, after lying in state a few days in the Descalzas. However, when this order arrived, Maria had already been interred in the monastery's church.[117]

We may cautiously draw the conclusion that Philip II put some pressure on her. He signed his own last testament on 7 March 1594, only weeks after Maria's codicil naming San Lorenzo as her burial place, which suggests there was some coordination going on between the drafting of the two testaments. There are also other indications that Philip at least assumed his sister would be buried in the Escorial. A drawing in Fray Juan de San Gerónimo's manuscript displaying the crypt in 1586 shows open spaces for both Philip II and Maria.[118] Furthermore, in 1591 a final decision was taken on the composition of the statue groups to be executed by Pompeo Leoni, and Maria was to be included.[119] Her inclusion in the statue groups indicated that Philip expected her to be buried in the Escorial, since any important family members who were not actually buried there were not depicted in the statue groups either (like their sister Juana or Philip's second wife Mary Tudor[120]). Maria's codicil of 1589 did not specify a burial place, but it was probably not the Escorial. If it had been, the 1594 codicil would have been unnecessary. That she kept her preferred final resting place a secret might indicate that she did not want

to openly put a spoke in the wheel of Philip's plans, which were reaching completion during the 1590s. One almost gets the impression that Maria only felt free to make her own choice after her brother's death in 1598, opting for the Descalzas monastery again in her 1600 codicil. This codicil may have remained a secret. When she died, her grandson Philip III agreed to 'deposit' her remains temporarily at the convent, but also expressed his intention to transfer her remains to the Escorial, 'as his father and grandmother agreed'.[121] This sounds of course like a reference to the 1594 codicil, not the final one from 1600. Philip III tried to have his grandmother transferred to the Escorial some years later, but pressure from Sister Margaret, Archduke Albert and Emperor Rudolf, as well as the fact that Maria had made it very clear herself that she preferred the Descalzas, dissuaded him – he did, however, move her to a more prestigious place within the monastery.[122]

Dynastic considerations did not enter into Maria's choice of burial – and if they did, her concern was for her daughter Margaret and not for her brother or the wider family. While Maria's financial position was not much better than her aunts' since her penury was one of the reasons she had travelled to Castile in the first place,[123] her sister's monastery obviously provided a financially viable alternative to the Escorial. In any case, these two widowed sisters refused to go along with Philip's plans for a dynastic burial, and as long as they had their independence as widows, all the King could do was respect their wishes. Clearly, not all relatives were pushing for a burial in the Escorial!

Juana and Maria did not only choose to be buried in the Descalzas monastery, they had also chosen to live there, and this set a precedent for future generations of royal women. After Maria's death, her daughter Margaret remained in the monastery. Margaret would assemble further female relatives around her who dominated the Descalzas monastery until the early decades of the eighteenth century: her illegitimate niece Ana Dorotea (illegitimate daughter of Rudolf II); her young cousin Catalina d'Este of Modena, daughter of Isabella of Savoy and granddaughter of the Infanta Catalina; and two other young illegitimate girls, Mariana and Margaret, daughters of the Cardinal-Infante Fernando and Philip IV's illegitimate son Don Juan, respectively. Since all of them were either nuns or novices when they died, we may assume that all of them were buried at the monastery. If we think of people like the two Don Juans, Filiberto of Savoy and Archduke Charles the Posthumous as their male counterparts, a clear gender divide emerges: male relatives ended up in the Escorial, females in the Descalzas.

To every rule, there must be an exception. In this case, it is Margherita of Savoy, sister of Filippo and Filiberto, cousin of Philip IV and last Habsburg vicereine of Portugal. After the loss of Portugal (1640), she spent most of her years at the Descalzas as well, although not as a nun. When she died in 1655, we might have expected her to find her final resting place there along with her relatives. However, she died on her way to Italy, having left the Descalzas and while preparing to leave the country altogether. Death surprised her in

the town of Miranda de Ebro, near Burgos. The Madrid-based journalist Barrionuevo expected her remains to be taken to the Escorial, the usual destination for deceased relatives – alongside her two brothers.[124] But instead, Philip IV ordered her to be taken to the monastery of Las Huelgas, outside Burgos (about ninety kilometres from Miranda de Ebro).[125] There, the abbess arranged a funeral, celebrated by the archbishop of Burgos and attended by the chapter and the city authorities. There were signs of royal status: Margherita's coffin entered the monastery through the '*puerta real*' (royal gate), which gave access to the cloistered area and which was only used by kings, queens and other royal persons. Since none of bearers was allowed to pass through it, the coffin was placed on the shoulders of several of the nuns once it passed the threshold. The nuns placed the remains close to the tombs of Alfonso VIII and his spouse, the founders of the monastery, in the nuns' choir.[126] While this burial was a novelty, Philip IV followed royal tradition in disregarding her testament, which had stipulated a burial in Mantua (and the Duchess was reported to carry such wealth with her that this would have been financially possible). It is hard to say why she was not taken to the Escorial. Las Huelgas was nearby, and proximity had traditionally determined the place of burial and would lower the costs. But the reason that she had left the court and was on her way to Italy may have constituted a severing of ties with the dynasty that essentially disqualified her for an Escorial, or Descalzas, burial.

## Independence

Not all relatives were equally exposed to royal pull dynamics or were enticed to push for a burial in the Escorial. For these dynamics to work, the individuals subjected to them needed to be dependent to a certain extent on the king of Spain. More independent relatives might make other choices. One of Don Juan's successors as governor of the Low Countries was Alessandro Farnese. Alessandro died in the Low Countries in 1592, while serving as governor. But he was also a ruling prince in his duchies of Parma and Piacenza. After his death, his corpse was dressed in a monk's habit and taken to the church of the abbey where he had died. Once embalmed, the remains were taken first to Brussels and then to Parma, where Alessandro was interred in March 1593, in the small capuchin church of Santa Maria del Tempio, next to his wife who had predeceased him in 1577. All of this was according to his wishes.[127] Even if he had spent the larger part of his life in Habsburg service and had never in practice governed his own duchies, as an independent prince he insisted on being buried in his own state. The church would serve as the dynastic burial site of the dukes of Parma until 1812.[128]

Alessandro's successor was Archduke Ernest, who also died while in office (1595). He was an independent prince-in-waiting: as the second-born archduke in the Austrian branch, he could not boast any independent patrimony, but he was the main heir to his childless elder brother Rudolf II and he

was soon to marry his Spanish cousin Infanta Isabella, who would bring the Low Countries as dowry. However, the marriage had not been concluded yet when he died, and he was still merely a governor. His testament was unclear about his wishes: he enigmatically left the decision up to God's will.[129] His mother, Empress Maria, would have preferred a burial in Prague, alongside his grandparents and father.[130] But Ernest's immediate dynastic superior, his elder brother Rudolf II, did not want to bring his brother home because of the costs this would entail. Instead, he asked his ambassador in Spain to discuss with Philip II if he wanted Ernest's remains to stay in the Low Countries or be moved elsewhere.[131] The Emperor may have had the Escorial in mind, the last resting place of the previous governor Don Juan as well as Ernest's brother Wenceslaus. Although an immediate response from Philip II is not known, it was apparently decided *not* to bring him to the Escorial – otherwise one assumes that would have happened.

Ernest's remains stayed in the Low Countries. Only two months after Ernest's death (and only weeks after the news had arrived in Castile), Philip decided that his younger brother Albert would be his successor – as governor of the Low Countries but in the longer run also as Isabella's groom.[132] Albert was included in the talks on Ernest's burial, since he was in Madrid at that time.[133] Over the next years, Albert would have a sumptuous monument built for his brother in the Low Countries that harked back to the monuments of the later dukes of Burgundy – for instance, in the use of black marble from Dinant, which also had been used for the monument of Philip the Bold in Champmol.[134] Albert possibly made the decision to build the monument in 1599.[135] If so, the decision was taken after his marriage with Isabella had been concluded and he had in fact become the new sovereign lord of the Low Countries. As such, he may have felt it was his responsibility as a sovereign prince to bury his predecessor, and doing so would underline his own authority and independence. Dynastic independence, or its promise, thus drove princes away from dynastic crypts.[136]

## Conclusion

By 1700, the crypts in the Escorial were the final resting place of dozens of Habsburgs: ten in the pantheon of kings and a further thirty-four in the pantheon of princes. Such a population was enormous compared with medieval royal tombs, which held only a few individuals each. Not just the numbers but also the categories of relatives had changed: kings and queens, princes and princesses, young and old, legitimate and illegitimate all rested together. Little 'infantitas' would no longer be buried wherever they happened to die, and the remains of some unlikely candidates for royal burials – a bastard, a cognatic cousin – would travel many miles to reach their final destination. The post-mortem Habsburg dynasty included all those individuals who were mentioned in the final sections of genealogies, dealing with the dynasty's current generations and thus representing the horizontal dynasty alongside the

vertical dynasty. The early modern Habsburg community of the dead that had started to take shape from the 1540s was a far cry indeed from the fragmentation we saw among the medieval Habsburgs, Trastámaras and the Valois of Burgundy; it had become centralised and stratified.

From both ends of the dynastic spectrum – centre and periphery – we see powerful tendencies towards centralisation. Kings pulled in their relatives, and more and more relatives were eager to oblige. On the whole, the social dynamics shaping the demographics of the Escorial reveal the increasing power of the family head. The result of his greater power was a more unified dynastic front after death: the community of the Habsburg dead in the Escorial radiated a powerful image of cultural and social unity, and it constructed the dynastic family group in a radically new way compared to medieval precedents. While even sisters were well represented during Charles V's early endeavours to expand the post-mortem dynastic group, the population of the crypts in the Escorial would become more and more skewed towards male relatives, since female relatives tended to be buried in the Descalzas.

If we combine our insights from Chapter 1 with our present conclusions, we might argue that the tendencies towards the expansion of the dynastic community of the dead were rooted in the distribution of power and resources within the family. The relative freedom granted to family members to choose their own place of burial was quite closely linked to the resources at their disposal, and these were increasingly curtailed. The emergence of those splendid family mausoleums in the seventeenth century really tells a story of lost independence, lost agency and a greater centralisation of power within the family. The onset of primogeniture in both branches effectively deprived family members of independent resources and agency, as well as the authority to erect an individual tomb for themselves. Those who still boasted such independent means invariably arranged for their own burial. Widows – or should we say, *some* widows – also enjoyed this independence, as Juana and Maria showed. But it was not just a case of the kings of Spain imposing their will on their relatives. Impecunious relatives were at the same time willing to accept a place in the dynastic crypt, which gave them honour and ensured that prayers would be said for their salvation: dynastic centralisation was a two-way street.

## Notes

1 In contrast to the Austrian Habsburgs, the Spanish Habsburgs had no tradition of separate burials for the heart and entrails, which would have allowed burial in multiple places. Václav Bůžek, 'Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne', *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 7 (2015), pp. 260–73.

2 For the Escorial: Michael Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy Under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester, NY, 1998); Rosemarie Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Dublin, 2004); Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *De El Bosco a Tiziano: arte y maravilla en El Escorial* (Madrid, 2013). On Westminster Abbey, see, for instance, Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and*

*the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, 1995). On St Dénis: Julian Blunk, *Das Taktieren mit den Toten. Die französischen Königsgrabmäler in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2011).

3 See, for instance, Mark Hengerer, Juliusz A. Chrościcki and Gérard Sabatier (eds), *Les funerailles princières en Europe* (3 vols, Rennes, 2012–19).

4 Brigitta Lauro, *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger. Kunstdenkmäler einer europäischen Dynastie* (Vienna, 2007); Henry Kamen, *The Escorial. Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven, 2010); Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft. Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien* (Vienna, 1993); Eva Demmerle and Gigi Beutler, *"Wer begehrt Einlass?"Habsburgische Begräbnisstätten in Österreich* (Vienna, 2019).

5 Bijsterveld, 'Royal Burial Places in Western Europe', pp. 25–43.

6 Philip I's testament: Louis Prospère Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1976), vol. I, pp. 493–6; Charles's first testament of 1522: Ch. Weis (ed.), *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle* (Paris, 1841) (*hereafter PEG*), vol. I, pp. 252–56; Charles's final testament of 1554: *Testamento de Carlos V*.

7 Claudia Moddelmog, *Königliche Stiftungen des Mittelalters im historischen Wandel: Quedlinburg und Speyer, Königsfelden, Wiener Neustadt und Andernach* (Berlin, 2012).

8 Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs*, p. 242.

9 Albert Absenger, 'Herzog Otto der Fröhliche und sein Wiener Hof', PhD dissertation, University of Vienna (Vienna, 2015); F. S. Pichler, *Die Habsburger Stiftung cistercienser Abtei Neuberg in Steiermark: ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmale* (Neuberg an der Mürz, 1990).

10 Rudolf IV constructed a crypt and a ground-level cenotaph which has the inscription: 'alberti ducis australis iacet inclita proles coniugis ipsius' (here lies buried the illustrious progeny of Duke Albert): Renate Kohn, 'Eine Fürstengrablege im Wiener Stephansdom', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 59 (2013), pp. 555–602, pp. 572–73. The crypt and the cenotaph were probably intended to commemorate not just Rudolf but several generations of Habsburgs.

11 The identification of George is, however, doubtful, as the remains ascribed to him are those of a grown man while George in fact died as an infant. Kohn, 'Fürstengrablege', p. 593.

12 Kohn, 'Fürstengrablege', p. 558 and 561.

13 Kohn, 'Fürstengrablege', p. 584.

14 Turba, *Grundlagen*, vol. II, pp. 127–28.

15 Lauro, *Begräbnisstätten*, p. 54. '...so haben wir uns fest verfolgend die Fußtritte unserer Vorvorderen und des erlauchtesten Herrn, Friedrich römischen Königs, unseres Herrn und geliebtesten Bruders, welche in Anhoffnung göttlicher Vergeltung *von ihrem Erbtheile Klöster gegründet hat...*'

16 Kohn, 'Fürstengrablege', p. 593.

17 Lauro, *Begräbnisstätten*, p. 65: Ferdinand, Maria and Charles, who died aged fifteen, nine and eight months, respectively.

18 Lauro, *Begräbnisstätten*, pp. 43–44, 91 and 95.

19 Bijsterveld, 'Royal Burial Places in Western Europe', pp. 29–30.

20 Maria Teresa Laguna Paúl, 'La capilla de los reyes de la primitiva Catedral de Santa Maria de Sevilla y las relaciones de la Corona castellana con el cabildo hispalense en su etapa fundacional (1248–1285)', in I.G. Bango Torviso (ed.), *Maravillas de la España medieval: Tesoro sagrado y monarquía* (Valladolid, 2001), vol. I, pp. 235–51.

21 Raquel Alonso Álvarez, 'Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla hasta Sancho IV: Continuidad dinástica y memoria regia', *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales* 3 (2007).

22 Carmen Maria Labra González, 'De la chartreuse de Miraflores à la chapelle royale de Grenade', *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales* 3 (2007).

23 Eileen Patricia McKiernan Gonzalez, 'Monastery and monarchy: the foundation and patronage of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas and Santa María la Real de Sigena', PhD dissertation, University of Texas (Austin, 2005), pp. 207 and 214–15; António Macia Serrano, 'San Juan de los Reyes y la batalla de Toro', *Revista Toletum* 9 (1979), pp. 55–70. Ferdinand the Catholic stressed this connection in his testament, ordering his burial in Granada's Capilla Real in Granada 'which it pleased Our Lord in our days to be conquered and taken from the Muslims, infidels and enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith, taking us, an unworthy sinner, as his instrument: and therefore we wish, since He granted us such favor, that our remains will rest forever there, where the remains of the aforementioned Lady Queen will also rest, so that they will jointly praise and bless his Holy Name' ('la qual Cibdad en los nuestros tiempos plugo a nuestro Señor, que fuesse conquistada e tomada del poder e subjeccion de los Moros, infieles, enemigos de nuestra S. Fe Catholica, tomando a Nos, aunque indigno y pecador, por instrumento para ello; e porende queremos, pues tanta merced nos fizo, los huessos nuestros estén alli para siempre, donde tambien han de estar sepultados los huessos de la dicha Serenissima senora Reyna, para que juntamente loen e bendigan su santo nombre'). Testament edited in Diego Josef Dormer, *Discursos varios de la historia, con muchas escrituras reales antiguas, y notas a algunas dellas* (Zaragoza, 1683), pp. 393–472, p. 398.

24 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 'Capillas Reales funerarias cathedralicias de Castilla y León: nuevas hipótesis interpretativas de las catedrales de Sevilla, Córdoba y Toledo', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 18 (2006), pp. 9–29, p. 15.

25 Fernando Arias Guillén, 'Enterramientos regios en Castilla y León (c. 842–1504). La dispersión de los espacios funerarios y el fracaso de la memoria dinástica', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 45 (2015), pp. 643–75.

26 Luis Suárez Fernández, *Historia de España. Edad Media* (Madrid, 1970); Luis Suárez Fernández, *Historia de España. 7, Los Trastámara y los reyes católicos* (Madrid, 1985).

27 Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla* (Madrid, 1954); some examples: pp. 213–23: Infante Felipe, son of Ferdinand III; pp. 223–24: Infante Sancho, son of Ferdinand III and archbishop of Toledo, buried in the Cathedral of Toledo; pp. 224–25: Infante Manuel, son of Ferdinand III, became a 'familiar' of the Order of Santiago and was buried in one of its churches.

28 González Jiménez, *Fernando III*, pp. 251–52.

29 González Jiménez, *Fernando III*, p. 150: 'lo que parece indicar que la muerte de la infantita se produjo estando los monarcas en dicha cuidad'. Other examples: del Arco, *Sepulcros*, p. 271: Infante Alfonso, son of Sancho IV, died in Valladolid aged five and was buried in a local convent.

30 Cécile d'Albis, 'Sacralización real y nacimiento de una ciudad simbólica: los traslados de cuerpos reales a Granada, 1504–1549', *Chronica Nova* 35 (2009), pp. 247–66, p. 248.

31 Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol: Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge 1364–1477* (Berlin, 2002); Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy* (New Haven, 2010); Françoise Baron, Sophie Jugie and Benoît Lafay, *Les Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne: création, destruction, restauration* (Paris, 2009); Sherry C.M. Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Aldershot, 2008); Michael Grandmontagne: *Claus Sluter und die Lesbarkeit mittelalterlicher Skulptur. Das Portal der Kartause von Champmol* (Worms, 2005).

32 A. de Fay (ed.), *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, avec des notes, des dissertations et les preuves justificatives* (Dijon, 1748), vol. III, p. 205.
33 Saenger, 'Burgundy and the Inalienability of Appanages', pp. 1–26.
34 See note 6.
35 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 187.
36 Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon, Collection de manuscrits de Pierre-Louis Baudot, Ms 989, f. 134: Plan des trois caveaux dans lesquels reposent les corps des trois premiers ducs.
37 Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 31.
38 Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres: la mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Age* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2005), p. 78; Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, 'Les dévotions princières à la fin du Moyen Âge: les testaments des ducs de Bourgogne et de leur famille (1386–1477)', *Revue du Nord* 354 (2004), pp. 7–23, p. 13.
39 Agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed, Flanders. Heritage object 42768: Sint-Jan Evangelist Church, Tervuren: https://id.erfgoed.net/erfgoedobjecten/42768 (Consulted on 18 August 2020).
40 Gaude-Ferragu, 'Les dévotions princières', p. 13.
41 Gaude-Ferragu, 'Les dévotions princières', p. 10.
42 Gaude-Ferragu, 'Les dévotions princières', p. 11.
43 Laurie Baveye, 'Exercer la médecine en milieu princier au XVème siècle: l'exemple de la cour de Bourgogne, 1363-1482', PhD dissertation, Université Lille 3 – Charles the Gaulle (Lille, 2015), vol. I, p. 92.
44 Monique Sommé, 'Le cérémonial de la naissance et de la mort de l'enfant princier à la cour de Bourgogne au xve siècle', in Jean-Marie Cauchies (ed.), *À la cour de Bourgogne. Le duc, son entourage, son train* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 33–48.
45 Baveye, 'Exercer la médecine en milieu princier', pp. 264 and 274.
46 Her testament is published by E. Lichnowsky, *Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg* (Vienna, 1844), vol. VIII, pp. dccxxxii–dccxxx.
47 Ann M. Roberts, 'The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy', *The Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), pp. 376–400, p. 379.
48 Roberts, 'Tomb of Mary of Burgundy', p. 378.
49 Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold. The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 2004; first edition London, 1973), p. 432; E. William Monter, *A Bewitched Duchy: Lorraine and Its Dukes, 1477–1736* (Geneva, 2007), p. 22.
50 Monter, *Bewitched Duchy*, p. 54.
51 William Eisler, 'Charles V and the Cathedral of Granada', *Journal of the society of architectural historians* 51 (1992), pp. 174–81; Tommaso Mozzati, 'Charles V, Bartomolomé Ordóñez, and the Tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy in Granada: An Iconographical Perspective of a Major Royal Monument of Renaissance Europe', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 59 (2017), pp. 174–201, pp. 179 and 181.
52 Mozzati, 'Charles V', p. 180; d'Albis, 'Sacralización', pp. 259–60. The tomb itself was executed in Carrara in Italy, close to its source of marble. Although the sculptures arrived in Cartagena in 1533, only in 1603 did Philip III order them to be transported to Granada and placed in the chapel. Mozzati, 'Charles V', p. 199.
53 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', *CODOÍN*, vol. VII, pp. 110–11.
54 Archivo General de Simancas (*hereafter* AGS), Patronato Real (*herafter* PTR), leg. 30, no. 14. Dated 7 March 1537.
55 Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel de Portugal*, p. 182: mentions a testament of 1527 in which she decided on the Capilla Real, with her grandmother, while Charles should decide where exactly to place her coffin. In a testament of 1529, Isabella

left the choice up to Charles. *Ibid*, p. 183. Both testaments in AGS, PTR, leg. 30, docs 10 and 11.

56 d'Albis, 'Sacralización', pp. 262–66.

57 Don Carlos was born in July; Charles's illegitimate daughter Margaret of Parma gave birth to twin boys, Alessandro and Carlo Farnese, in August the same year.

58 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 23: clauses from the testament of Princess Maria of Portugal.

59 d'Albis, 'Sacralización', p. 266. After analysing all the relocations of royal corpses to Granada in some depth, these last relocations are only mentioned in passing by the author, without further comment. We may note here that Lodovico of Savoy, Charles's nephew who had died while in Madrid and had been buried in San Jerónimo as well, was left there.

60 Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'En torno a las exequias de la princesa doña Maria de Portugal en Granada y la intervencion de Pedro Machuca', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 62 (1996), pp. 307–16 and 313–15.

61 This journey was described by Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe don Phelippe, hijo del emperador don Carlos Quinto Máximo, desde España a sus tierras de la baxa Alemana: con la descripción de todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes* (Antwerp, 1552). The political testament: *Corpus documental de Carlos V*, vol. II, pp. 569–92.

62 *Testamento de Carlos V*, p. 3.

63 AGS, PTR, leg. 29, doc. 33.

64 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 13, fol. 44r.: 'entretanto que se consume y gasta'. The testament itself seems not to have been preserved.

65 *Corpus documental de Carlos V*, vol. IV, p. 412: 'hasta que otra cosa se acuerde'. The impersonal formulation implies, perhaps, that Charles was not planning to take any decision himself.

66 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 25. Translated and edited in Jacqueline Kerkhoff, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof 1505–1558: tot plichtsbetrachting uitverkoren* (Hilversum, 2008), pp. 307–11, appendix 2, testament dated 27 September 1558: 'that it should be placed and buried where the body of the late Most Christian Queen my sister will be' (qu'il soit mis et enterré ou le corps de la feu Royne treschretiene ma seur le sera).

67 Eisler, 'Charles V', p. 178. Eisler argues, therefore, that Granada remained the dynastic burial place until 1559.

68 Laura D. Gelfand, 'Margaret of Austria and the Encoding of Power in Patronage: The Funerary Foundation at Brou', in Allison Levy (ed.), *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 145–65.

69 Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, pp. 79–81 and 88–89: her Hungarian income was substantial, but due to her absence and her brother Ferdinand's penury, she received little of it, p. 124: her salary as a governor was set at 30,000 guilders. Charles V paid an additional 6,000 guilders for her bodyguard and court choir, and she had income from Naples (probably her inheritance), but the Emperor did not expect these sums to cover the costs for her household, which were estimated at 67,000 guilders. Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, pp. 76–77. Ferdinand and Mary struck a deal in 1548, when Mary promised to stop claiming moneys from Hungarian crown domains in return for Ferdinand's promise to pay a yearly allowance.

70 Michel Combet, 'Éléonore d'Autriche, une reine de France oubliée', in Maurice Hamon and Ange Rovère (eds), *Être reconnu en son temps: personnalités et notables* (Bordeaux, 2012), pp. 15–25, p. 21; Robert J. Knecht, 'Éléonore d'Autriche (1498–1558)', in Cédric Michon *et al.* (eds), *Les conseillers de François Ier* (Rennes, 2011), pp. 401–13, p. 412.

71 De Iongh, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk*, pp. 124, 142, 200 and 222. Tupu Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents in the Early 16th Century', PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki (Helsinki, 2019), pp. 135–36 and 138. Work on the mausoleum for herself, her husband Philibert of Savoy and her mother-in-law gained pace after her acquisition of Burgundy in 1509. Her testament, stipulating burial in Brou as well, dates from the same year. *Ibid.*, pp. 201–02.

72 Attila Bárány, 'Queen Mary of Hungary and the Cult of King Louis II in the Low Countries', in Réka Bozzay (ed.), *Történetek a mélyföldről. Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban* (Debrecen, 2014), pp. 362–97.

73 Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, 'La idea original de los enterramientos reales en El Escorial', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 85 (1997), pp. 375–413.

74 Juan Martínez Cuesta, *Guide to the Monastery of San Lorenzo el Real, also called El Escorial* (Madrid, 1992), p. 12; Kamen, *Escorial*, pp. 67–69; de la Cuadra Blanco, 'La idea original', pp. 373–412.

75 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', pp. 90–107: a lengthy instruction, detailing the translation of the remains from various places to the Escorial in February 1574.

76 The act was described by various monks, who all noted that the King himself was absent during the procedure, in order to spare himself distress. 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', pp. 407–11. Also, Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, 'El monasterio del Escorial en la historiografía jerónima de la primera época (siglo XVI)', in Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (ed.), *El Monasterio del Escorial y la arquitectura* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 2002), pp. 175–244 and pp. 199–200.

77 Compare the placement of Maximilian I's coffin under the steps of the altar in the St George Church at Wiener Neustadt. Lauro, *Begräbnisstätten*, 95.

78 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', pp. 407–11.

79 Francis Xavier Rocca, 'Cloister and court: the Escorial and Philip II of Spain', PhD dissertation, Yale University (New Haven, 1998), p. 135. The only description of the crypt and the arrangements of the coffins is the one his Flemish courtier Jean Lhermite made when Philip II was buried there in 1598: de la Cuadra Blanco, 'La idea original', p. 385.

80 Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martín, 'La escultura en los panteones reales españoles', in Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (ed.), *La escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial*, pp. 73–102.

81 Mechtild Neumann, *Pompeo Leoni – um 1530–1608: ein italienischer Bildhauer am Hofe Philipps II. von Spanien* (Bonn, 1997), pp. 122–23.

82 Agustín Bustamante García, 'Las tumbas reales del Escorial', in Agustín Bustamente Garcia *et al.* (eds), *Felipe II y el arte de su tiempo* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 55–78, p. 67.

83 Francisco de los Santos, *Descripción breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial …* (Madrid, 1657). The work was later abbreviated and translated into English by an unnamed servant of the earl of Sandwich: Francisco de los Santos, *The Escurial; or, A Description of that Wonder of the World for Architecture and Magnificence of Structure* (London, 1671).

84 A Dutch ambassador reported a visit to the Escorial during their mission in 1661. Koninklijk Huisarchief, SA VII C170: Van Amerongen to Willem Frederik of Nassau, Madrid, 20 January 1661. Cited in *Lodewijck Huygens' Spaans journaal: Reis naar het hof van de koning van Spanje, 1660–1661*, ed. Maurits Ebben (Zutphen, 2005), pp. 279–81, n44. Some years later, the duke of Saint Simon visited as well. See de la Cuadra Blanco, 'Idea original', p. 393.

85 That is, Filippo Emanuele, 1586–1605; Emanuele Filiberto, 1588–1624; Ferdinando (1637).

86 Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King. A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven, 2015), pp. 175–91, analyses the Prince's deteriorating mental health and argues that his father decided that he was not fit to rule in 1565.
87 Verónica Gijón Jiménez, 'El Convento de San Juan de los Reyes en los relatos de viaje en la Edad Moderna', *De arte: revista de historia del arte* 12 (2013), pp. 103–18 and pp. 103–04; later, Isabella would choose to be buried in Granada, of course, but still stipulated in her testament that if Granada were inaccessible, her remains should be deposited at San Juan de Reyes. Charles V had a catafalque raised for her there, which remained in place throughout the sixteenth century, providing a visual reminder of the Queen when Carlos expressed his wish to be buried there. *Ibid*, p. 107. See also, Rafael Domínguez Casas, 'San Juan de los Reyes: espacio funerario y aposento regio', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 56 (1990), pp. 364–83, p. 373.
88 AGS, PTR, leg. 29, doc. 23: testament of Don Carlos, 19 May 1564.
89 Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, 'La muerte del príncipe Don Juan. Exequias y duelo en Córdoba y Sevilla durante el otoño de 1497', *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III. Historia Medieval* 31 (2018), pp. 107–33.
90 AGS, PTR, leg. 29, no. 24: Acta del depósito del cadáver del Príncipe Carlos en el Monasterio de Santo Domingo el Real, en Madrid. Officially, Don Carlos's body was deposited there until the King decided where it would rest definitely, leaving the possibility open that he would find a final resting place elsewhere than in the Escorial – for instance, San Juan de los Reyes.
91 When Wenceslaus's remains arrived at the Escorial, 'I command you to receive him and place him in the church in the vault under its main altar, where the other royal remains are, so that it have a temporary burial there with them, and this should be done in the usual way, until he will be buried and placed in the basilica in the place that we will order to be indicated, for this is our will' ('os encargamos y mandamos le rescibais y pongáis en la iglesia de prestado del en la bóveda que está debajo del altar mayor della donde están los demás cuerpos Reales para que esté allí en depósito con ellos y se haga acto dello en forma que se acostumbra hasta tanto que se haya de enterrar y poner en la iglesia principal del en la parte y lugar que nos mandaremos señalar: que así es nuestra voluntad'). 'Memoria de fray Juan de San Gerónimo', p. 242. The exact same order accompanied the remains of Prince Fernando, died 18 October 1578, *Ibid.*, pp. 244–45.
92 Gaudenzio Claretta, *Notizie storiche intorno alla vita ed ai tempi di Beatrice di Portogallo duchessa di Savoia*, *con documenti* (Turin, 1863), p. 116. This was Lodovico of Savoy, son of Charles III of Savoy and Beatrice of Portugal, sister of Empress Isabella. More on him in Chapter 4.
93 'Memoria de fray Juan de San Gerónimo', p. 242.
94 Archivio di Stato, Torino (*hereafter* AST), Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2: nrs 239–41.
95 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12, Este to Charles Emmanuel, Valladolid, 12 February 1605: 'Sua Maesta ha voluto ch'il corpo si porti a San Lorenzo l'Escuriale nel deposito della casa reale con l'honore et accompagnamento che Vostra Altezza vedra dalle relatione e non poteva fare d'avantaggio per un figluolo che non fosse suo primogenito, e perche Vostra Altezza potrebb'essere ben fora il parere di volerlo costi, parmi rapresentarle non esser bisogno, stant'il luoco che segli a dato e l'honore che segli e fatto e se nella perdita si grande havra dolore in questo si console che non se poteva fare d'avantaggio'.
96 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12, Este to Charles Emmanuel, Valladolid, 27 February 1605.
97 Joseph Antonio de Abreu y Bertodano, *Colección de los tratados de paz … Reynado de Phelipe IV* (Madrid, 1746), vol. III, p. 618, the testament of the

Cardinal-Infante Fernando. Fernando died on 9 November 1641; news of the Cardinal's death arrived January 1642, and his corpse did not arrive until June 1643 when it was taken straight to the Escorial. Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada, *Gaçeta y nuevas de la Corte desde el año 1600 en Adelante*, ed. Alfonso de Ceballos-Escalera (Madrid, 1991), pp. 412–13.

98 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 23.

99 'porq*ue* como le fuy obidiente en la vida, assy lo quiero ser en la muerte', AGS, PTR, leg. 30, no. 28: testament of Isabella of Valois, dated 27 June 1566, when she was about seven months pregnant with Infanta Isabella, her first live birth (born 12 August 1566).

100 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', p. 83.

101 AGS, PTR, leg. 29, no, 2, fols 6v-7r. 'Porque ansi como le he hecho compañía en vida con tanto amor y conformidad assi querría que mi cuerpo le hiziese al suyo despues de muerta'.

102 AGS, PTR, leg. 29, doc. 10, fol. 54v.: Codicil of Charles V, 1558: 'Porque despues que otorgué el dicho testamento hize renunciacion de todos mis reynos... en el serenisimo rey don Phelippe..., tengo por bien de remittillo como lo remitto al Rey mi hijo'.

103 Letter of Don Juan's confessor to Philip II after Don Juan's death, Namur, 3 October 1578. *CODOÍN*, vol. VII, pp. 248–49: 'quiérole encargar y pedir que en mi nombre suplique á la Majestad del Rey mi Señor y padre, que mirando … á la voluntad con que yo le procuro servir, alcance yo de S. M. esta merced, que mis huesos hayan algún lugar cerca de los de mi Señor y padre'.

104 Juan Aranda Doncel, 'La familia del Emperador: Leopoldo de Austria, obispo de Córdoba (1541–1557)', in Manuel Rivero Rodríguez and Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño (eds), *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558)* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 403–24, p. 424.

105 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 18, nr. 217: Anastasio Germonio to Charles Emmanuel, 16 October 1624.

106 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (*hereafter* HHStA), Hausarchiv, Hofakten des Ministeriums des Innern, Karton 6, 6.1: Vidimierte Abschrift des Testaments dd Madrid den 28 December 1624 des Erzherzogs Carl von Österreich.

107 Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale* (2 vols, Leipzig 1719–20), vol. II, pars I, no page given, quoted in Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft*, p. 76: 'Es ist eine Ehre und nach dem Verhältniß der Würde der dabey intereßirten Personen eine Gnade, wann ein auswärtiger Fürst oder hohe Standes Person in die Gruft desjenigen Herrn an dessen Hof er verstorben, beygesetzt wird, vorausgesetzt, daß der Stand des Verstorbenen allzeit geringer seyn müsse, als des Regenten von dem Hof, in dessen Erb-Begräbniß ihm eine Stelle vergönnet wird'.

108 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', p. 89.

109 Archivo del Palacio Real (*hereafter* APR), Caja 4, Expediente 9: Testamentos de Juana de Austria. In contrast to her aunts, she did not name her brother, but her son, the Portuguese king Sebastian, her universal heir.

110 APR, Caja 4, Expediente 9: Testamentos de Juana de Austria.

111 Palma Martínez-Burgos García, 'Viudas ejemplares. La princesa doña Juana de Austria, mecenazgo y revoción', *Chronica Nova* 23 (2008), pp. 63–89, 81, 83 and 86, describes the amount of jewellery shown in Juana's portraits, the collections of the Descalzas monastery and, indeed, the founding of this monastery to begin with, which all underlines her wealth and (thus) independence. Alvar Ezquerra, *Emperatriz*, pp. 374–47, describes how Empress Isabella's inheritance was finally settled in 1551 and her daughters Maria and Juana were left with 65,000,000 *maravedís* to share.

112 Earlier in 1581, Rudolf, her eldest son, had decided to lay his father Maximilian to rest in the crypt in St Vitus Cathedral that also housed Ferdinand I and Anna

Jagiellonica, Maximilian's parents. Bůžek, 'Die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten', p. 268. According to González Cuerva, Empress Maria had already made the decision for St Vitus in 1576. Rubén González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria, Holy Roman Empress (1528–1603): Dynastic Networker* (London, 2021), p. 149.

113 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 28, Spanish copy of the testament on fols 28 and next. Stipulations regarding burial on fols. 29r-29v. The original testament was dated in Vienna, 20 August 1581.

114 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 28, fols. 300r and next.

115 AGS, PTR, leg. 31, doc. 28, fol. 315r.

116 AGS, PR, leg. 31, doc. 28, fol. 330v.

117 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 237; see also note 71 on pp. 245–46.

118 Drawing reproduced in de la Cuadra Blanco, 'Idea original', p. 378.

119 Bustamante García, 'Tumbas reales', pp. 67 and 69–70. The final group was placed in 1598.

120 The monks in the Escorial did sing masses on the anniversary days of Mary's death: 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo', p. 116; AGS, PTR, leg. 29, doc. 42: instructions by Philip II to Philip III regarding the Escorial, dated 25 August 1598.

121 Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Valladolid, 27 February 1603, published in Ferran Escrivà Llorca, 'La vida en las Descalzas Reales a través de los epistolarios de Juan de Borja (1584–1604)', in Javier Suárez-Pajares and Manuel del Sol (eds), *Tomás Luis de Victoria: estudios/studies* (Madrid, 2013), pp. 437–52, p. 450, doc. 6. Philip III agreed to a temporary burial either at the Gospel side of the main alter (across from Juana's tomb, which was placed at the other side) or in the spot where Isabella of Valois had rested previously. Juan de Borja reported to Lerma (p. 450, doc. 7) that she had been interred under the 'altar de la oración del huerto' (altar of the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane) in the cloister – corresponding presumably with Isabella of Valois's final resting place.

122 Torquemada, *Gaçeta*, p. 37.

123 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, 2001), p. 218, notes that Maria only had the interest of her dowry to support her. While the dowry had been a generous 200,000 ducats, the sum had actually never been paid in full. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

124 *Avisos de D. Jerónimo de Barrionuevo (1654–1658)*, ed. A. Paz y Mélia (4 vols, Madrid, 1892–93), vol. I, p. 373 (26 June 1655).

125 The Escorial was about three hundred kilometres away, making for a much longer and thus more expensive journey.

126 Biblioteca Nacional de España (*hereafter* BNE), Mss 9393, f. 82/109.

127 Pietro Fea, *Alessandro Farnese, duca di Parma* (Turin, 1886), p. 459.

128 Felice da Mareto, *Chiese e conventi di Parma* (Parma, 1978), p. 229.

129 Ivo Raband, *Vergängliche Kunst & fortwährende Macht. Die* Blijde Inkomst *für Erzherzog Ernst von Österreich in Brüssel und Antwerpen, 1594* (Merzhausen, 2019), pp. 243–44.

130 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 209.

131 Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador imperial Hans Khevenhüller (1538–1606) en España* (Madrid, 2015), p. 536, note 541.

132 Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador*, p. 537; Duerloo, *Archduke Albert*, p. 40.

133 Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador*, p. 536, note 541.

134 Raband, *Vergängliche Kunst & fortwährende Macht*, pp. 253–56.

135 Raband, *Vergängliche Kunst & fortwährende Macht*, p. 245.

136 Ernest's and Albert's brother Archduke Maximilian III provides another interesting example of the connection between dependence/independence and burial in dynastic crypts. The fourth son of Emperor Maximilian II and Empress Maria, he was elected grandmaster of the German order, an office which did not give him any significant patrimony. As grandmaster, he stipulated in his 1598 testament

that he intended to be buried in the family crypt in St Stephen's in Vienna (Beda Dudík, 'Des Hoch- und Deutschmeisters Erzherzogs Maximilians I. Testament und Verlassenschaft vom Jahre 1619', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 33 (1865), pp. 233–352, p. 241). Several of his siblings who had died as infants had been buried there as well (Lauro, *Begräbnisstätten*, p. 65). But his luck changed. In 1595, the independent Habsburg count of Tyrol died. Maximilian was appointed governor of the county on behalf of the entire House in 1602, but he took possession of it as an independent count in 1612. In a codicil of 1614, he correspondingly changed his mind and opted for an individual tomb in Innsbruck instead, next to his predecessor Archduke Ferdinand (Dudík, 'Des Hoch- und Deutschmeisters Erzherzogs Maximilians I. Testament', p. 244; Albert Jäger, 'Beiträge zur Gesch. der Verhandlungen über die erbfällig gewordene gefürstete Grafschaft Tirol nach dem Tode des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von 1595–1597', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 50 (1873), pp. 103–212).

# 4 A Widow's World

## The Ruling Family Group in the Early Sixteenth Century

In the previous chapters we met Habsburg relatives like the illegitimate Don Juan or the Savoyard heir Filippo Emanuele whose appearance in genealogies or whose burial in the dynastic crypt seems unconventional. That they were there nevertheless has to do with their role as members of what we might call the Habsburg ruling family group: those relatives who were deemed close enough to the family head, by both the family head himself and local elites, to be able to represent him and govern in his name as a royal relative. They were necessary to fill a number of offices and governorships that were traditionally held by close relatives of the ruler, like the governorships of the Low Countries[1] and Castile[2] (and to a lesser extent of Portugal and Sicily). For each Habsburg monarch, we can point out a right-hand man or woman who filled such offices and played a dominant role in his reign: Charles V was flanked by his sister Mary of Hungary; Philip II by his nephew Albert of Austria; Philip III by Filiberto of Savoy; Philip IV by his cousin Marguerite of Savoy-Mantua – a rather less successful story – and Charles II by his half-brother Don Juan. Phrased like this, we can even see a pattern emerging: widows dominating early on during Habsburg rule, but later being overtaken first by nephews, then by cousins, while during the final decades of Habsburg rule there was really only one possible candidate for any sort of position, namely the King's illegitimate half-brother.

Such an overview obscures many other members who played similar roles or who might have played them if they had lived longer. But it also gives us an idea of the sort of relatives that made up the ruling group: siblings, nieces/nephews and cousins. In addition, this short list of 'star relatives' indicates that different rulers employed different kinds of relatives: Charles V had nephews and cousins as well, but he was aided by his widowed sister; Philip II had widowed sisters too, but he chose his nephews. Clearly, we cannot take the practices of one reign to be typical of the entire period of Habsburg rule. Widowed sisters did not *always* govern the Low Countries, and neither did nephews. As always, demography was a factor in the shifting roles of Habsburg relatives. Philip II and Charles II had illegitimate half-brothers whom they could rely on, but Philip III and Philip IV did not – as far as we know, at least. But the following chapters argue that there is more

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at play than mere demography. Over time, certain roles were created for certain types of relatives, and the careers of previous generations created possibilities and even expectations for the next. Philip II's nephew Alessandro Farnese paved the way for future royal nephews, making it easier for them to follow in his footsteps, and even giving them the feeling of being entitled to that. Meanwhile, Infanta Juana changed the way Habsburg widows exercised power – no longer in the council chambers but from the cloister – and thereby handed a blueprint to her successors in that role. The 'nephew role' and 'widow role' became socially institutionalised. To identify the dynamics that went into institutionalising such roles, we must consider Habsburg relatives' roles in governing over a longer period. This is what the following chapters will do. The present chapter focuses on Charles V's reign; the next will concern itself with Philip II's reign and Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the seventeenth century.

