

The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from His Election as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands until His Investiture as Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries (1595-1598)

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Résumé

La Maison Royale de l'archiduc Albert d'Autriche, depuis son élection en tant que gouverneur de la Flandre jusqu'à son investiture comme Prince souverain des Pays-Bas, 1595-1598

L'archiduc Albert d'Autriche a été une des personnalités les plus importantes de la monarchie espagnole des Habsbourg pendant les règnes de son oncle, Philippe II, et de son cousin, Philippe III. Cependant, sa figure n'a pas été vraiment étudiée jusqu'à ces dernières années, or elle nous permet de comprendre beaucoup mieux de nombreux points concernant les histoires du Portugal, des Pays-Bas espagnols, du Saint-Empire et de la Monarchie espagnole pendant les derniers décennies du XVIe et le début du XVIIe siècle. Cette contribution est centrée sur l'étude des maisons royales depuis 1595, quand Albert a été désigné gouverneur des Pays-Bas, jusque 1598, quand il a été investi comme Prince souverain des mêmes terres. Elle complète l'étude que nous avons faite pour la période 1570-1595, ce qui nous permet d'examiner le contexte politique lors de son éducation, l'entourage d'Albert pendant ces années et la fonction de sa Maison royale comme intégratrice des élites territoriales dans les différents lieux où il exerçait ses fonctions.

Abstract

Archduke Albert of Austria was one of the most important figures in the Spanish monarchy of the Austrias during the reigns of his uncle, Philip II, and his cousin Philip III. However, his figure has not been studied really in-depth until these last years, allowing us to understand much better many points concerning the histories of Portugal, the Habsburg Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy in the last decades of the XVIth century and the first ones of the XVIIth. This essay is focused on the study of his royal household from 1595, when he was elected as governor of the Netherlands, until 1598, when he was invested as Sovereign Prince of the same lands. It complements the one that we made from 1570 until 1595, allowing us to examine the political background during his upbringing, the people that surrounded Albert during those years and the function of his household as an integrator of territorial elites in the different places he served.

De huishouding van aartshertog Albrecht van Oostenrijk, van zijn aanstelling tot gouverneur van de Nederlanden tot zijn benoeming als souverain vorst, 1595-1598

Aartshertog Albrecht van Oostenrijk was één van de belangrijkste figuren uit de Spaanse monarchie van de Habsburgers gedurende de regeringen van zijn oom Philips II en zijn neef Philips III. Zijn persoon is evenwel tot de laatste jaren nooit echt diepgaand bestudeerd. Nu dit is gedaan kunnen wij verschillende facetten van de geschiedenis van Portugal, de Nederlanden, het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Spaanse Monarchie van de laatste decennia van de zestiende tot de eerste van de zeventiende eeuw beter begrijpen. Dit artikel bestudeert de koninklijke huishouding vanaf 1595, toen hij werd aangesteld als gouverneur van de Nederlanden tot 1598, toen hij werd benoemd als souverain vorst. Het sluit aan op ons vorig artikel over de periode van 1570 tot 1595, en het stelt ons in staat de politieke achtergrond tijdens zijn opvoeding te bestuderen, alsmede de mensen die hem gedurende deze jaren omringden. Ook krijgen wij nu een beeld van de integrerende functie van zijn huishouding voor de territoriale elites in de verschillende plaatsen waar hij diende.

The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from His Election as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands until His Investiture as Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries (1595-1598) ⁽¹⁾

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Archduke Albert of Austria was one of the most important figures in the Spanish Monarchy of the Habsburgs during the reigns of his uncle, Philip II, and his nephew Philip III. As yet, however, until this year, there was not a complete modern biography of him and, apart from his period as co-sovereign of the Habsburgs Netherlands with Isabella Clara Eugenia, there were very few studies about particular episodes of his life⁽²⁾. This represented

(1) This article has been funded as part of the project: “La contradicción de la Monarquía Católica: la fijación de las ordenanzas y etiquetas cortesanas en el periodo de su declive” (Ref: HAR2009-12614-C04-02/HIST) directed by Professor Fernando Suárez Bilbao, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy. The first part of this research, with the title of “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, José Eloy HORTAL & Dries RAEYMAEKERS, eds., *A Constellation of Courts. The Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*, Louvain, Leuven University Press, 2014 (forthcoming).

Abbreviations: AGP: Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid; Personal: Sección de personal, expedientes; AGR: Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels; SEG: Secrétaire d'État et de Guerre; AGS: Archivo General de Simancas; CSR: Casa y Sitios Reales and E.: Estado; AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; Consejos: Consejos Suprimidos; ASV: Archivo Segreto Vaticano, Spagna; *Segreteria di Stato, Spagna*; BNM: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; BPRM: Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid; DBE: *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2011-2012, 50 vols.; IVDJ: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid; RAH: Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

(2) There are two seventeenth century biographies: Auberto MIRAEUS (LE MIRE), *De vita Alberti Belgarum principis*, Antwerp, 1622, and Johannes Jean Chrysostome Brusle de MONTPLEINCHAMP, *Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert, gouverneur général et puis prince souverain de la Belgique*, Cologne, 1693, the edition by Aimé Louis P. ROUBAUX DE SOUMOY, Brussels, 1870 (Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique, 34) being the one consulted here. On different periods of his life: for his stay in the court in Madrid in his youth, José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, “El archiduque Alberto en la corte de Felipe II (1570-1580)”, in Werner THOMAS & Luc DUERLOO, eds., *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621. Essays*, Louvain, Brepols, 1998, p. 27-37; the outstanding study on his travels as governor of Portugal is by Francisco CAEIRO, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria, vice-rei de Portugal*, Lisbon, Author's Edition, 1961, with comments by Domingos MAURICIO in “O Arquiduque Alberto de Austria, Vice-Rei de Portugal (1583-1593)”, in *Brotéria*, vol. 24, 4, 1962, p. 422-429. Also, as a collector and patron of art, Annemarie JORDAN GSCHWEND, *Archduke*

an enormous gap in the bibliography of the reigns of Philip II and Philip III but, luckily, Luc Duerloo has published in 2012 a political biography that allows us to understand much better many points concerning the histories of Portugal, Spanish Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy itself⁽³⁾.

The aim of this essay is to make a contribution to this endeavour by studying the members of his entourage and the changes in its composition from the time the archduke was designated as governor of the Netherlands in 1595 until his election as sovereign of the same territories in 1598, as well as examining the political background during his upbringing. With this, we could realize how Philip II decided to use Albert's entourage in those years as a core tool for a better acceptance in the Netherlands of the Act of Cession, specially through the use of a policy that gave great success to the emperor Charles V in the first half of the sixteenth century, which was the use of the royal households as an integrator of the Flemish elites⁽⁴⁾.

Archduke Albert's Second Sojourn in Madrid and Preparations for the Progress to the Spanish Netherlands: 1593-1595

Archduke Albert had been viceroy of Portugal since 1583, but in 1593 his uncle, Philip II, decided that he must return to Madrid. Upon his arrival, he was informed that he was going to be included in the Council of State and the *Junta de Gobierno* [Board of Government], giving him a leading role at court together with Prince Philip, the heir to the throne, and he was even entrusted with the mission of receiving nuncios and ambassadors⁽⁵⁾.

Albert in Lisbon (1581-1593). A Question of Patronage or Emulation?, Ph.D. diss. Brown University, 1985. Relating to his brief period as Archbishop of Toledo, BNM, Ms. 13027, ANONIMOUS, *Vidas de los Arzobispos de Toledo*, (n.d. ca. 1620), 3, 201–208ff. For his stage as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1595 to 1598, Juan Roco CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes, trece años de gobierno del archiduque Alberto, 1595-1608*, Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Alcántara, 1973, p. 1-219. There are, however, many studies about him as sovereign of the Habsburg Netherlands, particularly on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the Act of Cession in 1998. A good summary of studies about the Archdukes can be found in Werner THOMAS, “La corte de los archiduques Alberto de Austria y la infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia en Bruselas (1598-1633): Una revisión historiográfica”, in Ana CRESPO SOLANA & Manuel HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, eds., *España y las 17 provincias de los Países Bajos: Una revisión historiográfica (XVI-XVIII)*, 2 vols., Córdoba, Universidad, 2002, vol. 1, p. 355-386.

(3) Luc DUERLOO, *Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars*, London, Ashgate, 2012.

(4) In relation with the Netherlands, José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *Los asuntos de Flandes. Las relaciones entre las Cortes de la Monarquía Hispánica y de los Países Bajos durante el siglo XVI*, Saarbrücken, Editorial Académica Española, 2011, chapter 1, “La integración de las élites flamencas en la Corte de Carlos V y durante los primeros años del reinado de Felipe II”, p. 33-97.

(5) Cabrera de Córdoba mentions this in Luis CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Historia de Felipe II, Rey de España*, 3 vols. ed. José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & Carlos José de CARLOS MORALES, Valladolid, 1998, vol. 3, p. 1483-1484. On the reforms taking place in the Council of State and the Board of Government, see Santiago FERNANDEZ CONTI, *Los consejos de Estado y Guerra*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1998, p. 222-223.