This chapter has been titled 'A Widow's World' since the mere thought of Habsburg rule in the sixteenth century invokes a procession of strong-willed women: Margaret of Austria, Mary of Hungary and Margaret of Parma as governors of the Low Countries, as well as Empress Isabella and Infanta Juana holding the fort in Castile. Of these women, Mary of Hungary best encompasses all that historians like to ascribe to Habsburg women: willpower, competence, loyalty, a streak of open-mindedness with regard to Luther's new ideas and a steady hand as an art patron and collector.[3] But were they typical of Habsburg rule? Was their role typical for the women of this family? If we focus on dynastic women *after* 1560, another image appears: pious widows and spouses seeking out monastic spaces, in the Descalzas in Madrid or at their courts in Brussels. Seclusion (*recogimiento*) is perhaps more typical of these women than the governors' public role. Furthermore, many suffered occasionally from 'melancholy'; we can find mental health problems among both Habsburg men and women.[4] If we count seclusion and depression among the characteristics of Habsburg women, we should perhaps even consider Joanna 'the Mad' as a sort of 'trendsetter' for Habsburg females. Maybe that is taking this thought experiment too far. Yet it is important not to see the roles of the *triummulierate* of Low Countries' governors as the

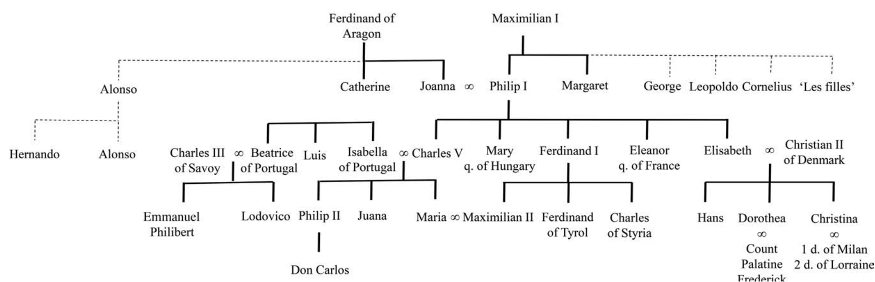


*Figure 4.1* Dramatis personae.

norm; rather, they represent an early phase of Habsburg dynastic rule that was followed by other phases, which offered rather different roles to the dynasty's women.

**Parents, Consorts and Heirs**

The Habsburg dynasty went through several phases of demographic drought. The later fifteenth century was one such period. The generations born then were tiny: a brother-and-sister pair was all that stood between power and extinction in both Maximilian I's generation (whose sister Kunigunde married the duke of Saxony) and that of his children, Philip the Handsome and Margaret.[5] Problems were compounded when early deaths meant precarious regency periods. In 1482, Philip the Handsome was only four years old when his mother's death turned him into the new lord of the Low Countries. When he died himself, in 1506, his eldest son was only six. This lack of adult rulers led to a need for governors. But that this governor should be a dynastic widow was far from clear. The story of the legendary Habsburg women in charge as governors in the monarchy's core territories begins, of course, with Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), daughter of Mary, the last Valois duchess of the Low Countries, and Maximilian of Austria. Childless after three marriages, she retired to her native country and became its governor on behalf of her father and her little nephew Charles of Luxemburg, revered by the local elites. But this story is mainly a construction after the fact. Margaret's road to power was in fact rocky.

When Duchess Mary died in 1482, the Low Countries embarked on a troubled history with its governors. Maximilian, Mary's widower and father to the new toddler duke Philip (born 1478), intended to take power but was unable to establish his authority against the interests of such powerful towns like Bruges and Ghent, who refused to recognise him as regent for his son.[6] Maximilian's own appointee as regent, his cousin Albert of Saxony, had to reconquer parts of the country in order to exercise Maximilian's authority.[7] His regency has been called a 'period of violent power struggles'.[8] While Maximilian came out on top, the power of the local towns and estates caused young Philip, once he had grown up and taken control himself, to govern consensually, always making sure to keep the estates happy.[9] When he became heir to the crown of Castile by right of his spouse Joanna of Castile and travelled there in 1504 and again in 1506, he appointed loyal local noblemen as his governors: in 1504, Engelbert of Nassau took the honours; in 1506, he appointed William of Croÿ-Chievres.

Philip did not consider his sister, who had become a widow in 1504, at all for the governorship at this time. When he was preparing for his second journey to Castile in 1505, his sister Margaret had travelled to Cleves to meet him with the intention of remaining in the Low Countries as governor.[10] But the siblings could not reach an agreement and Margaret returned to Savoy.[11] Instead of appointing his sister governor, Philip started negotiations with

Henry VII Tudor about a fourth marriage for her – dynastic women's primary job.[12] However, Philip died in the middle of the negotiations, and since Margaret was reluctant to go through with it, Henry graciously bowed out.[13]

With Philip gone, sovereignty over the Low Countries was again embodied in a child, the very young Charles. This created a power vacuum that needed to be filled. The local estates saw no alternative to offering the regency to his grandfather Maximilian.[14] Unable to take up the regency personally and unwilling to leave the country in the hands of some local nobleman, Maximilian summoned his daughter Margaret to join him in the Low Countries and become his representative in the regency.[15] However, this did not indicate complete trust in the widow yet: Maximilian floated the possibility of appointing the elector of Trier, a second cousin, as co-regent or at least her chancellor[16] – which would have left Margaret serving more as a figurehead flanked by a high-ranking churchman than an independent governor. However, Margaret managed to establish her independence as governor until Charles came of age in 1515. At this point, the local aristocrats remembered their role during previous minorities and convinced the teenaged ruler to dispense with Margaret's services.[17] When Charles travelled to Castile for the first time in 1516, Margaret was not reinstated as sole regent, but instead became part of a larger regency council, while Henry of Nassau – nephew and heir of the erstwhile governor Engelbert – was made commander-in-chief of the army.[18] However, her authority was expanded after Charles's election to the imperial title – and his realisation that he could not return to govern the Low Countries himself.[19] Now she could finally develop the role of governor in the ruler's absence, instead of his minority, that would become a benchmark for her successors. After 1519, Margaret's governorship essentially became a permanent fixture and was no longer a stopgap measure to bridge the few years until the ruler's maturity.

The governors of Castile in the 1520s and 1530s never took on such a permanent mantle; rather, they only covered for a ruler who, when on the scene himself, would take over the reins of government again. The governorship role would consist of a female figurehead flanked by churchman, the female figurehead preferably being a consort.[20] Shortly after Charles came of age, his Aragonese grandfather Ferdinand, who had also controlled Castile, died (1516). The young ruler made plans to travel to Spain to take charge of his Iberian kingdoms. Before Charles's arrival in Castile, the kingdom was governed jointly by two cardinals: Cisneros, the archbishop of Toledo, who had served as governor on previous occasions, and Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, whom he had sent ahead as his envoy.[21] While Cisneros held great authority in the kingdom as a previous governor and as archbishop of Toledo, Adrian held far less authority and represented the fateful Flemish 'vultures' who descended on Castile to take up the best positions, poisoning relations between the new king and the local elites. Furthermore, among Charles's first actions upon arrival was to send his younger brother Ferdinand, born and raised in Spain, to the Low Countries.[22] The Castilian Cortes were nervous

lest they be left without any backup to the King: they had pleaded with him not to send Ferdinand away before he had married and produced an heir. Ferdinand's absence did not leave Charles as the sole representative of the new dynasty, since his eldest sister Eleanor had joined him on his journey. However, she, too, soon left to marry the king of Portugal,[23] causing much dismay again among the Castilians, who could hardly count on their new king remaining there permanently. The local elites were adamant that either an heir or a spouse should be available in case the King departed.

A surrogate 'spouse' was soon at the scene. Eleanor's marriage to the Portuguese king lasted only until the latter's death in 1521. Charles immediately negotiated with the new king for her return.[24] While her use as a marriageable princess – she was still only twenty-four years old – was most likely Charles's main motivation, she could also represent the dynasty in Castile. After her return from Portugal, Eleanor played an important role as leading lady at her brother's court. She entertained the court and spread joy; Charles visited her every evening.[25] In short, Eleanor served the social functions that a queen consort might otherwise have performed. When Charles left the country to go to war against France in 1522 and 1523, he appointed his sister as regent in Castile.[26]

But sisters might be married off (Eleanor would marry the king of France in 1530) so the Castilian Cortes kept pushing for a real consort. After Charles's disastrous first years in his new kingdom, when he gave all the best jobs to his Netherlandish courtiers and managed to provoke a widespread rebellion against foreign rule, the local Cortes pressured him to marry an Iberian bride. They suggested Isabella of Portugal, daughter of King Manuel I and Maria of Aragon, and thus a granddaughter of the Catholic monarchs.[27] That she would be a suitable governor if he should leave the country was part of her appeal.[28] When Charles did again leave in 1529, Isabella indeed remained as governor, but – like Eleanor – flanked by the president of the Council of Castile, the archbishop of Santiago (and future archbishop of Toledo and cardinal) Juan Pardo Tavera.[29] That female governors were essential to Habsburg rule had become quite obvious during these first decades of the sixteenth century, but that such governors should all follow in Margaret's footsteps and develop into independent-minded stateswomen was less obvious. Eleanor and Isabella of Portugal offer alternative scenarios. The Castilian regency was headed by the ruler's consort, but the task of governing was left primarily to the kingdom's cardinals – Fonseca and Tavera.

However, while Isabella initially served as a figurehead, she gained more autonomy as she accumulated experience.[30] In this sense, the regencies of the 1530s took on ever more characteristics of Aunt Margaret's tenure. This image is reinforced by Margaret's successor in the Low Countries, Charles's other sister, Mary of Hungary. The queen of Hungary was widowed in 1526 and remained in Hungary for some years to consolidate her brother Ferdinand's succession and serve as his regent.[31] Even before Margaret of Austria's death (in 1530), Charles had sounded Mary out about the Brussels

posting. As always, several candidates were floated as successors to Margaret, among them Charles's aunt Catherine of Aragon.[32] This suggestion was actually made by some cardinals in Rome, who undoubtedly thought it might be a good solution to the matter of Henry VIII's divorce.[33] Catherine's purported candidacy shows that the women of the family were by now natural candidates for such a position – even in the eyes of foreign observers who were interested in getting rid of troublesome characters. However, the primary mission of dynastic women was still marriage. While Charles's eldest sister Eleanor was floated as a possible regent of the Low Countries in 1528, this was in the context of marriage negotiations with the Elector Palatine Frederick; in the same letter, a marriage between his younger sister Mary and the Scottish king was suggested – and rejected so as not to alienate the English.[34] Mary, however, took the Brussels post, and, as Geoffrey Parker contends, she was the first dynastic governor to be groomed personally by Charles before taking on her demanding new role.[35] Instead of putting Mary under the tutelage of a few local lords, he reorganised the local administration into three councils and gave her broad powers.[36]

If Isabella became the true consort while other women, like Margaret after 1519 and later her successor Mary of Hungary, played the role of consorts in other localities, we can also see how not only Charles's son Philip but also his brother Ferdinand played the role of son/heir. Once a son was available, he was always the preferred governor – as we saw in Chapter 1, sons were often requested by elites in both the Low Countries and Portugal. After Isabella's death in 1539, an eleven-year-old Philip was left as a figurehead governor of Castile, under the guidance of Tavera again.[37] To bolster the authority of Charles's brother Ferdinand as his lieutenant in the Empire, he was elected king of the Romans in 1531. Here as well, being the heir provided the best credentials for serving as governor, certainly in the eyes of local elites. As further evidence to back up this impression, we might consider the fact that Philip II chose to cancel his proposed journey to the Low Countries in 1568 after the deaths of both his consort and his heir, leaving no one to take charge of Castile in his absence.[38] However, while we will encounter male governors later on in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were normally not heirs – with, perhaps, the exception of Ernest and Albert. Indeed, the employment of princes close to the succession, like Philip IV's brothers, was deemed problematic precisely for that reason and only became an option after the birth of an heir of the King's body who displaced them. It seems there was a desire to avoid having the heir to a territory govern that territory.

### The Others

We can argue that the ruling family group around Charles V consisted of his inner circle of siblings, spouses and children, who all served in the role of either 'consort' or 'heir'. Such a use of relatives was quite traditional in late-medieval and early modern monarchies on the Iberian Peninsula.[39] But we

met other types of relatives in the previous chapters: bastards and nephews who earned their place in genealogies and in the dynastic crypt. Charles had such relatives as well but chose not to employ them. That indicates that their place in the dynasty and the monarchy changed over the sixteenth century. To establish a baseline, we will discuss how Charles treated the illegitimate children of Maximilian I, and his cognatic and agnatic nieces and nephews.

At the beginning of the early modern period, the House of Austria was represented by two young men, the brothers Charles and Ferdinand. But they were not the only male descendants of Maximilian I at the time. The Emperor had fathered several bastards during his final years, who were around the age of Charles and his siblings.[40] These bastards represent something of a puzzle: since not all of them were acknowledged, it is hard to know how many of them there were and historians cannot quite agree on their number and names.[41] While it is clear that the old Emperor had left both girls and boys behind, only three of Maximilian's bastard sons – George, Leopold and Cornelius – are named in the correspondence of their nephews Charles and Ferdinand.[42] Some historians assume that these three imperial bastards were raised alongside the legitimate Habsburg children, at the court of Margaret, their aunt or half-sister.[43] However, Le Glay, editor of Maximilian's correspondence with his daughter Margaret, mentions a letter from 8 February 1519 – barely a month after Maximilian's death – in which a certain 'Graff Bal' recommends two of the boys, George and Leopold, to the Archduchess, asking her to accept Leopold at her court, and to send George to Archduke Ferdinand, who was also residing in the Low Countries at the time.[44] This would indicate that the two boys had not been at Margaret's court until then, and if they arrived in 1519, most of the legitimate imperial children had already left the coop. The letter suggests, furthermore, that the boys' putative father was Guillaume du Guislain (Pingeon), who was Maximilian's '*varlet de chambre et garde de[s] robes*' – and thus that their real identities had been secret until then, at least officially.[45] The date of the letters suggests, of course, that the children's identities, and perhaps even their existence, only came to light after their father's death.

Once their existence came to light, the little group of young bastard aunts and uncles, ranging from infants to adolescents, became the financial responsibility of Charles and Ferdinand. [46] George, whose birth is dated around 1505, was probably the eldest of the set.[47] When Cornelius was mentioned, he was often called 'the brother of George', putting him in a subordinate position vis-à-vis George.[48] This formulation may also indicate that George and Cornelius – but not Leopold – shared a mother, who may have been from Salzburg, where Cornelius was born.[49] Leopold's year of birth is often given as between 1513 and 1515, but his funerary slab mentions that he died in 1557 at the age of fifty-three[50] – which would put his birth in 1504 and make him older than George. It is quite possible that the funerary slab gets it wrong. When we analyse the family correspondence during these years, it becomes clear that George was the first to be taken care of, which

again suggests he was indeed the eldest. His destiny lay in Castile, where he arrived in 1522, while the other boys and '*les filles*' remained in the Low Countries the next few years, at the expense of Ferdinand.[51] Soon after his arrival, George was rumoured to receive the co-adjutorship of the archbishop of Toledo, the richest see in Spain.[52] The see of Toledo had just become vacant due to the death of William of Croÿ, himself rather controversially appointed as a twenty-year-old Burgundian foreigner because he was the nephew of Charles's favourite courtier. Considering the outrage young Croÿ's appointment had caused in Castile, George's appointment seems like a particularly insensitive suggestion, so, perhaps wisely, George let it be known that he wished to dedicate himself to his studies before taking on such a responsibility.[53] Surely, George would be seen just as much as a foreigner as Croÿ (and, indeed, as Charles himself), since as a bastard son of the Austrian Maximilian, he had no ties whatsoever to Castile. It turned out to be difficult to place George in any diocese in Castile. In 1525, Ferdinand advised Charles to appoint George to another diocese in Castile. He also suggested that George join Charles's court – the Emperor was also in Castile at the time – where he could get to know all the local grandees and become acquainted with state business so that 'he might all the better serve in whatever role you command'[54] – and become a more acceptable choice for any of the kingdom's dioceses, no doubt. However, George would fail to secure the see of Burgos some years later.[55]

Despite these early failures, Castile might still have been a better place to look for clerical careers for the bastards than elsewhere. As Ferdinand would remark later, it was even more difficult for Maximilian's bastards to build a career in the Empire because of the strong stigma attached to bastardy there.[56] Indeed, an effort to place the younger brother Cornelius in a church office in Klosterneukirch was rejected by the local chapter.[57] Nevertheless, George would find his first appointment in the diocese of Brixen (Bressanone, in the Habsburg county of Tyrol), initially as an administrator for a period of five years, but he remained there until 1538.[58] In that year, George renounced Brixen and became archbishop of Valencia. Some years later, in 1540–41, Charles forced the chapter of Liège to accept George as coadjutor to its bishop.[59] The current bishop renounced his see in exchange for a generous pension, and in 1544 George was invested.[60] The later appointments were certainly made more palatable to the local church authorities by George's rising stature as a loyal Habsburg servant. He could often be found in Brussels, where he supported Mary of Hungary in diplomatic missions.[61] He also met with the Emperor regularly and was interred in the cathedral after his death.[62] A testament to George's renown is his capture by the French king Francis I in 1541, as he travelled through France to the Low Countries. Holding bishoprics in Tyrol, Valencia and the Low Countries, George had a transnational career worthy of his Habsburg birth.

While George seems to have been rather active in imperial politics, his brothers had a decidedly less high political profile. Leopold makes few

appearances in the sources. He had become the responsibility of Ferdinand, receiving funds from the Vienna treasury. He studied in Padua and then embarked on a clerical career in the Low Countries, where he held a position in Tournai.[63] In 1541, he was appointed to the diocese of Córdoba, among the richest of the Iberian Peninsula, and he seems to have indulged in a luxury lifestyle in his diocese.[64] He left a young son at his death – Maximiliano, illegitimate of course – who could not inherit from his father, but was still taken care of by the court: he was given a household in Alcalà along with Don Juan, Don Carlos and Alessandro Farnese and was later appointed to the bishoprics of Cádiz, Segovia and Santiago de Compostela.[65] The third brother, Cornelius, had also been destined for a clerical career, but had let it be known that he was not inclined to such a life. Instead, like Leopold, we find him studying in Padua in 1523. He remained the financial responsibility of Ferdinand because he drew an income from the lordship of Enns, outside of Linz. In 1527, Ferdinand told him to go and study in Vienna, which is when we lose track of him in the sources.[66]

While we see no trace of any marriage plans for them and they were clearly steered towards celibacy, Pope Clement VIII (Medici) did propose George or Cornelius as a bridegroom for one of his kinswomen, the idea being they could then be invested with the duchy of Milan, which had reverted to the Empire after the death of its last duke in 1535.[67] While it seems unlikely that a bastard would have been invested with an imperial fief (considering the scandal this would cause among the imperial princes), one understands the Pope's reasoning: in the 1530s, the bastard uncles were the only male Habsburgs of marriageable age who could be considered for a Medici bride. However, Milan was far too strategic a territory to hand over to one of the bastards. Ferdinand pleaded with Charles to receive it himself, but Charles chose to invest his son with it.[68]

The fact that two of the bastards ended up in a clerical career was nothing out of the ordinary, particularly when seen in the light of dynastic traditions in the Low Countries, where several ducal bastards had served as bishops. Charles V himself had appointed a bastard of his great-great-grandfather Philip the Good as bishop of Utrecht in 1517. A comparable tradition existed in Aragon.[69] Around the same time, Alonso of Aragon (1470–1520), a bastard of Ferdinand the Catholic – and thus another uncle – served as archbishop of Zaragoza and viceroy of Aragon. The see of Zaragoza had previously been held by an illegitimate uncle of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Alonso was succeeded in that office by two of his own illegitimate sons.[70] (In fact, in 1575, when the incumbent archbishop, the younger son of Alonso, was already well into his seventies, Khevenhüller mentioned the post for Archduke Albert.[71]) Several illegitimate daughters of Ferdinand the Catholic also found religious careers, as nuns and abbesses in the convent in Madrigal de las Altas Torres, outside Madrid.[72] No such tradition seems to have existed in Castile. Apart from a few Castilian and Aragonese infantes who had been archbishops of Toledo in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

there really was no tradition of royal bishops in Castile; neither did one exist in Austria, where the stain of bastardy was a more formidable barrier. After initial doubts, both George and Leopold were accepted in Castile. In fact, their careers served as a blueprint again for Charles's own illegitimate son, Don Juan, whom the Emperor intended for a clerical career too as late as the mid-1550s.[73] When discussing these bastards, we can clearly see that Charles and Ferdinand, as the new family heads, felt a keen obligation to provide for their family members, but no obligation to place them in any high-ranking governing position. We can hardly argue that these uncles played a significant role in governing the Habsburg monarchies; bastards quite simply did not form part of the ruling family group.

### *Cognatic Nieces and Nephews: Denmark and Savoy*

Another category of relatives who were present in genealogies and in the crypt was that of sororal or cognatic nephews, born of the ruler's sisters – people like Archduke Albert and Prince Filiberto of Savoy. Before Charles and Ferdinand were married and started families themselves in the 1520s, their sisters had already started to give birth to a new generation of relatives who were strictly speaking not Habsburgs. But Charles showed a keen interest in them. In 1519, his eldest sister, Eleanor, had married the king of Portugal and given birth to a son (named Carlos), who did not survive long, and a daughter. When her husband died in 1521, Charles first worked towards Eleanor's return to Castile, against the wishes of the new king of Portugal, who considered marrying her.[74] But it was not just Eleanor herself who was a target for Charles, her little daughter Maria was too. Left with an inheritance worth 600,000 ducats, the Emperor would have liked to bring her to Castile as well – no doubt as a future spouse for either another Habsburg or an ally.[75] However, he was rebuffed by the new king of Portugal, the girl's half-brother, who managed to hold on to this dynastic pawn himself.

But other young nieces and nephews did find their way to Charles's courts in Castile and the Low Countries. Among them were Prince Hans of Denmark and his two sisters (Fig. 4.2). They were children of Elisabeth of Austria, the second oldest sister of Charles V. Born in 1501, she had married the Oldenburg Christian II, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in 1514 and gave birth to their first child, Hans, in 1518. This boy was the very first child born in the next generation. Several more children were born in the years that followed, among them the very Habsburg-named twins Philip and Maximilian, who died young, and two daughters Dorothea (1520) and Christina (1521). In 1523, Christian II lost his thrones and was forced to leave Denmark. The Low Countries was a logical destination for the exiled family and Elisabeth and the children returned 'home'.[76] While Elisabeth and Christian travelled around Europe to gain support for their cause, the children stayed in Malines, Aunt Margaret's residence.[77] Hans's future lay in Denmark: Christian was focused on regaining his throne with Hans as

*Figure 4.2* Dorothea, Hans and Christina of Denmark, by Jan Gossaert aka Jan Mabuse, 1526.

*Source*: Alamy.

his presumed heir,[78] while Charles and Ferdinand, meanwhile, intended for the boy to be elected king as successor to the elderly usurper, his great-uncle Frederick, the duke of Holstein, bypassing his father.[79]

As long as the children's parents were alive, they decided on the children's futures. But in January 1526, Elisabeth died, still only twenty-four years old. By this time, Christian had made himself very suspect in Habsburg eyes by seemingly adopting Lutheranism and supporting Lutherans in the Low Countries.[80] This spurred Charles to take firm control of the children,[81] since his position was that the entire dynasty should support the Old Church.[82] This would apply to the Oldenburg children as well; whether their futures were to be in Scandinavia or elsewhere in Europe, as Habsburg dynastic pawns their religious orthodoxy would be a matter of great importance. Furthermore, in January 1526, the young Danes were still the *only* representatives of the new Habsburg generation, and Hans was the only boy; neither Charles nor any of his siblings had any children yet, except Eleanor who had a little daughter (Maria, 1521–1577).[83] This made particularly Hans a hugely important heir to the Habsburg thrones – if disaster struck and Charles and Ferdinand died suddenly (like their father, who died after physical exertion in the Castilian heat at age twenty-eight), he could claim large swathes of the Habsburg

patrimony. So intertwined reasons of religion and dynasty compelled Charles to order his aunt Margaret to gain custody of them after Elisabeth's death.[84] Naturally, Christian was not prepared to relinquish control of his children quite that easily. He set heavy demands, for money and troops,[85] and Margaret had to put a lot of pressure on him before they reached a compromise:[86] Margaret agreed to pay the expenses Christian had incurred in the Low Countries, including the costs of his wife's burial, and in exchange she could take custody of the children. As she wrote to Charles, this meant that the Emperor now had to be '*pere et mere*' (father and mother) to them.[87] The three young Danish royals were to be raised in the Low Countries by their Catholic maternal family.[88] Margaret appointed preceptors whose Catholicism was beyond reproach,[89] while trying to keep Christian (still exiled and looking for support) at arm's length.[90]

This intervention to take control of the Danish prince and his sisters shows clearly enough how valuable they were to Charles and, indeed, that their uncle saw them as part of the Habsburg family. He had taken responsibility for them and would act as their dynastic superior from now on. In a letter of 1545, he expressed his attitude towards them as one of '*paternelle amyté*' (paternal friendship).[91] From Castile, Charles's spouse Isabella sent regular gifts of clothing to her nieces as well.[92] Throughout the 1520s, the Emperor charged Margaret with furthering Hans's cause as future king of Denmark. As a son of a king (the main selection criterion), the young prince might still be elected as successor to the usurper (his great-uncle Frederick), to the great benefit of his maternal family.[93] Nothing would come of this, and as the prospect of a Danish restoration faded, their status as Habsburg relatives started to outweigh their Oldenburg identity. This was underlined by the role Hans played after Margaret's death in 1530. The Danish prince was the senior kinsman present in the Low Countries at the time, and it was therefore he who, in January 1531, led the cortège escorting the Archduchess's coffin to her temporary resting place in Bruges.[94]

However, in August 1532, the fourteen-year-old boy died while travelling with his uncle Charles to Hungary. The Emperor wrote a plaintive letter to Mary of Hungary, the Danish children's new foster mother. The letter, solely dedicated to this piece of bad news, was written in his own hand, reporting that Hans had died after suffering from '*le flus de vientre*' (diarrhoea) for eight days. The uncle was distraught: 'It has been as great a sorrow to me as could be, because he was the prettiest little boy. I've suffered as much grief as I did after the loss of my son, because I knew him better and he was already bigger, and I considered him to be a son'. The Emperor even expressed a sense of guilt for having taken Hans on his travels: 'Even though one must accept the will of God, and I know very well that He could have ordained Hans' death anywhere, I still regretfully wonder if, had I left him in the Low Countries, this might not have happened'. Hans's remains were taken to Ghent, to rest alongside his mother.[95] Hans's death seemed to alter his sisters' destinies as well: 'I write to my little nieces as well, as you will see, to comfort them.

I am sure that you will do the same. There is no other remedy than to find them two husbands'.[96]

Such affectionate sentiments were reserved for the family's boys (as we will see when discussing other nephews). This tender Uncle Charles was nowhere to be found when deciding on the future of the girls. As noted, the death of Hans led to an increased interest in marrying the girls off. Christina was the first to be married, and her groom would be the duke of Milan. But, as an alarmed Mary of Hungary wrote to Charles (moved by 'my conscience and the love I have for the child'), the marriage contract stipulated an immediate consummation of the marriage, which went against natural law, since Christina was not yet twelve years old and 'she is in no way a woman yet'.[97] Charles dismissed these concerns, as well as Mary's suggestion that the girls' father perhaps should have a say in it, since Christian was 'in such a state that he is more dead to them than if he were deceased'.[98] The marriage would not last long – about two years later, the duke of Milan died[99] and Christina returned to the Low Countries.[100]

A little over a year after Christina's marriage, her elder sister, fourteen-year-old Dorothea, born 1520, married the Count Palatine Frederick, who was already in his fifties and would be Elector Palatine from 1544 onwards.[101] Despite the age difference, Mary of Hungary did not seem quite as horrified by this marriage.[102] After Hans's death, Dorothea had become the repository for hopes of regaining the Danish crown for a Habsburg candidate. This marriage enjoyed the particular support of Ferdinand, who hoped that Dorothea's chances would improve if Count Palatine Frederick could be presented as a future king.[103] At the same time, the bonds between the Palatine Wittelsbachs and the Habsburgs would be strengthened, bolstering Ferdinand's own position in the Empire.[104] However, Frederick could not count on a lot of support in Denmark,[105] and by October 1536, when Copenhagen was taken by the elected king Christian III (or 'the duke of Holstein', as he was called in Habsburg correspondence), Dorothea's cousin Charles lost hope of recovering the Danish crown for her. Furthermore, the new usurper-king of Denmark had much support among the Lutheran princes in the Holy Roman Empire, a group that Charles did not wish to antagonise. It was best to reach some kind of accord.[106] While there would be no more efforts to put Dorothea on the throne in Copenhagen, Charles had certainly done his best to ensure Dorothea and Frederick's future as monarchs, and he also stepped in to prop up Christina's position as duchess of Lorraine after her husband's death.[107] In the marriages of his nieces, Charles clearly usurped paternal authority, even brushing aside any notions that their father might be involved, but showed himself also a loyal, fatherly figure.

During the years the young Danes spent in Brussels, another young nephew travelled to a Habsburg court: Lodovico of Savoy, eldest son of Duke Charles III of Savoy. Connections between the House of Savoy and the imperial couple were quite tight. Duke Charles was younger brother and heir to Philibert of Savoy, who had been Archduchess Margaret's final

husband – their marriage had been an important step in an increasingly Spanish orientation for the Savoyard duchy.[108] His spouse and Lodovico's mother was Beatrice of Portugal, daughter of Emanuel III and Maria of Aragon, cousin of Charles V and sister of Empress Isabella. Lodovico, born in 1523, was a sororal nephew of the Empress and Charles's second cousin. Beatrice's marriage to the duke of Savoy was intended to solidify the alliance between Savoy and the Habsburgs, and Beatrice would be an advocate of this alliance throughout her life.[109] The two sisters were close.[110] After the duke of Savoy had declared an alliance with Emperor Charles, the two men, most likely on the instigation of Duchess Beatrice, decided that Lodovico should be sent to Castile to be educated with Prince Philip, who was only a few years younger than Lodovico.[111] Beatrice had planned to join him and visit her sister, but pregnancy prevented her from travelling.[112] So Lodovico, not yet ten years old, set out on his own in 1533, joining the Emperor's court at Genoa.[113] Unfortunately, we know very little about Lodovico. We only get a few glimpses of him while he was at the imperial court. During the brief stay at Genoa, the Savoyard envoy at Charles's court described the favourable impression Lodovico made, but otherwise he is silent on him.[114] Lodovico was never mentioned either in the correspondence regarding Beatrice's return home.[115] Nor does he appear in the correspondence of the Empress Isabella, in which she does occasionally mention her own children and, for instance, her visiting brother Don Luis.[116] We know that his father employed him as a go-between to defend the Duke's rights to Montferrat, in 1534,[117] and that he served as godfather to Charles's second daughter, Juana, along with the eight-year-old Prince Philip a year later in 1535.[118] In the same year Lodovico was the captain of one of two jousting teams during a tournament held in Charles's presence.[119] When commenting on the health of the members of the imperial family or their activities, Prince Philip's *ayo* (tutor) never mentioned him.[120] This probably indicates that Lodovico did not live in the household of either Philip or the Empress, but had his own separate establishment. All we can say about him is that he seems to have made a favourable impression at court.

The only time when Lodovico appears in any of the correspondence left to us was when he was at death's door. Despite enjoying robust health which was the envy of the Castilian court, Lodovico suddenly fell ill in December 1535.[121] On 23 December, Isabella wrote to Charles to tell him of a bout of illness that Prince Philip had overcome, and reported that even Lodovico seemed to be on the mend – but he died two days later, on Christmas Day, having turned thirteen only a month earlier.[122] He was laid to rest in San Jerónimo church in Madrid, alongside the Infante Fernando, a son of Charles V.[123] His exequies were celebrated with the same honours as the Empress's brother's a year before, putting him on a par with a royal prince – that is, a *Portuguese* royal prince.[124] Charles heard the news of Lodovico's death in Naples, about which he was '*merveilleusement marry*'. The Savoyard courtier Lambert wrote in his memoires that 'I don't think I have ever seen him as sorrowful about anyone's death as he was for this little prince, and rightly so, because he was a young prince who held such promise in arms, letters and

virtues that his actions were seen as miraculous, considering his tender age, since he was not even thirteen years old yet'.[125] Apart from the solemnities in Madrid, Lambert reports that Charles also had masses sung in Naples, where he and others wore mourning. Lodovico still rested in San Jerónimo in Madrid in 1571 (never making the transition to the Escorial) when his younger brother Duke Emmanuel Philibert asked the Pope to allow him to increase the number of holy offices to be performed there for Lodovico's soul.[126] As the duchy of Savoy was hard pressed by French forces, Beatrice expressed once more her wish to travel to Castile, this time accompanied by her remaining son, but nothing came of this.[127]

Political circumstances – a father's deposition, a duchy under threat of invasion – led to these two young princes travelling to Habsburg courts. Hans's case in particular shows that distrust of the father need not have any negative consequences for the son. Rather the contrary, Charles had showed himself willing to take charge of the young relatives precisely *because* he did not trust their father. But the fact that both died during their stay clearly affected the Emperor. In 1537, two of Ferdinand's courtiers discussed plans to send one of 'our princes', Ferdinand's sons, to Charles's court. Charles, one of the courtiers reported to the other, did not plan to ask for any of the sons himself, 'because he thinks he is cursed in this regard, since two of his nephews, the one of Denmark and the other of Savoy, died'.[128]

Although neither of these young nephews ever played any serious role in the monarchy, the example of the favour they had enjoyed and the apparent promise of patronage this entailed did not escape contemporaries and would become a pillar of future inter-dynastic dynamics. After the death of Empress Isabella, in 1539, when Charles appeared disinclined to marry again, Austrian courtiers discussed the opportunity of sending some of 'their' princes to Castile.[129] Although he would not ask for this, Charles did express a wish to have the 'señor infante' – undoubtedly Archduke Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldest son – in his and Prince Philip's presence, and Salinas, Ferdinand's envoy in Castile, begged his master to agree because only good things could come of it. He had seen Lodovico and Hans at court and was certain 'that if death had not overcome them quite so soon, their affairs would have ended well'.[130] If the succession did not fall to young Maximilian, there were certainly other rewards to be reaped. Already Ferdinand, or at least his ambassador, was becoming more calculating about such formative visits, and in 1544, Maximilian and his younger brother joined Charles's court, for a stay that would last four years.[131]

The experiences of Hans and Lodovico showed two things: first, family affection and loyalties did not follow the patrilineal line. Children of sisters may not have played any role in succession schemes (as Maximilian did, but Lodovico of Savoy did not), but they were still very clearly included in the family network. This shows that as a social group, the dynasty was wider than only the patrilineal line, or the community of direct heirs. Secondly, the family head had taken his responsibility for these youngsters seriously. The two nieces, Christina and Dorothea, had made marriages commensurate with

their status – something that may have been unattainable if they had only had their imprisoned father to provide for them. Dorothea's Palatine marriage was quite in line with Danish royal marriage patterns,[132] while Christina's two Italian marriages were like the ones contracted by her Austrian cousins, Ferdinand's daughters.[133] For the boys, their stay at court had not actually led to any major advancement or appointment, but contemporaries seemed certain that Charles would have taken good care of them as well. Maybe no precedents were created, but the appetites of other parents who hoped to provide for their own brood had certainly been wetted.

### *Habsburg Nephews*

While the bastards had dutifully been taken care of and the cognatic nieces and nephews had been welcome guests at the imperial courts, Charles and Ferdinand were ultimately most excited about the birth of their own children, the future generation of Habsburgs and heirs to the patrimony. When Ferdinand, who was the first to marry, had been married a good half year, Charles already wanted to know whether his new wife was pregnant.[134] When a first son was born to Ferdinand in 1527, only a few months after the birth of Charles's own first son Philip, the Emperor wrote that he had been overjoyed with the news 'of the birth of Prince Maximilian, your son, which has caused me just as much joy as that of the Prince, my son, because I hold Maximilian to be my own son and esteem him as such. So now I have another son that I did not have before, which is not a little delight, but such a great one that it is impossible to put into words'.[135] And even when Ferdinand's wife gave birth to a daughter in May 1531, who was by now his fifth child and third daughter, Charles wrote: 'I don't want to neglect to congratulate you with the birth of my little niece, your daughter, of which I have received great pleasure, both for our common good and the growth of our lineage, which is so necessary and important to us, and because of the good and the contentment of our territories'.[136]

Ferdinand would go on to have three sons who survived into adulthood: the future Emperor Maximilian (1527–76), Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–95) and Archduke Charles of Styria (1540–90). The youngest son was only born in 1540 – too young to play any role in the dynastic plans of Charles's reign, which ended when Charles of Styria was still in his midteens. Most effort was put into keeping Maximilian in Charles's good graces. As we saw, suggestions for Maximilian to join Charles's court date back to 1539, when he was twelve years old. Charles V took both Maximilian and Ferdinand into his household as young men in 1544. While Maximilian campaigned with him, Ferdinand spent time in Brussels with his aunt Mary.[137] Both archdukes received their own households; Maximilian's was of a clear Spanish complexion (he had a Spanish *mayordomo*, for example), which may indicate that Charles was already grooming him for a regency in Spain or a marriage to his daughter.[138]

Charles's prioritising of Maximilian can also be seen when his brother asked him to send one of his sons home, to become his representative in Bohemia. Charles preferred to keep Maximilian and let the younger son Ferdinand go instead.[139] Some years later, Charles pushed for Maximilian's marriage to his eldest daughter Maria (and not the younger brother Ferdinand, as their father had suggested) and for the couple to be styled king and queen of Bohemia, although Maximilian had to promise not to interfere in the kingdom during his father's lifetime.[140] Through this marriage, Maximilian also became Charles's heir should Prince Philip and his newborn son die, since in that case, Maria would be the heir. Immediately after the marriage, in 1548, Maximilian travelled to Spain to meet his wife and serve as regent there together with her. But he did not foresee a Spanish future for himself – he intended to have a future in the Empire, preferably as emperor. This appointment, therefore, did not please him very much, but made him instead anxious about his position in Germany: he was made regent because the serving regent, Philip, was to travel to the Empire to shore up his own chances of one day being elected emperor. To safeguard Philip's position in the Netherlands, Charles also refused to appoint Maximilian as governor there, even though Maximilian wished this.[141] Maximilian returned to Germany in 1550 to be present at the negotiations between Charles and Ferdinand about the future of the Empire. When he was ordered to resume the Castilian regency after the negotiations ended, he refused and only travelled back to Spain to pick up his wife and children.[142]

Young Ferdinand (born June 1529), second son of Ferdinand, would not become a fixture in Charles's patrimony either. He was mentioned as a candidate to receive Milan after it had reverted to the Empire.[143] But after his childhood, he disappeared from Charles's orbit. His father created the office of governor of Bohemia in October 1547 and appointed the eighteen-year-old prince to it.[144] Ferdinand would go on to serve in this position for twenty years – throughout his father's lifetime and even for a few years thereafter. He only left this position to take charge of his inheritance, the county of Tyrol and Further Austria, which he then governed until his death.[145] While Maximilian was reluctantly drawn into his uncle's orbit, Ferdinand had a role to play as lieutenant to his own father.

But what happened is not the whole story. Scenarios that were imagined but never came true are telling as well. Charles's group of inner circle surrogates was long lived and stable, serving in their governorships for long stretches of time. But this group aged along with the Emperor himself and a changing of the guard would become imminent as the 1550s approached. The individuals suggested to fill the highest offices in the monarchy were all recruited from among the individuals we have discussed so far in this chapter. In 1547, Mary of Hungary first expressed a wish to leave the government of the Low Countries. From her correspondence with her advisor, Nicholas Granvelle, it becomes clear that she intended to suggest either Archduke Maximilian or her sister Eleanor, the recently widowed queen of France, for

the job. Although Granvelle pointed out that Charles would soon bring his son Philip to the Low Countries (which happened in 1548–49), he also felt that Charles would prefer to have Maximilian as his governor, especially if the marriage with Maria was concluded, rather than Eleanor. And Eleanor would probably not want to take on an office that Mary wanted to quit.[146] Maximilian and Eleanor were thus considered appropriate candidates for the governorship in Brussels, but the new generation appeared to have a slightly better chance. Some years later, in 1551, Mary suggested that she leave the Low Countries again, this time proposing Archduke Ferdinand as her replacement – perhaps Maximilian, who felt Charles was trying to keep him from becoming emperor and who had just abandoned the Castilian regency without permission, was considered too hostile at that time, or perhaps Mary had grown fond of Ferdinand when he had visited her some years earlier.[147] When she was finally allowed to leave her office, three non-Habsburgs were considered for the office: the local aristocrat, the prince of Orange – heir to Engelbert and Henry of Nassau, and thus of the now obsolete tradition of aristocratic governors – the Italian general Ferrante Gonzaga – who had been forced out of his post of governor of Milan by court intrigues and for whom particularly Charles V and Mary of Hungary sought a new honourable position[148] – and finally, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, younger brother of Lodovico, with whom Philip II had grown up (and who likely would have been the main contender himself, had he lived). But by this time, Charles had abdicated his thrones and the choice fell to the new ruler, Philip II. He chose the duke of Savoy.[149]

## Conclusion

When we analyse the formation of a ruling family group during the reign of Charles V and compare the family members that were included in this group to the relatives that the Emperor provided for somehow, we can draw some interesting conclusions. It was mainly the Emperor's inner circle who played a role in governing his monarchy: his 'consorts' and 'heirs'. Other relatives were not called upon, nor did they press the Emperor for employment. The bastard members of his lineage played no great role. In Aragon, Alonso de Aragon, an illegitimate son of Ferdinand the Catholic, had served as a governor, but he was appointed by his father. Charles appointed no extramarital relatives to such a position. He had at least three bastard uncles, two of whom ended up in the Church. While George, the eldest, was active as a diplomat, he plays a very muted role in historiography on the Habsburg monarchies during Charles's reign. The other uncle in the Church, Leopold, was confined to Castile, and the third uncle, Cornelius, quickly disappears from view altogether.[150] It mattered that these were sons of Maximilian and uncles of Charles. While the young nephew felt a sense of dynastic obligation towards them, he might not have felt strong ties of affection – as we have seen, the bastards were most likely *not* raised alongside their legitimate nieces

and nephews in Malines. Still, they trod a path that Charles envisioned for his own male bastard: a lucrative bishopric which would provide income and impose celibacy. None of the uncles was ever considered for a governor's post. Habsburg bastards were clearly not of the appropriate rank to govern Habsburg territories; they were in fact excluded from the ruling group.

There were also two types of nephews. While Charles employed his agnatic nephew Maximilian and Archduke Ferdinand's name came up when contemplating candidates for governorships, such was not the case for others. Lodovico of Savoy – sororal nephew of Charles's spouse – and Hans of Denmark – his sister's son – might well have embarked on a glittering career, but they both died young. In practice, agnatic nephews were thus preferred over cognatic ones, and Maximilian in particular (the most reluctant of them all) was pulled into the Emperor's orbit. Perhaps one needed to have some rights of inheritance to the patrimony to be seen as a suitable candidate (another 'heir'), or perhaps the moniker 'of Austria' played a decisive role. Yet the promise of Lodovico and Hans does seem to have played a role in Ferdinand's efforts to have his sons placed at Charles's court. Speculations about their fate, had death not intervened, fed ambitions elsewhere. While we cannot argue that cognatic nephews were part of Charles V's dynastic ruling group, the path of the next generation of cognatic nephews was cleared, ready to be taken advantage of during the next reign.