However, it was not simply the dispatching of business that had prompted his recall; there were at least two other missions that he had to fulfil.

The first was to contribute to the dynasticism that Philip II had begun to discern as necessary to the preservation of his immense empire. The development of a closer relationship between the two branches of the Habsburgs since 1587 enabled the Spanish monarch to further the idea of consolidating a network of territories with similar interests and joined by dynastic ties which, in the long term, would be the only way to achieve a stable and lasting peace. The figure of the archdukes Ernest and Albert was fundamental to this and that is where the germ of the idea of the Act of Cession of 1598 lay⁽⁶⁾.

The other mission that Philip II had in mind for his nephew was to appoint him Archbishop of Toledo. The incumbent at the time was Gaspar de Quiroga who was steeped in the ideas of the Papist faction, which had never been to the liking of his Castilianist opponents. Furthermore, Philip II wanted his nephew to be named coadjutor of the archbishopric, so that he could control with a firm hand the unrest that appeared to have gripped Toledo in those years⁽⁷⁾. The monarch had tried to have the archduke named as successor to the archbishopric on several occasions after the first attempt failed in 1576 and, on January 12, 1581, he succeeded in persuading Gregory XIII to agree to it, even though twenty-seven was the minimum age stipulated for acceding to the post. So, in 1594, Philip II gave Sessa the task of ensuring that he was appointed coadjutor with an income of 20,000 ducats a year, which Clement VIII granted on November 7 of that year; the papal bull, however, was not delivered until the taxes and half annates had been paid⁽⁸⁾. While the archduke was waiting for the bull of his appointment as coadjutor, Quiroga died. Philip II hastened to name his nephew archbishop, even though the requirement of appointing him a priest had not been fulfilled. However, the death of his brother Ernest in the Habsburg Netherlands cut short the entire process⁽⁹⁾.

Ever since his arrival in Madrid, the different factions at court had tried to win the archduke over to their side⁽¹⁰⁾. During the time Philip II spent in Badajoz and Portugal from 1580 to 1583, the Castilianist group of courtiers, which had helped to impose a confessional ideology in line with Castilian interests, gradually shaped the organization of the government, and

(6) José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, Carlos José de CARLOS MORALES *et al.*, *Felipe II (1527-1598). La configuración de la monarquía hispánica*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 1998, p. 257-261.

(7) The state of unrest in Toledo can be seen in the anonymous manuscript kept in BNM, Ms. 12974, no. 23, "Representación al Archiduque Alberto de Austria, Arzobispo de Toledo, en el año 1595, sobre varios abusos que se notaban en el Arzobispado y su remedio" [Representation to Archduke Albert of Austria, archbishop of Toledo, in the year 1595, concerning various abuses that were noted in the archbishopric and their remedy].

(8) Philip II to Sessa, November 28, 1594, AGS, E., leg. 964 (no pagination).

(9) Fr. CAEIRO, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria, op. cit.*, p. 360-370.

(10) Over the relations between the court factions in Madrid and in Brussels during the sixteenth century, J.E. HORTAL MUÑOZ, *Los asuntos de Flandes, op. cit.* Specially important for this article, chapter 8, "En puertas de la Cesión: el gobierno del archiduque Alberto (1596-1598)".

attempted to weed out the remnants of the Papist faction [former Ebolist one] from important positions. Mateo Vázquez began to stand out from the other principal courtiers, although the relentless rise of other figures, who would eventually eclipse the secretary, began to be apparent on their return to Madrid in 1583. Juan de Zúñiga was one of the most ambitious, although his decease in 1586 brought his career to an abrupt end. His death, together with Cardinal Granvela's in the same year, catapulted Juan de Idiáquez into the post, converting him into a principal courtier with no need for assistance from Mateo Vázquez. Along with the secretary, he grew very influential, taking over from his father, the third count of Chinchón. Finally, the figure of Cristóbal de Moura deserves special mention. He was situated on the side of those whose ideology was opposed to the Castilianists, but, in the end, was party to many of the ideas that they advocated.

We have to realize that, despite the control exerted by both the Ebolists and the Papists in the first decade of Albert's service, Albert never favoured the political and religious convictions of either group, and set about developing ideas that tended to be more in harmony with the new dominant faction in Madrid, the Castilianists ones. Even, this group had a distinct advantage as Philip II had told Moura to stay close to his nephew and advise him⁽¹¹⁾. The Empress Maria, a convinced papist, for her part, attempted to take advantage of family ties and during her son's first week in Madrid, she held meetings with him on two occasions and even had him lodge near the Descalzas with her lord steward, the noted papist, Juan de Borja, Count of Mayalde. The empress likewise managed to get the Imperial ambassador, Hans Khevenhüller, Count of Frankenburg⁽¹²⁾, to be appointed the archduke's lord steward and *sumiller de Corps* during his period in Madrid, after Juan de Ayala had resigned from office on the grounds of age, shortly before his death in 1594. The empress was confident that the proximity of the ambassador, who closeted himself with the archduke every day for an hour to show Albert how the Castilians discussed business, would serve to control the circles that her son moved in and to instil in him his view of the Spanish Monarchy, which was similar to the empress'⁽¹³⁾. In the event, it did not work and Albert stuck to his own political and religious ideas.

Throughout 1593-1594, Albert grew in importance and he seemed destined for greater things than he actually attained. However, both Idiáquez and, especially, Moura tried to keep a close eye on the archduke's activities to prevent him from acting independently and so gradually taking over the management of affairs. The proximity of the Portuguese nobleman began to irritate the king's nephew and their mutual distrust became obvious. The allies of Philip II's favourite also began to have disagreements with Albert and lent their weight to Moura's complaints about the archduke's attitude.

(11) J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & C.J. CARLOS MORALES, *Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica*, op. cit., p. 274.

(12) A biography of this renowned diplomat is found in the introduction to his diary, *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller, embajador imperial en la corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 24-25, emphasizing his friendship with Antonio Pérez, and their ideological closeness.

These complaints could not be too acrimonious since Philip trusted his nephew implicitly and the latter had never done anything untoward. So, the situation began to be reminiscent of the Madrid court in 1576 when Don John of Austria became a thorn in the side of Antonio Pérez and the rest of the Papist faction. In this case the players were different but the situation remained the same. Albert had become an irritant for important people of his own persuasion and for those of the opposing one; he even upset Prince Philip himself, with whom he clashed on a number of occasions. These disagreements led people to wonder whether his return to Madrid had been such a good idea after all; consequently, when news of his brother Ernest's death arrived, Philip II's favourites did not hesitate to support his dispatch to the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁴⁾. After a series of negotiations and the appearance of several possible candidates, the pressure brought to bear by Moura and Idiáquez on Philip II and the negotiations held with the Empress Maria enabled the decision to be taken that the new governor of the Habsburg Netherlands was to be Archduke Albert⁽¹⁵⁾. The decision was actually taken on April 22, 1595, although it was not made public until April 26. In this way, Moura and Idiáquez achieved two very important personal objectives: the removal of a member of the royal family who could prevent them from gaining access to the monarch, and the placing of someone with a similar ideology to their own in the government of one of the Monarchy's most important territories.

Preparations for the archduke's departure for the Habsburg Netherlands began at once, although as was usual in such cases, they were protracted over several months and the start of the progress was held up till August 26, 1595. The delay was due, on the one hand, to a shortage of money and, on the other, to the care that was taken in setting up his household, something which was particularly necessary after what had happened with the servants of the previous governors of the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁶⁾.

Although the task of organizing the expedition was huge, a partial renewal of the retinue had already been carried out, since the majority of the Portuguese servants had remained behind in their home country, except for a few like the huntsman, Manuel Pimienta, who was in service until 1597, or the cook Antonio de Almeida, who left his post in 1595. Besides,

(14) The Patriarch of Alexandria to Aldobrandino, April 26, 1595, ASV, Spagna, leg. 46, fol. 269r -v: "Questa grave infermita e stata causa che hoggi si sia publicata la deputatione del Cardinale Arciduca al governo delle stati di Fiandra in luogo del Arciduca Ernesto (...) Li spagnoli pretendenti in Corte non mostrano dispiacere alcune della partita di S.A." [This serious illness has been the reason why the Cardinal Archduke's deputation has been published today to the government of the states of the Habsburg Netherlands in the place of Archduke Ernest (...) The Spanish pretenders at Court show no displeasure whatsoever at H.H's departure].

(15) L. CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Historia de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1544-1545.

(16) This was a constant complaint, as expressed by Esteban de Ibarra to Philip II, March 6, 1595, see AGS, E. leg. 610, fol. 10. For the problems with Archduke Ernest's retinue, see José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, "La casa del archiduque Ernesto durante su gobierno en los Países Bajos (1593-1595)", in Antonio ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARIÑO & Bernardo José GARCÍA GARCÍA, eds., *La Monarquía de las Naciones. Patria, nación y naturaleza en la Monarquía de España*, Madrid, Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2004, p. 193-213.

shortly after Albert had arrived from Portugal, Philip II gave Moura a role in the archduke's household "because of the good relationship he has with his servants"⁽¹⁷⁾ and because of the sovereign's loss of control over his nephew's servants as a result of his lengthy stay in the neighbouring kingdom.