## Notes

1. René Vermeir, 'Leopold Willem als landvoogd van de Spaanse Nederlanden (1647–1656)', in Josef Mertens en Franz Aumann (eds), *Krijg en kunst. Leopold Willem (1614–1662), Habsburger, landvoogd en kunstverzamelaar* (Alden Biesen, 2003), pp. 39–51, p. 41; Soen, 'Philip II's Quest', p. 27: Charles had advised his son in his political testament of 1548 only to appoint relatives to the governorship of the Low Countries. In 1579 the Treaty of Arras, sealing the reconciliation between Philip II and part of the Low Countries, stipulated that the king must always appoint relatives.
2. Which was ruled during the absences of Charles V by his spouse, his son and jointly by his daughter and son-in-law, and during the absence of Philip II in the 1550s by his sister.
3. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, p. 5.
4. Sánchez, *Empress, Queen, Nun*, pp. 156–71, on how melancholy, which is an affliction many Habsburgs suffered from, could also be utilised to attract attention and thus promote political views.
5. Ladislaus of Austria (1440–57), king of Hungary and last member of the Albertine branch of the House, was of the same generation as Maximilian, but had already died when Maximilian was born.
6. Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, pp. 199–205.
7. Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, p. 203.
8. Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, p. 206.
9. Blockmans and Prevenier, *Promised Lands*, pp. 210–11.
10. She travelled with her father Maximilian, who was on his way to the Low Countries to join in an offensive against the duke of Guelders. Maximilian's presence in the Low Countries would, according to the Venetian ambassador, also

allow Philip to leave, suggesting that Maximilian remain as regent. C.R. von Höfler, 'Depeschen des Venetianischen Botschafters bei Erzherzog Philipp, Herzog von Burgund, König von Leon, Castilien, Granada, Dr Vincenzo Quirino 1505–1506', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* LXVI (1885), pp. 45–256, p. 93: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Malines, 16 May 1505; p. 94: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Breda, 18 May 1505.

11 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 13; Höfler, 'Depeschen', p. 112: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Cleves, 8 June 1505; Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', pp. 138 and 140–42. Ylä-Anttila suggests that her councillor Gattinara played a significant role in pushing her towards the regency, perhaps because he recognised her abilities, or because he saw an opportunity for himself.

12 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 139; Höfler, 'Depeschen', p. 153: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Brussels, 7 September 1505; p. 171: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Brussels, 27 October 1505.

13 Joseph Chmel (ed.), *Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I. und seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1845), pp. 245–49: Henry VII to Maximilian, Greenwich, 19 August 1506; pp. 251–52: Guillaume de Croÿ to Maximilian, 's-Hertogenbosch, 10 September 1506; and pp. 254–56: Henry VII to Maximilian, Okyng, 1 October 1506. Höfler, 'Depeschen', p. 245: Quirino to the doge of Venice, Valladolid, 23 July 1506.

14 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 16.

15 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 16–17.

16 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 149. Leo Kooperberg, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk, Landvoogdes der Nederlanden (Tot den Vrede van Kamerijk)* (Amsterdam, 1908), pp. 387–88: Gattinara to Margaret, 11 December 1507.

17 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 47–48.

18 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 62–63.

19 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 98.

20 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', argues that the female Habsburg governors of the sixteenth century fulfilled the role of consorts.

21 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 55–56. This arrangement was valid for Castile. In Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic had through his testament appointed his illegitimate son Alonso, the archbishop of Zaragoza, as governor.

22 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 83–84.

23 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 63–78.

24 Antonio Rodríguez Villa (ed.), *El Emperador y su corte según las cartas de don Martín de Salinas, embajador del infante don Fernando (1522–1539)* (Madrid, 1903–05), p. 90: Salinas to Ferdinand, Valladolid, 6 December 1522, mentioning the arrival of a Portuguese ambassador who was to work towards Eleanor's remaining in Portugal. Eleanor's return to her dynasty's patrimony may be the first instance of a widowed Habsburg mother leaving her child behind in the care of her marital family to return to her natal one.

25 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 239: Salinas to Ferdinand, Madrid, 15 November 1524; Parker, *Emperor*, p. 214.

26 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 125; Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 138, 143; *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 129: Salinas to Ferdinand, Valladolid, 14 August 1523.

27 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', p. 160.

28 Alvar Ezquerra, *Emperatriz*, pp. 36–40; Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', pp. 111–12.

29 Alvar Ezquerra, *Emperatriz*, pp. 175–76.

30 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 234.

31 Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, pp. 84–85

32 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 172.

33 *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1882), vol. IV, Part 2, pp. 31–47: Miçer Mai to the Emperor 22 January 1531. Mai, Charles's agent in Rome, had overheard Cardinal Antonio del Monte, who was involved with the divorce case, speaking to another cardinal.

34 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 418: Salinas to Ferdinand, Toledo, 6 November 1528. Some years earlier, after arriving from Portugal as a widow, Eleanor had declared her desire not to marry again; however, a marriage with the new king of Portugal had been discussed and she expressed her willingness to do as her brothers told her. *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 119: Mericourt to Ferdinand, Valladolid, 22 June 1523.

35 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 200.

36 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 201 and 215. The Council of State, of Finance and the Privy Council.

37 Parker, *Emperor*, p. 263. As Philip matured and continued to serve as governor, he gained greater and greater control over Castilian affairs – to the point of appointing a governor of his own against Charles's wishes when he left Castile in 1554. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, pp. 86–87.

38 Parker, *Imprudent King*, p. 155.

39 Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body. María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Ann Arbor, 2010).

40 Ellen Widder, 'Konkubinen und Bastarde. Günstlinge auf Zeit oder Außenseiter an Höfen des Spätmittelalters?', in Jan Hirschbiegel and Werner Paravicini (eds), *Der Fall des Günstlings. Hofparteien in Europa vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 417–80; Ellen Widder, 'Skandalgeschichten oder Forschungsdesiderate? Illegitime Verbindungen im spätmittelalter aus geschichtswissenschaftlicher Perspektive', in Andreas Tacke (ed.), *Wir wollen der Liebe Raum geben. Konkubinate geistlicher und weltlicher Fürsten um 1500* (Wallstein, 2006), pp. 38–92; Simona Slanicka, 'Bastarde als Grenzgänger, Kreuzfahrer und Eroberer. Von der mittelalterlichen Alexanderrezeption bis zu Juan de Austria', *Werkstattgeschichte* 51 (2009), pp. 5–21; Robert Seydel, *Die Seitensprünge der Habsburger: Liebesrausch und Bettgeflüster einer Dynastie* (Vienna, 2005).

41 Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459–1519): An Analytical Biography* (London, 1982), pp. 26–27, mentions twelve bastards with unknown mothers, six sons and six daughters. Manfred Holleger, *Maximilian I.: Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 259, mentions six daughters and five sons, based on a genealogical overview given in a contemporary manuscript kept in the HHStA, Böhm Nr 1330, HS-W 1095 (Genealogische Sammlung zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg samt Regesten zur Geschichte der einzelnen Habsburger und Itinerarien samt Stammbäumen, 1500–1740). Apart from George, Leopold and Cornelius, Benecke includes a Friedrich von Amsberg, Maximilian von Amsberg and an unnamed son. He suggests that Leopold was born to a different mother than George and Cornelius. He also mentions that Cornelius was intended to become provost (Propst) of Klosterneuburg, which the chapter prohibited. Brigitte Hamann, *Die Habsburger. Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Munich, 1988), includes George, Cornelius and Leopold, but not the other sons, nor the daughters.

42 Some of Maximilian's daughters were already adults by 1519: Margaret was born in 1480 and thus probably not included in the group of minors that came to light around 1519. She became a countess of Helfenstein and died around 1525. A Barbara was born 1482. Another Barbara was born in 1500 and married in 1515. This would leave three or four girls born in the late 1510s: Dorothea, born in 1516, who married the count of East Frisia in 1538; Anna Margaret (1517), Anna (1519) and Elisabeth, whose year of birth is unknown. They married Low Countries noblemen, indicating that they indeed were raised in Malines. Margaretha of Helfenstein, Elisabeth and Dorothea are mentioned

in Hermann Wiesflecker, 'Maximilian I', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 16 (1990), pp. 458–71 [Online-Version]; https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118579371.html#ndbcontent.

43 Carmen Juan Lovera and María Teresa Murcia Cano, 'Jaén y Don Leopoldo de Austria, Obispo de Córdoba, un testamento ejemplar', *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 198 (2008), pp. 251–88, p. 256.
44 M. Le Glay (ed.), *Correspondance de Maximilien I avec sa fille Marguerite* (2 vols, Paris, 1839), vol. II, p. 415.
45 Le Glay, *Correspondance de Maximilien I*, vol. II, pp. 205–6.
46 Wilhelm Bauer (ed.), *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. I. Band: Familienkorrespondenz bis 1526* (Vienna, 1912), pp. 84–85: Ferdinand to Charles V, Nürnberg, 18 December 1523, p. 187. Instruction to Karl of Bredam, envoy to Charles V, Stuttgart, 13 June 1524.
47 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, pp. 156–57.
48 *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, vol. I, p. 368: Charles V to Ferdinand, Toledo, 2 February 1526.
49 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, p. 73.
50 Juan Lovera and Murcia Cano, 'Jaén y don Leopoldo de Austria', p. 255.
51 *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, vol. I, pp. 105–06: Charles V to Ferdinand, Burgos, 15 April 1526: 'car ce sera petite despense et pour peu de temps'.
52 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 83: To tesorero Salamanca, Valladolid, 4 November 1522. Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict* (New York, 2014; first edition 1983), p. 164, states that the see had revenues of 66,000 ducats while about half of Spanish dioceses had incomes of around 5,000 ducats.
53 Parker, *Emperor*, pp. 81–82.
54 Léon-E. Halkin, 'Contribution à l'histoire de Georges d'Autriche prince-évêque de Liège (1544–1557)', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 15 (1936), pp. 951–79, p. 952: 'puist tant mieulx server en ce qu'il vous plairoit lui commander'.
55 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, p. 156.
56 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 378: Ferdinand I to Philip II, Frankfort, 19 November 1562. Ferdinand refers most likely to his uncles George, Leopold and Cornelius. The duchy of Milan was discussed for George (which certainly would have implied that he would marry as well) but that never happened.
57 Holleger, *Maximilian I.*, p. 259.
58 Once George's financial situation was secured in Brixen, Ferdinand pleaded with Charles to persuade George to renounce a castle in his favour. *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, p. 337: Ferdinand to Charles, Tübingen, 31 October 1525.
59 Halkin, 'Georges d'Autriche', pp. 956–57.
60 Halkin, 'Georges d'Autriche', p. 964.
61 Halkin, 'Georges d'Autriche', p. 953.
62 Heinrich Ritter von Zeißberg, 'Georg von Österreich', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 8 (Leipzig, 1878), p. 637.
63 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, p. 247.
64 Aranda Doncel, 'La familia del Emperador', pp. 403–24.
65 Juan Lovera and Murcia Cano, 'Don Leopoldo de Austria', p. 272.
66 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, p. 73
67 Hamann, *Die Habsburger*, p. 156.
68 *Familienkorrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, vol. II-1, pp. 85–86: Ferdinand to Charles, Prague, 31 May 1527.
69 Jaime Elipe, '¿Claustro o matrimonio? El destino de las bastardas de la familia real aragonesa en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Edad Moderna (1468–1515)', in Raquel Tovar Pulido (ed.), *De humilde e ilustre cuna: retratos familiares de la España Moderna (siglos XV–XIX)* (Évora, 2020).

70 Carolina Naya Franco, 'El ajuar funerario del arzobispo de Zaragoza y Valencia, Don Alonso de Aragón (1470–1520)', *Archivo Español de Arte* 90 (2017), pp. 335–46; Jaime Elipe Soriano, 'Ilegitimidad y poder real: el empleo de los hijos de Alonso de Aragón, arzobispo de Zaragoza', in Máximo García Rodríguez (ed.), *Familia, cultura material y formas de poder en la España moderna* (Madrid, 2016), pp. 1039–46.
71 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 9, fasc. 27, f. 173vo: Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 2 May 1575.
72 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', pp. 211–12.
73 Marita A. Panzer, *Don Juan de Austria (1547–1578). Karriere eines Bastards* (Regensburg, 2004), p. 25: citing a letter written by Don Juan's foster father Luis de Quijada to his wife, telling her to expect the arrival of a boy who she was to raise as her own, without encouraging any ambition in him, since his father intended him to embark on a clerical career.
74 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 90: Salinas to Ferdinand, Valladolid, 6 December 1522, mentioning the arrival of a Portuguese ambassador who was to work on making sure Eleanor remained in Portugal.
75 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 810: Salinas to secretary Castillejo, Calatayud, 29 July 1537.
76 Liesbeth Geevers, 'The Danish Habsburgs. Hans, Dorothea and Christina of Denmark as Part of the Habsburg Dynasty', in Erik Bodensten, Kajsa Brilkman, David Larsson Heidenblad and Hanne Sanders (eds), *Nordens Historiker. En vänbok till Harald Gustafsson* (Lund, 2018), pp. 273–86.
77 Julia Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan and Lorraine, 1522–1590* (New York, 1913), pp. 37–42.
78 The Danish monarchy was elective, but if the deceased king had an adult son, he would normally be elected his successor. Jens Christian Beyer, 'King in Exile: Christian II and the Netherlands 1523–1531', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 11 (1986), pp. 205–28.
79 *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, vol. I, p. 106: Charles V to Ferdinand, Burgos, 15 April 1524; p. 189: Instruction to Karl of Bredam, envoy to Charles V, 13 June 1524.
80 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, pp. 44–45.
81 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, p. 48.
82 Apart from Elisabeth herself, the younger sister Mary also flirted with Lutheran ideas. Both Charles and Ferdinand made it clear to her that this was entirely unacceptable. Gorter-van Royen, *Maria van Hongarije*, pp. 109–113 and 118.
83 Both Ferdinand's spouse and Catherine, queen of Portugal, were expecting; Ferdinand had a daughter Elisabeth in July 1526, while Catherine gave birth to Prince Afonso in February – he died in April the same year.
84 Karl Lanz (ed.), *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karls V. aus dem königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de Bourgogne zu Brüssel* (3 vols, Leipzig, 1844–46), vol. I, p. 193: Margaret to Charles V, 6 March 1525 [1526].
85 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. I, p. 194: Margaret to Charles V, 6 March 1525 [1526].
86 De Iongh, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk*, p. 173, argued that Margaret 'bought' the children from Christian by paying his debts and granting him a yearly pension.
87 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. I, p. 195: Margaret to Charles V, 6 March 1525 [1526]; *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, vol. I, p. 379: Charles V to Ferdinand, Seville, 30 March 1526: Charles informing Ferdinand that the children were 'es mains de mme nostre tante en Flandres' ('in the hands of our Aunt in Flanders').
88 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, pp. 54–55.
89 Gerhard Antoni Yssel De Schepper, *Lotgevallen van Christiern II en Isabella van Oostenrijk, koning en koningin van Denemarken* (Zwolle, 1870), p. 145.

90 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. I, p. 283: Margaret to Charles V, 7 July 1528.
91 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 478: Charles V to Christina of Denmark, duchess of Lorraine, 17 December 1545.
92 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', p. 181.
93 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. I, p. 289: Charles to Margaret, Madrid, 9 October 1528.
94 Frans Steurs, *Het Keizershof en het Hof van Margareta van Oostenrijk te Mechelen* (Malines, 1873), p. 73; Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, pp. 58–59.
95 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, p. 69.
96 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 3: Charles V to Mary of Hungary, outside Ratisbonne, 13 August 1532: 'Ce ma este und aussi grand deplesir que saurois avoit; car cestoit le plus joli petit garson … Je lai autant senti, que je fis la perte de mon filz, car je le congnoisois plu, et etoit ja plus grand, et le tenois comme pour tel'; 'Toutesfois il ce faut conformer avec la volonte de dieu, et combien que sais, il pouvoit ordonner le semblable en tous lieues, si nai je peu de regres de penser, que, si je le leusse lesse en ces pays de dela, que peut estre il ne fut avenu'; 'Jescrips a mes petites nieces, comme verres, pour reconforter. Je suis sehur, que de vostre couste deres le semblabla. Il ny a autre remede, que de leur trouuer deux maris'.
97 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 87: Mary of Hungary to Charles V, Gent, 25 August 1533: 'ma conscience et lamour que je porte a lenfant', 'ny a encores nulle apparence de femme en elle'.
98 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 89: Charles V to Mary of Hungary, 11 September 1533: 'en tel etat, quil est plus mort pour elles en vie que etant peri'. In 1531, Christian II had been captured by his uncle Frederick, now Frederick I of Denmark, and imprisoned. He would remain a prisoner until his death in 1559.
99 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, pp. 206–07: Christina of Denmark to Charles V, Milan, 20 November 1535.
100 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', p. 183.
101 This was the same Count Palatine who had once courted Charles's eldest sister Eleanor and had been banished from court. The Habsburgs had had some difficulty in bringing him to their side again after this perceived dishonourable treatment. Parker, *Emperor* pp. 63–65, 93–94 and 216.
102 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 190: Mary of Hungary to Charles V, 27 and 28 May 1535.
103 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 208: Charles V to Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, Naples, 7 December 1535: sending envoys to the Duke to ask for support for Frederick.
104 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 162: Baron of Franquemont to Charles V, Vienna, 20 January 1535.
105 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 659: Charles V to Mary of Hungary, 2 March 1536.
106 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 271: Instruction from Charles V to Mathias Held, his envoy to his brother Ferdinand, October 1536. Mary agreed. *Ibid.*, pp. 273–75: Mary of Hungary to Charles V, 12 February 1537. Still in 1540, when the agreed truce was due to end soon, Dorothea begged Charles to wage war on Christian III, to liberate her father, restore her kingdoms and give her husband the thrones which he was promised as her dowry. *Ibid.*, p. 308: Dorothea of Denmark to Charles V, spring 1540.
107 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 478: Charles to Christina of Denmark, 17 December 1545; *Ibid.*, pp. 479–84: Charles V to Abbot of Luxeul, Christina's negotiator, 's-Hertogenbosch, 17 December 1545.
108 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 134.

109 Merlin, '"Seguir la fazione di sua Maestà Cattolica"', p. 249.
110 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', p. 185.
111 'Mémoires sur la vie de Charles duc de Savoye.... de messire Pierre de Lambert, seigneur de La Croix', in *Monumenta historiae patriae. Scriptorum* (Turin, 1840), vol. I, pp. 840–930, p. 864. Pierre Lambert, president of the ducal *chambre des comptes*, wrote in his memoires that it was really Beatrice and the Emperor who made the arrangement, to which the duke of Savoy agreed because of the honour involved.
112 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 53: Charles V to Duke Charles III of Savoy, Fossa de Dian, April 1533.
113 Claretta, *Beatrice di Portogallo*, pp. 85–86, 114.
114 Bellegarde to Beatrice of Portugal, Genua, 4 April 1533. AST, Lettere di ministri, 151.25, mazzo 1, no. 369. This is the only reference to Lodovico which I have been able to trace in Bellegarde's correspondence from the years 1530 to 1536.
115 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, pp. 52–53: Charles V to Duke Charles of Savoy, Maundy Thursday (10 April 1533); pp. 54–55: Charles V to J. Hannart, Good Friday (11 April 1533); p. 56: Duke Charles of Savoy to Charles V, 16 April 1533; p. 58: Charles V to Duke Charles of Savoy, May 1533.
116 Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel de Portugal*, Apéndice documental, pp. 243–535. For Don Luis: p. 417: Empress Isabella to Charles V, 30 September 1535. Mazarío Coleto argues that even though she left many letters of recommendation out of her edition, she has nevertheless managed to trace the bulk of Isabella's correspondence with her husband. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3. The absence of more extended updates on her and her children makes Mazarío suspect that many more letters of a personal nature might have been lost. It would not be uncommon for Charles to have burnt these. Unfortunately, that means that our best source of information on Lodovico's stay at the Castilian court may have been lost.
117 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. II, p. 95: Charles III of Savoy to Charles V, 25 April 1534.
118 José Martínez Millán, 'Familia real y grupos políticos: la princesa doña Juana de Austria (1535–1573)', in José Martínez Millán (ed.), *La corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1994), pp. 73–105, p. 76.
119 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 627: Salinas to Castillejo, Madrid, 3 February 1535; Eulàlia de Ahumada Batlle (ed.), *Epistolaris d'Hipolita Rois de Liori i d'Estefanía de Requesens (segle XVI)* (Valencia, 2003), p. 168: Estefanía de Requesens to Hipólita Rois de Liori, Madrid, 31 January 1535. Estefanía de Requesens was the wife of Don Juan de Zúñiga, who was Prince Philip's preceptor.
120 See, for instance, Don Juan's correspondence in J.M. March (ed.), *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II. Documentos inéditos* (2 vols, 1941–42), vol. II, p. 141: letter of 19 June 1535, commenting on health; *Ibid.* p. 143: letter of 16 August 1535, mentioning that the Empress and her children attended a *Te Deum* in honour of Charles's victory in Tunis. Lodovico's final illness: *Ibid.*, p. 145, letter of 21 December 1535, four days before Lodovico's death. Also his wife, Doña Estefanía: *Ibid.*, p. 258, letter of 8 August 1535; *Ibid.*, pp. 260–1, letter of 29 August 1535; *Ibid.*, p. 283, letter of 28 November 1535, commenting on the health of the imperial family.
121 March, (ed.), *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II*, vol. II, p. 292: Estefanía de Requesens to her mother, 30 December 1935: 'Crec yo que o a causat lo trebal que a tengut estes festes ab la mort del príncep de Piamont, que sia en glòria, que morí lo día de Nadal, a les sis del matí de mal de costat rabiós, que no li durat sinó sinc diez y mig; és stada gran tala. Que era molt bonica criatura y ben inclinada; tenía dotze anys y tres senmanes y paria de molts més; tan era gran y y esforsat y saníssim; que moltes voltes desijaven que fos de aquella manera lo Princep, guartlo Deu....' ('I believe that the illness he had these holidays was caused by

the death of the prince of Piedmont, may he be in glory, who died on Christmas Day, at six o'clock in the morning, of a raging side-ache, which only lasted ten and half days; it's been a big blow. Since he was a very beautiful child and well inclined; he was twelve years and three weeks old and looked much older; he was so big and sturdy and healthy; that many times they wished that the Prince, may God guard him, was like that'.)

122 Mazarío Coleto, *Isabel de Portugal*, pp. 432–33: Empress Isabella to Charles, 23 December 1535.

123 Claretta, *Beatrice di Portogallo*, p. 116.

124 March (ed.), *Niñez y juventud de Felipe II*, vol. II, p. 292: Estefanía de Requesens to her mother, 30 December 1535.

125 'Mémoires… de Pierre de Lambert', p. 874: 'pense a ce que ien ay veheu quil ne portast onques plus de regret de mort de personne, quil feist de ce petit prince et a bonne cause, car cestoit ung prince ayant aussi bon commencement en armes, lettres et bonnes moeurs quon tenoit ses ouures pour miraculeuses, vehu son tendre aage, qui nestoit poinct encoures de treize ans'. Lambert had of course not witnessed Charles's sorrow after Hans's death a few years earlier.

126 Claretta, *Beatrice di Portogallo*, p. 116, footnote 2; Pierpaolo Merlin, *Emanuele Filiberto. Un príncipe tra il Piemonte e l'Europa* (Turin, 1995), p. 170.

127 Redondo Cantera, 'Isabel de Portugal', pp. 188–89. The trip proved too expensive, and Charles would only allow it on condition that the fortress of Nizza be turned over to him.

128 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 809: Salinas to secretary Castillejo, Calatayud, 29 July 1537.

129 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 915: Salinas to Ferdinand, 3 May 1539.

130 *Emperador Carlos V y su corte*, pp. 938–39: Salinas to Ferdinand, 11 November 1539: 'que a no atravesarse la muerte tan presto, sus cosas no podian dexar de haber buen fin'.

131 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, p. 13. Archduke Ferdinand was summoned by his father to Bohemia, where he became governor.

132 Harald Gustafsson, 'Dynastic Marriage Spheres in Early Modern Europe. The Danish Oldenburgs and three Houses of the Empire in comparison', in Liesbeth Geevers and Harald Gustafsson (eds), *Dynasties and State Formation in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2023).

133 Geevers, 'Danish Habsburgs', p. 281: five of Ferdinand's daughters married the rulers of Bavaria, Cleves, Mantua, Ferrara and Tuscany, respectively. Two others married the same king of Poland, while three became nuns.

134 *Emperador y su corte*, p. 72: Salinas to Ferdinand, Valladolid, 1 November 1522: 'Y la primera cosa que me dixo antes de ver letra ninguna fue demandarme como estaba V.A. y si Madama estaba preñada, con la mayor aficion del mundo. Pareceme, según del conocí, que lo desea mas que V.A.' ('And the first thing he told me, before looking at any letters, was to ask me with the greatest affection in the world how Your Highness was and if Madama was pregnant. It seems, seeing what he told me, that he wants it more than Your Highness')

135 *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, vol. II–1, p. 120: Charles V to Ferdinand, 8 September 1527: 'de la nativité du prince Maximilien, vostre filz, que m'a esté aussi grand joie et plaisir que j'ai peu avoir du prince, mon filz, car je tiens et repute le vostre austant comme mien. Et par ainsi j'aj ung filz davantage que n'avoie, que ne m'est petit esjoissement mais si tres-grand que ne seroit possible le sçavoir dire ni escripre'.

136 Lanz, *Correspondenz Karls V.*, vol. 1, p. 484: Charles V to Ferdinand, Ghent, 14 June 1531: 'Je ne veulx delaisser vous congratuler la naiscence de ma petite niece vostre fille, dont certes jay eu gros plaisir, tant pour le commung bien dentre nous et accroissance de ligne que nous conuient et empourte grandement, et

pour le bien et gros contentement de noz pays, que aissi jentendz que la royne, madame ma bonne soeur, en soit este bien deliuree'.

137 Markéta Ježková, 'Archduke Ferdinand and his journeys to the Netherlands', in Sylva Dobalová and Jaroslava Hausenblasová (eds), *Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria: A Second-Born Son in Renaissance Europe* (Vienna, 2021), pp. 73–94. Ferdinand never saw battle but participated in the celebrations for the latest peace between Charles V and Francis I of France.

138 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, p. 14.

139 Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, p. 163. Bohemia had been on the brink of rebellion in the previous years; Ferdinand had managed to restore order and felt it prudent to have a permanent dynastic representative in the kingdom. *Ibid.*, pp. 155–59.

140 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, pp. 16–17. Since the estates of Bohemia were very careful to uphold the elective nature of kingship, this concession required quite a bit of negotiation power from Ferdinand. Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, p. 165.

141 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, p. 20.

142 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, pp. 25–26.

143 *Emperador Carlos y su corte*, p. 685: Salinas to Ferdinand, 15 December 1535.

144 Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck: der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger* (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2009), pp. 78–79. The position of the governor – dependent on the king and independent of the local estates – was perhaps inspired by Habsburg government in the Low Countries.

145 Mark Radlkofer, *Markgraf Karl von Burgau, Sohn Erzherzog Ferdinands von Tirol und der Philippine Welser* (Innsbruck, 1907).

146 August von Druffel, *Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte 1546–1555* (4 vols, Munich, 1873–96), vol. I, p. 69: Nicholas de Granvelle to Mary of Hungary, Augsburg, 4 August 1547.

147 Druffel, *Beiträge*, vol. I, p. 804: Bishop of Arras to Mary of Hungary, Innsbruck, 17 November 1551. Although the letter only mentions 'l'archiduc', later on, the king and queen of Bohemia were mentioned, which was the title used for Maximilian and Maria. 'Archduke' in this context thus refers to Ferdinand, whom Mary had suggested in earlier letters.

148 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, pp. 104–08.

149 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, p. 128. Along with his appointment to the governorship, marriage between Emmanuel Philibert and the duchess of Lorraine – Christina of Denmark – was contemplated. AGS, PTR, leg. 44, doc 11, fol. 124v. Emmanuel Philibert, born 1528, had served in the armies of Charles V since 1545, when he was seventeen years old, and spent the years 1549–51 continuously at Prince Philip's side. While spending his childhood at home, he spent his entire early adulthood in the Habsburg sphere. He followed a trajectory much like archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand. Merlin, '"Seguir la fazione di sua Maestà Cattolica"', p. 250.

150 He might have died young. His death date is given sometimes as 1527, (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maximilian_I,_Holy_Roman_Emperor#Marriages_and_offspring), but this seems unlikely seeing that he was mentioned as a possible groom in 1535.

# 5 The Advent of the Arch-Nephew and the Infanta Monja

## The Ruling Family Group in the Late Sixteenth Century

If Charles V's dynastic ruling group consisted of 'consorts' and 'heirs', this chapter shows that Philip II expanded it to include individuals who clearly fell outside of those categories: cognatic nephews, illegitimate siblings and cousins. We briefly noted that Charles had personally groomed his sister Mary of Hungary for her role as governor of the Low Countries. Here, too, Philip is shown to expand the scope: he appointed younger relatives who had spent several years at his court, rather than just receiving a few weeks of intensive talks. His nephew Albert in particular enjoyed great success, becoming archbishop of Toledo, governor of Portugal, son-in-law to his uncle and eventually heir to the Low Countries. Albert's career was so glittering because he combined offices that had previously been held by different kinds of relatives: clerical offices had normally gone to illegitimate sons, territorial governorships to siblings and, as Chapter 1 has already shown, the Low Countries had often been considered as an inheritance for a hypothetical second son. Albert took on all these roles.

But Albert's ascent had been made possible by the new choices Habsburg women were making: not Albert, but his mother Maria was first choice for the government of Portugal – a choice that conformed to the practices of Charles's reign. But she declined the post, instead preferring life in the Descalzas monastery, founded by her younger sister Juana in 1559. If not for this choice, Maria would have been vicereine of Portugal and the dominance of Habsburg widows would have continued. Maria's choice for the monastery fits with the return to a more contemplative ideal for widowhood among Habsburg women.[1] Juana and Maria shaped a new role for the dynasty's women in rather the same way that Albert did for the dynasty's young men.

The changing roles for relatives took shape against the background of changes in the monarchy itself. Charles V abdicated his thrones between late 1555 and 1558, leaving the Low Countries, the Iberian kingdoms and Italian domains to his son, but the imperial crown to his brother. No longer would the head of the House need a lieutenant in the Empire. And shortly after the start of his reign, Philip would remove the need for regents in Castile as well

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by moving his court there more permanently.[2] This left the Low Countries as the only major territorial governorship in his monarchy. After the appointment of the King's cousin Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy instead of a local aristocrat, the post's dynastic connotation was affirmed and this was further codified in the Union of Arras (1579), through which several provinces of the Netherlands were reconciled to the Habsburg monarch after the first years of the Dutch Revolt.[3] The treaty obliged the King to appoint a relative as his governor there.[4] The ongoing troubles in the Low Countries gave extra salience to the appointment, which became a heavily debated topic at the Spanish court. Well remunerated[5] and with a tradition of long-term tenure, the Low Countries offered the potential of a lifetime career in governing for any lucky kinsman or woman. The monarchy would undergo a profound change again after 1580, when Philip succeeded in gaining the crown of Portugal, which would become another possible dynastic posting. The estates of Portugal had agreed to Philip's accession as their king on the condition that a royal relative (or a Portuguese national) be appointed viceroy (1581).

The following sections focus primarily on the Low Countries. From Philip's reign onwards we have the deliberations of the Council of State regarding appointments of governors to the monarchy's territories. They provide interesting insights into which people were considered for these posts – they were apparently counted as sufficiently dynastic to hold such offices – and why some of them were rejected. This gives us an overview not only of the incumbents but also of all the candidates that were considered. Questions of legitimacy and illegitimacy, whether the candidate bore the name of Austria, as well as experience and controllability, were all part of the equation. Such discussions thus weigh structural elements of dynastic belonging (name, legitimacy) against conjectural ones (experience). As such, they give us profound insights into how the dynastic ruling group was conceived and formed. While we could categorise Charles's more remote relatives into distinct groups, for example bastards and nephews, who embarked on different careers (or potential careers), Philip would blur these distinctions – in part because it suited his political needs, but also on the prompting of the relatives involved: his bastard half-brother quite simply refused a clerical path.

However, like his father, Philip's first instincts were always to employ his nearest kin – his sisters. While still a prince, he was himself governor of Castile, but when he had to leave his post, he appointed his youngest sister Juana as his replacement. Juana had applied for the position: after her husband's death, Juana sent a letter to Philip stating that she could serve him the same way her sister Maria had, that is as regent. The regency offered her an honourable excuse to return to Castile.[6] But when Philip returned to Castile and took up the reins of government himself, Juana decided not to accept any governing roles elsewhere. With one sister married in the Empire and the other insistent on withdrawing to a contemplative life, Philip was soon out of options and forced to think outside of the box.

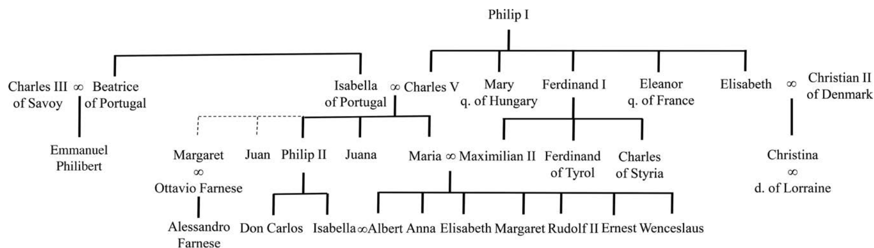


*Figure 5.1* Dramatis personae.

## The Last Widow

The year 1559 would be a significant year for the Habsburg dynasty and its internal dynamics. Philip II, head of the House since 1556, left the Low Countries and returned to Castile. This meant both that a new governor needed to be selected to take charge of the Brussels government and that his younger sister Juana would be discharged as governor of Castile. She could embark on her lifetime achievement: the foundation of the Descalzas monastery. These two events in the Low Countries and Castile profoundly changed the role of the dynasty's women, and as a consequence, that of its men (Fig. 5.1).

Brussels had been the scene of a veritable family reunion during the 1550s. Not only Charles V and the governor Mary of Hungary, but also the widowed queen of France, Eleanor, and the new king of England, Philip, were frequently there. In addition, other relatives were there as well: the displaced duke of Savoy Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy commanded the Habsburg armies, along with Christina of Denmark, widowed duchess of Lorraine, whose son was held by the French, and Margaret of Parma, Charles's illegitimate daughter, and her son Alessandro Farnese.[7] Most of them would leave at the end of the decade: Charles, Mary and Eleanor went to Castile, and Emmanuel Philibert to his own states. When Philip himself prepared to leave, intent on taking young Alessandro with him, Christina and Margaret of Parma became contenders for the governorship.

Christina clearly felt she was a good candidate. She had served the dynasty as a child-bride to the duke of Milan in the 1530s and as consort of Lorraine; she acquired government experience there as regent for her young son after her husband's death in 1545. The French king invaded Lorraine and took custody of her son in 1552, which drove her to the Habsburg court in Brussels. There, she became a regular at court festivities, travelling to England with Philip's court. But most importantly, she played a decisive role in the negotiations between the French and the Habsburgs that led to the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

However, the choice fell on Margaret of Parma (Fig. 5.2). She had been born in the Low Countries in 1522 to a local mother and the Emperor, before his marriage to Isabella of Portugal. She was raised there, but she was

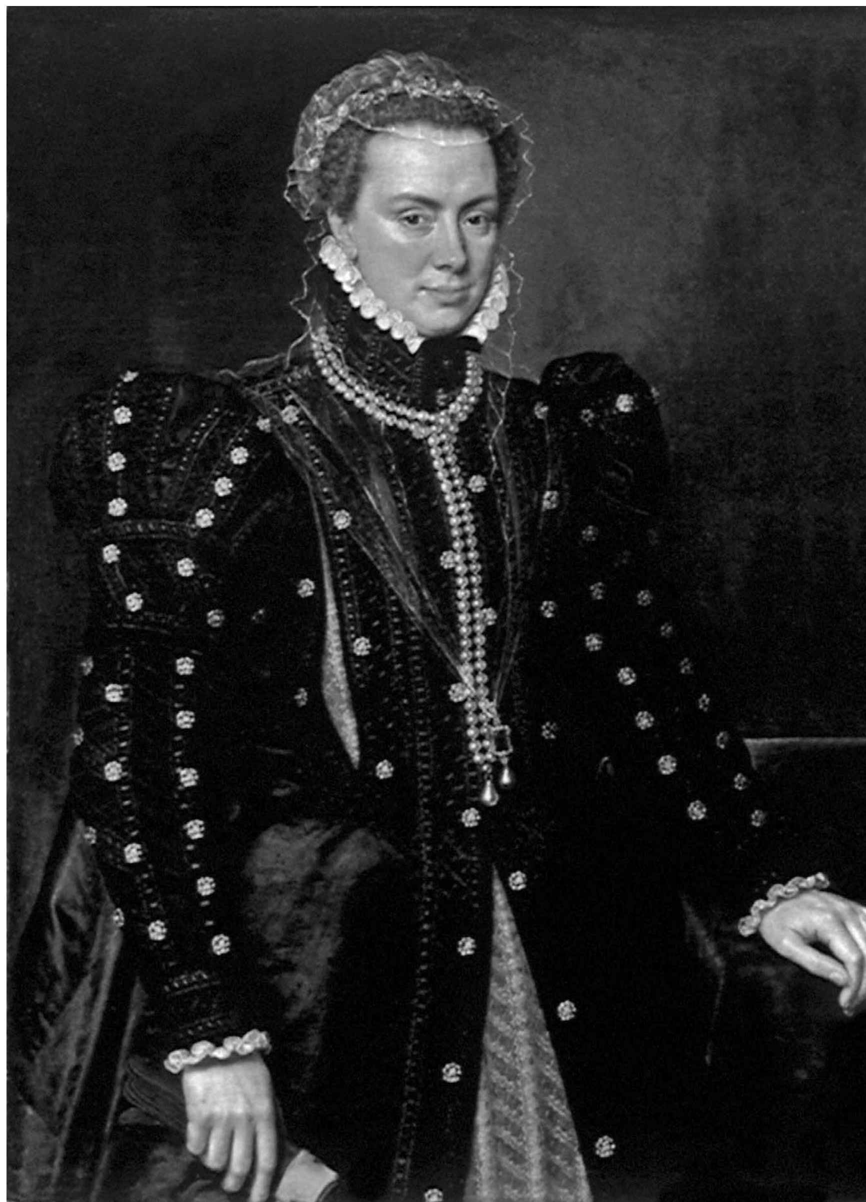

*Figure 5.2* Margaret, duchess of Parma, by Anthonis Mor, 1562.
*Source*: Alamy.

kept apart from the Danish trio that resided in Malines during her early years.[8] In accordance with dynastic traditions for illegitimate daughters, she had served as the bride in marriage alliances with several minor allies.[9] At eight years old, she had married Alessandro de' Medici. The marriage ended with Alessandro's assassination in 1537. A year later, now sixteen, Margaret married Ottavio Farnese, heir to the duke of Parma and Piacenza. The power base of the family was in Rome: the family rose to prominence during the reign of Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49) and had been headed since then by the Pope's grandson, the all-powerful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Margaret's brother-in-law. Residing in the Eternal City, she became a Roman aristocrat if anything.

The relationship between Charles V and the Farnese family was difficult. Pope Paul III had created his son Pier Luigi Farnese, Ottavio's father, duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1545, against the wishes of Charles V since the two territories were situated close to Habsburg Milan. When Pier Luigi was assassinated in 1547, the Habsburg governor in Milan quickly took over the duchies. This led to trouble with the Pope and the French, who supported the Farnese against the Emperor.[10] Ottavio, the new Farnese duke, managed to wrest Parma from the imperial forces, but could not regain Piacenza. After the war between the Habsburgs and the French was temporarily settled in the truce of Vaucelles (1556), Ottavio made a deal with Philip II to regain Piacenza as well. In return, the Spanish king would station a garrison in its fortress.[11] Another condition of the handover of Piacenza was that Alessandro, Ottavio's only child, be sent to Philip's court for his education.[12] This is why Margaret and young Alessandro were in the Low Countries from 1556 and became part of the court life centred on Philip II and Christina of Denmark.[13] Margaret was thus also well known to the Low Countries' elite when she was appointed governor, which counted in her favour. In addition, her husband Ottavio had been manoeuvred into a position of weakness vis-à-vis Philip II, which meant she would serve loyally to improve Ottavio's position.[14] All of this made her a good candidate in her brother's eyes. Margaret would serve in the position until 1567 and would be considered for reappointment a few times.

The appointment came at the expense, and to the considerable dismay, of his legitimate cousin Christina. While there is little trace that Christina ever actively sought the governorship of the Low Countries, there is nevertheless quite strong evidence that she expected to be appointed to the post. For one, she was so angry about missing out on it that several diplomats commented on the fact.[15] There were possibly arguments against her; according to a Venetian ambassador she was considered to lack experience and energy,[16] but this was in comparison with Mary of Hungary, with whom no one could compete in terms of experience. Indeed, Mary had been the primary candidate for the post until her death in 1558. But, with Mary no longer in contention, why should Christina be rated less than someone like Margaret of Parma? She made her annoyance known to the court, to the point where an exasperated

Granvelle, Philip's primary advisor on Netherlandish affairs, grumbled that she should stop complaining about it. As a gesture, Philip offered her the possibility of retiring to the Apulian town of Lecce in the kingdom of Naples, where she would be comfortable and able to live according to her station,[17] but Christina chose to return to Lorraine instead.[18] Philip's efforts to provide for Christina demonstrate his sense of obligation towards her – as his cousin, his peace negotiator or perhaps because he felt guilty. That this place of retirement was offered outside of the Low Countries was no coincidence either: Granvelle thought it best to put some distance between Margaret of Parma and Christina at the end of 1559, because of the '*emulacion*' – best translated as rivalry or competition in this context – between the two.[19]

The local elites were not happy about it either. The fact that they *knew* the new governor did not necessarily *endear* her to them; the English ambassador reported to his home court that they felt Margaret was unworthy of the regency because of her illegitimate birth.[20] The same English ambassador added that there were rumours that the prince of Spain would soon come – no doubt wishful thinking on the part of the disgruntled locals and an expression of the sort of person whom they considered most appropriate for the regency, namely the heir. Clearly, not only members of the family like Christina harboured expectations about appointments, but so did local elites. In one of his first appointments, Philip all but erased the boundary between bastard and legitimate Habsburgs, pulling his half-sister into his governing clique and changing all the rules.

## Infanta Monja

Returning to Christina's retirement options, it is interesting to note that there was no mention of a convent. Some distance from the monarchy's centres of government was required – Lecce was no Madrid – but she could live there as a quite independent and worldly noblewoman. She was expected to retire, but not to forsake the world for a monastery. Until then, very few Habsburg widows had become nuns, so it should not surprise us. Instead, their widowhood had made them all the more useful as governors, since it gave them the required gravitas, exclusive loyalty to their natal family and some financial independence.[21] Still, this presents a striking contrast to the actions of her cousin Juana, princess of Portugal, who set out to establish the monastery of the Descalzas at exactly the same time. In a departure from the forceful widow governors of the earlier reign, Juana became a model for widowed piety.[22]

After Philip's return to Castile, Juana left her position as governor. We already mentioned that Juana founded a monastery of Poor Clares, commonly known as the Descalzas, using the funds left to her by her mother Empress Isabella and her dower.[23] She never professed as a nun (she did become a Jesuit), but she gained extensive privileges to come and go as she pleased in the cloistered parts of the monastery, and she had her own quarters there. She

also remained an active participant in court life, serving as a kind of foster mother to the heir, Don Carlos, and as a mentor to the new and very young queen, Isabella of Valois, who came to Castile in 1559.[24] Essentially, Juana created a secondary, pious court space in her monastery that would be used frequently during the following decades.[25] Part of her new life was her refusal to either marry or serve as governor again.[26]

While the Descalzas foundation could be seen as an individual affair catering to Juana's piety and salvation, it soon became a meaningful space for the entire dynasty. Over the following decades, the royal children would often spend the night there when their parents were away. Queen Anna, a daughter of Empress Maria who married Philip II in 1570, visited almost daily to hear mass and have lunch with Juana and the nuns. She brought her young stepdaughters along with her. In this sense, Juana provided a strong female role model for her eldest niece, Isabella Clara Eugenia, who, upon becoming a widow herself, had planned to retire to the Descalzas, but instead joined a monastic order in Brussels.[27] During the years Philip II spent in Portugal after acquiring that crown, his teenaged daughters also stayed at the monastery.[28] But more permanent dynastic additions were considered as well: almost as soon as Juana had taken up residence in her monastery, the possibility of the arrival of foster daughters was discussed. The first young girls whose possible stay at the Descalzas was discussed were not meant to become nuns there but rather to be educated there before their marriage. The very first to be mentioned was Elisabeth, Maria and Maximilian's second daughter, and thus Juana's niece, for whom a marriage in Portugal with Juana's son Sebastian was being negotiated in the early 1560s. In January 1562, Philip II conveyed to his sister Maria how happy both he and Juana would be if Elisabeth were to come over.[29] The option was quite realistic since the Viennese court had recently decided to send Elisabeth's two eldest brothers to Spain for their education – sending Elisabeth along would not require many extra preparations. Maximilian, however, felt she was too young for the long journey (she was about eight years old).[30] Maria was more inclined to agree to the journey, but insisted the marriage be finalised first.[31] However much Philip impressed upon his cousin and sister that Juana really wanted the girl to come, the parents could not be persuaded.[32]

Still, it reflected a wish on Juana's part to have her own little 'nun-niece' to nurture. The idea would never quite go away again, even though Juana was not destined to become a foster mother. The situation arose anew when Empress Maria, widowed, managed to travel back to Spain in 1582. She forced the issue and undertook the journey against the wishes of her son Rudolf, the new emperor. Her intention was to retire to the Descalzas monastery, even though her brother insisted that she take up the governorship of Portugal, which had only been incorporated a few years earlier and where Philip had resided ever since.[33] Going against the wishes of all her male relatives, she took up residence in the Descalzas monastery, accompanied by her youngest daughter, Margaret. Margaret would become rather famous as Sister Margaret of

the Cross, and many historians have ascribed a strong religious vocation to her, arguing that she refused to marry her uncle and become a queen.[34] While this may well be true, any marriage was also resolutely blocked by her mother Maria, since she felt Margaret was unfit for marriage – describing her appearance in some rather unflattering terms.[35] The added bonus was of course that Maria would have the company of her daughter in the monastery. Margaret would profess as a nun and become Sister Margaret of the Cross, held in high regard by relatives and diplomats alike as '*la infanta monja*', 'the princess-nun'. Just as Juana had tried to have the company of young Habsburg girls, so Sister Margaret would work on perpetuating the dynastic presence in the monastery, as we discuss in the next chapter.

Juana, Maria and Margaret set a powerful precedent. Hagiographic biographies were written of both Juana and Sister Margaret after their deaths.[36] In life, Paolo Morigi dedicated his *Historia brieve dell'augustissima casa d'Austria* (1593) to Maria, since she was 'the most worthy and foremost' of all those members of the dynasty that lived particularly Catholic and pious lives.[37] But Morigi also discussed Juana, Maria's daughters Margaret and Elisabeth (who had remained in Austria but had also entered a convent) and other Habsburg women. Clearly, in choosing this sort of life, the women contributed to the pious reputation of the entire dynasty.

**Bastards and Nephews**

As the widows' world changed from government halls to the cloister, the kings of Spain had to explore other options when filling posts like the governorship of the Low Countries. A look at the candidates discussed for the Brussels post in the 1570s will highlight the change: a lone sister (Margaret of Parma) was massively outnumbered by a large group of young men, including Habsburg and non-Habsburg cognatic nephews, and both paternal and maternal cousins, stained in various degrees by the impurity of bastardy: Don Juan, Alessandro Farnese, Ernest and Albert of Austria, as well as archdukes Ferdinand of Tyrol and Charles of Styria, and the duke of Savoy. We have already met the older generation of candidates, of whom one had already served in the office and another, Ferdinand of Tyrol, had been mentioned by Mary of Hungary. Of greatest interests to us here are the younger candidates: Don Juan, Alessandro Farnese and the sons of Maximilian, Ernest and Albert. How had they come into play? I will introduce them here before analysing the appointment of governors to the Low Countries in more detail.

Margaret of Parma's crossing the line between bastard and legitimate may, for instance, have opened doors for her youngest brother, Charles's other natural child Don Juan, born 1547.[38] As we have seen in the previous chapter, the common career for male bastards was the Church, and Charles suggested just such a career for Don Juan in a number of codicils to his testament.[39] But since Don Juan was still only twelve years old when Charles died, it would be up to Philip to decide on his future. At the King's return to Castile in 1559,

the younger boy was ceremoniously presented to the regent Infanta Juana and the heir Don Carlos, and thus to the entire court, as the Emperor's son.[40] His belonging to the Habsburg dynasty was further cemented by the fact that he took an oath of allegiance to the heir, Don Carlos, in Toledo, along with the rest of the court and the assembled Cortes, being announced to all and sundry as 'Don Juan de Austria'.[41]

Regarding Don Juan's future, it must certainly have been of some consequence that Philip decided to educate Don Juan along with his own son Don Carlos, and later on Alessandro Farnese.[42] This young triumvirate, all born in 1545 or 1547, became inseparable, and growing up alongside two companions who were both heirs to their fathers' states must have given Don Juan ideas about his own future which had very little to do with the Church. Instead, he intended to follow a military career, which would put him on the same path as Cornelius, Maximilian's bastard, who likewise declined a clerical career. In 1565, aged about eighteen, he escaped from court to join the fighting at Malta, where the Ottomans were besieging the headquarters of the Order of St John, although he did not quite make it that far. Don Juan fell ill during the dash to Barcelona and missed the galley, which departed without him. He returned to court to be reprimanded by the King, who, however, also quickly forgave him.[43] Philip agreed to allow Don Juan to explore military options, giving him certain high-profile commands, which set him on a course to become one of the most famous commanders of his age: he was appointed general of the army sent to quell the uprising of the Alpujarras (1568), and he would become an international hero of Catholicism as one of the commanders of the Holy League against the Ottomans, scoring a famous victory at Lepanto in 1572.[44] While his strictly military role and Philip's stubborn refusal to grant him any higher style of address than 'Your Excellency' distinguished him from legitimate royal brothers, it was certainly a departure from the much more muted careers of earlier royal bastards.[45] While Philip had broken new ground with Margaret of Parma's appointment, it was Don Juan himself who stretched the possibilities for male bastards even further, pushing for higher level appointments than previous bastards could have hoped for. Don Juan's exceptional status came to the fore when the Spanish Council of State discussed the appointment of new governors of the Low Countries during the 1570s and he was floated as a candidate.

### *Alessandro Farnese*

The emergence of illegitimate relatives in high-ranking dynastic positions was certainly one novelty of Philip's reign. Another was the profound attention he paid to many of his nephews, among them Alessandro Farnese, son of Margaret (Fig. 5.3). As a youth, Alessandro spent several years at his uncle's court, arriving there – as we saw – with his mother in 1556.[46] Philip had determinedly pulled this boy into his orbit. His position at Philip's court has been interpreted as that of a hostage to ensure his parents' loyalty, but

*Figure 5.3* Alessandro Farnese, by Anthonis Mor, 1557.
*Source*: Alamy.

it has also been seen in the context of the travels and educational stays at foreign courts that Italian aristocrats organised for their sons.[47] However, his fate also reminds us of how Charles had taken control of his Danish nephew and nieces when their father had gone beyond the Emperor's control. Rather than framing his stay at court as a hostage situation or more gently as part of a typical Italian princely Grand Tour, I would argue that Philip was simply drawing Alessandro into his family group, attempting to instil a lasting sense of loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty in him through education and socialisation – Habsburgifying him. He was not the first to undergo this process, nor was he the last.

Alessandro remained in Brussels until 1559, educated by his own tutor, participating in court life and activities such as hunts, and making an altogether favourable impression (which, one must say, seems to be a bit of a trope when the court childhoods of high-ranking children are discussed!). Then he travelled to Castile along with Philip II.[48] There, he became close to the royal family. Philip was reported to love Alessandro as a son, and Don Carlos, to whom Alessandro became a companion, also became very fond of him.[49] Accordingly, Alessandro was present at many courtly spectacles. He might have attended one of the first grand-scale court festivities of the new reign: the presentation of Don Juan as the natural son of Charles V.[50] In descriptions of such events, he is not always identified as the King's nephew, but sometimes merely as the prince of Parma, emphasising his paternal heritage.[51] At court, Alessandro also became fast friends with Don Juan, united in their common interest in military affairs.[52] Around November 1560, Don Carlos, Don Juan and Alessandro made their way to the university town of Alcalà, where they received private lessons.[53] They were not treated as equals. Don Carlos and Don Juan had their lodgings in the episcopal palace, while Alessandro rented a house in town. And while Don Carlos and Don Juan remained in Alcalà until the end of 1564, Alessandro returned to the court as early as July 1562 – accompanied by Don Carlos who returned temporarily to court to recover from serious injuries he had sustained that year – and accompanied his uncle wherever he went.[54] While Don Carlos went back to Alcalà in October 1563, Alessandro remained at court, only going back for brief visits.

Throughout Alessandro's years at the Spanish court, his future marriage was always very high up on his parents' agenda, since it was a precondition for his return to Parma.[55] Ottavio's security was on Margaret's mind as well – the thought that he might be murdered horrified her (her first husband had been assassinated), but above all it made her fear that Alessandro would lose his patrimony. A good marriage and a return home (and a new generation of Farneses) would make that outcome less likely.[56] Connecting Alessandro's marriage to his departure from court placed Philip firmly in control of the choice of bride, since Alessandro could hardly marry someone against his uncle's wishes while he was in his custody.

Discussions about Alessandro's marriage started back in 1557, barely a year into his stay at the court. Ottavio suggested an alliance with the papal

Caraffa family,[57] and one involving a Mantuan princess. Ottavio was clearly after an Italian alliance that would secure his position in Parma.[58] But Philip was suspicious of such alliances and instead aimed for a marriage with a bride in his dynastic network, for instance, one of the Austrian archduchesses.[59] This was blocked by Emperor Ferdinand, the girls' grandfather, citing Alessandro's descent from two bastards (his mother and paternal grandfather) which would be unacceptable in the Empire – the fact that he was a grandson of an emperor would not help his cause, just as it had not helped Maximilian I's bastards.[60] So Philip turned to Portugal. In early 1564, the Portuguese court agreed to the marriage between Alessandro and Princess Maria, daughter of the Infante Duarte, who was a brother of Empress Isabella.[61] It is relevant to note that the correspondence between Philip II and Alessandro's parents was dominated by his marriage but betrays no interest in offices or other advancements within the Spanish monarchy. This makes sense considering how vital Alessandro's presence in Parma was to the family's security there, but is in striking contrast to later generations of nephews.

Alessandro travelled to Brussels in April 1565 to marry Princess Maria of Portugal (the marriage took place in November) – missing Don Juan's Malta escape! – where he made a decidedly 'Spanish' impression on local elites.[62] According to plan, Alessandro returned to Parma after his sumptuous wedding, where he arrived in June 1566.[63] There, he remained idle – even though he tried to gain some military command in Philip's service, either serving directly under his mother in the Low Countries or later under Don Juan's command.[64] Efforts to join the war against the Moriscos in the Alpujarras fell through, but he got another chance when Don Juan was put in shared command of the fleet of the Holy League against the Ottomans.[65] He joined Don Juan's entourage and remained there until 1572, when he returned to Piacenza. The two princes kept in touch during the years that followed, as Don Juan remained in Italy. When Don Juan planned to besiege La Goletta in the summer of 1574, he invited Alessandro to join him.[66] After 1566, Alessandro received no commands from Philip II. Instead, we might say in hindsight that the foremost result of Alessandro's stay at court was his friendship with Don Juan, enabling him to benefit from Don Juan's subsequent military career.

### *The Princes of Bohemia*

In the 1570s, Alessandro drifted away from Philip II's orbit. By then, other young relatives had succeeded the prince of Parma at the Spanish court: between 1561 and 1563, Philip corresponded about the arrival of Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest, the eldest sons of Philip's sister Maria and her husband Maximilian, then king of Bohemia (the boys were known as the princes of Bohemia).[67] After several years of planning and negotiation, they arrived in 1564, then ten and eleven years old. Even their cousin Don Carlos, increasingly troubled after his injuries of 1562, was '*nuer freundtlich und woll*' (only friendly and kind) to his young cousins.[68] Among the reasons for their

arrival was a measure of distrust of their father, who had dangerous Lutheran leanings. Sending his heir to the Spanish court would prevent him from ever really abandoning the Catholic Church and would also guarantee that his sons received a thoroughly Catholic upbringing.[69] This was even more important because of the boys' closeness to the succession in Spain: they were in line after Don Carlos, Philip's only child, whose suitability for kingship was increasingly in doubt.[70] Again, the King had pulled his nephews into his orbit in order to socialise them into becoming 'good Habsburgs'. The difference between Rudolf and Ernest on the one hand and Alessandro on the other was that the archdukes' mother was wholly in favour of their Spanish sojourn: a staunch Catholic herself, she trusted her brother much more with her children's upbringing than her husband (whom she otherwise clearly loved and respected), and rather than clamouring for her sons' return, as Alessandro's parents did, she would lobby for them to stay as long as possible.

In Alessandro's case, we found no trace of discussions about employment for the young prince. This aspect played a more palpable role when the Austrian nephews were at court. In 1563, Rudolf and Ernest had four younger brothers and two sisters, who all needed to be supported from Maximilian's limited patrimony.[71] A host of little archdukes and archduchesses were thus hopeful of their uncle's patronage.[72] Indeed, the marriage of Maximilian's daughters was mentioned along with the journey of their brothers – we have already learnt of the marriage plans for Elisabeth.[73] The future of their younger brothers was sometimes alluded to as well. A mere three or four months after his arrival on Iberian soil, the imperial ambassador Dietrichstein mentioned to Emperor Maximilian that the Castilian kings had always appointed a younger son to the archiepiscopal see – something which had indeed happened in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but not since – and that while Philip II only had one son, Maximilian and Maria had many, implying that one of them could take this role.[74] Maximilian allowed the ambassador to bring the matter up with Philip, but only as if it was his own idea.[75] The fact that Maximilian would not endorse these thoughts as his own idea indicates that Dietrichstein had not been ordered to be on the lookout for offices. It is also well known that Maximilian did not want his sons to become clerics. There is no trace of this suggestion in the correspondence between Philip and Maximilian, and Dietrichstein did not suggest any other postings in the years after his Toledo letters – perhaps Philip still had his illegitimate brother Don Juan in mind for the post, although Don Juan's martial aspirations would soon set him on a military career.[76] Yet the future of the younger sons was clearly on Dietrichstein's mind, and he was not afraid to explore their possibilities within the Spanish monarchy.

Without getting into specifics, Dietrichstein used the occasion of the birth of another son to Maximilian and Maria in 1565 (a boy named Charles, who would die before his first birthday) to point out to Philip that the Emperor had many sons to provide for, but that he was sure Philip would care for his nephews as if they were his own children. Philip responded by asking the

boys' ages, particularly Wenceslaus, the next youngest son, who was four and a half years old at the time.[77] This may indicate that Philip already had his young nephew in mind for a clerical career. The fate of the younger sons was also a concern to Maximilian: when the Emperor suffered a bout of ill health in 1567, the Spanish ambassador in Vienna reported how worried he had been about his many sons and his limited means of providing for them.[78]

It was in fact not just the imperial ambassador in Madrid who inquired about possibilities for the younger sons. The Spanish ambassador in Vienna also harassed Maximilian, often in poor health, about his sons' futures. In the early 1570s, there were only plans for Rudolf (to be crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia, and elected king of the Romans as soon as possible) and Ernest (to be elected to the kingdom of Poland).[79] Even during Maximilian's lifetime, Rudolf and Ernest had roles to fulfil within their paternal patrimony, as governors of Bohemia and Hungary, for instance, but the others did not.[80] Maximilian did not seem to have any plans for the younger boys; maybe the age gap between Ernst (born 1553) and the next brother Matthias (born 1558) meant that he felt there would be time to take care of the younger sons. The Spanish ambassador recommended clerical careers for two of the Emperor's younger sons, whichever showed most inclination for that, so that they could become spiritual electors, but Maximilian – with all his Lutheran leanings – was very resistant to such ideas.[81] Sending two more sons to Spain, along with their sister, who would marry Philip, was in itself a solution to this problem, since Philip promised to take care of the costs.[82] Rudolf and Ernest returned home in 1571, after their sister and younger brothers Albert and Wenceslaus had arrived in Spain, and set out to carve roles for themselves in their father's service.

If we should ascribe any motive to the royal upbringing at the Habsburg court, it is certainly to socialise sons of suspect fathers and turn them into Habsburg loyalists – nothing as sinister as hostage-taking, but nothing as non-committal as a Grand Tour either. That anyone expected this to lead to office-holding in the monarchy cannot be deduced from the experiences of Alessandro, Rudolf or Ernest, who were all future rulers in other patrimonies. But in contrast to Alessandro, Rudolf and Ernest had a flock of younger brothers whose futures were a cause for concern. We will find the future 'arch-nephew' among their ranks.

## A Nephew for the Low Countries?

Now that we have introduced the young men in Philip II's kinship network, we can turn to the question of the governorship of the Low Countries. In 1572, the duke of Alba had governed the Low Countries for several years, provoking such protest and ill-feeling by his heavy-handed suppression of the Revolt that he would never be able to re-establish peace there again. After these disastrous years, the need for a governor of royal blood was keenly felt and was widely discussed.[83] Philip's sisters were not in the mix: Juana's

reluctance was well known and she died in 1573, while Maria was (until 1576) a married woman, an empress no less. Margaret had left the position after Alba's arrival in 1567. In 1572, Philip hinted to Maria and Maximilian that he was considering one of their sons for the job. The only thing that could stand in the way of appointing the second-born Ernest (recently returned to Vienna) was his possible election to the Polish throne.[84] But even though the Polish election fell through, Ernest was not appointed at this point. Instead, Philip turned to a childhood companion, Luis de Requesens, as a successor to Alba. Maximilian and Maria did not show their disappointment, but the Spanish ambassador in Vienna knew they had heard so many rumours pointing towards Ernest's appointment that he felt it necessary to tell them that the situation in the Low Countries was so dangerous that it would hardly have been a favour to send him.[85] The ambassador also suggested to Maximilian that he send Ernest to the Low Countries at the head of an army to aid in the fight against the rebels. Being on the scene with his own army would have put Ernest in a position to vie for the governorship in the future, but Maximilian would have none of this.[86] Violet Soen has argued that the appointment of Requesens might have been intended to pave the way for another governor of the blood, Don Juan, with whom Requesens had shared command both during the Alpujarras campaign and at the head of the maritime Holy League.[87] If this is true, the choice had fallen in the meantime on Philip's brother, by now a seasoned general, but Don Juan was not appointed yet either.

The governorship of the Low Countries certainly remained a topic of discussion at the Spanish court, and in late 1574 Philip asked the opinions of several courtiers on the matter, indicating that Requesens' tenure was not meant to last very long. Joachim Hopperus, a lawyer from the Low Countries who had served in Madrid for several years, suggested a son or brother of Emperor Maximilian II (the son was surely Ernest; the brother mostly likely the oft-mentioned Ferdinand of Tyrol but perhaps Charles of Styria) and Margaret of Parma, but he preferred Don Juan. It is not entirely clear why he preferred Don Juan to the imperial candidates, but he certainly preferred a male governor over a woman – presumably because he would be better able to command the armies, which was Don Juan's forte. The duke of Alba suggested the same individuals, but added the duke of Savoy, who had served in the position previously.[88] The imperial ambassador Khevenhüller reported a slightly compressed shortlist to Maximilian in late 1575 that consisted of Archduke Ernest, the duke of Savoy and Margaret of Parma.[89] While the appointment of Don Juan had been rumoured for some time, his exclusion from this shortlist indicates that Philip intended to keep him in Italy, or at least that he was not an immediate candidate for the Brussels post.

Don Juan was indeed tied up in Italy for the moment, and Requesens remained in office. However, the governor became mortally ill in 1576, which put the matter of his succession high on the agenda. At this point, the Council of State reviewed candidates in greater detail.[90] The aspects of legitimacy, inheritance, experience and gender were all taken into account. The duke of

Alba spoke first and dismissed both Margaret of Parma and her son. Neither Margaret's illegitimacy nor Alessandro's Farnese identity was seen as an issue, rather the fact that Margaret was a woman and thus could not take charge of the war efforts, while Alessandro was too inexperienced. The other candidates were tied up: Don Juan was unavailable because he could not leave Italy, and the Emperor's brothers Ferdinand and Charles would not leave their states because of the Ottoman threat. Alba preferred the duke of Savoy, who had experience in the Low Countries and was of royal blood, but might not want to leave his states either, in which case only Archduke Ernest could be counted on. The Inquisitor General brought up the matter of dynastic identity: he was opposed to the duke of Savoy because he did not belong to the House of Austria (despite being a full cousin of the King), while sending an archduke might mean that the Austrian branch gained control of the Low Countries (how would they get an archduke to leave again?). This presented a tricky dilemma: non-Habsburg kinsmen were not Habsburg enough, but Habsburg kinsmen had too much legitimacy![91] He preferred Don Juan, who was of course the only candidate to belong to the House and bear its name without actually having any rights – the benefits of bastardy. This benefit was rejected by Don Antonio de Toledo, prior of Castile, who objected to Don Juan's candidacy *because* he was a bastard and added that he, too, might be impossible to dislodge, since he had already acted with great independence in Italy. Despite an unprecedented number of candidates, or perhaps because of it, the councillors could not reach agreement and the session was suspended.

When they reconvened two days later, Alba suggested Albert for the first time; he had arrived at court in 1570 and was sixteen years old in 1576. Albert was something of a compromise candidate: a legitimate Habsburg but under the King's control. Alba argued against Ernest because he would come from Vienna, which meant that Maximilian would interfere with the retinue that would be sent along with him; Philip could on the other hand send whomever he wished along with Albert since he would be departing from the court in Madrid. Don Antonio still preferred Ernest, with Albert in second place, and he continued to argue against Don Juan. The Inquisitor General, on the other hand, insisted on Don Juan, dismissing both Ernest and Albert. The marquess of Aguilar settled on Albert, a young and easily controllable candidate. After two days the councillors had not come much closer to agreeing on a candidate, but at least some had been rejected: the non-Habsburg candidates (the duke of Savoy and the Parmas) were out of contention, and the contest was between Don Juan and one of the archdukes. Hopperus, when asked to comment on the question separately, dismissed Margaret of Parma with some regret and suggested first Don Juan, then Albert and lastly the duke of Savoy.[92] Such disunity among his councillors ultimately meant that Philip had to choose himself. He decided on his brother, who was, after all, a seasoned commander, which neither Ernest nor Albert was. That Don Juan would be easy to dislodge because he had no dynastic rights cannot have played a role in Philip's thinking: it was well known that Don Juan was

a bit of a loose cannon precisely *because* he had no rights and thus needed to create his own destiny. And he lived up to his reputation: while in the Low Countries he planned to launch an invasion of England, depose its Protestant queen and marry the Catholic pretender. His experience and Habsburgness – he was, after all, Don Juan *de Austria* – did the trick. Don Juan had now truly rewritten all the rules for Habsburg bastards.

But a nephew would still end up governing in Brussels. When rumours started that Don Juan would be sent to the Low Countries as the new governor, Alessandro hoped that his friend would take him with him.[93] Don Juan, equally eager to continue their collaboration, did not disappoint him.[94] When he had been serving as governor of the Low Countries for a few months, he asked for Alessandro, which Philip, after long deliberation, agreed to. Alessandro joined Don Juan in December 1577.[95] By that time, Don Juan was ill and had suggested to Philip that Alessandro might take over in case of his death.[96] When Don Juan fell ill again in the autumn of 1578 and felt death approaching this time, he appointed Alessandro as his temporary successor until new orders arrived from Philip.[97] Alessandro had never seriously been considered for this office, and Philip did not intend to confirm his tenure now: he intended Alessandro's tenure as governor to be interim and to be downgraded to commander-in-chief, serving his mother Margaret, his aunt Empress Maria or his cousin Archduke Ferdinand – that is, either a sister or a 'real' Habsburg.[98] The candidacy of Philip's cousin Archduke Ferdinand – an experienced governor who had been in charge of Bohemia for twenty years before becoming an independent count of Tyrol, and who reportedly was Philip's favourite[99] – shows that Philip valued experience after the Don Juan interlude, but also the family name. The other candidates, Margaret of Parma and Empress Maria, were his sisters, of his own age, with many years of political experience under their belts. Throughout Habsburg rule, such candidates had been the first choice and they were again, even in the war-torn Low Countries. But the provision of the governorship was at something of a crossroads. Would the governorship be reserved for a 'Habsburg' cousin, or would closer kinship trump the 'Austria' label, with a Farnese nephew? It was Alessandro himself who essentially had the last word on this matter. He stubbornly refused any of the arrangements that would see him take up a subordinate role and, with the support of the local Council of State, basically forced Philip to make his appointment permanent in 1581.[100]

### The Arch-Nephew

During the 1570s, Philip's cherished Austrian nephews, whom he showered with affection while they resided at his court, missed out on any appointments. But a new name had been added to the list of candidates: Albert's. After Rudolf and Ernest had left the Spanish court, Albert had arrived in the company of his younger brother Wenceslaus and their sister Anna, who would marry Philip. The two younger archdukes were further removed from

the imperial succession, and we have seen that Maximilian did not have any plans for them. Indeed, one condition for their Spanish education was that Philip would provide for them instead of their father.[101] This allowed Philip some freedom to draw them ever more into his orbit. Their household was more Castilian in complexion and more heavily dominated by Philip's appointees than Rudolf and Ernest's household.[102] It has been argued that Philip already intended his nephews for the Church in 1572, because churchmen were more prominently present in their households.[103] In fact, it is hard to trace the discussions about their futures, which were shrouded in much secrecy along with other sensitive dynastic matters.[104]

In the previous chapter, we already briefly mentioned Albert's candidacy for the succession to the elderly archbishop of Zaragoza, Hernando de Aragón, a grandson of Ferdinand the Catholic who died in January 1575. The see of Zaragoza had been held by illegitimate members of the house of Aragón, which gave it a junior-grade royal character – apparently suitable for Albert as well. That the imperial ambassador Khevenhüller took this option seriously is shown by his swift intervention when another cardinal applied for a hefty pension from Zaragoza's revenues to annul this threat to Albert's future income.[105] But Philip gave the see to his confessor. In June 1576 (after Albert had also missed out on the Low Countries post), Khevenhüller spoke to Philip about Albert's apparent wish to enter the Church. The young archduke wrote a letter to his father, confirming this wish, but this letter could never be delivered to the ailing Maximilian, who was by now at death's door.[106] One suspects the Emperor would have objected strongly, but Maximilian and the other Austrians were actually being kept out of the loop; with regard to the archdukes' futures, Khevenhüller was condemned to trying to make sense of gossip at court.[107] This means of course that the ambassador was not part of the negotiations that potentially concerned the future of the archdukes.

Maximilian's death changed the situation for his sons at the Spanish court, removing an important impediment to their clerical careers.[108] Albert and Wenceslaus were essentially stranded in Spain, aged almost seventeen and fifteen. Rudolf appropriated the entire patrimony for himself and took limited interest in the futures of his brothers, except for Ernest, who became his governor in Austria. Albert and Wenceslaus were of an age to be taken care of, and they now fell squarely under the responsibility of their uncle.[109] Their mother, Maria, had always fully supported Philip in his decisions regarding her children, and she now helped push through clerical appointments for her sons, no longer constrained by her (deceased) husband's suspicions towards the Church.[110] Maria, the new emperor Rudolf II and Philip worked together to secure a cardinalate for Albert, which was granted in March 1577. In May the cardinal's hat arrived, and Albert received his tonsure.[111] Albert was also earmarked to take over the archbishopric of Toledo in the future. Albert thus first took on the mantle intended for illegitimate relatives – one suspects that all these posts could have been Don Juan's, if only he had wanted them. No

legitimate Castilian prince or Austrian archduke had ever been a cardinal before the 1570s.[112] Soon Albert would add the governorship of Portugal to his portfolio. As the first Habsburg governor there, there were no precedents for his appointment. But we have seen that the governorship of the Low Countries had developed from an office intended for legitimate siblings to one that could be held by bastards and nephews. Indeed, Philip first offered the job to his sister Maria, newly arrived in Castile after being widowed, following the preferred route.[113] But Albert transformed the role nephews could play in the monarchy by taking the job after his mother refused.[114]

For Wenceslaus a rather novel career path was carved out, which would serve as a blueprint for the next generation. As the runt of the litter, he had been the most obvious candidate for a clerical career and had been mentioned in that context when he was still only a very little boy. As both Albert and he approached adulthood, Philip decided to place him in the Church, but not as a cardinal or bishop. He was intended to take over the Castilian grand priory of the Order of St John.[115] His royal status would be used to strengthen the grip of the monarchy on the Castilian branch of the Order. The grand priory had been divided into two positions, the priories of Castile and Leon, respectively, since the late fifteenth century. During the 1560s, the Grand Master of the Order and the Pope wanted to end this division to strengthen the Order while Philip II wanted to bring the Spanish priories under closer royal control – and thus remove them from aristocratic control.[116] Both priorates were held by members of the Toledo family, which was naturally much displeased by this course of events. But talk of Wenceslaus's accession to the priorates was hot during the late 1570s, when the duke of Alba – head of the Toledo clan – and his eldest son were strongly out of favour, which means the King did not take their interests into account.[117] It was decided that whichever of the two grand priors survived the other would become the sole grand prior, to be succeeded after his death by a royal relative.[118] This campaign to turn the priorate into a dynastic office was a logical continuation of the late-fifteenth-century efforts of the Catholic monarchs to bring the Castilian military orders under royal control by having the king elected as grandmaster. In this way, Ferdinand the Catholic became master of the orders of Calatrava (1487), Alcántara (1494) and Santiago (1499), while the monarchs managed to eliminate a rival power as well as to gain a powerful instrument of patronage.[119] Of course, it was unthinkable that Philip II would take up this position himself since the Castilian priory in the Order of St John was subordinate to the Order's grand master on Malta, but a nephew was a credible royal substitute.[120] However, while Wenceslaus was taken into the Order in 1577, he died too soon to ever take over the priorate – the last of the incumbent priors did not die until 1591.[121] Nevertheless, a pushing mother and a pulling uncle determined the future of these two archdukes. Clerical careers were on offer for the nephews, similar to the careers of illegitimate offspring in earlier times, but grander – a path that Don Juan might have followed had he been more inclined to spiritual affairs.

## Conclusion

There are some noticeable differences between the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. While nephews like Hans of Denmark and Lodovico of Savoy had arrived at a Habsburg court of necessity, Philip assembled young nephews around him with more purpose. Also, Hans had stayed in the Low Countries and Lodovico in Castile, so their paths never crossed. During Philip II's reign, groups of young relatives resided at court together, giving each other (and their parents) insights into the possibilities available to them. Growing up with Don Carlos and Alessandro may well have turned Don Juan away from a career in the Church. And while this triumvirate lived in Madrid or Alcalà, they were joined by Archdukes Rudolf and Ernest, making five young men whose destinies would be closely connected to Philip's.[122] Around 1570, Alessandro and Don Juan became active in Italy while Don Carlos had died by then. But before Rudolf and Ernest returned home, their brothers Albert and Wenceslaus arrived, along with their sister Anna who would become the new queen – raising the number of Austrian siblings in Madrid to five again. The larger number of young relatives in the orbit of the king of Spain allowed for new patterns of employment to emerge and old barriers to be broken down. Whereas Maximilian I's bastard sons had inevitably ended up in the Church while Charles's 'consorts' and 'heirs' governed his territories, Charles V's own bastard son Don Juan set out on a military and gubernatorial career, while nephews like Albert and Wenceslaus combined Church and administrative offices – serving in the roles previously assigned to bastards and siblings. Less strict distinctions between various groups of relatives also meant that they increasingly competed for the same offices.

Local elites were also vocal about their wish for a royal governor. After several years of Castilian grandees at the head of the government, the Low Countries estates extracted a promise from Philip to appoint a '*prince ou princesse de nostre sang*' (a prince or princess of our blood) in the future. Such pressures were quite absent when Philip planned for Wenceslaus to become grand prior of St John, or for Albert to be become archbishop of Toledo. The employment of royal relatives developed both into an obligation forced on the King by his subjects, and into a strategy to increase royal control, particularly of the peninsula's clerical apparatus.

Relatives themselves were equally involved: Philip's sisters Maria and Margaret sent their sons to him, with various degrees of reluctance. The third sister, Juana, refused to take up a role that was traditional for royal widows, and his brother Don Juan refused to acquiesce in the typical role of a bastard. That widowed sisters were no longer appointed governor was not a consequence of their absence but of choice. Once in Castile, Empress Maria had ample opportunity to garner a reputation like that of Mary of Hungary as governor of Portugal, but she refused and spent over two decades in the Descalzas with her daughter instead. Not Mary of Hungary but Juana provided the model Maria followed. All these choices led Philip to turn to the

hitherto untapped potential of his nephews and, eventually, to the emergence of the arch-nephew, Albert. This stereotypical dispossessed younger son had every right to be pleased with his achievements when he closed his eyes for the last time in 1621, at the age of sixty-one: he died having ruled for over twenty years as the sovereign lord of the Habsburg Low Countries, which his wife, the Spanish Infanta Isabella, had brought as a dowry to their marriage. Before his marriage Albert had already had a career as archbishop of Toledo, governor of Portugal and chief councillor to the king in his old age.[123] Albert thus started out on the traditional 'bastard career' in the Church (although with a golden lining as a cardinal and primate of Spain), first followed by Maximilian I's bastards and anticipated for Don Juan. Then he transferred to the 'inner-circle career' as a territorial governor, following in the footsteps of royal spouses, siblings and children. At the death of Philip II, Albert had become a kind of 'second son', inheriting the Low Countries. Tellingly, when Albert received the Order of the Golden Fleece from Philip III at the occasion of his marriage, the chain and pendant were those that had belonged to Philip II.[124]

## Notes

1 Carmen Saen de Casas, 'Juana de Austria como modelo de feminidad regia en "La hija de Carlos Quinto de Mira de Amescua"', *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 68 (2016), pp 19–38, p. 26: the ideal for widows was, according to Juan Luis Vives, to live a pious life until they married again, to remain faithful to the memory of their deceased husband and to retire from court life.
2 For the background to this move, see Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra, *Felipe II, la corte y Madrid en 1561* (Madrid, 1985).
3 A brief introduction to the Dutch Revolt can be found in Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648* (London, 2018); Graham Darby (ed.), *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (London, 2001).
4 On Philip II's appointments, see Soen, 'Philip II's Quest', pp. 3–29.
5 The governor in the early 1590s, Archduke Ernest, was granted 40,000 florins per annum. González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 208.
6 Ylä-Anttila, 'Habsburg Female Regents', p. 127.
7 Merlin, *Emanuele Filiberto*, pp. 41–79; Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, pp. 325 and 407–11.
8 De Iongh, *Madama*, pp. 13–14. This makes it even more likely that Maximilian's young bastards were kept apart from the legitimate Habsburgs as well.
9 Steen, *Margaret of Parma*, pp. 8–9. See also Elipe, '¿Claustro o matrimonio?'
10 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, pp. 41–42.
11 Rodríguez-Salgado, *Changing Face*, p. 162; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict': 'The Complex Relations between Alessandro Farnese and Philip II', pp. 61–62.
12 De Iongh, *Madama*, p. 205; Steen, *Margaret of Parma*, p. 46.
13 Steen, *Margaret of Parma*, pp. 49–51.
14 Steen, *Margaret of Parma*, p. 58.
15 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, pp. 452–53, citing Tiepolo: *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, ed. Rawdon Lubbock Brown (7 vols, London, 1864–90), vol. VII, p. 83: Paolo Tiepolo to the Doge and the Senate, 7 May 1559; the

English Chaloner also commented on it: Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et d'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II* (Brussels, 1882), vol. I, p. 577: Chaloner to Elizabeth, Gent, 29 July 1559.

16 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, vol. VI, p. 1533: Michiel Surian to the Doge and Senate, Bethune, 18 October 1558.

17 *PEG*, vol. V, pp. 625-27: 'Lo que se ha resuelto en el negocio de madama de Lorrena'.

18 Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark*, p. 455.

19 *PEG*, vol. V, p. 652: Granvelle to Philip, Brussels, 4 October 1559. In a letter of 27 December 1559, Philip expressed his relief that Christina had left the Low Countries, hoping that this would put an end to the ill will between her and Parma. *PEG*, vol. V, p. 674.

20 Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, pp. 256–57: John Leigh to Elizabeth, Antwerp, 8 March 1560: 'dyvers ladys told her [the countess of Feria, whom Leigh was quoting] that, thowghe she were th'Emperors dowghter, yet was she but a bastard, wherefore she was far unmeyte to supply that please'.

21 Martínez-Burgos García, 'Viudas ejemplares', p. 66.

22 Martínez-Burgos García, 'Viudas ejemplares', p. 73.

23 Martínez-Burgos García, 'Viudas ejemplares', pp. 81, 83 and 86.

24 María José Rodríguez-Salgado, '"Una perfecta princesa." Casa y vida de la reina Isabel de Valois (1559–1568). Primera parte', *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, Anejo II (2003), pp. 39–96, 54–55 and 70–71; Martínez-Burgos García, 'Viudas ejemplares', p. 74.

25 Magdalena S. Sánchez, 'Where Palace and Convent Met: The Descalzas Reales in Madrid', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 46 (2015), pp. 53–82; Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Las dos águilas del emperador Carlos V: Las colecciones y el mecenazgo de Juana y María de Austria en la corte de Felipe II', in Luis Antonio Ribot García (ed.), *La monarquía de Felipe II a debate* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 429–72, p. 442.

26 See on Juana: Noelia Garcia Pérez (ed.), *The Making of Juana of Austria: Gender, Art, and Patronage in Early Modern Iberia* (Baton Rouge, 2021).

27 Elisa García Prieto, 'Fue la Reina a las Descalzas. Vínculos familiares y construcción del espacio cortesano en la década de 1570', in Bernardo J. García García (ed.), *Felix Austria. Lazos familiares, cultura política y mecenazgo artístico entre las cortes de los Habsburgo. Family Ties, Political Culture and Artistic Patronage between the Habsburg Courts Networks* (Madrid, 2016), pp. 375–92, pp. 376, 383–84 and 387.

28 María Albaladejo Martínez, 'Las infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia y Catalina Micaela: modelos de la perfecta princesa educada e instruida', *Anales de historia del arte* 24 (2014), pp. 115–27, pp. 121–22. During these years, 1580–83, both their aunt Juana and stepmother Anna had died, but their other aunt Maria would arrive in 1582.

29 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, pp. 287–88: Philip II to Luna, Madrid, 28 January 1562.

30 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 304: Maximilian to Philip II, Linz, 19 March 1562.

31 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 316: Luna to Philip II, Prague, 30 March 1562. Philip countered by suggesting how much easier it would be to finalise the marriage if Elisabeth were in Madrid! *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 326: Philip II to Luna, Alcalá, 15 May 1562

32 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 384: Philip II to Martin de Guzman, Madrid, 11 December 1562; p. 439: Philip II to Luna, Madrid, 12 May 1563.

33 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, pp. 174–80.

34 Among many: María Leticia Sánchez Hernández, 'Servidoras de Dios, leales al papa. Las monjas de los monasterios reales', *Librosdelacorte.es*, monográfico 1,

año 6 (2014), pp. 293–318, p. 302; Sánchez, *Empress, Queen, Nun*, pp. 78–80, already argued that there is no documentary evidence for any marriage proposal but that Margaret's supposed refusal to marry was constructed as an indication of her piety.

35 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, pp. 180–81, p. 155, quoting a letter from Maria to Philip, 22 September 1578, 'she is ugly and destastrous [...] and so it is more convenient for her to be with me my whole life and do what I tell her'.

36 Juan Carrillo, *Relación historica de la Real fundación del Monasterio de las Descalças de S. Clara de la villa de Madrid con los frutos de santidad que ha dado y da al ciel cada dia* (Madrid, 1616); On Sister Margaret: Juan de Palma, *Vida de la serenissima infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1636).

37 Paolo Morigi, *Historia brieve dell'augustissima casa d'Austria* (Bergamo, 1593), dedication.

38 On Don Juan, see Panzer, *Don Juan de Austria* and Bartolomé Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria. Un héroe para un imperio* (Madrid, 2004).

39 *PEG*, vol. IV, pp. 495–97, 'Copia de los papeles que se hallaron inclusos en el testamento': Charles expressed his intention that his son should take the habit of one of the reformed orders, but that he should do so of his own free will without being pressured. If he did not wish to enter a monastery, he should receive 20 to 30,000 ducats in income from Naples.

40 Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, p. 53.

41 Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, p. 56.

42 Panzer, *Don Juan de Austria*, pp. 49–54; Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, pp. 57–60.

43 Parker, *Imprudent King*, p. 173; Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, pp. 67–69.

44 Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, pp. 82–90 and 107–28; Panzer, *Don Juan de Austria*, pp. 71–79 and 88–126.

45 Bennassar, *Don Juan de Austria*, p. 54.

46 De Iongh, *Madama*, p. 210; Steen, *Margaret of Parma*, p. 47.

47 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 20.

48 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 25ff.

49 Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 64.

50 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 56.