The first action was the appointment, as we have seen, of Hans Khevenhüller as lord steward and *sumiller de Corps* in place of the aged Juan de Ayala. As we have pointed out, it is not the hand of Moura that is apparent in this decision but rather the Empress Maria's, who was quick to seize the opportunity. However, the Portuguese did not consider the cause lost and he sought out a lord steward who would do his bidding, knowing full well that the appointment of the ambassador was only provisional. There were many aspirants for the office and the selection process took a long time, which only served to increase the brouhaha and expectation surrounding such an important post⁽¹⁸⁾. Ambassador Khevenhüller tried to retain his offices as he was weary of Madrid and had set his sights on leaving with Albert for the Habsburg Netherlands, apart from the fact that in this way he would still be able to monitor the courtiers closest to the archduke⁽¹⁹⁾. Nevertheless, his pleas went unheeded and he had to give up his offices; that of *sumiller de Corps* went to Maximilian von Dietrichstein, former master of the horse to the archduke's brother Ernest⁽²⁰⁾, and the lord stewardship to Francisco de Mendoza, Admiral of Aragon⁽²¹⁾.

The admiral had been imprisoned in Turégano castle and in the convent of the Order of Calatrava, in Calatrava la Nueva (Ciudad Real), after acting as go-between in the marriage of Mencía, the daughter of the duke of the Infantado, to Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, grandson of the third duke of Alba and which was not approved by the king. However, he managed to obtain the post through the good offices of the Count of Chinchón, who was to become his future brother-in-law by dint of the admiral's marrying the count's sister, doña Mencía de la Cerda. As a consequence of this liaison, the admiral hoped his brother-in-law would secure him his freedom and a post in the royal household⁽²²⁾. Chinchón accepted and on July 2, 1592, the admiral was released although he was not completely at liberty until August 19.

Once he was released, negotiations to hold the marriage began, but these were cut short when the future bride changed her mind. In this way, the admiral was not blamed for not marrying her, although he lost the Count of

(17) L. CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Historia de Felipe II*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 1483.

(18) The Count of Salvatierra to the Count of Gondomar, January 9, 1595, BPRM, Ms II/2149, doc. 101.

(19) H. KHEVENHÜLLER, *Diario*, op. cit., p. 437.

(20) For his biography, see DBE, vol. 16, p. 292-293.

(21) Antonio RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, "Don Francisco de Mendoza, almirante de Aragón (1547-1623)", in Juan VALERA, ed., *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado. Estudios de erudición española*, Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1899, vol. 2, p. 486-610.

(22) Philip II to Chinchón, May 25, 1592, compare with *ibid.* p. 580. The king promised to grant the admiral the office of steward, either in his household or the prince's, but some months after the marriage so that nobody should suspect that it was the reason for the appointment. If it had been discovered, the king would not have been obliged to keep his word.

Chinchón's favour. However, the king's promise to award him a post in one of the households was still pending and this was fulfilled by his appointment as lord steward to Archduke Albert at the beginning of 1595. The Admiral of Aragon, like a good Mendoza, had a great affinity with the spiritual trend that we can define as characteristic of the Papist faction, and yet he owed his office as Albert's lord steward to a notable member of the Castilianist faction, the Count of Chinchón. This was why his behaviour in the Habsburg Netherlands was, at times, equivocal and difficult to define, since on very many occasions he supported the church's jurisdiction but without ever contravening the orders of his benefactor. What is certain is that the archduke trusted him completely and always acceded to his requests.

Together with the appointment of the new lord steward, a series of other necessary changes were implemented in the archduke's household. Unfortunately, the composition of the household during his time in Portugal is largely unknown and so we cannot quantify the changes produced in the various areas of his service. Two matters, though, are quite clear: firstly, the recruitment of a large number of Flemish nobles into his service, seeking their complicity in the future transfer of power to the archdukes in the Low Countries which was being dealt with at Court⁽²³⁾; and, secondly, the changes made to the most important offices, as the writings of Juan Roco de Campofrío confirm and as we have already touched on regarding the changes in the offices of lord steward and *sumiller de Corps*⁽²⁴⁾. The master of the horse, Luis Enríquez, who was very old, stayed in Madrid to become steward to Philip II and was replaced by Philippe de Croÿ, Count of Solre. As for the confessor, it was decided before the progress to replace the Dominican Juan Velázquez de las Cuevas with another friar of the same Order. His name was Fray Juan Vicente, who died before he could join the archduke's service. It was decided that Fray Iñigo de Brizuela should replace him on the progress, and he joined the retinue in Genoa on November 20, 1595.

It is also worth pointing out the changes in the archduke's secretariat, since his secretary and former preceptor, Mateo de Otthen, remained behind in Madrid to look after his master's affairs at Court. He was replaced by the learned Juan de Frías, who played an important part in the Cession negotiations⁽²⁵⁾. Apart from the new secretary, two other people were employed in the archduke's secretariat to meet the extra requirements of the position. The first was Sebastian von Westernachen, who would take up a position as German language secretary after having been chancellor and secretary to the Archduke Ernest; the second was Juan de Mancisidor, who would be Secretary of State and War and who was marked out as the successor to Esteban de Ibarra in the task he had been carrying out since

(23) The nuncio to Aldobrandino, July 15, 1595, ASV, Spagna, leg. 46, fol. 432r-v: "Ha muttato tutta la sua Casa et preso molti signori fiaminghi" [The whole of his household has changed and he has taken on many Flemish nobles].

(24) J.R. CAMPROFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, *op. cit.*, p. 6-8.

(25) For a brief biography, see Luis FERRER EZQUERRA, *Catálogo de colegiales del colegio mayor de Santiago el Cebedeo, del Arzobispo, de Salamanca*, Salamanca, Universidad, 1956, p. 46. On his role in Madrid in the Cession negotiations, see J.R. CAMPROFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187.

shortly after Farnese's death⁽²⁶⁾. Just as in the case of Ibarra, Mancisidor was Juan de Idiáquez's agent and placeman, being one of Martín de Idiáquez's officers, and Philip II's favourite used him to obtain firsthand information about the Habsburg Netherlands. It should be remembered that as well as these three secretaries, Frías, Mancisidor and Westernachen, the archduke kept a personal secretary, Antonio Suárez de Argüello, who was, in his turn, valet of the chamber⁽²⁷⁾. The lawyer took care of his private correspondence but never reached the level of prominence of other secretaries to the governors of the Habsburg Netherlands, such as Albornoz, Escobedo or Massi.

Another appointment that stands out in a similar way is Fernando Carrillo, who was Albert's advisor in legal matters, as well as superintendent of the militia and the archduke's council, with the title granted by the Royal Council of Castile together with the habit of the Order of Santiago. In principle, he was going to be responsible for the military hospital of Mechlin because of problems with the vicar general Humara, but this task was finally entrusted to Roco de Campofrío⁽²⁸⁾, while Carrillo, on September 16, 1598, was moved to the *Tribunal de la Visita*. Carrillo rose to a position of considerable importance in the reign of Philip III, becoming president of the Council of the Exchequer and the Indies⁽²⁹⁾.

At the same time, the office of steward underwent a thorough reorganization. It was a post that many aspired to⁽³⁰⁾, although those finally chosen were Luis Dávalos and Cosme de Meneses, both with previous experience as the archduke's gentlemen of the chamber, and Diego de Ibarra, who was in the Habsburg Netherlands. The latter, who had unsuccessfully sought the post of gentleman of the chamber to the Archduke Ernest⁽³¹⁾, had just entered Albert's service as the Inspector General of the army, a post which he had accepted with some reluctance. To compensate him for this, and because he was a client of Juan de Idiáquez, he was given the title of steward. He was informed of his appointment at the end of the year when he was also given responsibility for preparing accommodation in Brussels for the more than six

(26) Joseph LEFÈVRE, "Don Juan de Mancisidor, secrétaire d'État et de Guerre de l'archiduc Albert (1596-1618)", in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, vol. 4, 1925, p. 697-714.

(27) He came from a family that had given distinguished service in the Empress Maria's household. For his role in the Habsburg Netherlands, Joseph LEFÈVRE, "Un registre de lettres privées de l'Archiduc Albert", dans *Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées de Belgique*, vol. 5, 1928, p. 17-24 and Edgard MARNEFFE, "La Secrétairerie d'État allemande aux Pays-Bas", in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son jubilé de 50 années de professorat à l'Université de Louvain*, vol. 2 : *Époque moderne et contemporaine*, Louvain, Université, 1915, p. 146.

(28) His title for this post, in Latin and dated January 29, 1597, in AGR, SEG, no. 518/4, fols. 10v-11r.

(29) His biography in José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & Maria Antonietta VISCEGLIA, eds., *La Monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey*, Madrid, Fundación Mapfre, 2008, vol. 2, p. 146.