51 Ana Martínez Pereira, 'Alejandro Farnese en las relaciones de sucesos españolas', in José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *D. Maria de Portugal: princesa de Parma (1538–1577) e o seu tempo* (Porto, 1999), pp. 85–108, p. 89, for references to 'the prince of Parma'; p. 90: omitted from descriptions of the entrance of Isabella of Valois in Toledo, 1561, and p. 91: omission from descriptions of the festivities of Don Carlos' return to health after a health scare in 1562; p. 93: on his wedding.

52 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 64–66.

53 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 68.

54 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 72–73.

55 *PEG*, vol. VI, p. 122: Granvelle to Philip II, Brussels, 24 August 1560.

56 *PEG*, vol. VI, p. 530: Granvelle to Philip II, Brussels, 12 March 1562.

57 De Iongh, *Madama*, p. 218; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 66.

58 *PEG*, vol. VI, p. 12: Philip II to Granvelle, Toledo, 7 March 1560 about the Austrian marriage; *ibid.,* p. 125, Granvelle to Philip II, Brussels, 23 August 1560, about a Mantuan marriage; *ibid.*, pp. 215–17: Granvelle to Philip II, Brussels, 4 December 1560, about a marriage to a Mantuan princess; *ibid.*, p. 251, Granvelle to Philip II, Brussels, 25 January 1561, about a marriage to an Austrian archduchess. Ferdinand's refusal: Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, p. 254. When both these prospects fell through, Philip started talks about a Portuguese marriage. *PEG*,

vol. VII, p. 95: Philip II to Granvelle, 15 June 1563. Margaret and Ottavio supported this, as long as it happened as quickly as possible, so that Alessandro could father another heir: *PEG*, vol. VII, p. 176: Granvelle to Philip II, 6 August 1563.

59 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 347: Philip II to Ferdinand I, Madrid, 17 July 1562.

60 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 378: Ferdinand I to Philip II, Frankfort, 19 November 1562. Ferdinand most likely refers to his uncles George, Leopold and Cornelius. The duchy of Milan was discussed for George (which certainly would have implied that he would marry as well) but that never happened.

61 Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 66.

62 Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', pp. 66–67; for an analysis of the festivities: Giuseppe Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese: feste alle corti di Lisbona e Bruxelles* (Milan, 1997).

63 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 144.

64 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 152–53. Once Philip planned to send the duke of Alba to the Low Countries to serve as Margaret's military commander, the governor asked to be allowed to retire, considering the Duke's arrival dishonourable. Under such circumstances, Alessandro could not think about serving in Brussels either.

65 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 156–59; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 68.

66 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 177–83.

67 Erwin Mayer-Löwenschwerdt, 'Der Aufenthalt der Erzherzöge Rudolf und Ernst in Spanien, 1564–1571', *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 206 (1927), pp. 3–64.

68 Arno Strohmeyer (ed.), *Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser mit ihren Gesandten in Spanien. Bd 1, Der Briefwechsel zwischen Ferdinand I, Maximilian II und Adam von Dietrichstein 1563–1565* (Vienna, 1997), vol. 1, p. 230: Dietrichstein to Maximilian II, Madrid, 29 June 1564.

69 Mayer-Löwenschwerdt, 'Der Aufenthalt der Erzherzöge Rudolf und Ernst', pp. 6–8.

70 L. J. Andrew Villalon, 'Putting Don Carlos Together Again: Treatment of a Head Injury in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995), pp. 347–65.

71 Rodríguez-Salgado, '"I loved him as a father loves a son"', p. 348. Maximilian's title of king of Bohemia was mainly symbolic. After his father's death, he would be expected to accede to the imperial throne, which gave him prestige rather than revenues, while he would have to share the Austrian hereditary lands with his two brothers.

72 Rubén González Cuerva, 'The German Nephews: The Offspring of Maximilian II and Maria of Austria at the Service of the Spanish King', in Geevers and Gustafsson (eds), *Dynasties and State Formation in Early Modern Europe*.

73 *CODOÍN*, vol. 98, p. 246: Luna to Philip II, Vienna, 13 October 1561, about a marriage for Anna, the eldest, p. 288: Philip II to Luna, Madrid, 28 January 1562; Liesbeth Geevers, 'Ties, Triangles and Tangles: Catherine de Medici as Philip II of Spain's Mother-in-Law', *The Court Historian* 25 (2020), pp. 186–200.

74 *Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser*, vol. I, p. 232: Dietrichstein to Maximilian II, Madrid, 29 June 1564; *Ibid.*, p. 247: Dietrichstein to Maximilian II, Madrid, 11 July 1564. Dietrichtstein's first letter from Spain was dated 19 April in Valencia, *ibid.*, p. 199.

75 *Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser*, vol. 1, p. 258: Maximilian II to Dietrichtstein, Vienna, 2 August 1564.

76 Parker, *Imprudent King*, p. 173: Don Juan would not flee the court to join the Maltese campaign until 1565.

77 *Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser*, vol. 1, p. 460: Dietrichstein to Maximilian II, Madrid, 14 November 1565.
78 *CODOÍN*, vol. 101, p. 323: Luis Vanegas to Philip II, Vienna, 3 December 1567.
79 *CODOÍN*, vol. 110, pp. 497–508: Monteagudo to Philip II, Prague, 23 August 1572.
80 *CODOÍN*, vol. 101, p. 169: Philip II to Chantonnay, Madrid, 8 March 1567; p. 360: Luis Vanegas to Philip II, Vienna, 31 January 1568; p. 362: Chantonnay to Philip II, Vienna, 31 January 1568; p. 401: Luis Vanegas to Philip II, Vienna, 6 March 1568; p. 417: Luis Vanegas to Philip II, Vienna, 18 May 1568.
81 *CODOÍN*, vol. 110, p. 264: Monteagudo to Philip II, Prague, 26 June 1571.
82 *CODOÍN*, vol. 103, p. 479: Philip II to Luis Vanegas, Córdoba, 31 March 1570.
83 Soen, 'Philip II's Quest'; *CODOÍN*, vol. 111, pp. 2–3: Minute Philip II to Monteagudo, Madrid, 5 December 1572.
84 *CODOÍN*, vol. 111, pp. 38–42: Monteagudo to Philip II, Bratislava, 12 October 1572.
85 *CODOÍN*, vol. 111, pp. 308–9: Monteagudo to Philip II, Vienna, 8 September 1573.
86 *CODOÍN*, vol. 111, pp. 382–86: Monteagudo to Philip II, Vienna, 20 March 1574; p. 417: Monteagudo to Philip II, Vienna, 27 May 1574.
87 Soen, 'Philip's Quest'.
88 Joseph Lefèvre (ed.), *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas. Deuxième partie* (4 vols, 1940–60), vol. III, p. 223: report of discussions with Hopperus and Alba, dated 30 December 1574.
89 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondens 9, fasc. 27: f. 212vo: Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 8 November 1575.
90 *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. III, pp. 429–35: report of the Council deliberations on Requesens' successor, dated 20 and 22 January 1576.
91 As Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', pp. 76–77 and 83, points out, Alessandro Farnese, who had no formal rights to the Spanish inheritance whatsoever, was also rumoured to want to take power in the Low Countries when he was governor there.
92 *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. IV, pp. 26–27: Hopperus to Philip, 1 April 1576.
93 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 187.
94 Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 69.
95 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, pp. 196–98.
96 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 199.
97 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. I, p. 295.
98 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. II, p. 328; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', pp. 71–72.
99 Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Kinship, Collaboration and Conflict', p. 72.
100 Van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, vol. II, pp. 335–43.
101 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 116.
102 José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, 'The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from his Arrival in Madrid until his Election as Governor of the Low Countries: 1570–1595', in René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaekers and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds), *A Constellation of Courts. The Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555–1665* (Leuven, 2014), pp. 101–22, p. 105. See also José Martínez Millán, 'El Archiduque Alberto en la Corte de Felipe II', in Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (eds), *Albert and Isabella. Essays* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 27–37.
103 Ignacio Ezquerra Revilla, 'Los intentos de la corona por controlar la orden de San Juan: la "expectativa" del archiduque Wenceslao de Austria en el Gran

Priorato de Castilla y León', in Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Jesús M. Molero García (eds), *La orden de San Juan entre el Mediterráneo y la Mancha* (Alcázar de San Juan, 2009), pp. 401–31, p. 406. However, the chapel department was small, only a confessor and a chaplain, while the men entrusted with the boys' education were not clerics. Hortal Muñoz, 'The Household of Archduke Albert', pp. 105–6 and 112–13. The chaplain was called George of Austria, whom Hortal Muñoz identifies as Leopold of Austria's illegitimate son. But we know Leopold's son was called Maximiliano. Leopold's brother George also had an illegitimate son, who was called George as well. It is probably him. Albert's household only got a more clerical bent after his elevation to the cardinalate.

104 Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador imperial*, p. 363. Other matters included the succession of Rudolf in the Empire, the formation of a new league against the Ottomans, the ongoing war in the Low Countries, the title of Grand Duke for the ruler of Tuscany, etc.

105 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 9, fasc. 27, f. 204ro: Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 8 October 1575.

106 Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador imperial*, p. 372. However, later on Albert was reported to have regretted this decision. Perhaps he was pressured into it by his uncle and mother. Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 24.

107 See, for instance, HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 9, fasc. 27, 244ro: Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 24 March 1576, where the ambassador laments that the rumours are so diverse ('die sagen so underschidlich') and the decision-making process so opaque ('das hieig procediern so abgesezt') that 'wiser people' than the ambassador would have trouble making sense of it ('verstendiger als ich bin sich daraus nicht zu verrichten wissen').

108 Ezquerra Revilla, 'La "expectativa"', p. 411; González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 152.

109 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 22–23, argues that it was Philip who planned to set his nephews on clerical careers.

110 González Cuerva, 'The German Nephews', in print, pages corresponding to footnotes 24–31.

111 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 152; Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador imperial*, pp. 376–77. Khevenhüller did not report on the entrance of Wenceslaus into the Order of St John, of which he was to become grand prior of Castile. The tonsure ceremony took place at Eastern at the Escorial: 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Jerónimo', pp. 189–94.

112 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, pp. 23–24. Just a few years earlier, Albert's cousin Andreas of Austria had been elevated to this position. Born legitimate but from a morganatic marriage, his status was somewhere in between legitimate and illegitimate. Duerloo also mentions the 'house cardinals' of the Gonzaga, Estensi, Medici and Farnese as precedents.

113 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 174, argues that Philip allowed Maria to travel to Spain after she had become a widow precisely for the purpose of appointing her in Portugal.

114 Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 25.

115 Henar Pizarro Llorente, 'La orden de San Juan y la Familia Real. Manuel Filiberto de Saboya Gran Prior de Castilla y León', in Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Jesús Molero García (eds), *La Orden de San Juan entre el Mediterráneo y La Mancha* (Cueca, 2009), pp. 351–65, pp. 359 and 363; Diego Valor Bravo, 'Los Infantes-Comendadores. Modelo de Gestión del Patrimonio de las Órdenes Militares', PhD dissertation, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos (Madrid, 2013), pp. 156–60 and 717–18; Marcial Morales Sánchez-Tembleque, 'La Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén. Los prioratos de San Juan en La Mancha (siglos XVI y XVII)', PhD dissertation, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (Ciudad Real, 2016).

116 Ezquerra Revilla, 'La "expectativa"', p. 412.

117 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondens 9, fasc. 27, f. 41ro: Khevenhüller to Rudolf II, Madrid, 4 July 1577, noting the sourness on the part of the Toledos; f. 55vo: Khevenhüller to Rudolf II, Madrid, 28 August 1577: describing the prior Don Antonio de Toledo's last illness and anguish about the priorate leaving his House. Alba and his immediate family had fallen into disgrace: his eldest legitimate son Don Fadrique had been incarcerated in 1576 as a result of a secret marriage he had contracted many years before, and the son's troubles eventually also landed his father in prison; see William S. Maltby, *Alba. A Biography of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba 1507–1582* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), pp. 139, 271–77; Henry Kamen, *The Duke of Alba* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 136–41.

118 Santiago Fernández Conti, 'El Prior don Hernando de Toledo, Capitán de Felipe II y de Sus Consejos de Estado y Guerra', in Marcello Fantoni (ed.), *Il Perfetto Capitano: Immagini e Realtà, Secoli 15–17.* (Rome, 2001), pp. 87–134, pp. 89–90. Extensive documentation on the grand priory and attempts to appoint a royal relative as prior in AGS, E., leg. 1873.

119 In 1523, these royal masterships had been consolidated by a papal bull, vesting them permanently in the crown. Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714*, p. 29.

120 Ezquerra Revilla, 'La "expectativa"', pp. 413–17. The Spanish crown had increased its influence over the Order from the reign of Charles V onwards, when it had received the islands of Malta, Goza and Tripoli in feoff from the Emperor, but in crucial aspects this influence was limited. The election of the Order's grandmasters was dominated by the French priories, leading to mostly French grandmasters, who collected the large incomes generated by the Iberian priories.

121 Wenceslaus received the habit at the Escorial in October 1577. 'Memorias de Fray Juan de San Jerónimo', pp. 209–10. While Wenceslaus did not become prior right away, as this office was still taken by two others, he did sport the habit with the white cross of St John on his chest – the place where the prior carried it – instead of on his shoulder, where regular knights carried it.

122 The strong correlation between an education in Spain and service to the King has been noted frequently, but was not absolute: when Philip instructed his ambassador in Vienna to offer the governorship of the Low Countries to Ernest, he was to make the same offer to his brother Maximilian in case Ernest declined (Philip II to Guillen de San Clemente, Valladolid, 28 June 1592. *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. IV, p. 62). The same thing happened after Wenceslaus's death. Archduke Maximilian was as yet unprovided for, and he was offered the possibility of taking over the Castilian priorate, but he preferred to stay in Central Europa and become grandmaster of the Teutonic Order instead (Noflatcher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynasty*, p. 67). Maximilian would not remain a complete unknown at the Spanish court. In the summer of 1600, he arrived incognito in Castile, dressed in the French style. He visited Santiago de Compostela, before making himself known to the imperial ambassador Khevenhüller, who immediately took him to see his mother, Empress Maria. Maximilian told the ambassador he was there to visit his ageing mother, to see her once more before her death. When the King was notified, he told him not to leave again without his permission. Maximilian obliged and went to Valladolid to meet the King, where Khevenhüller organised some festivities in all haste. Philip rode out to meet him and took him to meet the Queen. The three then took an incognito riding tour through the town, followed by a few nights of masques and bull runs. After a few weeks in Castile, he left again, with two diamonds, worth about 12,000 ducats, which Philip (who, according to Khevenhüller, seemed sad to see him leave again) had given him, and with a box of items of embroidery (*labores de España*). Alvar Ezquerra, *El embajador imperial*, pp. 578–79; Luis Cabrera

de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las Cosas Sucedidas en la Corte 1599–1614* (Madrid, 1857), pp. 76 and 79.

123 Duerloo, *Dynasty and piety*; González Cuerva, 'The German Nephews'.

124 Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p. 20. When a knight of the Order died, the pendant was returned to the Order's master and given to a new knight. During the same ceremony where Albert received Philip II's pendant, the nobleman Luis Enríquez de Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla, received the pendant that had belonged to his own father, who had died some years earlier.

# 6 The Legacy of Catalina

## The Dynastic Ruling Group in the Seventeenth Century

Chapter 4 ended with the remarkable ascent of the Habsburg 'arch-nephew', Albert, who became his uncle's heir when he received the Low Countries as his wife's dowry. Albert's good fortune was unprecedented and unique in the history of the House of Habsburg: he enjoyed a career that had been intended for at least two separate nephews: one as an archbishop and another as groom for Isabella, and he combined the roles played previously by clerical bastards, governing siblings and – as ruler of the Low Countries – hypothetical second sons. If his two brothers Wenceslaus and Ernest had lived longer, the three of them (the primate of Castile, the prior of St John and the prince of the Low Countries) would have formed a formidable triumvirate indeed at the highest echelons of the Spanish monarchy.

But dynastic rule is always punctuated by generational shifts and dynastic incidents. Wenceslaus and Ernest died a few years before their uncle, and in 1598 the monarchy got a new king, the young Philip III (born 1578). Philip III would not show the same eagerness as his father to employ nephews, instead lavishing all his attention on only one of them: Filiberto of Savoy, who would become prior of St John. Of course, after his sister and her husband had taken possession of the Low Countries, its government was an appointment he could no longer make. But some posts that had traditionally been occupied by relatives remained vacant as well. Portugal was governed by a string of clerics[1] – the absence of a royal governor there gave rise to endless rumours about imminent appointments.[2] New offices that took on a dynastic hue – the generalship of the Mediterranean fleet – would be assigned to Filiberto. Blessed with three legitimate sons reaching their teens, Philip only gave the youngest a future role in the monarchy by having him created a cardinal and archbishop of Toledo. The new King did not seem keen to expand the dynastic ruling group. In part because of this reticence, a new dynamic cropped up during Philip III's reign: rivalry over scarce vacancies among different groups of aspiring relatives, among them the Styrian brothers of his new wife Margaret and the Savoyard children of his sister Catalina, who was arguably the 'dynastic vessel' most instrumental in shaping the Habsburg seventeenth century (Fig. 6.1).[3] This dynamic was complemented by another: the careers of the sons of Maria and Maximilian provided a new generation of parents

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*Figure 6.1* The Infanta Catalina Micaela (1567–97), by Alonso Sánchez Coello, c. 1584.

*Source*: Alamy.

with a blueprint for the possible futures of their children, prompting them to be much more savvy and calculating in their dealings with the Spanish court (Fig. 6.2).[4]

## A New King, a New Queen, a New Dynastic Ruling Group?

In 1599, Philip III, the new king of Spain, married Margaret of Austria-Styria. She was the daughter of the deceased Archduke Charles of Styria, youngest son of Emperor Ferdinand I, and Maria Anna of Bavaria. The marriage had

been seriously in the making since 1596, although with two of Margaret's elder sisters as candidates.[5] The Styrian branch was the junior Austrian branch of the family – that it would be the only surviving branch twenty years later was hard to foresee, even though an Italian diplomat predicted already in 1594 that Margaret's brother Ferdinand might become emperor one day.[6] But in 1594 Rudolf II was still emperor, and he might still marry and have legitimate children,[7] while several of Rudolf's younger brothers were set to marry in the following years (Ernest, Albert and Matthias). While all these grooms were approaching their forties, it was not unthinkable that one of them might be able to sire a son – Philip II was fifty-one years old when he became father of the future Philip III. For the time being, the Styrians were still the junior branch with a limited patrimony that could not be partitioned. This meant that the Spanish marriage would be used to provide for Margaret's numerous siblings, apart from her eldest brother Ferdinand who was the sole ruling archduke of Styria: two unmarried younger sisters and no fewer than three brothers (Maximilian Ernest, Leopold and Charles).[8] It is not difficult to see why Margaret's marriage raised hopes for these brothers' futures. When Philip III's mother, Anna of Austria, had travelled to Castile to marry Philip II, her younger brothers Wenceslaus and Albert had accompanied her and had been well provided for. Indeed, Rudolf II appreciated and encouraged Maria Anna and Margaret's efforts on behalf of the younger archdukes, and even for his own brother Archduke Maximilian, who, however, could never be persuaded to engage on a Spanish career.[9]

To facilitate negotiations about her other children, Maria Anna asked for permission to accompany her daughter all the way to Spain.[10] While Philip II had granted her permission, Philip III – who succeeded his father in the middle of the preparations for the marriage – denied it, precisely because he feared Maria Anna would push for favours for her sons. Not only the young

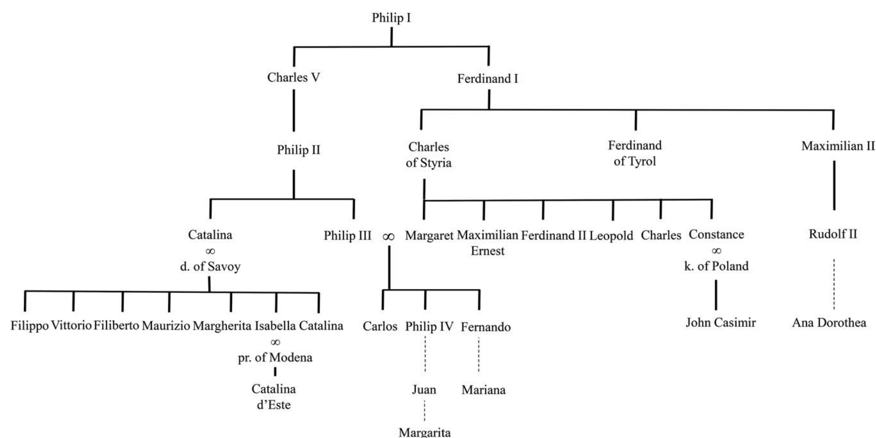


*Figure 6.2* Dramatis personae.

King but also his new favourite, the soon-to-be duke of Lerma, was against his mother-in-law's visit. They must have had Leopold in mind in particular; they feared Maria Anna would try to acquire the archbishopric of Toledo (recently renounced by Archduke Albert) for him.[11] They agreed to allow Maria Anna to come only if she left her sons at home.

This did not stop the negotiations, of course. Margaret and her mother tried to have either Maximilian Ernest or Leopold sent to Spain to be educated there (Charles, born in 1590, was probably considered too young at this stage). While the destiny of the second eldest, Maximilian Ernest, was undecided, the two youngest brothers Leopold and Charles were destined for the Church, and Philip II himself had intervened to enable Leopold's election as co-adjutor to the bishop of Passau.[12] Maria Anna had more plans for her third-born: if he could just come to Castile for his education, he would first continue his theological studies in Salamanca before acquiring a Spanish bishopric and a cardinalate, and once he attained these positions, he might well be appointed to the governorship of Portugal, Milan or Naples.[13] It is not hard to see where Maria Anna got her inspiration: essentially, she suggested that Leopold follow the path recently trodden by Albert. But Philip III and Lerma would have none of this. After this plan failed, the two women set their sights on the governorship of Portugal for Maximilian Ernest. This, it seems, was granted,[14] but the young archduke was not inclined to it and nothing came of it.[15]

Margaret's mother clearly used her daughter's marriage to create career possibilities for her non-inheriting sons, similar to what happened after Anna of Austria married Philip II in 1570. But throughout Philip III's reign, the Styrian Habsburgs would encounter stiff competition from a perhaps unexpected corner: Savoy. Philip III's sister Catalina had married Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy (son of Emmanuel Philibert) in 1585 and had soon given birth to a string of princes and princesses. If a Habsburg identity had been important during the reign of Philip II, it was decisively trumped by kinship during Philip III's: Philip III clearly preferred his Savoyard nephews over his Austrian second cousins and brothers-in-law. The Styrian marriage negotiations took place in a period where other negotiations were also in full swing, namely for the travel of some Savoyard nephews to Spain for their education. The Styrians clearly recognised the danger: a Savoyard diplomat reported to his home court that 'the faction of the Archduke' was against their arrival, and Maria Anna's efforts to send her own sons to Spain for their education were probably meant to neutralise the Savoyard threat.[16] The new King's emotional preference for the Savoyards (they were his sister's children and his father's grandchildren, and a stream of letters about them and portraits of them had been flowing to Madrid for years) explains his aloofness towards his new brothers-in-law. But the royal favourites of the seventeenth century would also become an ever greater obstacle to royal careers, with their almost complete control of royal patronage and with their own relatives to consider. In the end, neither Leopold nor any Savoyard prince would become

the new archbishop of Toledo – the duke of Lerma's uncle was appointed to the position.[17]

## The Sons of Catalina

Philip III's Savoyard nephews were the children of his sister, the Infanta Catalina Micaela. Infanta Catalina was born in 1567, daughter of Philip II and his third wife Isabelle of Valois, herself a daughter of the French king Henry II and his Italian spouse Catherine de Medici, after whom Catalina was named. She was the second daughter born of the match, after her sister Isabella Clara Eugenia (born 1566). In 1585, the Infanta married Charles Emmanuel, the young duke of Savoy (1562–1630). In contrast to both her mother and grandmother, who had had to endure years of childlessness before finally producing children, Catalina proved fecund from the start: she gave birth to five boys and five girls between 1586 and her death in 1597. Nine children reached adulthood: Filippo Emanuele (1586), Vittorio Amedeo (1587), Emanuele Filiberto (1588), Margherita (1588), Isabella (1591), Maurizio (1593), Maria Apollonia (1594), Francesca Caterina (1595) and Tommaso Francesco (1596). Therefore, during the last years of Philip II's life, while Ernest and Albert were embarking on their careers and a new set of archdukes entered the Spanish orbit from Styria, a cohort of Italian royal grandchildren was growing up. Even though their mother died young, she would prove of immense significance for them: being *her* children would define their relationship with the Spanish monarchy throughout their lives. But they also had a father, the mercurial Charles Emmanuel, whose relationship with the Spanish kings was rocky at the best of times. Like Maria Anna of Bavaria, he would be at the centre of protracted negotiations for the future of his children.

As soon as Catalina and Charles Emmanuel's children were born, they were presented to their grandfather Philip II as his and his heir's future servants. Expressing one's desire to be a faithful servant was part of polite conversation, so we should not read too much into assertions by the parents such as 'I wish [prince Philip's] nephews were older so that they could serve Your Majesty and him, since they are so many that they could form a company of soldiers, which I hope they will do'.[18] But in these years, the careers of Alessandro, Albert and Wenceslaus had taken shape, so these phrases were also more than just niceties. With an eye on their careers, the possibility of an education at the Spanish court was already discussed in 1592, when Philip II rejoiced to his daughter at the idea of seeing his grandsons soon (Fig. 6.3).[19] While the children were then still too young – the eldest was barely six years old – such expressions indicate that everyone took for granted that the princes would one day meet their grandfather.[20]

As the journey was delayed, it became something of a bone of contention. In 1595 Charles Emmanuel complained to the Spanish ambassador in Turin about the lack of favours for his children, claiming that the King had not

*Figure 6.3* Portrait of the Princes Vittorio Amedeo (1587–1637), Emanuele Filiberto (1588–1624) and Filippo Emanuele (1586–1605) of Savoy, by Jan Kraeck, c. 1592/95.

*Source*: Alamy.

granted permission for two of them to travel to the Spanish court 'to be at the feet of Your Majesty and the prince'. This stung particularly since the archdukes Ernest and Albert had received so much confidence and money.[21] In the 1590s, then, Charles Emmanuel saw the previous generation of archdukes

both as models and as rivals for his own children. He intended to secure the future of some of his sons before sending them to the Spanish court. Geopolitical factors helped the Duke. In 1588, Charles Emmanuel had annexed the French-held enclave of Saluzzo and he had been at war over it ever since. Philip II was at war with France as well: he refused to accept Henry IV's claim to the French throne and instead advanced that of his elder daughter – a granddaughter of Henry II and thus niece of the last Valois kings. Father-in-law and son-in-law were allies, but Charles Emmanuel was unhappy about the level of military support he got from Spain, and he complained about the lack of favour shown to his sons.[22] In this context, the Spanish ambassador in Turin suggested awarding a few favours to the young Savoyard princes, which would be cheaper than sending troops.[23] In 1596, Philip wrote to his daughter to say that he had decided to award the priorate of Castile in the Order of St John to one of his grandsons – she could decide which one.[24] As we already saw in the previous chapter, Philip had intended to appoint his nephew Archduke Wenceslaus to this office. Wenceslaus only had to wait for both incumbents to die, but it was the young archduke who died first in 1578, and it was only in 1591 that the second of the two aristocratic priors died and the office became vacant at last.[25] Offering it to Turin would placate Charles Emmanuel while bringing his sons firmly into the orbit of the Spanish court.

This was all the more necessary because Charles Emmanuel had begun to lean towards France: in the summer of 1595, he signed a ceasefire with Henry IV,[26] much to the disgust of Philip,[27] and he considered marrying his eldest daughter Margherita to the young prince of Condé, Henry IV's cousin and heir at the time.[28] This apparent alignment with France made it imperative that the children would be raised to be pro-Spanish. The Spanish ambassador spoke of 'taking some of these princes there' ('*llevar allá algunos destos príncipes*') to make sure that the Duke 'is careful' ('*mire con cuydado*'). But no action was taken at the time, and similarly Emanuele Filiberto – the third son, who had been selected to become prior of Castile[29] – did not receive his official appointment yet, either. These favours were left dangling before the disloyal Charles Emmanuel's eyes.

In the end, Philip II would never meet his grandchildren as he died before they travelled to Spain. The decision was left up to his successor Philip III. The new King can barely have remembered a time when a meeting with his nephews was not being discussed somehow, and maybe because of this, he became a strong advocate for their swift arrival after his accession in 1598. Charles Emmanuel – at war again with France while Spain had just signed a peace – was not willing at that moment to send his eldest son, arguing that his subjects would not accept the absence of their future lord.[30] This rebuff was unacceptable to the Spanish Council of State. The councillors advised the King to take great offence at the refusal to send the heir, primarily because if he came, he could be counted on to become pro-Spanish, while if he remained in Turin, he would most likely become pro-French.[31]

In 1600, Philip III cranked up the pressure. In the secret instruction to his ambassador in Savoy, Philip reiterated that he had made it clear before that he wanted to see his nephews, particularly Filippo Emanuele, and that, although Charles Emmanuel was their father, Philip had loved their mother very much and that therefore 'their upbringing and provision should always be to my satisfaction'. These statements seem to indicate that Philip saw himself as the boys' dynastic superior, outranking even their father. Stressing his own authority even more, Philip instructed his ambassador to suggest that Charles Emmanuel could 'do them a lot of harm if he does not act according to my wishes'.[32] To placate Charles Emmanuel, Philip finalised Emanuele Filiberto's appointment to the priorate of St John.[33] The twelve-year-old wrote a thank-you letter, writing tellingly, 'I am certain that Your Majesty will employ me in his royal service my entire life, which I beg of Your Majesty with all possible humility and appreciation'.[34] What we see happening is that Philip III was much more assertive in claiming authority over his nephews; a sentiment which Charles Emmanuel undoubtedly resented, but had also fed by his clamouring for favours and service for his children. Indeed, if we may suspect the father's voice of shining through in the son's letter, Charles Emmanuel expected his third-born to be taken care of for life.

But in 1600, Charles Emmanuel was not quite ready to send his sons. He embarked on a slow process of rapprochement with France, taking an ever more critical and ultimately even hostile stance towards Spain.[35] His agents in Spain had to plead with the Duke to send the boys. Not only were some powerful Spanish bureaucrats losing patience, but after Philip's marriage with the Styrian Margaret, her family entered the scene as contenders – supported by, or forming, the elusive 'faction of the Archduke'.[36] Another factor stood in the way of the princes' speedy departure: the Queen's pregnancy. Queen Margaret became pregnant in early 1601. If she gave birth to a boy, Charles Emmanuel would not send his eldest son. After all, as long as neither Philip III nor Isabella and Albert had any children, Filippo Emanuele was directly in line to inherit the throne. But if Margaret gave birth to a son, Filippo's chances were strongly reduced, and his future would be in Savoy. Also, before sending his sons, the Duke wanted to assure the future of Vittorio Amedeo, the second son, in the shape of a cardinalate and benefices to the value of about 100,000 scudi.[37] After the birth of the Infanta Anna in September 1601, a healthy child for whom Filippo would make a suitable groom, the sons' visit was considered to only be a matter of time: the chronicler Luis Cabrera de Córdoba noted that 'everyone is certain that the three eldest sons of the duke of Savoy will arrive this summer, to reside here and be educated a few years, as has been discussed ever since His Majesty's father was alive'.[38] Finally, in 1603, the three eldest boys – seventeen-year-old Filippo Emanuele, sixteen-year-old Vittorio Amedeo and fifteen-year-old Emanuele Filiberto – arrived in Spain.

In preparation for the princes' arrival, Philip III ordered the Council of State to discuss how they would be addressed once they arrived in Castile.

The councillors clearly assumed that Filippo, as heir to the duchy of Savoy, would be styled 'His Highness', but what about the younger ones? In a draft *consulta* which was not sent to the King, the president of the Council of Religious Orders felt that they should be styled 'His Excellency', since they would most likely become clerics (Vittorio was a candidate to receive the Portuguese priorate of Ocrato[39]).[40] This section was omitted from the *consulta* which was sent to Philip III. In that document, the councillors presented a unanimous front, deciding on the style of 'Highness' for all the Savoyard princes, because each was 'a son of the lady infanta Doña Catalina, grandson of the king our lord, and nephew of Your Majesty' and they went on to argue that

> because the honour he is shown should correspond with this, it seemed that when making the distinction [between eldest and younger princes] people could think that the honour shown to the eldest is because of his status as firstborn of Savoy and not as a son of the lady Infanta, grandson of the King our lord and nephew of Your Majesty on which his status should be based, because it is clear that if this was not the case, they would receive a very different treatment, and that is why we agreed that there should be no difference.[41]

In short, the princes of Savoy were considered to be sons of a Spanish infanta rather than of the duke of Savoy. Giving them the style of 'Highnesses' was a confirmation of their Habsburg birth, thus marking them as members of the Habsburg dynasty.

As del Río Barredo noted, older Italian authors have considered the Savoyard princes to have been hostages at the Spanish court to ensure the loyalty of their father, although their preferential treatment as close relatives of Philip III rather implies that they were guests of honour.[42] Del Río herself places the journey in the context of the educational practices of the Italian princely houses, which included educational stints for young princes at foreign courts. The Spanish court was a logical destination for the Savoyard princes – and not, say, the French or imperial courts – because they were so close to the succession.[43] As we have seen, there has been a similar debate about Alessandro Farnese: were they hostages or were they typical Italian princes finishing their education? If we consider all the difficulties that had gone into the princes' arrival, it becomes clear that this trip was not merely about providing an education at one of the most prestigious courts in Europe. For Philip III, it had much to do with exerting control over the futures of Catalina's sons. Claiming authority over them by virtue of being their uncle, the King intended to make sure the next duke of Savoy would be a loyal Spanish client. As before, when discussing Alessandro Farnese, I would argue that this court education was meant to firmly socialise the nephews into the Habsburg dynasty. A stay at court would make them Habsburgs, or at least loyal to the Habsburgs. In a sense, a Spanish education for the children served as a

consolidation of the alliance forged by the marriage of their parents, ensuring lasting political loyalty.

But Charles Emmanuel was only willing to give up control if he, and they, stood to benefit considerably. Comparisons to and a wish to emulate the previous generation of nephews were palpable in the correspondence of the Savoyard diplomats and of Charles Emmanuel himself, who often referred to the archdukes (particularly Ernest and Albert). Such analogies to Albert became even more pronounced once the princes had arrived. Vittorio was immediately rumoured to not only be about to become a cardinal, but also viceroy of Portugal – an even clearer mimicking of Albert's career. These rumours started before the princes had even reached the royal court, and in the years to come, the possibility of the cardinalate and viceroyalty was mentioned time and again.[44] The Savoyard entourage of the princes continuously mentioned them, which means that these appointments remained an important ambition for the House of Savoy.[45] Filippo had a distant shot at the throne, through direct inheritance or otherwise through marriage to the future queen of Spain. Vittorio was to be set up as the family cardinal – a long-standing ambition of the House of Savoy which had lacked one until now – bankrolled by the Spanish Church. Vittorio was clearly meant to become 'the new Albert', and Filiberto, as the grand prior of Castile, 'the new Wenceslaus'.

In any case, the expectation that the princes of Savoy would copy the archdukes' careers signifies how a certain role for nephews within the monarchy had come into existence. Whereas Albert and Wenceslaus's appointments had been quite unanticipated when they first arrived in Spain – their elder brothers had returned home without any appointments, and no expectations existed for the younger boys either – the three princes of Savoy and their father knew precisely what they wanted from the new King. An education at the royal court would not merely serve to polish their manners and to do some networking but was seen as a stepping stone to greater favours and lifelong careers in Spanish service.

### Filiberto: Forging a New Role

Any plans made by either Philip III or Charles Emmanuel were disrupted by the sudden death of Filippo Emanuele in 1605. The King had his nephew buried in the Escorial with the honours of an infante (as discussed in Chapter 3). The honours bestowed on Filippo reflected the genuine affection Philip III felt for his nephews, but it also confirmed their position within the Habsburg extended family. Filippo was again treated as a Spanish infante, quite consistent with his previous treatment as 'Your Highness' *as Catalina's son*. Filippo's death sent a shockwave through the House of Savoy. Charles Emmanuel was by all accounts a difficult brother-in-law, but also a devoted father. He started pushing for the return of his remaining sons immediately. Vittorio, who had neither been created a cardinal nor appointed viceroy of Portugal yet, was now the heir to the Savoyard duchy and as such no longer earmarked for

such offices. Instead, Charles Emmanuel wanted to have him by his side.[46] Filiberto, most firmly drawn into the Habsburg orbit as grand prior of Castile, became the focus for further advancement. Seeing that the duke of Savoy was adamant about his sons' return, the Spanish court mentioned all kinds of favours and appointments to change his mind: Filiberto might be appointed viceroy of Portugal, while Maurizio (now the third son) would be made a cardinal and even the youngest, Tommaso, would be taken care of with a priory in the Order of St John. The Duke's many daughters would receive dowries.[47] Philip's councillors wanted Vittorio to remain in Spain '*hasta que tome estado*' – that is until his marriage, much like Alessandro Farnese half a century earlier.[48] Since it was impossible for Charles Emmanuel to marry his son to an undesirable bride while Vittorio was in Spain, this basically meant that Philip III would have the final say on the matter. None of these promises would materialise and Charles Emmanuel succeeded in getting his sons home, unmarried. But shortly before their departure, another appointment was floated, one which lacked the prestige of the Portuguese viceroyalty, but was a much more realistic prospect: the generalship of the Mediterranean fleet.[49]

The generalship had once been held by Don Juan de Austria but had since been in the hands of Gian Andrea Doria, head of the famous Genoese house that had supplied countless naval commanders to the Habsburgs. As general of the fleet, Doria was in overall command of several regional squadrons, based in Castile, Naples and Sicily and supplemented by the squadrons of Italian allies like Genoa, Savoy and Tuscany. Over sixty years old in 1601, Doria had been allowed to retire while keeping his salary and title.[50] Since the office was considered to be one of 'authority, rather than substance', the governor of Milan thought it could do no harm to appoint Charles Emmanuel to it.[51] But while Doria lived, no new general was appointed. In February 1606, the old admiral died, and the office could finally be awarded to someone else. The first person to petition for it was the count of Niebla, commander of the galleys of Castile. As an experienced naval officer and son-in-law of Philip III's favourite, the duke of Lerma, Niebla might be considered a good candidate. But he was denied. The Savoyard ambassador let Charles Emmanuel know that Philip did not want to award the office to 'so low' a candidate ('*si bas*'), but instead wanted to give it to someone of the House of Savoy.[52] At the same time, the King wanted to reduce feuding among the squadron commanders and improve the coordination between them.[53] A general of royal blood would be better able to command the respect and obedience of all the aristocratic commanders, which would increase the effectiveness of the Mediterranean naval forces. In June 1606, Filiberto was rumoured to be the prime candidate.[54] Filiberto, present at court until the summer of 1606, was already a vassal of the king as the prior of St John, and he had turned eighteen in April. He would make a perfect new, dynastic general.

As had happened with the priorate, Filiberto would have to wait for several years before the appointment was finalised. This had much to do with deteriorating relations between Charles Emmanuel and Philip III. The duke

of Savoy had embarked on a decidedly pro-French course. He closed off the Spanish Road to the Habsburg armies heading north between 1605 and 1607,[55] he married off his daughters to the heirs of Mantua and Modena without involving Philip and he started negotiating a French marriage for Vittorio.[56] Taking advantage of Philip's apprehension about all this, Charles Emmanuel suggested a marriage between Vittorio and the Infanta Anna instead, with the Low Countries as her dowry.[57] Nothing came of the marriage, but the King did promise the generalship to Filiberto, and he also promised to nominate Filiberto's younger brother Maurizio for the bishopric of Monreale in Naples. In addition, the King offered a place at the Descalzas monastery to one of their sisters. However, the appointments fell through when the Spanish became aware of plans for a joint invasion of Milan by Charles Emmanuel and the king of France, and the income from Maurizio's bishopric was promised to Archduke Leopold instead.[58] The invasion was only averted because Henry IV died on 14 May 1610 and his widow, Marie de Médicis, quickly abandoned the anti-Spanish policies of her late husband. Naturally, the Spanish were enraged.

In this new climate, Filiberto travelled back to Spain – a step seen as a conscious choice on Filiberto's part to 'remain Spanish' and that was supported by Charles Emmanuel, who hoped to mend his relationship with Philip III.[59] The Council of State also demanded Filiberto's return so that his incomes from the grand priory would not fall into Charles Emmanuel's hands and be used against the Spanish.[60] The favours for Filiberto's brother and sister were taken off the table immediately, but not the generalship. But before Filiberto could receive it, he and his father had to make amends. This entailed accepting some chilly treatment and offering an apology. [61] Filiberto was lodged in a building connected to the palace by a passageway, which was closed off – either, as he wrote to his father, 'because of renovation works, or to treat me a little like a foreigner'.[62] He was even forced to exchange his Savoyard household for Spaniards.[63] Filiberto apologised to the King on behalf of his father, [64] but it was a rather cursory apology and the court expected more.[65] Despite the fact that no more apologies were forthcoming, the court chronicler Cabrera de Córdoba reported that 'they said that they told [Filiberto] to make ready for a voyage, some say to become viceroy of Portugal, others to take up the office of general of the Mediterranean'.[66] On 14 November, Filiberto could finally write to his father that the appointment had been settled.[67] In the future, the generalship would remain a royal preserve. Along with becoming dynastic, it became more prestigious. In a description of Filiberto's obsequies, the generalship was called 'the greatest office this Crown awards', and Filiberto was succeeded by Philip IV's younger brother Don Carlos with the upgraded title 'príncipe de la mar'.[68]

Filiberto's rise in Habsburg service did not end with his appointment to the generalship. In 1621, he would also be appointed viceroy of Sicily. The appointment came about soon after the death of his uncle Philip III. The new king, Philip IV, was just a week shy of his sixteenth birthday, and his ascent

to the throne caused a scramble for power and influence. Filiberto was egged on by the Savoyard ambassador in Madrid to secure power for himself.[69] Filiberto met his royal cousin in the hunting lodge at Aranjuez. There, Filiberto was lodged 'in the same quarters where His Majesty stayed when he was prince, and he is being served as if he were the person of the king'.[70] During this stay at Aranjuez, Philip had probably notified Filiberto that he intended to appoint him viceroy of Sicily, or at least to send him to Sicily to prepare the fleet to counter a possible Ottoman invasion.[71] The appointment was communicated to Filiberto in October.[72]

Filiberto's appointment served to distance him from his family, since as viceroy of Sicily he would be required to reside alternately in Palermo and Messina. Savoy had renewed its alliance with France after Louis XIII had taken power from his pro-Spanish mother in 1617. This had resulted in the marriage of Vittorio and Louis's sister Christine in 1619. The new Franco-Savoyard alliance was widely celebrated, and in this context the younger brothers Maurizio and Tommaso entered French service as well.[73] In the light of the 'defection' of Vittorio and his brothers, the King perhaps wanted to claim Filiberto unambiguously for Habsburg service, thus limiting the number of his kinsmen in service of his enemies and getting Filiberto out of Turin. Once in office, Filiberto stressed the link between his paternal and maternal families and his own semi-royal status by placing portraits of all the kings of Spain (starting with Charles V) and of his parents and siblings in the gallery of his viceregal palace in Palermo.[74]

As had happened with the generalship, Filiberto's tenure served to turn the viceroyalty in something of a dynastic office. Certainly, the connection of the viceroyalty of Sicily – or Naples – with the generalship would prove to be popular in the future. A year after Filiberto's death, Olivares suggested just this combination of offices for one of the King's younger brothers.[75] Philip IV's illegitimate son Don Juan would also combine the generalship with Sicily, and Chapter 7 shows how the Medici tried to obtain these offices as well. As in the case of Archduke Albert, who established the cardinal-Portugal combination (so often rumoured to be bestowed on Vittorio), Filiberto's career created a new format for nepotal careers: the offices of the priorate and generalship had become dynastic. Albert and Filiberto thus played similar role in institutionalising dynastic offices. But there were differences too. Offices like the governorships had often been filled by royal relatives on the express demands of subjects, for instance, in the Low Countries and Portugal. But Filiberto's offices, particularly the priorate and the generalship, were granted on the King's own initiative and served to enhance royal authority in Castile and around the Mediterranean.

## The Daughters of Catalina

The sixteenth-century rise of the Arch-Nephew had a parallel in the disappearance of widows – that is, their disappearance from governing positions. As we saw in the previous chapter, a new form of female Habsburg action

had been developed by Juana, Maria and Sister Margaret of the Cross, one that associated them closely with monastic life. As Magdalena S. Sánchez argued in her seminal study of the 'The Empress [Maria], the Queen [Margaret of Austria] and the Nun [Margaret of the Cross]', the Descalzas monastery developed into a court space – both an extension of the royal palace and a rival power centre.[76] The women leading a monastic life served the dynasty in two important ways: they fortified the dynasty's religious identity by exercising piety, and they kept up communications between the dynasty's various branches. Sister Margaret – the Infanta Monja – was a cloistered nun but kept up a busy correspondence from within the confines of her monastery.[77]

As in other aspects of Habsburg dynastic dynamics, generational shifts also changed the role of the women at the Descalzas. Juana had already died in 1573, and Empress Maria died in 1603. This left Sister Margaret of the Cross as the senior Habsburg in the monastery. Part of her activity was geared towards securing the continuation of a dynastic presence in the monastery by recruiting a young niece.[78] Margaret's drive was probably connected to the death of Empress Maria, but perhaps also to the court's move to Valladolid (1601–1606). This meant that Margaret of the Cross not only became quite isolated in the convent but also lost contact with her relatives outside of it. She was especially deprived of the company of the royal children. It is obvious from some of her letters to Philip that she missed seeing them.[79] In addition, being the convent's new matriarch – although never its abbess – possibly caused her to think of the dynasty's future there, and she might have been out to recruit a successor, but this is not certain. The correspondence shows that a destiny in the Descalzas was not necessarily in store for such a niece; instead, a marriage might be arranged for her via the Spanish court.[80] This indicates that Margaret was at this time more interested in educating a young relative rather than securing a dynastic presence in the monastery. In the early seventeenth century, the female 'role' of 'matriarch of the Descalzas', to be taken up later by the illegitimate daughters, was still evolving.

The prime candidates were two legitimate relatives: a daughter and a granddaughter of Infanta Catalina, both also called Catalina. Catalina, the daughter, was a target of recruitment in 1609 and 1610. We have already seen that the two eldest princesses of Savoy married the duke of Mantua and the prince of Modena, respectively, in 1608. These marriages were highly unpopular with their uncle Philip III: the Spanish king aimed to avoid alliances between the princes of northern Italy in general, and he considered these two princesses, his nieces, as *his* to marry off. Instead, Charles Emmanuel had negotiated these marriages without any involvement of the King, failing to safeguard his interests. Most likely in response to this, Philip pushed for the transfer of another daughter, the said Catalina, to the Descalzas. In March 1609, he wrote to his brother-in-law that he wished his youngest niece to come to Madrid 'because I want to take responsibility for her'.[81] This wish was reiterated in 1610.[82] That Francesca Caterina, or Catalina,[83] was identified as a possible new addition to the monastery gives a clue about the type of young companion that Margaret had in mind. Born 1595, she was the

fourth and youngest surviving daughter, and namesake, of Infanta Catalina. Since children who bore the names of specific forebears were thought to also possess their character traits, sending a young Catalina to Madrid was like reuniting the fondly remembered Infanta Catalina with her family.

However, Catalina of Savoy never made the trip as relations between her father and uncle broke down irretrievably in 1610. Philip III's interest in his nieces did not cool because of this. On the contrary, having control over them under these new circumstances could be considered even more crucial than before, and we have seen that Charles Emmanuel's betrayal did not negatively impact Philip's relationship with Filiberto. Certainly, having the younger princesses in his custody would serve to socialise them firmly into the Habsburg dynasty, while Philip III could also prevent them from being married to French aristocrats, or any other groom that did not suit his interests. However, the breakdown in relations killed any wish on the part of the duke of Savoy to send his daughter over. Instead, the Duke started talks to marry Catalina to the duke of Nemours, a distant kinsman who had married into the French aristocracy – a marriage of which Philip III (again) disapproved.[84]

But Margaret of the Cross remained extremely interested in having a young companion, and she found an ally in Filiberto. Filiberto, back in Castile after Charles Emmanuel's betrayal, reported regularly to his father that he visited the 'Infanta monaca' in her monastery, where she continued to ask after the Savoyard princesses.[85] In 1621, another Catalina came into focus: Caterina d'Este, the fourth child and eldest daughter to be born to Alfonso of Modena and Isabella of Savoy, Infanta Catalina's second daughter. Isabella's children were Catalina's only grandchildren (apart from the young duchess of Monferrato[86]) and thus excellent candidates to perpetuate her memory and fortify the links between the Habsburgs and their Italian collaterals. As an eldest daughter, Catalina was an important dynastic pawn for her family; conceivably, a younger sister might have been considered a better candidate for the monastery. But Catalina's next-younger sisters were only infants, born in 1619 and 1620. Catalina, on the other hand, was about eight years old – perhaps old enough to travel.[87] But again, we might suspect that her auspicious name tipped the balance. Catalina arrived in Madrid in March 1621.[88] Once there, she 'took the veil',[89] which should be understood as becoming a novice rather than taking her vows as a nun. This did, however, seem to put Catalina on much more of a course towards monastic life than was the case when the stay of Catalina of Savoy was discussed in 1609–10. The Estensi made use of the Spanish wish to have Catalina to ask for favours for other children as well: a dowry for Catalina's oldest, unmarried aunt (Giulia, in her early thirties) and an education at Salamanca University for her two brothers.[90]

Catalina was not the only young relative in the Descalzas at the time. Rudolf II's illegitimate daughter (and thus Margaret's real niece) Ana Dorotea of Austria had arrived at around the same time, as a child of some eleven years old (Fig. 6.4).[91] In previous centuries, such illegitimate daughters often

*Figure 6.4* Fresco in the Chapel of the Miracle, in the Descalzas monastery, showing from left to right Margaret of the Cross, Ana Dorotea of Austria and Catalina d'Este.

*Source*: Alamy.

served their paternal families through marriage.[92] For both the illegitimate Ana Dorotea and the Estense Catalina, their entrance into the monastery was a public affair with the royal family in attendance, which served to officially present them as Habsburg family members.[93] When the gazetteer Torquemada gave an account of a visit to the monastery, he described the two high-ranking girls as follows: 'one is the daughter of the Emperor, and the other is the daughter of the duke of Modena, niece of Prince Filiberto, daughter of his sister, and both of them nieces of Her Highness the Infanta Margarita'.[94] The audience consisted not only of the Spanish court, but essentially all the courts of Europe since the resident ambassadors also reported on these events.[95]

It is hard to say what role Catalina played in court politics or diplomatic relations between Modena and Spain, or if there was any rivalry between her and Ana Dorothea (a reincarnation of the two 'factions' of the archdukes and the House of Savoy?). But we can say with certainty what the Modenese envoy Ferrari thought: he explicitly cast Catalina in the role of Margaret of the Cross's successor, writing that 'it is taken for a certainty that, after the demise of the Infanta Nun, who suffers many ailments, she will be the absolute mistress of this monastery, and will have great influence with His Majesty and the Infantes'.[96] Indeed, in a letter of the same day to Catalina's grandfather, Ferrari clarified that Catalina would surely take over the captaincy of the convent in view of the royal family's affection and the other nuns' respect.[97] The secretary never tired of reporting that Catalina was 'an example of virtue and prudence, loved by all and as well-respected as ever', while Margaret of the Cross was getting on in years.[98] Had Catalina lived longer, she might have eclipsed Ana Dorotea.

But this was not to happen. In late August 1626, Catalina's mother Isabella died, and the young novice took the death very hard. The news reached the Spanish court in October, and after hearing it, the King, Queen and their family members went to the Descalzas to offer their condolences to Sister Margaret and Catalina.[99] Over the next year and a half, Ferrari, who reported faithfully on both Margaret's and Catalina's health, noted ever more bouts of fever.[100] She was ill most of the winter.[101] Only in August 1627 could Ferrari report that she had returned 'to pristine health' and was ready to write to her grandfather again, to his great joy ('*grand giubilo*').[102] But while she remained in good health, it proved too difficult a task to write home.[103] In November, Ferrari wrote that she was well again.[104] But in January – after a silence of several months about her condition – he had to write to the duke of Modena that his granddaughter had died suddenly.[105] The conditions of her death were obscure. The biographer of Sister Margaret devoted considerable attention to Caterina's piety and devotion, but only a few words to her death – 'after a short sickbed she attained the crown of heaven' – attributing the death to fever.[106] The Savoyard ambassador – Catalina was a granddaughter of Duke Charles Emmanuel – referred to her '*infermità ethica*', suggesting some form of mental issue, but he described her otherwise as an '*angela*' and reported on the lavish and honourable funeral.[107]

The circumstances of her death had not remained secret to all. A persistent Tuscan ambassador clearly had well-informed sources in the monastery, and he could send more accurate updates to his home court. After the death of her mother, Catalina had wanted to return to Italy. She had only come to Spain out of obedience to her mother, and now she no longer felt bound to it. He described her condition already in the winter of 1627 as melancholy, and the situation was serious enough that two nuns were ordered to be with her at all times, while Philip IV and Sister Margaret were trying to keep quiet about it.[108] Soon after her death, he wrote home that she had simply stopped eating, and her fellow nuns could not persuade her to resume.[109] The truth was that Catalina died a death that was remarkably similar to Don Carlos's death in 1568. Suffering from bouts of melancholy ever since her mother's death, she refused to eat anything for thirteen days. The distraught nuns had to use violence to force some fluids down her throat with a syringe. It appears as if she might have lost consciousness, but processions, prayer and other pious acts restored her enough to receive the sacraments and to ask for food again. But it was too late: the food that she ate did her more harm than good and she died.[110]

Her burial became an opportunity to reaffirm her royal and Habsburg status, nevertheless. Philip IV ordered the president of the Council of Castile, Cardinal Trejo, to attend the funeral mass – an honour only allowed 'royal persons'. The King himself was not present, but a host of councillors and courtiers were, and her coffin was carried by *grandes*.[111] In addition, she was buried under the '*primo altare*', where Empress Maria and possibly also Queen Isabella of Valois had previously rested – one of the altars of the monastery's cloister, on the wall bordering on the church[112] – 'because His Majesty wanted her to be buried in a royal vault'.[113] Since Catalina came from a ducal family, all these signs of royal status could only refer to her Habsburg background.

Under these circumstances, Ana Dorotea would be the one to start a new tradition of *illegitimate* matriarchs in the Descalzas. After having come to the monastery as a child, she in her turn would lobby for other girls to come: she made sure that Mariana, daughter of the Cardinal-Infante, remained in the Descalzas instead of being transferred to Las Huelgas.[114] Ana Dorotea also requested that Margarita, Don Juan's daughter, come to the Descalzas when she was around four years old – apparently having to neutralise some competition by the Encarnación monastery (Fig. 6.5).[115] However, the acceptance of these illegitimate daughters, Mariana and Margarita, seems to have been a rather muted affair compared to the ceremonial introductions of Catalina d'Este and Ana Dorotea. When Mariana took the habit at five years old, her uncle Philip IV ordered that she do it 'without publicity or fuss, because that's not necessary at all'.[116] The arrival, and identity, of Don Juan's daughter Margarita was best kept secret as well, according to the King, when she took the habit at six years old.[117]

These three ladies have recently received increased attention from historians, particularly Ana Dorotea, who served as a conduit between the two

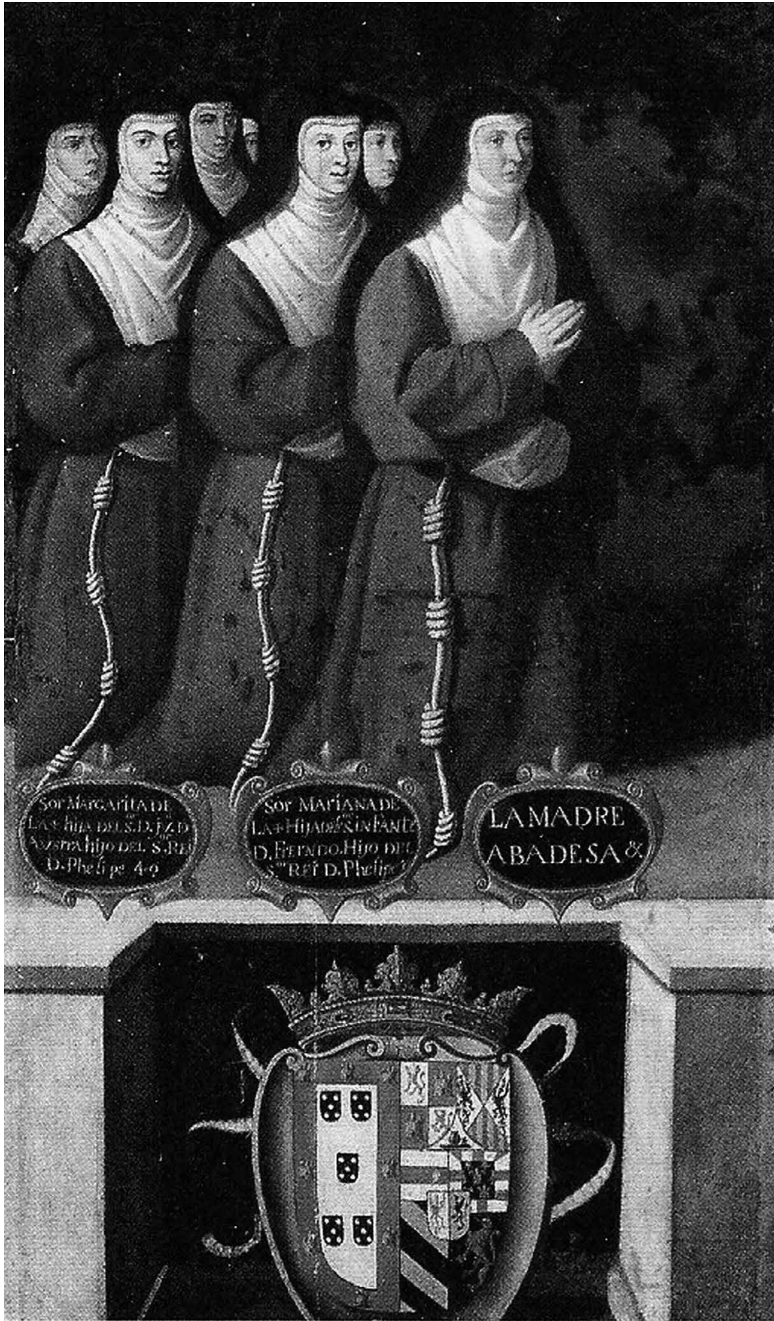


*Figure 6.5* Fresco in the Chapel of the Miracle, in the Descalzas monastery, showing from left to right Margarita, daughter of Don Juan; Mariana, daughter of Cardinal-Infante Fernando; and the Abbess.

*Source*: Alamy.

branches of the family much as Margaret of the Cross herself had done, and Mariana, who served as a kind of clearing house for correspondence between Habsburgs queens in Spain and France.[118] As it happened, the Descalzas became a place where illegitimate Habsburg daughters could find a prestigious and influential role for themselves. Their illegitimate birth did, however, bring with it some limitations. While Ana Dorotea could function as a liaison between Spain and Vienna, Mariana and Margaret had no powerful maternal family networks and, perhaps as a result, their correspondence served intra-familial purposes, connecting the Habsburg queen of France to her home court.[119] The Habsburg women in the monastery were strong supporters of Charles II's mother and regent, Queen Mariana, keeping her informed of court politics even after she was banished from court.[120] Ana Dorotea, Sister Margaret's heir as the 'Infanta Monja', corresponded regularly with the Austrian ambassador Khevenhüller and with the papal court.[121] She also corresponded with Philip IV directly about both political and personal matters.[122] Sister Mariana, the Cardinal's daughter, corresponded regularly with her cousin Maria Teresa, queen of France, among other things about a marriage between Charles II and a French princess.[123] All of the Habsburg women linked to the Descalzas – nuns or not – were also buried there. This robbed the Escorial of an important segment of the Habsburg dynasty, the 'pious branch', and instead made the monastery a depository of female *pietas austriaca*. It created a gender divide between the Escorial and the Descalzas that mirrored the increasing masculinity of the dynastic ruling group: only nephews and male bastards were buried in the Escorial, while the nieces and female bastards were buried in the Descalzas.

### The Portugal Problem

Philip III appears to have been unwilling to appoint relatives to the post in Lisbon. According to the agreements of Tomar, the governorship of Portugal was to be held either by Portuguese nationals or by a close relative of the king: a child, sibling or nephew/niece. Philip III chose Portuguese nationals. Relatives and courtiers were relegated to spreading rumours about imminent appointments. Olival argues that this was in part due to a lack of suitable relatives during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, especially after Infanta Isabella had taken up residency in the Low Countries.[124] This is not entirely true, considering that both monarchs had several nephews available. We have already seen that Queen Margaret thought of her brother Maximilian Ernest for the post, while Charles Emmanuel of Savoy saw either Vittorio or Filiberto travelling there. Another factor in Philip III's reluctance to employ his relatives may have been the fact that his government was dominated by his favourite, the duke of Lerma, who had a vested interest in appointing his own 'creatures' and relatives to posts in the monarchy. We have already noticed that the newly appointed archbishop of Toledo was a member of Lerma's circle rather than a royal relative. Whatever the reason, Portugal was off the

table during Philip III's reign, but not for lack of ambitious relatives, nor for want of a Portuguese desire for a royal governor: when Philip III visited the kingdom in 1619, the Portuguese asked for a royal governor – the crown prince, or his youngest brother-in-law Archduke Charles of Styria. Philip III ignored all these suggestions, but the latter would in fact be appointed by Philip IV.[125] The possible appointment of 'Uncle Charles' represents something of a turning point. Firstly, it inverted the uncle-nephew relationship, highlighting Philip IV's lack of suitable junior family members. Charles had never been considered for a Spanish career – in contrast to people like Wenceslaus, Albert or Filiberto, who had been groomed since childhood for it, or even his brothers Leopold and Maximilian Ernest – but instead turned to the Spanish king after his dynastic career in the Holy Roman Empire seemed to run aground. In this sense, Charles prefigures other candidates to dynastic office in Philip IV's reign, so it is interesting to take a closer look at him.

Archduke Charles was the youngest of four brothers.[126] Their father, Archduke Charles of Styria, who died before his youngest son had been born, had stipulated in his testament that only the eldest son would rule the patrimony, while the younger sons had to content themselves with stipends. But these stipends did not suffice, so their mother feverishly sought additional incomes and status-appropriate positions for them. Charles, however, was consistently overlooked: his mother focused primarily on the futures of the two middle brothers, Maximilian Ernest and Leopold.[127] During the negotiations for the marriage between Philip III and Charles's sister Margaret, his mother made no efforts on his behalf, and Philip had granted pensions to Charles's brothers Maximilian Ernest and Leopold, but not to him. Charles would eventually embark on a more modest clerical career, acquiring the bishoprics of Breslau (Wrocław) and Brixen (Bressanone). This gave him some income and status, but his bishoprics were severely damaged by the Thirty Years' Wars, which put Charles in dire financial straits. Charles turned to his Spanish brother-in-law for help. He invoked promises that Philip had made to him some years earlier, about a yearly allowance of 12,000 ducats.[128] When he could not get any solid commitments from the King, he threatened to travel to Spain in 1620. This threat was an empty one, meant to force Philip III's hand, but alas to no avail: Philip consistently ignored his pleas.[129] In seeking some financial support from the Spanish king, Charles could no more rely on his brothers than on his mother: in early 1621, when Charles was practically begging the Spanish king for any kind of financial help, his elder brother Ferdinand only intervened to gain ecclesiastical incomes for Leopold.[130]

However, the unresponsive Philip III – who did not take much notice of any of his brothers-in-law – died in 1621. Khevenhüller, the Imperial ambassador, felt that the situation might have changed with the ascension of Philip IV.[131] By now, Charles had stopped corresponding directly with the Spanish court. But Khevenhüller was right: Philip IV considered Charles a good candidate for the Portuguese government and became rather eager to see him come. (In a return to the old Styrian-Savoyard rivalry, Philip was

reported to consider turning to Filiberto for that post if Charles did not show up.[132]) By 1623, Khevenhüller was putting pressure on Charles through both Ferdinand II and Archduke Leopold to get him to come to Spain.[133] This worked; the three brothers met in September 1624, and as a result of this meeting, Charles decided to travel to Castile.[134]

This had never really been Charles's ambition; he had only been after some financial security. But the relationship between the brothers had changed. In 1616, Maximilian Ernst died, leaving Leopold as the second brother. In 1618, their uncle Maximilian III died as well, upon which the county of Tyrol reverted to the House. In the next few years, Emperor Matthias (1619) and Archduke Albert (1621) also died, leaving none of the sons of Emperor Maximilian II alive. Since rules of primogeniture did not apply to the patrimony held by Maximilian's sons, this meant that the entire Habsburg patrimony was now for the Styrian brothers to divide among themselves. In late 1622 and early 1623, the three brothers negotiated a partition.[135] Archduke Leopold, who had served as regent of Tyrol since Maximilian III's death, received the county as his hereditary fief, which turned him into an independent ruler, but Charles essentially had to content himself with crumbs: he was given a string of lordships, among them the margraviate of Burgau.[136] The reason for this uneven partition is that Emperor Ferdinand, fighting what would become the Thirty Years' War, was extremely reluctant to partition the dynasty's resources. As the same war wreaked havoc on Charles's bishoprics, Ambassador Khevenhüller started to paint a rosy picture of Charles's prospects in Spain, undoubtedly to strengthen the reluctant archduke's resolve. He emphasised the honour involved: many previous archdukes (and other relatives, we might add) had wanted the Portugal post but had failed, yet now Philip IV had – extraordinarily – offered the post to Charles '*proprio motu*'.[137] He suggested further that Charles might start out as governor of Portugal, but that he might be transferred to the Low Countries – which was perhaps more attractive to the Austrian prince.[138] Indeed, Charles seems to have been less than enthusiastic about the Portugal post.[139] He mainly hoped that meeting Philip in person would lead to an appointment to the Low Countries, much closer to home and a more familiar climate.[140] So he embarked on the journey despite his misgivings. Tragically, his reluctance to travel to Castile was vindicated: only a month after his arrival, he fell ill and died.[141]

Archduke Charles's saga is thus one of a career that never was, and of a disenfranchised younger brother in search of a livelihood. But still, his brief association with the Spanish court shows some interesting new trends. Firstly, Portugal was now on the map again as a real possibility for royal careers, after having been off limits during Philip III's reign. Charles's ill-fated candidacy did not discourage the new King, and actual royal appointments there would follow. This highlights again that Portugal was an optional royal appointment: ambitious kinsmen might have their eyes on it and local elites might put steady pressure on the King to appoint one of them, but it was ultimately up to the King whether he did so or not. Secondly,

the Styrian-Austrian Habsburgs were in play again. Mostly ignored during Philip III's reign, Philip IV showed them a welcoming face.

After Archduke Charles's death, the Portuguese office would be filled by regency councils consisting of Portuguese nobles and clerics. This would turn out to be a temporary solution. In 1629, Philip IV fathered a male heir, which freed up his brothers, who were now in their twenties and became the obvious choice for the posts of the Low Countries and Portugal, as we saw in Chapter 1. Appointing legitimate royal princes as governors – which was essentially a novelty – caused problems of its own, however, since their royal charisma might embolden local players with separatist tendencies.[142] But this did not stop Philip from assigning his next oldest brother Carlos to the post. However, even this appointment was cursed as shortly before he was due to travel west in 1632, Carlos died, not quite twenty-five years old, leaving Lisbon devoid of a royal presence yet again. In his willingness to appoint someone with dynastic credentials, Philip offered the position in 1633 to Francesco d'Este, duke of Modena.[143] He was Philip's second cousin, a son of Isabella of Savoy, grandson of Infanta Catalina and brother to the young nun Catalina who had had such a difficult time in the Descalzas (she had died only five years earlier, and her memory was undoubtedly still fresh). As a second cousin, he would not have been accepted by the Portuguese as a *royal* governor, since they had stipulated that only a child, sibling or nephew could fit this profile, but his Savoyard-Habsburg background most likely played a role in the offer. The Duke declined it, possibly because he was aiming for a 'better' posting in Sicily, Naples or Milan, leaving Portugal still without a royal governor.[144]

The matter of a royal governor for Portugal did not lose its salience. In the early 1630s the kingdom was heading towards a rebellion, caused by the controversial policies of Olivares to push the Portuguese to contribute more to the defence of their colonial empire than they were required.[145] This led to upheaval during the years 1633–34, and the Portuguese Cortes had renewed their requests for a governor of the blood.[146] Another Italian contender with even better Savoyard-Habsburg connections came into focus: Margherita of Savoy, eldest daughter of Infanta Catalina and dowager duchess of Mantua, who would remain passionately pro-Habsburg throughout her life, whatever the politics of her father or brothers. She had become a rather problematic figure in Italy in the early 1630s. After the death of her husband Duke Francesco (1612), her only daughter was barred from the succession to Mantua, which accepted only males. When her two brothers-in-law as successive dukes did not produce any male heirs either, the succession caused a new war, which ended when Margherita's daughter married a French male-line descendent of an earlier duke and the couple became joint heirs to the duchy.[147] After the succession wars had ended, Margherita joined her daughter – soon widowed herself – in Mantua.[148] But the king of France exerted considerable influence in Mantua, and Margherita's aggressive advocacy of Habsburg interests rankled with him to the point that he effectively ordered

her to leave the duchy.[149] Neighbouring states were reluctant to take her in, and she refused to return to Savoy, due to her enmity with her sister-in-law, Christine de Bourbon. In addition, her unpaid dowry became a bone of contention between Margherita and her brother.[150] Instead, she crossed into Milan and threw herself on the mercy of her cousin Philip IV.[151] The Spanish Council of State considered that the King might as well allow her to come to the Descalzas monastery.[152] Philip, however, immediately floated the option of some 'worthy occupation', namely Portugal, where political unrest was reaching a peak.[153]

She set out for Castile and was received in Barcelona by Filiberto's old *mayordomo*. Once in Madrid, she was given her brother's old quarters in the 'casa del Tesoro', connected to the Palace by a passage. Torquemada, who had served Filiberto and was thus well inclined towards the House of Savoy, elaborately described the honourable reception Margherita was given in Madrid, involving the count-duke of Olivares, all the court's grandees and, of course, the King and Queen.[154] Within a few weeks of her arrival in Madrid (on 4 November 1634), she was on her way to Lisbon (30 November),[155] but not before visiting the King at the Escorial 'with great show of love and affection'.[156]

In a sense, Margherita came just in time and it was hoped that this vice-reine, descended from the kings of Portugal through both the daughters of Manuel I, could bring about Olivares's reforms without sparking off a rebellion.[157] But she was unable to establish harmony, and as soon as 1638, the court in Madrid considered replacing her.[158] Her tenure in Lisbon (1634–40) ended dramatically with the start of the Portuguese Restoration War in 1640.[159] Margherita was first imprisoned in a convent. In August 1641, she was expelled from the kingdom by the Portuguese and sent to Badajoz, across the Castilian border.[160] After that, she hoped to return to Mantua, but she was denied permission. Neither was she allowed to come to the court in Madrid, but was instead told to remain in Mérida, close to the Portuguese border, and later to take up residence in Ocaña, to the south of Madrid, where Philip visited her.[161] However, Margherita felt that Philip did not provide her with sufficient means to maintain her household, and she went to Madrid of her own accord to complain of her dire straits. Here, she was lodged in the Encarnación monastery – with a guard at the door, as a royal person.[162] Only in 1643 did Philip IV let her take up residence in the Descalzas monastery, and she became part of court life – perhaps the most forgotten princess in the Descalzas of all![163]

Famously haughty and particular about her status, she was treated well by the nuns, who gave her Empress Maria's old quarters (the other Habsburgs in the monastery were professed nuns, so there was no competition for these high-status rooms), and by the King, who gave her 24,000 ducats a year for her upkeep.[164] Nevertheless, she corresponded tirelessly with her brother to receive the dowry she had been promised by her father, which was partly dependent on her own mother's dowry, which had never been paid in full,

leading to a complicated tangle.[165] In 1650 she complained to her brother Maurizio that she was an old beggaress ('*vechia mendica*') who had spent forty-eight years as a widow but had never had accomplished anything with regard to her dowry.[166]

Apart from settling her dowry, her most ardent wish was to return to Italy. In 1654, she wrote to her sister-in-law: 'I am quite well, but so burdened with years that little life is in promise for me. But I am loath to end it before settling my affairs with the royal house [of Savoy; a reference to her dowry negotiations] and before returning to Italy, which I so desire'.[167] Already in 1646, there were rumours that Philip IV had granted two villages in Naples to Margherita for her upkeep and that she would travel there.[168] The Madrid-based *avisos* writer Barrionuevo chronicled her last months at court and her journey to Italy.[169] About her money problems, he wrote 'They promised her 3,000 ducats a month but give her not even 500, and even those they won't pay her'.[170] Maybe for this reason, the journalist was uneasy about her departure. 'If she leaves, we'll have one more enemy, since women are vindictive.'[171] Philip clearly made up for his earlier stinginess by showering his cousin with wealth before she left: again according to Barrionuevo, she received 30,000 ducats for her travels, and yearly rents amounting to 36,000 ducats, on condition that she settle in a town in the duchy of Milan.[172] Before the journey she received a litter, coach and several carts for herself, her ladies and her luggage, as well as more money.[173] Apparently, the former vicereine had also managed to take a good deal of jewellery from Portugal, which altogether meant that she left Spain extremely rich ('*riquísima*').[174] In fact, the total value of the jewellery she was carrying was so great that it caused her trouble with customs, which did not allow her to take more than the equivalent of 500 ducats out of the country – she was detained in Burgos as '*contrabandista*'! Her journey was furthermore plagued by both dissension and deaths in her household,[175] and the Princess herself fell ill in Miranda del Ebro, close to Burgos, where she had been delayed.[176] There she died, never seeing her beloved Italy again.[177]

Archduke Charles had put Portugal on the map again as a royal posting. However, Philip IV was quite unlucky with his candidates: both his uncle Charles and his brother Don Carlos died before they reached Lisbon. This leaves Margherita of Savoy as the only actually governing royal relative in the kingdom (although as a cousin rather than a daughter, sister or niece, she was not universally accepted as such).[178] Neither Archduke Charles nor Margherita had close ties to the Castilian court: they had never spent time there before their appointments. While Philip often expressed his affection for them, a personal relationship like the one between Philip II and Alessandro Farnese and Archduke Albert or that between Philip III and Filiberto of Savoy simply did not exist. Such relatives were quite simply not available to Philip IV. For the first decades of his reign, Philip had no nephews of his own to educate and nurture himself.[179] This left people like Charles and Margherita, which effectively meant that the requirement of years of physical proximity and court socialisation went out the window. One result of this

was that ever more remote relatives might hope to be included in the dynastic ruling group, however limited the personal relations between them and the Spanish kings.

## Conclusion

Philip III was the first king to grow up with the expectation of employing his nephews someday. The children of Catalina had been around since he was a young boy. He always showed special favour to them and, it must be admitted, a touch of possessiveness. When the death of Filippo Emanuele and the hostile policies of Charles Emmanuel meant fewer and fewer Savoyard princes and princesses were available to him, no other relatives took their place, certainly not his wife's string of younger brothers. He simply lavished all his attention on Filiberto, the loyal one. The offices Filiberto received were mostly new: the grand priorate and the generalship of the Mediterranean fleet (and the viceroyalty of Sicily under Philip IV). In this sense, Philip III made different choices than his father. Territorial governorships were not an option: the Low Countries had been inherited by his sister and brother-in-law, and Philip III preferred to appoint aristocrats and clerics as governors of Portugal. With the territorial governments out of the equation, this left the other offices pioneered by Albert and Wenceslaus. It is, furthermore, striking that Philip III was the first king who experienced increased pressure from his relatives. Ever more relatives started pressuring him for advancement for themselves or their offspring, rivalries arose among different groups of relatives and negotiations became protracted – a situation that was quite different from the relatively harmonious dynastic landscape that Philip II had faced.

Philip IV's reign is characterised by a certain loss of control. Without nephews, this king found himself employing whatever relatives were on offer, foregoing the lengthy apprenticeships that previous appointees had gone through. The loss of personal bonds between the King and his relatives undermined his trust in them, but also weakened the relatives' commitment to him. Yet dynastic appointments had been institutionalised to such a degree that it was hard to imagine not making them, whether suitable candidates were available or not. This applied to the Descalzas as well. Catalina d'Este, a legitimate granddaughter of Philip III's cherished sister Catalina, had arrived in March 1621, when Philip still ruled. After his death, his son allowed new dynastic arrivals to come to the monastery, but they never had the same status; instead, illegitimate daughters took the reins. The dynastic ruling group around Philip IV was hardly the same kind of tight-knit family circle that had surrounded his grandfather. Soon, it would become watered down beyond recognition.

## Notes

1 Philip III's reign has been described as the heyday ('auge') of bishop-governors in Portugal. Fernanda Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa (1583–1640): características generales', in Pedro Cardim and Joan-Lluís Palos (eds), *El mundo*

*de los virreyes en las monarquías de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 2012), pp. 287–316, p. 297.

2 Philip III's attitude towards Portugal has been described as ambivalent, vacillating between full incorporation into the crown of Castile and respect for its autonomy and privileges. Trevor J. Dadson, 'The Duke of Lerma and the Count of Salinas: Politics and Friendship in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain', *European History Quarterly* 25 (1995), pp. 5–38, p. 15.

3 Blythe Alice Raviola and Franca Varallo (eds), *L'infanta. Caterina d'Austria, duchessa di Savoia (1567–1597)* (Rome, 2013). Catalina has gained the attention of modern historians. The publication of her correspondence will no doubt lead to flourishing scholarship on this lady.

4 The Austrian ambassador in Madrid, Khevenhüller, started talking in Castile about a yearly allowance for Leopold, who was destined for a career in the Church, in 1589 when the boy was only three years old. Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, p. 169.

5 The archduchesses' mother had already corresponded with the Austrian ambassador in Spain about such a marriage as early as 1586, when Prince Philip was only eight years old. The plans became more solid on the Austrian side from 1593 onwards, and the Spanish became involved through the mission of a Castilian aristocrat to Graz in 1596; Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, pp. 182–83; Johann Rainer, 'Tú, Austria feliz, cásate. La boda de Margarita, princesa de Austria Interior, con el rey Felipe III de España. 1589/9', *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea* 25 (2005), pp. 31–54, pp. 36–37.

6 Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, p. 148.

7 Rodríguez-Salgado, '"I Loved him as a Father Loves a Son"', pp. 335–89, discusses negotiations for the marriage between Rudolf and Infanta Isabella. Pierpaolo Merlin, 'I Savoia, l'Impero e la Spagna. La missione a Praga del conte di Luserna tra assolutismo sabaudo, superiorità imperiale e interessi spagnoli (1604–1605)', in Martínez Millán and González Cuerva (eds), *La Dinastía de los Austrias*, vol. II, pp. 1211–44, pp. 1237–42, mentions Rudolf's other marriage plans; one of the candidates was Margherita of Savoy, Philip III's eldest niece. Rudolf's capacity to father children was not in doubt, since he had several illegitimate children.

8 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 227. Instead of receiving territorial inheritances, Emperor Rudolf II, their guardian and chief of the House, promised them a yearly allowance of 45,000 guldens. This was the same amount the Emperor had promised his own younger brothers after he had excluded them from the patrimony, but had hardly ever paid. Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, p. 123.

9 BNE, Mss/915, 'Papeles del reinado de Felipe III', fol. 84: Rudolf II to Queen Margaret, Prague, 1604.

10 Maria Anna made it a habit to accompany her daughters to their new homes. Oliver Hegedüs, 'The Complex Mother: Maria Anna of Inner Austria and the Entanglement of the Vasa, Habsburg and Wittelsbach Dynasties', *The Court Historian* 25 (2020), pp. 201–19.

11 Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, pp. 202–03.

12 Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, p. 191.

13 Elisabeth Zingerle, 'Girolamo Portia. Die Grazer Nuntiatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen römischer Kurie und innerösteirreichem Landefürst (1592–1607)', PhD dissertation Karl-Franzens-Universität (Graz, 2015), p. 155.

14 BNE, Mss/915, 'Papeles del reinado de Felipe III', fol. 87: Archduchess Maria to Philip III, Graz, 21 March 1604.

15 Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, p. 194.

16 Gaudenzio Claretta, *Il principe Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia alla corte di Spagna* (Turin, 1872), p. 12, with a loose reference to a letter written by Della Torre to Charles Emmanuel, 30 November 1600 (probably in AST, Corte, Negoziazioni Spagna, mazzo 2). During his travels to the Low Countries to take up the governorship there, Albert passed through Turin and spent a lot of time conferring with Charles Emmanuel. Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 43, citing Juan Roco de Campofrío, *España en Flandes: trece años de gobierno del Archiduque Alberto (1595–1608)* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 21–42.

17 Lerma also blocked a career in Spain for Julius, Rudolf II's illegitimate son, whose illegitimate birth would have caused him even greater problems in the Empire. González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, p. 233.

18 Fernando Bouza (ed.), *Cartas de Felipe II a Sus Hijas* (Madrid, 1998), p. 156, n354: Catalina to Philip, 14 May 1588. 'Yo querria sus sobrinos lo fuessen [older, LG] ya para que pudiesen serbir a vuestra Magestad y a el, pues son tantos que podrian hazer una compania de soldados, que espero no dejaran de serlo'.

19 Bouza, *Cartas*, p. 188: Philip to Catalina, 17 August 1592.

20 María José del Río Barredo, 'El Viaje de los Príncipes de Saboya a la Corte de Felipe III (1603–1606)', in Paola Bianchi and Luisa C. Gentile (eds), *L'affermarsi Della Corte Sabauda. Dinastie, Poteri, Élites in Piemonte e Savoia Fra Tardo Medioevo e Prima età Moderna* (Turin, 2006), pp. 407–34, p. 410.

21 AGS, E., leg. 1279, fol. 36: José de Acuna to Philip, 14 March 1595: 'y que al archiduq*ue* Ernesto V*uestra* M*ajesta*d le avia honrrado dadivado y fiado del y con su hermano hazia lo proprio y avia dado 300 Vm de renta y que a el ni a sus ijos ne hazia m*erce*d con averselo suplicado ni permitido que dos dellos fuessen a estar a los pies de V*uestra* M*ajesta*d y del principe n*uest*ro senor'.

22 Ulrich Nagel, '"Aquí no puedo ser del servicio que deseo": la embajada del V conde de Oñate en la corte del duque Carlos Manuel I de Saboya (1603–1609)', *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie IV. Historia Moderna* 26 (2013), pp. 171–95, p. 175. When Philip heard about the annexation of Saluzzo, he had warned his daughter Catalina that the Spanish troops that had been assigned to guard her should not be used for any other purpose. Bouza, *Cartas*, 161: Philip to Catalina, 5 December 1588.

23 AGS, Estado, leg. 1279, fols 6, 28, 30, 65 and 75: José de Acuña to Philip II between January and July 1595.

24 Bouza, *Cartas*, 198–99: letters of 20 June 1596 and 7 September 1596.

25 Fernández Conti, 'El Prior don Hernando de Toledo', pp. 87–134; Pizarro Llorente, 'La Orden de San Juan'; Valor Bravo, 'Los Infantes-Comendadores', pp. 159–60.

26 AGS, Estado, leg. 1279, fol. 75: José de Acuña to Philip II, 1 July 1595.

27 AGS, Estado, leg. 1289, fol. 3: instruction to the new ambassador, the count of Lodosa, 21 November 1595. Neither in this (secret) instruction nor in the public one (no. 2 in the same *legajo*) is there any mention of the journey of the princes.

28 AGS, Estado, leg. 1280, fol. 159: Count of Lodosa to Philip II, 5 August 1596. Henry IV's childless marriage to Margaret of Valois was not annulled until 1599.

29 I have sketched Filiberto's career in the service of Spain earlier in my 'Dynasty and State Building in the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy: The Career of Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy (1588–1624)', *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016), pp. 267–92. The parts of this chapter which concern Filiberto are based on the same research.

30 del Río Barredo, 'El viaje', pp. 412–13.