(30) J. Sarmiento Sotomayor to the Count of Gondomar, November 13, 1594, BPRM, Ms II/2149, doc. 214: "Don Pedro de Sotomayor aspires to be steward to the Cardinal-infante (...). D. Alonso de Arçilla and D. García de Ulloa, municipal leader of Jaen of the habit of Alcantara, also aspire to the post". None of the three obtained the office.

(31) For this episode and a brief biography, see J.E. HORTAL MUÑOZ, "La casa del archiduque Ernesto", *op. cit.*, p. 198.

hundred servants who were travelling with the archduke, even though only two hundred and forty of them were actually in Albert's service⁽³²⁾. After arranging these lodgings, Diego made his way to Lorraine to receive the new governor together with Esteban de Ibarra and there he began his service, at the same time as he received the news that he had been given the *encomienda* [commandery] of Villahermosa⁽³³⁾. Other responsibilities that went with the post of steward were arranging for the household liveries to be made, as well as running the household when the Admiral of Aragon travelled to Castile in 1596.

The changes in Albert's household were not confined solely to the most important offices and there were very many new appointments among those of lesser rank once the *bureo* had considered the numerous petitions that were presented. The *bureo* was the department with the appropriate authority for resolving the domestic affairs of the archduke's household, where all the servants could submit their claims for favours and where petitions to enter the archduke's service were considered, as well as possible internal conflicts and misdemeanours in service⁽³⁴⁾. It comprised the lord steward, the stewards and the secretary, with the occasional attendance of notables co-opted for the purpose or heads of sections when the business being discussed fell within their competence. It met according to need, except when the lord steward was away, when a calendar was established. In particular, it had to attend to petitions for favours and expense allowances to do with the progress to Brussels, such as the request made by all the archduke's servants to have their *bouche* of court increased⁽³⁵⁾. The *bureo* took its proposals and decisions to Albert, who always had the final say on what was proposed, although he usually respected the *bureo's* opinions. We are well informed about the *bureo's* activities in the archduke's household from 1595 to 1602, due to the fact that the *bureo's* book in which the meetings and decisions were noted down has survived. It can be found in manuscript A-61 in the Salazar and Castro collection in the *Real Academia de la Historia* and which we shall be citing on numerous occasions.

In general, we can see that the changes in the minor offices were not as far-reaching as those in the most important posts in the household, although they were revamped⁽³⁶⁾. Various reasons can be put forward for these changes; in the first place, a good many servants were too old and did not have the strength to set out on a progress as arduous as this, or they simply preferred to stay at Court and not make the journey to the Habsburg

(32) Diego Ibarra to Philip II, December 23, 1595, AGS, E. leg. 609, fol. 175: "With these, I had one from the Admiral of Aragon in which he writes that Your Majesty and His Highness have granted me the favour of a post as steward and that while he was arriving in Brussels, he sent word to me to prepare lodgings for his household, sending me a list of the members".

(33) Diego Ibarra to Philip II, February 14, 1596, AGS, E. leg. 612, fol. 42.

(34) For the *bureo*, see Emilio Javier de BENITO FRAILE, "La Real Junta del Bureo", in *Cuadernos de historia del derecho*, vol. 1, 1994, p. 49-124.

(35) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 98v-99r.

(36) As we can see thanks to a listing of the estate of the household and its members, located in AGR, Audience, reg. 33/34, fols. 61r-65r, undated, but probably from just before the progress took place.

Netherlands, and so petitioned to stay behind in Madrid with a monetary grace and favour payment or for their post to be transferred to another royal household. We have already seen the cases of the master of the horse, Luis de Enríquez, and Mateo de Otthen; other similar cases were the chaplain, Dr. Sobrino Morillas, who was retired⁽³⁷⁾, the gentleman of the chamber, Juan Bravo de Acuña, who was appointed canon of Toledo and provost of the collegiate church of Alcalá⁽³⁸⁾, the physician of the chamber, Suárez de Luxán, who joined the service of Albert's sister, Margaret, in the Descalzas Reales⁽³⁹⁾, the packsaddle-maker, Sebastián Tarrafa, who was paid off with 50 ducats⁽⁴⁰⁾, or the head coachman, Juan de Acosta, with a one-off grace and favour payment of 100 ducats⁽⁴¹⁾, among others. Likewise, another sizeable group of servants died in the course of the progress or during the preparations for it, such as the confessor, Fray Juan Vicente. The same fate befell the German gentleman of the *boca*, Enrique (Heinrich) Berg⁽⁴²⁾, the pottinger, Benito Rodríguez⁽⁴³⁾, the groom of the cellar, Juan Rodríguez Rebollar⁽⁴⁴⁾, the cook to the estate of the pages and valets of the chamber, Francisco de Ribera⁽⁴⁵⁾ or the barber to the household, Baltasar González⁽⁴⁶⁾. Meanwhile, other servants were removed from their posts, such as the groom of the salsery, Alonso González⁽⁴⁷⁾, the family barber, Gregorio Pérez⁽⁴⁸⁾ or the doorkeeper of the chamber, Santos Martínez⁽⁴⁹⁾. Others, however, were promoted. Some we could mention are Pedro de Aguilera, who went from being a yeoman of the salsery to a yeoman of the bakehouse, Joan Pelegrín de Alarcón, an entertained groom of the bakehouse who rose to groom in the same bakehouse because of the promotion of Francisco Rodríguez to yeoman of the cellar, or Bartolomeo de Salinas who went from being the archduke's barber to the person, to valet of the chamber.