31 AGS, Estado, leg. 1937, fol. 8: *Consulta* of the Council of State, 3 March 1599.

32 AGS, Estado, leg. 1288, fol. 97: secret instruction to Don Mendo Rodríguez de Ledesma, 11 March 1600 (minute): 'aunque el [Charles Emmanuel] es padre de sus hijos, quise yo mucho a su madre que fue nuestra hermana y que la criança y disposición dellos ha de ser siempre a satifacción nuestra'. Second quote: 'podays decir al duque.... que mire que les podría hazer mucho daño en no cumplir en esto mi voluntad'.
33 AGS, Estado, leg. 1289, fol. 53: Filiberto to Philip III, Turin, 17 July 1600, a thank-you letter for the appointment.
34 AGS, Estado, leg. 1289, fol. 52: Filiberto to Philip III, Turin, 17 July 1600: 'estaré seguro me empleara toda mi vida en su real servicio yassi lo supp*li*co a VM con la humildad y encarecimiento que puedo'.
35 Pierpaolo Merlin, '"Seguir la fazione di sua Maestà Cattolica": Il partito spagnolo nella corte di Savoia tra Cinque e Seicento', in José Martínez Millán and Manuel Rivero Rodríguez (eds), *Centros de poder italianos en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 247–65 and p. 259.
36 Claretta, *Il principe Emanuele Filiberto*, p. 12.
37 AST, Corte, Negoziazioni Spagna, mazzo 2, fasc. 9: Instruttione sopra l'andata de Pr.pi in Spagna, 28 July 1601.
38 Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p. 136.
39 Before his death, Philip II left a range of instructions to his son, including one about how to handle Portugal. He advised his heir to appoint one of his Savoyard grandsons, but not the one who would receive the priory of Castile, to the priory of Crato, since that office had traditionally been held by royal relatives. AGS, PTR, leg. 29, doc. 37: Papel de Felipe II dando consejos a su hijo sobre la Corona de Portugal y otras cosas, dated 5 August 1598.
40 AGS, Estado, leg. 1937, fol. 155. The priorate of Crato had belonged to Dom Antônio, a bastard son of a Portuguese prince who had claimed the Lusitan throne in 1580. Philip deprived him of the priorate in 1585 and put Albert in charge of its administration. Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 25.
41 AGS, Estado, leg. 1937, fol. 12: 'considerando q*ue* es hijo de la senora Infanta dona Catalina, nieto del Rey n*uest*ro senor y sobrino de V*uestra* M*ajesta*d y q*ue* a este respecto deve corresponder el honrrarle parescio que el hazer esta differencia seria causa de que se entendiesse que la honrra que se hazia al mayor era como a primogenito de Saboya y no como a hijo de la senora infanta, nieto del rey n*uest*ro senor y sobrino de V*uestra* M*ajesta*d que es al respecto en que se deve fundar pues esta claro que si este no estuviera de por medio se le hiziera muy differente tratamiento y assi se conformaron en q*ue* no se haga differencia'.
42 del Río Barredo, 'El viaje', p. 207.
43 del Río Barredo, 'El viaje', p. 208.
44 See Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p. 182: commenting on newly appointed officials in Portugal, 'dicen que durará poco tiempo esto porque enviarán allá por visorey a uno de los hijos del duque de Saboya' ('they say that these appointment will not last long, since they will send one of the sons of the duke of Savoy as governor'). This observation was made in the entry dated July 1603, which was the same entry which mentions the arrival of the princes in Barcelona.
45 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12: Giovanni Botero to Charles Emmanuel, Valencia, 6 February 1604, and Valladolid, 9 June 1604, commenting how Vittorio wanted to speak only Latin in preparation for his cardinalate; AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12: Este to Charles Emmanuel, Valladolid 3 January 1605: commenting when Philip III was planning a voyage to Portugal 'che non uscirá Sua Maesta di quel regno senza lasciarvi uno di questi principi, como l'ho inteso per diverse vie pero non e bene fare la festa prima della vigilia' ('His Majesty will not leave that realm without leaving one of these princes, as I've understood from various sources, but one should not celebrate the feast before the vigil').

46 AGS, Estado, leg. 1937, fol. 86: *consulta* of the Council of State, 28 February 1606, discussing Charles Emmanuel's request to send his sons home.

47 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12: Carlo Filiberto d'Este to Charles Emmanuel, Ventosilla, 20 October 1605. The ambassador relaying these offers was not a neutral bystander, but an active member of the pro-Spanish faction in Savoy. After 1606, he would leave Savoyard service to settle in Castile and marry a Castilian noblewoman. He was a son of an Estensi from a secondary line and an illegitimate daughter of Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, giving him familial ties to the dukes of Modena and Savoy. Merlin, '"Seguir la fazione di sua Maestà Cattolica"', pp. 258 and 262. Some years later, a 'marchese d'Este' appears frequently in the correspondence of Modenese diplomats. If it is the same person, Este had become a sort of consultant of the Modenese at the Spanish court. In this way, he offered his services to Isabella of Savoy's marital family and children. See, among other examples, Archivio di Stato, Modena (*hereafter* ASM), Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 23 June 1626, and the same to the same, 15 May 1628, in which Ferrari writes that he had received letters about the death of Princess Catalina for the royal family, but not for the count-duke of Olivares. The 'marchese d'Este' advised the Duke to write to Olivares as well, since he was central to the economy of favours at court, and Este even suggested antedating the letter to Olivares to the same date on which the other letters had been sent and thinking of some excuse for its later delivery.

48 AGS, Estado, leg. 1937, no. 86: *consulta* of the Council of State, 28 February 1606.

49 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12: Este to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 27 March 1606. When Charles Emmanuel sent an extraordinary ambassador to discuss the return of the princes, he instructed him to find out if Philip really intended to give the generalship to Filiberto. AST, Corte, Materie politiche, Spagna, 099, mazzo 2, fasc. 16: instruction to ambassador de la Torre, 1606.

50 AGS, E., leg. 1931, fol. 130: Philip III to Gian Andrea Doria (minute), 12 November 1601; leg. 1431, fol. 139: Gian Andrea Doria to Philip III, 3 October 1601 and leg. 1432, fol. 78: Gian Andrea Doria to Philip III, 24 March 1603.

51 AGS, E., leg. 1290, fol. 102: Fuentes to Philip III, 18 December 1601. The count of Fuentes, then governor of Milan, used this argument to persuade Philip he could give the office to Charles Emmanuel without suffering any consequences.

52 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 13: Roncas to Charles Emmanuel, Valladolid, 17 March 1606.

53 Philip embarked on wider reforms of his naval forces in this period. See Phillip Williams, 'Past and Present: The Forms and Limits of Spanish Naval Power in the Mediterranean, 1590–1620', in M. Rizzo, J. Ruiz Ibáñez and G. Sabatini (eds), *Le Forze del Principe. Recursos, Instrumentos y Límites en la Práctica del Poder Soberano en los Territorios de la Monarquía Hispánica* (2 vols, Murcia, 2003), vol. I, pp. 239–78 and pp. 262–63; Bernardo J. García García, *La Pax Hispanica. Política Exterior del Duque de Lerma* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 159–82; Manuel Lomas Cortés, 'Justicia y Gobierno en las Galeras de Felipe III', in Davide Maffi (ed.), *Tra Marte e Astrea. Giustizia e Giurisdizione Militare Nell'Europa della Prima età Moderna (secc. XVI–XVIII)* (Milan, 2012), pp. 125–52, p. 128, n8; I.A.A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560–1620* (London, 1976), p. 146.

54 Tobias Mörschel, *Buona Amicitia? Die römisch-savoyischen Beziehungen unter Paul V. (1605–1621). Studien zur früneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik in Italien* (Mainz, 2002), p. 296, citing AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Roma, mazzo 22, no. 35: Count of Verrua to Charles Emmanuel, 3 June 1606.

55 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.25, mazzo 12: Este to Charles Emmanuel, several letters from May 1605. The passage was completely closed in 1607. Stéphane Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie. La politique du précipice* (Paris, 2012), p. 381; Nagel, '"Aquí no puedo ser del servicio que deseo"', pp. 184–85.

56 Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel*, p. 382. Rumours about Vittorio's French marriage reached the Spanish court in 1607. Nagel, '"Aquí no puedo ser del servicio que deseo"', pp. 180 and 185–87. The marriage with Módena was seen as below the status of the Savoyard princesses by the Spanish, and even by one of the princesses herself. In retaliation, Philip III cancelled the promised dowries for his nieces.

57 Claudio Rosso, 'España y Saboya: Felipe III y Carlos Manuel I', in J. Martínez Millán and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds), *La Monarquía de Felipe III: los Reinos* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 1092–1100 and pp. 1097–99. For Verrua's instruction, see AST, Corte, Materie Politiche, Spagna, 099, mazzo 2, fasc. 21; Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, p. 72, citing *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. I, pp. 324–25, letter from Don Juan de Idiáquez to Philip III, 18 February 1609. Philip had two sons at this time (and the Queen was pregnant with a third). If anyone would receive the Low Countries, it would be the younger prince.

58 AGS, E., 1939, fol. 18: 'relación de las cosas de Saboya', 1 September 1610. In 1609, the archbishop of Seville died and both Leopold and Maurizio of Savoy were mentioned among the many candidates who were rumoured to become his successor. Maurizio seems to have become the frontrunner, but his election could not be secured with the Pope, and the bishop of Granada was promoted to the see instead. Cabrera, *Relaciones*, pp. 359, 361 and 366. Although neither ended up taking the lucrative post, the Styrian Habsburgs were in the mix, but lost to the Savoyards.

59 García García, *Pax Hispanica*, p. 91; Merlin, '"Seguir la fazione di sua Maestà Cattolica"', p. 262.

60 AGS, E., 1939, fol. 7. These incomes were on a par with the incomes of the richest aristocrats in Castile. See Carlos Antolín Rejón, 'Diplomacia, familia y lealtades. El príncipe Filiberto de Saboya (1588–1624) entre las cortes de Madrid y Turín', PhD dissertation Universidad Autónoma (Madrid, 2021), pp. 124–25.

61 AGS, E., leg. 1939, fols. 29, 46 and 48. Fol. 39: one Francisco de Córdoba was ordered to meet Filiberto in Burgos, and to tell him that the situation with his father necessitated some show of displeasure, at least until it became clear what message he delivered on his behalf; but that as to his own person, the King still considered him a 'good nephew'.

62 AST, Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2, no. 281: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 6 November 1610: 'o per causa della fabrica o per trattarme un poco da forestiero'.

63 AST, Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2, no. 295: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 19 February 1611; no. 299 Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 1 March 1611; no. 307–310, 313, 314 and 316–20: letters of recommendation for returning courtiers.

64 AGS, E., leg. 1939, fol. 50. Filiberto followed his father's instruction in the wording of his apology, see AST, Corte, Materie politiche, Spagna, 099, mazzo 2, fasc. 20: instruction to Filiberto.

65 AST, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2, nr. 287: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, El Pardo, 21 November 1610; AGS, E., leg. 1939, fol. 18: relación of the goings on between Spain and Savoy 1609–1610.

66 Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p. 454.

67 AST, Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2, nr. 347: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 14 November 1611. See also Carlos Antolín Rejon, '"And I,

truly heartbroken, again throw myself full of humility at your Majesty's royal feet." Diplomacy, Reputation and the Humiliation of Prince Filiberto of Savoy in Madrid (1610)', in Lucien Faggion, Christophe Regina and Alexandra Roger (eds), *L'Humiliation. Droit, récits et représentations (xiie–xxie siècles)* (Paris, 2019), pp. 241–59.

68 Francisco Roales, *Exequias del Serenissimo Príncipe Emanuel Filiberto* (Madrid, 1626), 4r.: 'el mayor de los [cargos] que distribuye esta corona'.

69 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.21, mazzo 17, nr. 225: Germonio to Filiberto, Madrid, 2 April 1621: 'Diro solo all' Altezza Vostra ch'ella facci quanto l'altra volta fece, se ben non sia chiamata, laudo se ne venghi volando, prima che questi cavaglieri di Sua Maesta prendino il pacifico possesso dell'autorita luoro' ('I'll only say this to Your Highness that you should do as you did the other time, even if you are not summoned, I would praise you if you came on the fly, before these gentlemen of His Majesty take peaceful possession of his authority'). AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.21, mazzo 17: nos. 226 and 230. There had been rumours about a 'royal privanza' by Filiberto before in 1618, when Philip III had asked how his father had dealt with Archduke Albert. Since Philip himself dealt regularly with his cousin, who was at the time sovereign of the Low Countries (and thus did not need to be told how to correspond with him), this request appeared to pertain to the 1590s when Albert had served as an intimate co-worker of the ageing Philip II. This elicited fears that Philip intended to use Filiberto in a similar position. BNE, Ms. 17858, fols. 139v–142r, letters dated 16 and 23 June 1618.

70 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.21, mazzo 17, no. 247.

71 AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.21, mazzo 17, no. 244: Germonio to Charles Emmanuel, 17 May 1621; AST, Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 3, nr. 717: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Vaciamadrid, 25 May 1621.

72 AGS, E., leg. 1893, fols. 175, 222 and 223; AST, Corte, Lettere ministri Spagna, 151.21, mazzo 17, no. 283: Germonio to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 19 October 1621. Andres de Almansa y Mendoza reported the appointment in a letter of 22 October 1621. *Cartas de Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza. Novedades de Esta Corte y Avisos Recibidos de Otras Partes 1621–1626* (Madrid, 1886), p. 117.

73 Gal, C*harles-Emmanuel*, pp. 409–12; Claudio Rosso, 'Il Seicento', in Pierpaolo Merlin, Claudio Rosso, Geoffrey Simcox and Guiseppe Ricuperati (eds), *Il Piemonte Sabaudo. Stato e Territori in età Moderna* (Turin, 1994), pp. 173–267, p. 202.

74 Maria Beatrice Failla and Clara Goria, *Committenti d'età Barocca. Le collezioni del Principe Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia a Palermo e la Decorazione di Palazzo Taffini d'Aceglio a Savigliano* (Turin, 2003), p. 40.

75 Olivares, 'Sobre el Estado de los Señores Infantes', p. 168.

76 Sánchez, *Empress, Queen, Nun*, pp. 11–16.

77 Sánchez, *Empress, Queen, Nun*, pp. 45–60.

78 Vanessa de Cruz Medina, 'An Illegitimate Habsburg: Sor Ana Dorotea de la Concepción, Marquise of Austria', in Anne J. Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino (eds), *Early Modern Habsburg Women. Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 97–118, p. 100,

79 BNE, Mss/915, 'Papeles del reinado de Felipe III', fol. 104: in a letter dated All Saints' Day 1603 – around eight months after Empress Maria had died – Margaret thanked Philip III profusely for allowing her to see the infanta, Philip's two-year-old daughter Anna, noting even that Empress Maria would also have loved to see the child. And a similar thank-you on fol. 117 (Margaret to Philip III, All Saints' Day 1606) when little Prince Philip, nineteen months old, had been brought to her monastery. He napped there in a crib that was placed in Empress Maria's old room. She would also soon receive a visit from Infanta Anna, by now five years old. (In the years in between these two letters, the court

had resided in Valladolid.) Only after the Queen's death in 1611 would the royal children stay at the Descalzas frequently again, when their father was away. Sánchez, *Empress, Queen, Nun*, p. 29.

80 AST, Corte, Principi diversi, 180.3, mazzo 2, no. 404: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid 17 October 1612.

81 AGS, E, leg. 3691, fol. 21: Philip III to Charles Emmanuel, 14 March 1609: 'Y quiero que venga aca mi sobrina vra hija la menor a criarse de la manera q se ha dicho al conde de Verrua porque me quiero encargar de ella'.

82 AGS, E., leg. 1939, no. 18: relación de las cosas de Saboya, 1 September 1610, reports that the count of Verrua has returned to Savoy with many offers of favours, among them the order for Princess Catalina to come to be educated in the Descalzas monastery.

83 In family correspondence, the young princess was called 'Infanta Catalina', exactly like her mother – at least by the Spanish-speaking sisters. For example: AST, 180.3, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 2, no. 2054: Margherita to Vittorio Amedeo, Turin, 14 August, 1616.

84 AST, 180.3, Principi diversi, mazzo 2, no. 339: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Escorial, 13 September 1611.

85 AST, 180.3, Principi diversi, mazzo 2, no. 366: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 20 January 1612; no. 376: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 11 March 1612; no 392: Filiberto to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid 19 July 1612; no. 398: Filiberto to Charles Emanuel, Madrid 26 August 1612. It is interesting to note that there is no trace of the Styrian-Savoyard rivalry between these two.

86 Maria, daughter of Margherita of Savoy and Duke Francis IV of Mantua and Monferrato. After Francis's early death, Maria's succession to the duchies was contested.

87 Emperor Maximilian II had considered his own eight-year-old daughter Elisabeth too young for such a journey in the early 1560s.

88 It would also seem that the old Savoyard ambassador who had been in Spain when Filiberto and his elder brothers had stayed there, and who had fallen out of Charles Emmanuel's favour because of his pro-Spanish attitude, served as a welcoming committee for the young princess. Guido Coccapani, who accompanied Catalina on her journey, mentions a 'marchese d'Este' in his letter to Alfonso d'Este: ASM, Cancellaria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 36: Coccapani to Alfonso d'Este, Palamós, 4 March 1621.

89 Torquemada, *Gaçeta y nuevas de la Corte*, p. 91, reports that she took 'el hávito de monja' on 4 April 1621, but that seems unlikely.

90 Giovanni Ognibene, 'Archivio segreto estense. Cancelleria Carteggio ambasciatori Spagna', online inventory, p. 12: instruction to Principe Ippolito Camillo Guidi (https://www.asmo.beniculturali.it/fileadmin/risorse/strumenti_di_corredo/ASE_Cancelleria_ambasciatori_spagna.pdf). At the time of writing there were five sons, aged ten, nine, six, four and two. The two eldest were most likely intended.

91 Cipriano García Hidalgo Villena, 'Sor Ana Dorotea de Austria (1612–1694) y la exaltación de las mujeres fuertes', in B. Blasco and J. López y S. Ramiro (eds), *Las mujeres y las artes. Mecenas, artistas, emprendedoras, coleccionistas* (Madrid, 2021), pp. 115–34, pp. 116–18.

92 Elipe, '¿Claustro o matrimonio?'. This had also been the case for Maximilian I's illegitimate daughters and for Margaret of Parma (see Chapters 4 and 5). This tradition was continued: a half-sister of Ana Dorotea, another illegitimate daughter of Rudolf II, was married to a prominent Netherlandish nobleman. de Cruz Media, 'An Illegitimate Habsburg', p. 108, note 36.

93 de Cruz Medina, 'An Illegitimate Habsburg', pp. 102 and 104; García Hidalgo Villena, 'Sor Ana Dorotea de Austria', p. 118.

94 Torquemada, *Gaçeta*, pp. 240–41: describing the nuns at the Descalzas: 'Todas son hijas de grande señores y potentados; entre las quales es una hija del Emperador, y otra hija del Duque de Módena, sobrina del Señor Príncipe Filiberto, hija de su hermana, y sobrinas entrambas de Su Alteça la Serenísima Ynfanta Margarita, niñas de trece años.' Torquemada had himself served in Filiberto's household, so his identifying Catalina as Filiberto's niece was in part a reflection of his own loyalties.

95 For instance, the Tuscan envoy: Archivio di Stato, Firenze (*hereafter* ASF), Mediceo del Principato (*hereafter* MdP), Filza 4956: Averardo Medici to Bali Cioli, Madrid, 25 September 1628, identifying Dorotea only as 'la figluola dell'imperatore Ridolfo'.

96 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Alfonso d'Este, Madrid, 13 October 1626: 'si tiene per fermo, che mancando la seréníssima infanta monaca (la quale patisce molti acciachi) restará patrona assoluta di quel convento, et portrá assai con Sua Maiestà et infanti'.

97 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 13 October 1626: 'La sudetta principessa mia signora (in caso che manchi Sua Altezza) restará patrona del convento perche queste Maiestà et Infanti l'amano suisceramente et tutte le suore la venerano per cosa divina, tali sono le sue rare virtù et ammirabili qualità, congiunte con una grandeza d'animo et virilità di prudentissima matrona; io in sommo posso dire all'humano Beatus venter qui te portavit'.

98 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 11 December 1626: 'è un essempio di virtù et prudenza, amata dà tutti et stimata come sempre'; the same to the same, Madrid, 25 January 1627: 'La serenísima infanta monaca stà vecchia, ma gode al presente buona salute' ('The most serene Infanta is old, but is currently in good health'). This letter was written on Margaret's fiftieth birthday. Ferrari never once acknowledged the presence of Ana Dorotea.

99 AST, Corte, Lettere di ministri 151.21, mazzo 18: Anastasio Germonio to Charles Emmanuel, Madrid, 8 October 1626.

100 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Duke Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 29 January 1626 (second letter of this date), and Madrid, 30 March 1628, also mentioning a visit to the 'serenísima infanta', who, in this context, must be Margaret of the Cross; ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 23 June 1626, 4 August 1626 and 20 August 1626. ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Alfonso d'Este, Madrid, 3 October 1626.

101 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 27 October 1626; Antonio Ferrari to Alfonso d'Este, Madrid, 27 March 1627; Ferrari to Alfonso d'Este, Madrid, 14 April 1627.

102 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 4 August 1627.

103 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 2 October 1627.

104 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 29 November 1627.

105 ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37: Antonio Ferrari to Cesare d'Este, Madrid, 23 January 1628.

106 Juan de Palma, *Vida de la serenissoma infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1636), p. 199 and p. 214: 'con breve trabajo ha conseguido eterna corona'.

107 The ambassador of Savoy never commented on Catalina's deteriorating health during 1627, or the circumstances of her death. AST, Corte, Lettere di ministry, 151.25, mazzo 19, fasc. 1 and 2.

108 ASF, MdP, Filza 4955: Averardo Mecidi, insert addressed to 'S.A.', 10 March 1627.
109 ASF, MdP, Filza 4956: Averardo Medici to Bali Cioli, Madrid, 26 January 1628.
110 ASM, Casa e Stato, busta 64: 'Relatione del successo dell'indispositione e morte della signora principessa Catterina'.
111 AST, Corte, Lettere di ministri, 151.25, mazzo 19, fasc. 2, no. 19: Caputi to Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, Madrid, 23 January 1628; no. 20 Caputi to Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, Madrid, 26 January 1628. Torquemada, *Gaçeta*, p. 282, states that all the grandees and titled nobles, as well as councillors of state, and eight prelates were present on the King's orders.
112 ASM, Casa e Stato, busta 64, no. 1643: 'Relación de la forma en que se hizo el entierro de la señora Princesa de Modena', 1628.
113 ASM, Casa e Stato, busta 64, nr. 1641: 'Relazione del successo dell'indispositione, morte et sepultura della signora principessa Catterina d'Este', 1628. In a letter citing the King's orders, Ferrari wrote: 'se enterrará el cuerpo como se usa con personas reales en la bóveda de la señora emperatriz' ('the corpse will be buried in the crypt of the Lady Empress [Maria], as is customary with royal persons'): undated memorial, ASM, Cancelleria, Carteggio ambasciatori, Spagna, busta 37. This document also lists all the councillors and courtiers that were present, among them 'tutti i principali cavaglieri del Principe Filiberto' ('all the principal gentlemen of Prince Filiberto'), highlighting Catalina's Savoyard background. It is interesting to note that her burial place had been described as a 'humilde lugar' ('a humble place'), which was part of the reason why Empress Maria's remains were moved elsewhere in 1615 (Torquemada, *Gaçetas*, p. 37). Thirteen years later, the fact that Maria had rested there at all had provided the site with royal charisma.
114 de Cruz Medina, 'An Illegitimate Habsburg', p. 109. Las Huelgas was the monastery where an illegitimate daughter of the first Don Juan was abbess from 1611 to 1629. There is, however, no trace of the royal family making regular visits to her (Cabrera, *Relaciones*, makes no mention of her, or any visits to Burgos). Las Huelgas was in that sense not part of the 'courtly space'. Adelaida Sagrarra Gamazo, 'Semblanza de doña Ana de Austria, abadesa de Las Huelgas de Burgos', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 73, no. 209 (1994), pp. 341–52.
115 Karen Maria Vilacoba Ramos, *El monasterio de las Descalzas Reales y sus confesores en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid, 2013), pp. 128 and 168–69. See on Ana Dorotea and Sister Mariana also: Rocío Martínez López, 'Sor Mariana de la Cruz y Sor Ana Dorotea de Austria: el poder de las Religiosas Habsburgo de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid', in Carmen López Calderón, María de los Ángeles Fernández Valle and María Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya (eds), *Barroco iberoamericano: identidades culturales de un imperio* (Santiago de Compostela, 2013), vol. I, pp. 165–80, and María Teresa Muñoz Serrulla and Karen María Vilacoba Ramos, 'Del Alcázar a Las Descalzas Reales: correspondencia entre reinas y religiosas en el ocaso de la dinastía de los Austrias', in María Victoria López-Cordón and Gloria Franco (eds), *La Reina Isabel y las reinas de España: realidad, modelos e imagen historiográfica* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 597–610, which deals with Mariana de la Cruz. Margarita de la Cruz seems to have had a much lower profile. Her father, Don Juan the Younger, took power in the monarchy in 1677, after which he frequently spent time with his daughter in the monastery until his death in 1679. During these years, Margarita may have had a significant impact on royal policy. Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez, *Don Juan José en la monarquía hispánica: entre la política, el poder y la intriga* (Madrid, 2007), p. 119.
116 Vilacoba Ramos, *El monasterio*, p. 165: 'sin publicidad ni ruido, porque no es necesario para nada'.

117 Vilacoba Ramos, *El monasterio*, pp. 169–71.
118 Mitchel, *Queen, Mother, & Statewoman*, pp. 194–95 and 201.
119 Martínez López, 'Sor Mariana de la Cruz'.
120 Mitchell, *Queen, Mother*, pp. pp. 194–95 and 201.
121 de Cruz Medina, 'An Illegitimate Habsburg', pp. 110–11.
122 Vilacoba Ranos, *El monasterio*, p. 165.
123 Nieves Romero-Díaz, 'Emociones y autoridad de la reina consorte María Teresa de Austria en la correspondencia con sor Mariana de la Cruz', *Arenal* 28 (2021), pp. 61–69. Among other things, Sister Mariana seems to have provided the Queen with a safe channel of communication to Don Juan, who, from 1679, controlled the Spanish government.
124 Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', pp. 293–94.
125 Esteban Estríngana, 'Los estados de Flandes', p. 7, note 16; Joana Isabel Pacheco da Costa Bastos Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia, duquesa de Mântua (1589–1655). Percurso biográfico e político na monarquia hispânica', MA dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Lisbon, 2014), pp. 18–19.
126 Charles 'the Posthumous' may be the most forgotten Austrian archduke of all. On two occasions, when I visited the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarkiv in Vienna and declared my interest in this prince, the archivist on duty had to look him up on Wikipedia.
127 Keller, *Erzherzoging Maria*, pp. 190–94. During her lifetime, his mother Maria Anna only managed to acquire a place on the chapter of Salzburg for him, while she went to great lengths to secure the bishopric of Passau, the archbishopric of Strasbourg, and a Spanish pension for her third son Leopold, whom she also attempted to have created a cardinal. For her second son Maximilian Ernest, several marriage plans were concocted, and Maria Anna tried to get him a post in the Spanish monarchy.
128 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 17, faz. 16, p. 177: Khevenhüller to Archduke Charles, Madrid, 28 February 1621. Correspondence about this allowance in AGS, E., legs. 2326 and 2502. The timing of the pension, 1616, suggests that Charles 'inherited' it from his elder brother Maximilian Ernest, who died in 1616.
129 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 17, faz. 16, p. 160: Archduke Charles to Khevenhüller, Brixen, 10 January 1621.
130 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 17, faz. 16, p. 218: Ferdinand II to Khevenhüller, 17 February 1621.
131 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 17, faz. 16, p. 348: Archduke Charles to Khevenhüller, 17 May 1621.
132 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 1, p. 223: Khevenhüller to Ferdinand II, 3 August 1623, noting that the Spanish court was most surprised that they had not heard from Charles for two years.
133 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 1, p. 14: Khevenhüller to Ferdinand II, 21 January 1623; p. 70: Khevenhüller to Archduke Leopold, 12 April 1623.
134 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 1, p. 251: Archduke Leopold to Khevenhüller, 9 September 162; p. 286: Archduke Charles to Khevenhüller, 16 October 1623. Some months later, the three brothers decided on a partition of the duchy of Austria, awarding two-thirds to Ferdinand, one-third to Leopold and nothing to Charles, undermining the youngest archduke's financial position even further (p. 326: letter of secretary Hörmann von Questenberg, before 21 December 1623).
135 Victor von Renner, *Die Erbteilung Kaiser Ferdinand II. mit seinen Brüdern* (Innsbruck, 1873), p. 7.

136 Burgau had belonged to one of the morganatic sons of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol; Charles held the margraviate directly in fief from his imperial brother. He also received the county of Glatz, the lordships of Oppeln and Ratibor (in Silesia), Nachod (in Bohemia), and Freudenthal, Uhlersdorf and Pisenberg (in Moravia).
137 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 2, p. 35: Khevenhüller to Archduke Charles, 17 February 1624. To speed up Charles's arrival, Philip IV sent an ambassador to fetch him.
138 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 1, p. 309: Khevenhüller to Archduke Charles, 1 December 1623. As postponement of the journey became again a possibility (because Philip was temporarily in Aragon, Baltasar de Zúñiga, a fervent advocate of the Austrian Habsburgs, died, or because negotiations had been started to have Charles elected as archbishop of Mainz) and some resistance was raised by the current governors of Portugal against his appointment there, Khevenhüller still argued that he should come, if only to get to know Philip and thus have a shot at the Low Countries, p. 43 (Olivares to Khevenhüller, 22 February 1624), p. 59 (extract from a letter of the secretary Questenberg, 10 January 1624), pp. 63–64 (Khevenhüller to Olivares, 13 May 1624) and p. 67 (Khevenhüller to Ferdinand II, 17 March 1624).
139 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 2, p. 97: Khevenhüller to Archduke Charles, 22 April 1624, suggesting that Charles should not commit immediately if he was offered the Portugal post, but wait until he was in Spain. Once he had committed, he would not be able to leave without damage to his honour. Once in Spain, he could determine if he wanted to stay. In a letter to Charles's brother Leopold (p. 137, Khevenhüller to Archduke Leopold, 29 May 1624) Khevenhüller wrote that he had arranged a way out for Charles, securing a pension for him and an honourable exit, if he did not want to take the job.
140 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 2, p. 202: extract from a letter from secretary Questenberg, probably to Khevenhüller, 3 July 1624.
141 HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 18, faz. 2, p. 299: Khevenhüller to Ferdinand II, 5 December 1624; p. 321: Khevenhüller to Eggenberg, 12 December 1624; p. 332 Khevenhüller to Ferdinand II, 28 December 1624.
142 Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', pp. 293–94.
143 Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', p. 295.
144 Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', p. 296.
145 Elliott, *El conde-duque de Olivares*, p. 577.
146 Elliott, *El conde-duque de Olivares*, p. 577; Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 22.
147 David Parrott, 'The Mantuan Succession, 1627–31: A Sovereignty Dispute in Early Modern Europe', *English Historical Review* 112 (1997), pp. 20–65. The period was rough on Margherita, who welcomed the possibility of becoming queen of Spain – a possibility that was floated after the death of Queen Margaret of Austria in late 1611. AGS, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 2: letters to her brothers Filiberto and Vittorio, no. 2035, letter dated 24 September 1613: 'my intencion es de diros libremente que considerando los años que me faltan por vivir si dios fuere servido de darme larga vida no la querra pasar en estado tan sin consuelo de suerte que, hermano myo, bos estáis emparte donde podreis ver si puedo esperar de ser reyna de España que así siendo qual quiera cosa de podría suffrir'. ('I intend to tell you freely that considering the years I have left to live if God should grant me long life, I would not want to spend them in such a desperate state; it is fortunate that you, my brother, are in the position where you can see if I could become queen of Spain, because if this would be the case, I could bear anything').

148 Romolo Quazza, *Margherita di Savoia, duchessa di Mantova e vice-regina di Portogallo* (Turin, 1930), p. 184.
149 Blythe Alice Raviola, '"A fatal máquina". Margarida de Sabóia (1589–1656), Duquesa de Mântua e Vice-Rainha de Portugal', in Maria Antónia Lopes and Blythe Alice Raviola (eds), *Portugal e o Piemonte. A Casa Real portuguesa e os Sabóias. Nove séculos de relações dinásticas e de destinos políticos (sécs. XII–XX)* (Coimbra, 2012), pp. 133–66, p. 139.
150 AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 2, nr 2103: Margherita to Vittorio Amedeo, Mantua, 6 August 1633.
151 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 12.
152 It is interesting to think how Margherita's arrival would have influenced the monastery's dynamics, with Sister Margaret well in her sixties and young Ana Dorotea her undisputed heir after Catalina d'Este's demise. The arrival of the vigorous dowager duchess of Mantua would certainly have ruffled some feathers.
153 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 13; Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', p. 289, reference to Quazza, *Margherita di Savoia*, pp. 186–30; Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Conte-Duc d'Olivares*, p. 177.
154 Torquemada, *Gaçeta*, pp. 370–71; Margherita's reports on her journey to her relatives: AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 3, nos. 2137 (Barcelona, 22 September), 2138 (Zaragoza, 21 October) and 2140 (Madrid, s.a.); and fasc. 2, no. 2106, Margherita to Vittorio Amedeo, Zaragoza, 21 October 1634.
155 Torquemada, *Gaçeta*, p. 372. She had time to join in the celebrations for Queen Isabella's birthday on 22 November.
156 *Memorial histórico español: colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades* (50 vols, Madrid, 1851–1963), vol. XIII, p. 113 (letter dated 11 December 1634): 'despidióse del Rey con grandes muestras de amor y cariño'. Philip ordered her to call all Portuguese nobles 'vos' ('you'), instead of, for instance, 'vuestra señoría' ('your lordship') or 'vuestra excelencia' ('your excellency'), which immediately turned the local nobility against her. Among others, the duke of Braganza refused to attend her court if he was to be disrespected in this way. *Memorial histórico español*, vol. XIII, pp. 111 and 155.
157 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 22.
158 Rumour had it that Prince John Casimir of Poland, whose mother was Constanza of Austria, a maternal aunt of Philip IV, would be her replacement, but the Prince was captured by the French on his way to Castile. See Marta Pilat Zuzankiewicz, 'La elección y coronación de Juan Casimiro Vasa, rey de Polonia, en las relaciones de sucesos españolas', in Jorge García López and Sònia Boadas Cabarrocas (eds), *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa Moderna* (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 297–308; Miguel Conde Pazos, 'El tratado de Nápoles. El encierro del príncipe Juan Casimiro y la leva de Polacos de Medina de las Torres', *Studia histórica. Historia moderna* 22 (2011), pp. 123–39.
159 When writing to her sister-in-law after her arrival in Madrid, Margherita made a point of conveying her good impression of Philip's government of the monarchy and that the negative stories about this circulating in Italy were false. AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 3, no 2140: Margherita to Christine de Bourbon, Madrid, 29 November 1634.
160 Ángel Rivas Albaladejo, 'Entre Madrid, Roma y Nápoles. El VI Conde de Monterrey y el gobierno de la Monarquía Hispánica (1621–1653)', PhD dissertation, University of Barcelona (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 691 and 693.
161 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', pp. 101–02.
162 *Memorial histórico español*, vol. XVI, p. 490: Letter dated 6 January 1643; p. 497: letter dated 21 January 1643.

163 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', pp. 104–06; *Memorial histórico española*, vol. XVII, p. 183: letter dated 11 August 1643.
164 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 106.
165 Bouza Serrano, 'Margarida de Saboia', p. 107. See also Margherita's correspondence with her sister-in-law in AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 3, for instance, no. 2149, Margherita to Christine de Bourbon, Madrid, 23 October 164 [9].
166 AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 2: Margherita to Maurizio, Madrid, 28 January 1650: 'la mia [salute] é come di vechia mendica senza havere ancora potuto stabiler cosa nisuna non obstante ch'io ho fatto piu di quello che dovevo e potevo stante 48 di viduita et agl' occhi d'una corte come questa et non haver potuto conseguir intanti anni l'agiustamento' ('My health is like that of an old beggaress without ever having been able to establish anything, despite having done more than I was obliged and able to, after spending forty-eight years a widow and in plain sight of a court like this and not having been able to reach an agreement in so many years').
167 AST, Principi diversi, mazzo 5, fasc. 3, no. 2155: Margherita to Christine of Bourbon, Madrid, 14 November 1654: 'Io pure gratia di S.D.M. mi trovo assai ben disposta di sanita, si bene si carica d' anni che poco mi posso promettere di vita. Questa pero finirei mal volentieri se prima non vedersi aggiustati i miei interessi con la Real Cassa e non s'effettuarse il mio ritorno in Italia, che tanto desidero'.
168 *Memorial histórico española*, vol. XVIII, p. 399: letter dated 11 September 1646.
169 Between 1654 and 1658, Barrionuevo wrote weekly letters to a dean of Zaragoza.
170 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, p. 259: 'habiéndole ofrecido 3.000 ducados al mes, no le dan 500, y aun esos no los cobra'.
171 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. II, p. 259: 'En yéndose, tendremos otro enemigo más, que las mujeres son vengativas'.
172 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, p. 278. The journalist added ominously that 'the truth is, the King promises everyone more that he can deliver' ('La verdad es que el rey hace con todos más de lo que puede').
173 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, p. 338.
174 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, p. 342.
175 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, pp. 354 and 360 (19 June 1655).
176 Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, vol. I, p. 373 (26 June 1655). As Barrionuevo reported: doctors hastened to Miranda, but would probably arrive to find her already dead and ready to be taken to the Escorial. However, Philip ordered that she be buried in the nearby Las Huelgas monastery.
177 Alejandra Franganillo Álvarez, 'Servicio y deservicio a Felipe IV. Los Príncipes de Carignano, entre Francia y la Monarquía Hispánica (1634–1644)', *Hispania* 77 (2017), pp. 91–115, pp. 108–9; Blyth Alice Raviola, 'The Three Lives of Margherita of Savoy-Gonzaga, Duchess of Mantua and Vicereine of Portugal', in Anna J. Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino (eds), *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities* (London and New York, 2016), pp. 59–75, p. 70. Testament in AST, Corte, Materie politiche per rapporto all'Interno, Cerimoniale, Testamenti, mazzo 4, fasc. 16.
178 Olival, 'Los virreyes y gobernadores de Lisboa', p. 292.
179 And some of his nephews were hardly Habsburg material, like the sons of his sister Anna, Louis and Philippe of France. In a forceful example of dynastic exclusion, Philip IV stipulated in his testament that these two sons of the Infanta Anna should, as a result of their mother's renunciation of her succession rights, be treated 'as if they never had been born'. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, & Stateswoman*, p. 79.

# 7 A Coda: The Medici as Habsburgs?

The previous chapter ended on a slightly melancholy note, touching on the demise of the ruling group, the kings' loss of control and the rivalries among relatives. All these processes are best illustrated by the unusual – and brief – role that the Medici played on the periphery of the Habsburg dynasty. They emerged during the reign of Philip IV. This monarch seemed very willing to fill dynastic vacancies with relatives, but he did not have any nephews of his own. This forced him to look further afield to uncles and maternal cousins with whom he had a rather weak personal relationship. Arguably, opening up the dynastic ruling group to individuals without any close bonds with the Spanish court allowed a new type of relative to entertain hopes of employment: apart from the usual suspects of the Austrian branch and Savoyard family, we see second-born princes of Tuscany and Poland advancing their claims – before Philip's illegitimate son became old enough to gobble up practically all dynastic offices. Rather than having been nurtured at the Spanish court, such relatives came into Spanish employment later in life because they had few options in their own dynastic spheres. Analysing family dynamics during Philip IV's reign thus involves examining the backgrounds of his relatives in slightly more detail. Undoubtedly due to their weak personal bonds with Philip IV and because they were always on the lookout for opportunities in their own dynastic spheres, they tended only to serve briefly in their offices. Yet, as the portraiture of one of them, Giovan Carlo de Medici, shows, kinship with and service to the king of Spain were a lasting source of prestige (Fig. 7.1). The lengthy, loyal service of people like Mary of Hungary became a thing of the past. By the time we reach the reign of Charles II, the dynastic ruling group had all but disappeared.

The death of Filiberto of Savoy in 1624 set many wheels in motion. Filiberto's death was obviously a blow to Philip IV but offered possibilities to everyone who hoped to snap up one of the offices he had held: the admiralty, the priory of Castile and the viceroyalty of Sicily. It brought a new kind of rivalry into the Habsburg family group. During the previous reign, Styrians and Savoyards had vied for offices as collaterals or in-laws of Spanish Habsburgs. But around this time, the House of Savoy's identity as an Italian princely family took over and their rivals on the Italian Peninsula,

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*Figure 7.1* Cardinal Giovan Carlo de Medici holding a letter by Philip IV, by Baldassare Franceschini 'il Volterrano', 1653.

*Source*: Alamy.

the Medici of Tuscany, came to the fore. In 1624, the Medici state was ruled by Grand Duke Ferdinando II (1610–70), a boy of fourteen, and his two regents, his grandmother Christina of Lorraine (a granddaughter of Christina of Denmark) and his mother Maria Magdalena of Austria – sister of Emperor Ferdinand II, Archduke Charles the Posthumous and the late queen Margaret

of Spain. This made Ferdinando II and his seven brothers and sisters cousins of Philip IV (Fig. 7.2). The Medici had been involved in a fierce rivalry with the Savoyards since the middle of the sixteenth century. The Medici's meteoric rise from untitled patricians to dukes of Florence (1540) and grand dukes of Tuscany (1576) upset the balance within Italy, where the dukes of Savoy had ranked as the first princes until then. In order to decisively outdo the other house, both houses sought a royal crown. When neither the emperor nor the pope proved willing to deliver, Duke Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy claimed royal status unilaterally in 1632, and the Savoyards 'won' the competition when they received the kingdom of Sicily as part of the peace settlements at the end of the Spanish War of Succession.[1] Although both houses strove for superiority, third-party courts were generally careful not to take sides too openly, so strict equality became the practical goal – a circumstance which would end up playing a surprisingly large role in the Medici's entrance into the Habsburg ruling group. The rivalry revolved in practical terms around titles (duke, grand duke and king), styles of address (Your Highness and Your Royal Highness) and diplomatic and courtly ceremony (the relative ranking of the ambassadors of the two states at third-party courts). During the decade after Filiberto's death, another area of dispute would be added to this list: the conditions under which the two houses served the king of Spain.

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the Medici did not consider themselves to be part of the Spanish pool of potential governors. Instead, they focused their energies on building careers in the Empire, under the auspices of their Austrian kinsmen. First, the teenaged Grand Duke Ferdinando travelled with his next-eldest brother Giovan Carlo (1611–66) through Italy and Germany in 1628, where they met their uncle, Emperor Ferdinand II.[2] Some years later, in 1631, Maria Magdalena travelled with

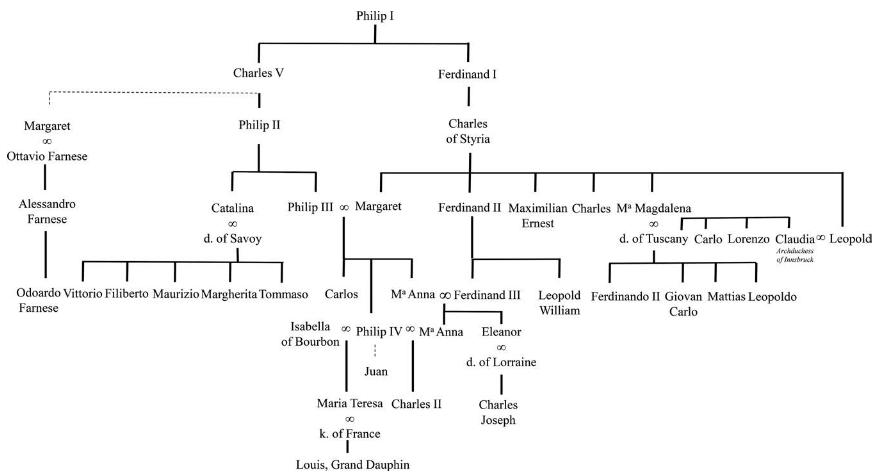


*Figure 7.2* Dramatis personae.

two of her younger sons, Mattias (1613–67) and Francesco (1614–34), to the Empire to start their military careers there.[3] Francesco succumbed to the plague in 1634, only nineteen years old, but Mattias served in the Thirty Years' War until 1641.[4]

Despite this previous focus on the Imperial Habsburgs, the Medici court immediately showed interest in obtaining some of the offices left vacant by Filiberto's death, although with little confidence of obtaining them. The Tuscan ambassador in Madrid, Averardo Medici – a very distant relation of the governing House – wrote to his home court that the priorate of Castile had been earmarked for one of the King's brothers, while four aristocrats had already been tapped for the Sicilian viceroyalty. As for the generalship, any general would be expected to use the flagship, the Royal Galley ('*la galera Real*'), which was so expensive to maintain that the ambassador thought that the office would be left vacant instead. If any admiral were to be appointed, it would most likely also be a brother of the King.[5] But the Tuscan regents wanted to gain the generalship for one of the Medici princes, in recognition of the services they had so faithfully offered in return for their investiture with Siena but also to provide one of them with an occupation. Two brothers of the previous grand duke were still alive and quite young: Carlo, a cardinal who was approaching thirty, and twenty-five-year-old Lorenzo, who did not have any fixed role. Lorenzo would be the main candidate for the generalship, but as a son of Grand Duke Ferdinand I and Christina of Lorraine he did not have close family ties to the Habsburgs.

At this time, the Tuscan quest for the generalship did not really have anything to do with the rivalry with the House of Savoy or with kinship with the Spanish king. At least, we conclude this from the fact that the Tuscans were not interested at this point in the conditions under which Filiberto had held the office. Instead, the Medici court itself offered very favourable conditions. Understanding from an audience with Olivares that the King wished to cut back on the costs of maintaining the flagship, the ambassador noted that the Tuscan princes, who had been given large inheritances by their father Ferdinand I, would not need a Spanish salary for their support – taking the job without pay would reduce the costs for the Spanish government.[6] The Medici seemed quite willing to pay for the honour of serving the king of Spain and of course to provide Lorenzo with an honourable position.

The offer was made in February 1625,[7] but was politely declined. Philip IV's minister Olivares told the ambassador that the King had decided to take the flagship out of service and not to appoint a new general.[8] The offer may have indeed been declined because the fleet was badly in need of financial reforms or maybe the ambassador's first hunch was true: that Philip wanted to give the office to his brother. In 1632, when the King finally made up his mind about his brothers' futures, Don Carlos did indeed receive the office.[9] That appointment confirmed the generalship's dynastic aura, after the previous appointments of Don Juan and Filiberto. This, it seems, would put it out of the reach of the House of Medici.

Don Carlos, however, died before he had had a chance to take up the office. In July 1632, the generalship fell vacant again and the Medici made a move for it, despite its elevated status. This had to do with the fact that the status of the Medici had undergone quite a transformation as well, primarily due to developments in Rome. In 1630, Pope Urban V had promulgated a new directive for the style of address of cardinals. In an effort to turn the curia into a cohesive group of equals, he determined that all cardinals would henceforth be styled as 'Your Eminence'. Other styles, such as the obviously superior 'Your Highness', would no longer be tolerated, except for the sons of kings – an exception designed for the Infante Fernando, who was a cardinal.[10] The Medici did not protest strongly at this new situation and accepted the 'Eminence' style for their cardinal, the Grand Duke's uncle Carlo. The Savoyard Duke Vittorio Amedeo, on the other hand, strove for royal status for his House and was horrified by this development – particularly since the Pope refused to consider Vittorio's brother, Cardinal Maurizio, as a son of a king. Partly in response to this development, he unilaterally declared himself to be the king of Cyprus and demanded international recognition of his royal status.[11] Since his arrival in Rome, Maurizio had fought to have his and his dynasty's royal status recognised (which was strongly opposed by the Medici).[12] Maurizio's Spanish heritage would come in useful, since it allowed him to argue that he would never consent to giving up his style of 'Highness', which had been accorded to his brothers, and thus also to him, when they travelled to Castile in 1603.[13] He appeared to receive support from the Spanish king: when Maurizio actually travelled to Rome in 1635, the Spanish ministers in Italy duly addressed him as 'Your Highness'.[14]

This was of course entirely unacceptable to the Tuscan court, since although they had agreed to accept the style of 'Your Eminence' for Carlo, they would never agree to a lesser style from the Spanish court than the Savoyard cardinal. How could the Spanish ministers justify distinguishing between the houses of Savoy and Medici? The Spanish court always offered the same answer: the style of address for Maurizio was not intended at all to distinguish between the two houses, but rather to acknowledge the fact that Maurizio was of the royal blood of Spain ('*del sangue regio di Spagna*').[15] The sons of the Infanta Catalina had been styled 'Your Highness' since the time the eldest princes visited the court in 1603–6. If the Tuscans had a problem with it, they should have protested a long time ago.[16] This meant that the choice of style did not entail recognition of Vittorio's recent royal claims. Rather the contrary: the Council of State had argued in 1601 that the princes deserved the royal style solely because of their mother (and maternal grandfather) and not because of their father's status. Awarding the royal style to the younger brothers along with the heir had even been explicitly intended to avoid granting the eldest any special honours as heir to Savoy. Since the royal treatment was only directed at Infanta Catalina's children, any other members of the House of Savoy – for instance, Vittorio's recently born son and heir – would not receive it, since they were not 'born of the royal blood of Spain'.[17] In the

eyes of the Spaniards, the matter had nothing to do with the rivalry between the two Italian houses. But such considerations, which basically required people to separate Maurizio's two identities as a Savoyard cardinal and as a Spanish royal grandson, proved unworkable of course.

The Tuscans stubbornly demanded equal treatment with the Savoyards, and the Tuscan ambassador in Spain vehemently remonstrated with Olivares and the King for the same honours for Cardinal Carlo – the whole conflict was about the style of cardinals, after all. It took quite some negotiating to acquire the royal style for Cardinal Carlo. First, the Cardinal lobbied to become protector of Spain. This appointment allowed the ambassador to argue that Carlo would be able to advocate for the Spanish crown with much more authority if he were styled 'His Highness'.[18] Indeed, in 1636, the Spanish ambassador in Rome received instructions to start addressing Carlo as 'His Highness'.[19] As a corollary of this status battle, the Tuscan ambassador felt it would be easy now to acquire the same royal treatment for all of the Grand Duke's brothers, who were, after all, sons of Archduchess Maria Magdalena and thus '*nati del medesimo sangue d'Austria*' ('born of the same Habsburg blood').[20] Philip IV had brought the kinship argument into play, which had now put him in a position where he could not refuse to treat the Medici as his relatives as well. The services that the Medici had provided to the kings in Spain – they held Siena in feoff from the Spanish crown and were required to supply military support to Milan in return – also forced Philip to grant them their request.[21] Their support was more important than ever since war had broken out between Spain and France in 1635. As the Medici frequently pointed out, they were much more loyal supporters of Spanish power in Italy than the fickle Savoyards, who had leaned towards France for most of the seventeenth century. Philip IV simply could not afford to offend the Medici.

But the tussle about the cardinals had unexpected consequences. The Medici were now ready to start exploiting their newly recognised kinship with the Spanish king to the full. Over the summer of 1636, they made sure that all Spanish officials in Italy gave Carlo the style of 'Your Highness'.[22] At the same time, the ambassador worked to confirm use of 'Highness' for the Grand Duke's brothers. The Spanish court was at this time preparing a letter to the youngest Tuscan prince, Leopoldo, and the ambassador monitored the drafting of this letter like a hawk. When it was finally ready, he could report that the letter was addressed to '*[e]l señor principe Leopoldo mi primo*' (the lord Prince Leopoldo, my cousin); the *incipit* read '*señor primo*' (my lord cousin), and it was signed by Philip IV as '*vuestro buen primo*' (your good cousin).[23] Any 'Your Highnesses' were absent since the Spanish kings called their subordinates simply '*vos*' – 'you'.[24] But since all the formulae mentioned were reserved for the close relatives of the Spanish kings – high-ranking aristocrats, as fictive kinsmen, would normally be addressed as '*ilustre duque primo*'[25] – they nevertheless elevated Prince Leopoldo, and by extension all his elder brothers, to the inner ranks of the House of Habsburg. This is remarkable. The Savoyards were grandchildren of a king of Spain and were

acknowledged as heirs to the throne if the main line defaulted. The Tuscan princes, on the other hand, were cousins to Philip IV because their mothers were sisters. As Styrian archduchesses, they were so remotely descended from a Spanish king that they were no longer included in the succession clauses of Spanish royal testaments. Yet the Medici had now achieved parity with the House of Savoy as royal relatives.

A few months after the letter for Leopoldo was drafted and Cardinal Carlo had been promised the royal style in Rome, discussion arose about further favours for the Medici. A familiar office slipped into the conversation: the Spanish viceroy of Naples had hinted that the Medici would be offered the generalship of the Mediterranean fleet for the Grand Duke or one of his brothers, along with the viceroyalty of Sicily. This combination of offices echoed the career of Filiberto, of course, who had held both earlier. Olivares confirmed the offer, although he insisted that the offer was meant for Grand Duke Ferdinando himself, regardless of what the viceroy had said. He went on to call the office of the generalship '*una belissima carica*' ('a very beautiful office'), which was all the more prestigious because a royal prince had been the latest incumbent. He also reminded the Tuscan ambassador of the conditions the Grand Duke had offered a few years earlier – paying for the maintenance of the Royal Galley. To overcome Ferdinando's resistance, Olivares had made sure that the King threw in the admiralty of the Atlantic fleet, as well as allowed the Grand Duke to assign the daily running of the fleets to his brother Giovan Carlo.[26] Such an offer might have been accepted a few years earlier, as the negotiations for Prince Lorenzo show, but at this point the ambassador refused immediately: the second-born son of the duke of Savoy had held the office, so Ferdinando could only accept the offer for one of his own younger brothers.[27] After the tussle of the cardinals earlier, the Medici were now obsessed with achieving strict equality with (if not superiority to) the Savoyards, including when offices in the Spanish royal service were concerned. At the same time, a Savoyard prince might well take over the office again: the Tuscan ambassador doubted that Olivares would give the Medici the office as Prince Tommaso, Filiberto's youngest brother, might be interested in it.[28]

A few months passed, but in March 1637 the Tuscan ambassador spoke again with Olivares. The minister claimed that Monterrey had told him that Grand Duke Ferdinando had accepted the generalship. Of course, the ambassador reiterated the Tuscan position, namely that he hoped the King would give the generalship 'along with viceroyalty of Sicily to Prince Giovan Carlo, his brother, in the same manner in which Prince Filiberto of Savoy had been honoured with it'.[29] Spanish officials could not understand why Ferdinando refused the generalship. Was it not an honour to succeed the Infante Don Carlos, the brother of the king of Spain? And would it not be a dishonour to the deceased infante if he were succeeded by a grand duke's younger brother?[30] But the Tuscans stubbornly refused to forget about Filiberto. The new general would be the successor not so much of Don Carlos, as of the Savoyard secondogenitus! The Tuscans were simply not prepared to compromise on

this issue. In the end, Olivares had no choice but to accept a Tuscan prince instead of the Grand Duke as the new general.

The rivalry with the Savoyards did not end here. Once Olivares and Philip IV had agreed to appoint Giovan Carlo to the office, discussions began about the conditions. The Tuscans continued their strategy of strict equality – the ambassador asked the Spanish negotiator if Giovan Carlo would have the office 'in the same way and with the same rights, authority, salary and emoluments as Prince Filiberto',[31] and Olivares reassured him that Philip would not want to distinguish between his two cousins.[32] To underline the fact that the conditions would be the same, the Spanish bureaucracy produced a copy of Filiberto's appointment as the draft for Giovan Carlo's.[33] The Spaniards had crossed out 'Filiberto' and replaced it with 'Giovan Carlo'. This left one pressing matter to be discussed. Filiberto had been appointed by his uncle Philip III, who had addressed him as 'my lord nephew' ('*señor sobrino*'). Would this formula be maintained for Giovan Carlo, even though he was Philip IV's cousin?[34] The final documents fortunately show that the Tuscans were not prepared to defy the laws of kinship in their quest for equality – they settled on '*señor primo*'. The Tuscans clearly looked at the appointment to the generalship from a strictly Italian perspective. The only other general who mattered was Filiberto, and not Don Carlos – nor, for that matter, Philip II's half-brother Don Juan – which meant that the rules of the Tuscan-Savoyard rivalry applied: no difference could be accepted in treatment between the two houses. This introduced a very toxic dynamic into the Habsburg family circle, which ended up limiting Philip IV's freedom of movement.

After having gained the generalship for Giovan Carlo *as a royal cousin*, the Florentine Court felt there might be other prizes on the horizon. When Philip IV's brother Fernando died in 1641, the governorship of the Low Countries and the archdiocese of Toledo became vacant. When the Tuscan ambassador in Madrid conveyed the news to his home court, he mentioned that all eyes were now on the Emperor's brother Leopold William to take the Brussels post, with the 'Archduchess of Innsbruck' and Margherita of Savoy, unemployed after her Portuguese debacle, as secondary candidates.[35] The Spanish Council of State indeed preferred Leopold William and started negotiations in 1642.[36] But Leopold William had just suffered a major defeat in the Thirty Years' War at the hands of Swedish troops, and he retired from public life for a while.[37] With the Archduke temporarily out of the picture, other candidates were floated. The ambassador was ordered by the Tuscan minister Cardinal Gondi to be 'vigilant' in case Philip IV were inclined to appoint a Tuscan prince.[38]

Nothing happened at the time, and a cousin appointment seemed a remote possibility since Philip had just recognised a twelve-year-old boy, Don Juan, as his illegitimate son, who was rumoured to be about to be appointed both archbishop of Toledo and governor of the Low Countries. But as Leopold William kept procrastinating and Don Juan's appointments did not materialise, the Tuscan princes did become candidates after all. The Spanish Council of State debated the issue in 1644 again. Leopold William, who remained in

retirement, was still the prime candidate, while Don Juan was considered too young. But, the councillors discussed, if the Archduke was unwilling, perhaps one of the princes of Tuscany could be considered![39] Both the general Giovan Carlo and the Thirty Years' War veteran Mattias were mentioned. It is a clear testament to how the Medici had insinuated their way into the select circle of possible governors. Back in 1630, the Council of State had used quite a narrow definition of who could serve in these offices. The Council looked for someone who was of the royal blood, 'or at least a descendant of the most august House of Your Majesty'.[40] We see this reflected in a list of 1629: when royal councillors also drew up a list of names of potential governors of the Low Countries, it was almost completely dominated by the House of Savoy. Vittorio (not yet duke at that time), Maurizio and Margherita were on the list, along with the favourite Archduke Leopold William and the dark horse Duke Odoardo Farnese, grandson of Alessandro.[41] Including the Medici princes some years later thus required a rethink of what a suitable governing relative looked like. In the end Leopold William regained his appetite for public life, and after another stint fighting in the Thirty Years' War, he was finally available to travel to Brussels in 1647.[42]

Giovan Carlo probably turned out to be a bit of a disappointment as general of the fleet. His service was very limited, and in 1642 it was agreed that he would no longer carry out his responsibilities, although he would be allowed to use the title for the rest of his life. If the admiralty role proved of little use in practical matters, it was important to Giovan Carlo, nonetheless. In 1644, Giovan Carlo became a cardinal and as such he had himself painted by Justus Sustermans. In the painting, Giovan Carlo is seen holding a letter. The letter is from Philip IV, who addresses his cousin as they agreed: '*Señor primo, mi general de la mar*'. Clearly, this form of address buttressed Giovan Carlo's claims to high status, and to the address of 'Your Highness', in Rome and elsewhere. Undoubtedly, the painting was a way to advertise his kinship with the Spanish king to the world and to declare that the Medici were not inferior to the Savoyards, even in this regard.

Even though the Habsburg kinship was of great importance to the generation of Savoyard princes born to Infanta Catalina, they also defined themselves in an Italian context, which meant in relation to other Italian houses and especially the Medici. When Philip IV looked at Filiberto or Maurizio of Savoy, he saw half-Spanish princes; when Grand Duke Ferdinando II looked at them, he saw his most bitter Italian rivals. The impossibility of separating, or distinguishing between, these two identities meant that the Italian rivalry was allowed to influence the definition of what it meant to be a Spanish royal relative, qualified to hold Habsburg dynastic offices. Was it to be a descendant of a Spanish king, or to be related to the king in any shape or form? In a sense, not Philip IV but the Medici themselves decided that they should be treated as royal relatives and should form part of the Spanish Habsburg ruling group.

Few cousins or nephews would be employed after Giovan Carlo's years as general. Portugal was lost after Margherita of Savoy's tenure, and most other dynastic offices were monopolised by Don Juan, Philip IV's bastard

son, who became prior of St John and general of the Mediterranean fleet and served as governor or viceroy of Naples, Sicily, Catalonia, the Low Countries and Extremadura – this last posting was intended as a springboard for the re-conquest of Portugal – during the reign of his father, and of Aragon during the reign of his younger half-brother. (All of these offices would be held by aristocrats after Don Juan.) Charles II came to the throne when he was not yet four years old, which meant his reign started with a long regency. During these regency years, the boy king's mother Maria Anna of Austria was highly suspicious of Don Juan.[43] Rightly so, because Don Juan launched a coup against her and her favourite minister from Aragon, which brought him to the centre of power for a short period, until his early death in 1679.[44] Despite the trouble he caused, he was, however, still the only dynastic candidate and the Queen Mother was well aware of his worth.[45] This death spelled the end of the dynastic ruling group. Even if the King and his entourage had wanted to appoint relatives, these individuals had by now become exceedingly rare, or exceptionally unsuitable.[46] Only one of Charles II's two sisters had a son who survived infancy, and this boy would become known as the Grand Dauphin Louis of France, son of Louis XIV. Charles had several cousins through his mother Maria Anna of Austria, whose sister had married the duke of Lorraine. One of them, Charles Joseph, would become prior of Castile in the Order of St John as an eleven-year-old in 1691, but he played his main political role in the Holy Roman Empire, as the elector of Trier.[47] Relatives had become inconsequential in governing the Spanish monarchy.

## Conclusion

Constructing the Spanish Habsburg dynastic ruling group was a process in which many actors were involved. The kings of Spain determined the biological outlines of this extended family by deciding who their daughters would marry, and by including (the Savoyards) or excluding (the Bourbons) non-Habsburg relatives from the succession to the throne. Whether they would be employed, and if so how, depended on other matters. Subjects had a considerable say in the process, demanding royal governors on pain of rebellion. By the seventeenth century, the precedents set in the sixteenth century had great influence as well. Even if previous careers, like those of Albert or Filiberto, were never copied exactly, they did set the agenda for future relatives, providing a target to aim for. Knowing what to expect and knowing the criteria for employment gave relatives much greater agency in shaping their own fortunes, which, in turn, limited the autonomy of the kings of Spain. All these pressures and influences meant that the dynastic ruling group changed beyond recognition between 1520 and 1660.

Neither Margherita of Savoy nor Giovan Carlo de Medici was buried in the Escorial. Their tenure in dynastic offices was brief. They lacked a strong personal relationship with the king of Spain. That Philip IV depended on them says something about the scarcity of the sort of relatives that previous Spanish kings

had relied on. Only Philip's son Don Juan came close. The number of posts that required a relative dwindled as well. Portugal was lost, and after 1660, the Low Countries were governed by a string of Castilian aristocrats. Filiberto's princely tenure as viceroy of Sicily did not give rise to a lasting tradition there. The Castilian aristocracy became Charles II's primary pool of governors. Part of the reason was demographic – Charles II was chronically short of relatives, and the Austrian branch was no great help:[48] during Charles II's reign, not one Austrian cadet reached adulthood. While the future Emperor Charles VI did survive to adulthood, he was still only fifteen when Habsburg rule in Spain came to an end and was thus too young to play the role of an Albert or a Filiberto. Other relatives were mainly to be found in Paris and Versailles: the children of queens Anna and Maria Teresa of France. Even Charles II's first wife was French, which meant his in-laws were of no use either. The demise of the dynastic ruling group is also reflected in the burials in the Escorial: after the burials of Filiberto and Archduke Charles the Posthumous, only royal children, spouses and kings were buried there – and Don Juan.[49]

## Notes

1 See for the details of this rivalry: Franco Angiolini, 'Medici e Savoia. Contese per la precedenza e rivalità di rango in età moderna', in Bianchi and Gentile (eds), *L'affermarsi Della Corte Sabauda,* pp. 435–79, and Toby Osborne, 'The Surrogate War Between the Savoys and the Medici: Sovereignty and Precedence in Early Modern Italy', *The International History Review* 29 (2007), pp. 1–21.
2 Margherita Costa, *Istoria del viaggio d'Alemagna del serenissimo gran duca di Toscana* (Venice, 1630).
3 Roberta Menicucci, 'Il viaggio di Maria Maddalena a Vienna. Politica e cerimoniale', in Giulia Calvi and Riccardo Spinelli (eds), *Le donne Medici nel sistema delle corti. XVI–XVIII secolo* (Florence, 2008), pp. 269–82.
4 Carla Sodini, *L'Ercole tirreno. Guerra e dinastia medicea nella prima metà del '600* (Florence, 2001), pp. 129–207.
5 ASF, MdP, filza 4952: Averardo Medici to Curzio Picchena, Madrid, 24 and 30 August 1624.
6 ASF, MdP, filza 4952: insert addressed to 'S.A', in a letter by Averardo Medici, 18 September 1624.
7 ASF, MdP, filza 4953: insert addressed to 'S.A', in a letter by Averardo Medici, 15 February 1625.
8 ASF, MdP, filza 4953: insert addressed to 'S.A', in a letter by Averardo Medici, 4 May 1625.
9 Hoffman, *Raised to Rule*, pp. 174–75.
10 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'Il papato nella contesa per il titolo regio (XV–XVIII secolo)', in Jean-François Chauvard, Andrea Merlotti and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds), *Casa Savoia e curia romana dal Cinquecento al Risorgimento* (Rome, 2015), pp. 55–92, there pp. 73–74; Robert Oresko, 'The House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown', in Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott (eds), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 272–350, p. 287.
11 As Oresko argues, the birth of a son to Vittorio Amedeo and his wife after many years of childlessness also emboldened the Duke to claim royal status. Oresko, 'The House of Savoy', pp. 285–87.

12 Blythe Alice Raviola, '"En el real serbicio de Vuestra Majestad." El Cardenal Mauricio de Saboya entre Turín, Roma, Madrid y Paris', *Librosdelacorte.es*, Monográfico 1, año 6 (2014), p. 251.
13 Raviola, '"En el real serbicio de Vuestra Majestad"', p. 255. He also mentioned other 'grandchildren of Spain' like Sister Margaret of the Cross, who was still a nun at the Descalzas convent at the time of writing. She died in 1633.
14 ASF, MdP, filza 4962: minutes of Andrea Cioli to Francesco Medici, 16 and 23 October 1635. This had been a hard-fought privilege, because the Spanish had not always been so willing to give him this distinction. Raviola, '"En el real serbicio de Vuestra Majestad"', p. 251.
15 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 21 November 1635.
16 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 21 and 30 November 1635 and 16 February 1636.
17 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 21 November 1635: 'per non esser nati del sangue regio di Spagna'.
18 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 16 February 1636.
19 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 31 May 1636.
20 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 22 December 1635 and 11 January 1636.
21 Niccolò Capponi, '"Le palle di marte": Military Strategy and Diplomacy in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany under Ferdinand II dei' Medici (1621–1670)', *The Journal of Military History* 68 (2004), pp. 1105–41.
22 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 1 August 1636: confirmation that all Spanish ambassadors in Rome, 'presenti e futuri', were ordered to do so.
23 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 25 and 27 October 1636. I have not been able to locate the letter to Leopoldo.
24 Years earlier, Duke Charles Emmanuel complained that Prince Philip (the future Philip III) addressed him in writing as 'vos' while the Emperor addressed him as 'Vuestra Alteza' (Your Highness). If the Prince did so, the King certainly did too. AGS, Estado, leg. 1.279, fol. 134: Acuña to Philip II, 6 December 1595.
25 María Concepción Quintanilla Raso (ed.), *Titulos, Grandes del reino y grandeza en la sociedad política. Fundamentos en la Castilla medieval* (Madrid, 2006), pp. 76, 99, n230 and p. 100.
26 Francesco Martelli and Cristina Galasso (eds), *Istruzioni agli ambasciatori e inviati medicei in Spagna e nell 'Italia spagnola' (1536–1648)* (Florence, 2007), vol. II, p. 464: Second instruction to Gabriello Riccardi, 4 October 1637.
27 ASF, MdP, filza 4961: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 31 December 1636.
28 ASF, MdP, filza 4963, no. 37: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 21 January 1637.
29 ASF, MdP, filza 4963, no. 136: Francesco Medici to Andrea Cioli, Madrid, 7 March 1637: 'insieme col vicereame di Sicilia al sr principe Gio Carlo suo fratello nella stessa maniera che n'era stato honorato il sr principe Filiberto di Savoia'.
30 ASF, MdP, filza 3182, no. 298: Montemagni to Andrea Cioli, Milan, 3 March 1637.
31 ASF, MdP, filza 4963, no. 942: Gabriello Riccardi to Ferdinando II, Madrid, 12 June 1638: 'nell'istessa maniera et con le med.me prerogative, autorita, solde, et emolumento che lo teneva il sr principe Filiberto'.
32 ASF, MdP, filza 4963, no. 973: Gabriello Riccardi to Ferdinando II, 20 June 1638.

33 ASF, MdP, filza 5305: 'Titulo de capitan general en el sr Principe Filiberto, 1612' and his instruction, both dated 15 August 1538.
34 ASF, MdP, filza 4963, nr. 1015: Gabriello Riccardi to Andrea Cioli, 27 July 1638.
35 AST, MdP, filza 4966: Ottavio Pucci to Gondi, Madrid, 4 November 1641. The archduchess of Innsbruck, that is Tyrol, was actually a Medici princess, Claudia, an aunt of Grand Duke Ferdinando, but oddly the diplomatic correspondence never highlights this fact.
36 René Vermeir, 'Un austriaco en Flandes. El archiduque Leopoldo Guillermo, gobernador general de los Países Bajos meridionales (1647–1656)', in Martínez Millán and González Cuerva (eds), *La dinastía de los Austria*, pp. 583–608, pp. 588 and 591.
37 Vermeir, 'Un austriaco en Flandes', p. 591.
38 AST, MdP, filza 4966: insert of Ottavio Pucci to Gondi, Madrid, 12 February 1642.
39 Henri Lonchay, *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVII siècle* (Brussels, 1930), vol. III, pp. 455–56: 3 December 1644.
40 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', p. 40, reference to Consejo de Estado, Madrid, 2 April 1630 (AGS, Estado, leg. 2044, fol. 15): 'persona real o por lo menos desçendiente de la augustíssima cassa de V.M.'
41 Esteban Estríngana, 'Estados de Flandes', pp. 29–30.
42 Vermeir, 'Un austriaco en Flandes', p. 591.
43 Mitchell, *Queen, Mother & Stateswoman*, describes many conflicts between them: pp. 118–22.
44 Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez, *Don Juan José de Austria en la monarquía hispánica: entre la política, el poder y la intriga* (Madrid, 2007).
45 Mitchel, *Queen, Mother & Stateswoman*, p. 118,
46 Morales Sánchez-Tembleque, 'La Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén', p. 316, argues that, had there been suitable dynastic candidates for the priorate, they would certainly have been appointed. Instead, Don Juan was succeeded by the aristocratic cadet Íñigo de Velandia Arce y Arellano, the untitled nobleman Fernando Francisco de Escobedo and the aristocratic bastard Alonso de Guzmán el Bueno, an illegitimate son of the duke of Medina Sidonia. Luis Salas Almela, *Medina Sidonia: el poder de la aristocracia, 1580–1670* (Madrid, 2008), p. 473. Clearly, the office had reverted to the Castilian aristocracy.
47 Valor Bravo, 'Los Infantes-Comendadores', p. 157; Roberto Quirós Rosado, 'Estratégicos anacronismos. Malta, la Orden de San Juan y la Corona española a finales del Antiguo Régimen (1795–1802)', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 34 (2009), pp. 125–55, p. 127. See also, Alessandro Cont, *La Chiesa dei principi. Le relazioni tra Reichskirche, dinastie sovrane tedesche e stati italiani (1688–1763)* (Trento, 2018), pp. xx, and 118–29. This family, like the Medici of a generation earlier, was more closely related to the Austrian Habsburgs, being sororal nephews of Emperor Leopold I, who took charge of them after the early death of their father. Their careers unfolded mainly in an Austrian context, and Charles Joseph held many clerical dignities in the Holy Roman Empire, among them the electorate of Trier.
48 Rocío Martínez López, 'Charles II of Spain, King of the Romans? The Spanish Monarchy and the Dynastic Vision of Emperor Leopold I's Succession', unpublished paper (cited with the author's permission), makes the point that Charles II came into view as successor to his equally relative-starved cousin Emperor Leopold I before the birth of the latter's son Joseph in 1678.
49 And Ferdinando of Savoy-Carignano, son of Tommaso and his spouse, who died as a child during his mother's extended stay at court.

# Conclusion

## The Past, Present and Future of Dynasty

The main conclusion of this book is that dynasties, at least the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, come to us in various guises, reflecting the temporal dimensions in which they exist: the past, the present and the future. The Spanish Habsburg dynasty was constructed as a community of heirs, which in reality became increasingly restricted as primogeniture was introduced but which as a scenario for the future continued to include a testator's siblings and their children. It was also constructed as a unilineal and patrilineal genealogical narrative going back to Adam, Sigebertus of Austrasia or Gontramus that excluded all dynastic loose ends until blossoming into more varied foliage when the present or recent past was discussed. And it was shaped as a post-mortem transgenerational community of the dead that first grew to include all manner of relatives in addition to the ruling couple, and later on was divided into a group of rulers and a group of others. And lastly it found expression as a contemporaneous ruling group consisting of the ruler's immediate and coeval helpmeets, a group whose membership was the result of ongoing negotiation and the institutionalisation of certain roles for certain types of relatives.

While we argued that these four constructions of dynasty represent its existence in different temporal dimensions (past, future and present), all constructions in fact hold elements of more than one temporal dimension. These dual aspects of time are most noticeable in genealogies, testaments and crypts. Genealogies are primarily concerned with the past, which is constructed in a unilineal manner, but they also discuss the present, or the very recent past, where the narrative widens to include the horizontal dynasty. Testaments tend to identify a similar (but not identical) wider group as *possible* future heirs, but they also echo the unilinear nature of genealogies in pinpointing *one* universal immediate heir and thus narrowing the pool of immediate heirs. And crypts present this same wider family group whose members were buried there, but with the passing of years they came to represent the past. Even this manifestation of the past could be made to fit a more unilineal view of the dynasty's history by the building of two separate pantheons, one for rulers and one for the rest. Past, present and future are thus closely interconnected, and all contribute to the construction of the overall picture of the dynasty. Thus, instead of a single dynasty we find a variety of family groups,

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constructed in different temporal and social contexts by a variety of media and actors, but still overlapping to such a degree that we cannot understand the whole without understanding its parts.

How did these constructions come about? The juridical community of heirs is perhaps the family group which is most often taken (implicitly) as 'the' dynasty, because it gives us the sequence of rulers that so often serves as the ordering principle of histories of dynasties. In early modern Spanish Habsburg succession practices, the merging of several medieval inheritance regimes becomes apparent: the Austrian tradition of partition, going to some lengths to privilege male family members over women and thus effectively excluding the latter, and the Burgundian and Castilian traditions, privileging a single heir but allowing female succession. In Castile, the eldest son became king, but his brothers were generously endowed and a daughter could succeed in the absence of sons. In the Burgundian conglomerate, the eldest son received the lion's share of the patrimony, while his brothers became independent but minor princes, either by receiving some parts of the conglomerate or by acquiring others through marriage. In most territories of the conglomerate, female succession could be enacted, but the duchy of Burgundy itself, a French appanage, was reclaimed by the French crown in the absence of a male heir. So the various medieval traditions contained different attitudes towards younger sons and daughters, although all male scions could expect to be treated well. At the level of the Habsburg monarchy as a whole, the Burgundian and Austrian traditions were continued until the early seventeenth century. But under the influence of reasons-of-state thinking, an increased identification of the patrimony with a *mayorazgo* and the emergence of favourites with their own agendas, traditions of partition and/or generous endowments for younger sons were phased out, younger princes became dependent on the ruler and female succession became more problematic. This was a process of dynastic centralisation: material resources became concentrated in the hands of the single heir, the family head, which meant that his position within the family group became ever more dominant. This increasing dominance came at the expense of the independence and material resources of other males.

Apart from succession and inheritance, testaments tell us something about the future dynasty, the group of people that the testator chose to include in his list of hypothetical heirs. Testators always had to take various possibilities into account and had to look beyond their heir apparent. Testators identified their predecessor's descendants as backup heirs: Charles V included all the descendants of his own father Philip I; Philip II included all of Charles V's descendants. This means siblings, nephews and nieces were mentioned explicitly, affirming their eligibility to wear the crown. This group consisted only of legitimate offspring, excluding the bastards, but including women and non-Habsburgs: Catalina's Savoyard children were included, and the Austrian Habsburgs were not privileged over them in any way. This group overlapped to a considerable degree with the kind of individuals subjects preferred to

have as governors: they often asked for the heir or, as the Portuguese Cortes stipulated, any 'child, sibling or nephew' of the king. They did not always get what they wanted, since the ruling group was in reality more inclusive than that, but this does highlight the fact that possible heirs were preferred as governors and these were the individuals that subjects most closely associated with their ruler.

The emergence of primogeniture is reflected in contemporary genealogies, which exhibit a marked unease with the multiple branches that had characterised the medieval Habsburgs and show efforts to present the seventeenth-century Habsburgs of both branches as two parallel, patrilineal lines; genealogies written in the context of marriage between the branches in particular betray this characteristic. This quest for patrilineal clarity condemned medieval junior branches to oblivion (like the first Tyrolean line), while elevating the hardly remarkable Philip the Handsome – the last shared patrilineal ancestor of the two early modern branches, again important when discussing marriage – to star ancestor status. More generally, we see a continuous renegotiation and reshaping of the family group in these narratives. New demands for rigorous source criticism expelled some ancestors (like Sigebertus of Austrasia) and added others (like Gontramus). The genealogical narratives in particular show that the shaping of the dynasty was not exclusively in the hands of family heads, or even of family members. While some rulers encouraged genealogy writing and court officials were involved in some cases, many genealogies came about without the involvement of a single Habsburg, for instance, when commercial hacks peddled their genealogies to the curious masses, or scholars engaged in their academic warfare from the safety of their ivory towers. While Habsburg descent was the key ordering principle in such texts, non-Habsburgs occasionally crept in as collateral relatives – at least whenever genealogical narratives reflected the recent ruling group. The unilineal dynastic past was accompanied by a wider dynastic 'present', reflected in genealogists' discussion of recent and current generations. Here, we see an overlap with the ruling group: individuals who were excluded from the unilineal narrative, like most women, illegitimate offspring and cognates, reappeared as long as they were remembered locally as governors or otherwise.

Particularly telling developments can be identified in the demographics of the Spanish Habsburg burial sites. The accumulated post-mortem family group grew dramatically between the Middle Ages, characterised by individual burial sites or sites that housed a limited number of relatives, and the middle of the seventeenth century; when Philip IV's coffin was brought to the Escorial, its crypts housed no fewer than thirty-eight relatives. It is important to note that this was not merely due to the passing of time; many generations of Castilian kings and Austrian dukes had passed away over the centuries without ever giving rise to such densely populated crypts. It was rather because the people buried there represented an ever-wider group. Charles V started this expansion by reburying his infant sons with him, and

his successors continued to expand the group by including relatives that had previously been buried separately from kings: widowed aunts, nephews, bastards and even those who had expressed a wish for burial elsewhere, like Philip II's son Don Carlos or Cardinal-Infante Fernando. The fact that the latter, a legitimate Spanish prince and an archbishop to boot, did not have an individual tomb somewhere represents quite a dramatic shift in comparison with his medieval predecessors. Individual burials were closely connected to independent authority and resources: ruling archdukes in Austria and Castilian infantes endowed with vast wealth had simply had the financial means and the political independence to avoid ending up in a crowded dynastic vault. Not so for the royal cardinal. His final resting place in the Escorial crypt is among the clearest manifestations of the process of dynastic centralisation. This centralisation was not only due to the family head's dominance. Many relatives obliquely requested burial in the Escorial, which was, in the light of their own lack of resources, by far the preferred option because of its prestige and its salvation industry, run by its resident monks. Such relatives gave the king the authority to decide where to bury them, hoping (and expecting) that he would choose the Escorial for them. There thus seems to be a clear connection between the material distribution of resources and the construction of the post-mortem family group. Power had shifted: financial resources, political power and family authority had flowed into the hands of the family head, but not just because he took it – also because other relatives gave it to him.

Dynastic centralisation is less apparent in the construction of the ruling family group. The size of this elite group of relatives who were employed in governing the monarchy was always connected to the offices that needed to be filled by close relatives. Within the Spanish monarchy, these offices became fewer at the start of Philip II's reign: the Austrian branch took over the Empire after 1558, while the King no longer needed a representative in Castile because he resided there. But other offices were added: Portugal came under the wings of the Habsburgs in 1581, the grand priory of Castile in the Order of St John was re-styled as a dynastic office, and the generalship of the Mediterranean fleet was added in the early seventeenth century. Overall, the number of relatives the king of Spain needed to run his monarchy did not increase or decrease significantly.

Yet, within this group, certain dynamics did their work. Over the course of the sixteenth century, siblings lost their primacy – voluntarily, in the case of Philip II's sisters – to nephews, who often had spent some years at the Spanish court being thoroughly Habsburgified. By crafting an alternative power position in the Descalzas, Philip II's sisters contributed to a more gendered family group, where men took on governing roles and women staffed the 'pious court' from the convent. In the seventeenth century, a lack of suitable nephews brought in an ever-wider field of contestants, who managed to present themselves as close relatives based on the precedents that had been created. The King lost his grip of the construction of this group somewhat, which

in turn caused it to lose some of its cohesion and lustre in the seventeenth century. Apart from Philip IV's brothers who had become part of the ruling group instead of taking on an independent position, and Filiberto of Savoy and Philip IV's illegitimate son Don Juan, relatives do not appear to have enjoyed the same level of trust as their sixteenth-century predecessors. The employment of relatives during Philip IV's reign consisted mostly of numerous brief cousin employments. Furthermore, most of the relatives who served him had not been socialised at his court, and they were no longer buried in the Escorial. The commitment of these relatives to the Spanish Habsburgs was much weaker than that of Alessandro Farnese or Filiberto of Savoy. During Charles II's reign, dynastic appointments petered out almost entirely and aristocrats took over as governors in the Low Countries, the priorate of Castile and elsewhere. Demography and dynastic accident expedited the disappearance of the ruling group: only when Charles II was a child – his mother and ministers jealously guarding his prerogatives – did he have a brother, Don Juan, to employ, and as the events of the Spanish War of Succession so dramatically show, he counted only the French dauphin as his nephew. The ruling family group had disappeared.

What role did the family head play in the development of these different dynastic constructions? As long as all males stood to acquire some part of the patrimony, it was, of course, not always evident who the family head even was or who was subordinate to him, nor how far his authority reached. Charles V's younger brother Ferdinand deferred to his brother in many aspects but was firmly in charge of his own patrimony and burial. Over the course of the sixteenth century, a clear family head did emerge in the Spanish branch. Yet he never became an all-powerful shaper of his dynasty. For one, natural processes of demography determined the playing field – how many sons, daughters and siblings did he have? – and these matters were partly out of his hands. But apart from that, relatives continued to display considerable agency: Philip II's sisters simply refused to take on government roles or be buried in the Escorial. Other relatives did the opposite; Filiberto of Savoy and others actively placed their post-mortem fates in the King's hands. Without such input from relatives, the demographics of the Escorial might have looked different. Neither must we forget how the Medici seemed to present Philip IV with a sort of fait accompli in their insistence on equality with the Habsburgified princes of Savoy, elbowing their way into the Habsburg ruling family group, however ephemeral their service turned out to be. Relationships among relatives – also quite outside of the King's control – played an important role as well: the rivalry over the government of the Low Countries between Christina of Denmark and Margaret of Parma, cousin and half-sister, respectively, of Philip II, caused some headaches, and from the late sixteenth century until well into the seventeenth century, we can trace a Styrian-Austrian group, formed initially by Philip III's brothers-in-law, vying with the better entrenched Savoyards, the children of Infanta Catalina, for the same kinds of perks and offices. The seventeenth-century Medici appear

to be exclusively driven by their bitter rivalry with the House of Savoy. These rivalries were often closely connected to expectations based on previously established practice: both the Styrians and the Savoyards looked at the previous generation of Austrian archdukes, and the Medici intended for one of their own to follow in the footsteps of a deceased Savoyard prince. The family head's authority was limited by demography, individual agency, rivalry and the institutionalisation of roles for certain types of relatives.

Another important conclusion is that the development of inner-dynastic dynamics always intersected with generational shifts: all relationships had to be renegotiated when a new head of the House came to power. Any new king was a different individual from his father, with different likes and dislikes, who listened to different people. For example, Philip III brought in the duke of Lerma and his family as new rivals for high office. But a new king also meant that kinship was calculated with respect to a different 'central individual': nephews became cousins, sisters became aunts, brothers-in-law became uncles, sons became brothers and first cousins became second cousins. Kinship became either more remote or closer, and this influenced how relatives might be used, if at all. Rulers never made appointments of relatives farther removed than first cousins (even if they were sometimes considered), so the transition from first cousin to second cousin essentially meant an exit from the family group. New marriages and births introduced new members: in-laws, children, nieces and nephews. They gladly took on the mantle of their predecessors in such roles. With each generational shift, the dynasty became a different group, based on kinship ties to a new family head.

Dynasties can best be understood as a composite of constructions of a family group that exists in different temporal dimensions: genealogies and crypts construct and reflect its past and appointments and burials (and surely many other things) illuminate its contours in the present, while succession scenarios hypothesise its future. Processes like dynastic centralisation, dynamics within the family group and between ruler and elites, individual agency and the social institutionalisation of roles all drove change. Constructions have a nagging reputation of not being real, but all the constructions of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty that I have discussed were real to contemporaries. Alessandro Farnese was a royal governor in the eyes of the elites in Brussels, even if he was an Italian prince born of an illegitimate mother; genealogies of the 'House of Austria' were real even if the characters described in them might not be; testaments granted real rights and reflected real claims even if not all clauses were triggered; the remains of the occupants of the crypt in the Escorial are still *in situ*, even if they might have turned to dust by now; and to highlight his status as a royal grandson, Filiberto of Savoy was really called 'Your Highness' by the Spanish court – and 'of Austria' by others.

# Appendix
## List of Consulted Genealogies

Anonymous 1536, 'Genealogia illustrissime Domus Austrie que per lineam rectam masculinam ab ipso Noe humani generis reparatore usque ad Carolum Quintum Cesarem Philippi Castelle Regis filium… decepta 1536 mense aprili', Biblioteca Nacional de España, RES/265

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Gómez de Montemayor, Antonio, 'De Hispaniae regno et illius praeclarissimo Rege Philippo Secundo et de genealogia Austriae, aliisque familiis imperialibus et regiis', BNE Mss/785; Spanish version BNE MSS/11598

Guillimannus, Franciscus, *Habsburgiaca, Sive De Antiqva Et Vera Origine Domus Austriae, Vita Et Rebus Gestis Comitum Vindonissensium, Sive Altenburgiensium, In Primis Habsburgiorum Libri Septem: Ad Rudolphum II. Habsburgi-Austricaum Imperatorem Semper Augustum* (Milan, 1605)

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