These changes favoured the entry into the archduke's service of some of the Flemings who were in Madrid, although the influx of natives of the Low Countries would be much greater when Albert arrived in the Habsburg Netherlands, with the aim of attract the Flemish loyal elites to the new political project. Among the most notable of those who joined his service in the capital of the Monarchy were five of Philip II's Bodyguard of

(37) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 65v and 79r.

(38) *Ibid.*, fols. 61r, 68r, 69v, 88v and 90r.

(39) *Ibid.*, fols. 65r and 77r.

(40) *Ibid.*, fols. 66r and 78v.

(41) *Ibid.*, fols. 59v, 64r, 67r, 69r, 79v and 91v.

(42) He died at the beginning of November in Saône, in J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes, op. cit.*, p. 26.

(43) He died in Turin at the end of 1595, see RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 106r.

(44) He died at almost the same time as Benito Rodríguez, *ibid.*

(45) He died on the way, *ibid.*, fols. 46r, 50r and 125v.

(46) He died during the progress, see *ibid.*, fol. 106r.

(47) *Ibid.*, fols. 61v, 63v, 68v, 70r, 78v, 88v and 90r.

(48) *Ibid.*, fols. 63r and 78r.

(49) *Ibid.*, fols. 61v, 68r, 70r, 88v and 90r.

Archeros, Wallerand Morel⁽⁵⁰⁾, Denis de la Forge⁽⁵¹⁾, Bertrand le Saige⁽⁵²⁾, Jehan van Oostendorp⁽⁵³⁾ and Jacques de Hamis⁽⁵⁴⁾. Other Flemings who joined were Cornelis Banicque, who served as caretaker on the orders of the fourrier of the stable during the progress, or Philippe de Berghes, appointed provisionally as an entertained groom of the salsery and later confirmed in his post as groom. By the same token, important figures of other nationalities also joined the entourage, such as the halberdiers of the German Guard, Hans Verestol (or Miderlain)⁽⁵⁵⁾, who was appointed as an entertained yeoman of the doorkeepers of the kitchen, and Matias Linden⁽⁵⁶⁾, who officiated as an entertained yeoman of the pack animals to the archduke until his office was made permanent in Brussels, or the Polish, Diego Woislowski, who was valet of the chamber and “the one who carried the arquebus” for the archduke.

As can be seen, the servants were shuffled around a good deal and the lord steward had serious difficulties establishing the service in its final

(50) He was an *archero* from at least the second third of 1580 until the second third of 1595. At that time, he was appointed the archduke's fourrier of the stable thanks to the good offices of the Count of Solre, whom he had represented before the latter's arrival in Madrid to take charge of the Bodyguard. He would serve in his new post until his death in 1596, see José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & Santiago FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, eds., *La Monarquía de Felipe II: la Casa del Rey*, 2 vols., Madrid, Fundación Mapfre-Tavera, 2005, vol. 2, p. 314; also RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 4v.

(51) He was an *archero* from the first third of 1574 until the second third of 1595, when he resigned so as to serve the archduke as harbinger of the estates. Once in the Habsburg Netherlands he was removed from office, as were the other harbingers of the estates, because they were no longer needed, see J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 169; also RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 72r and 98v.

(52) He was an *archero* from the second third of 1572 until the second third of 1595; in this period, he married Beatriz de Embert, laundress of the linen of the salsery and the linen of the pages and valets of the chamber of the archduke. After applying for the offices of deputy tutor to the pages, master of the mules and pottinger so that he could return to his homeland with his wife, he was given the post of stable courier that had fallen vacant because of Miguel de Olivares' promotion. He occupied this post in the Habsburg Netherlands until 1598 and during the archducal period was deputy tutor to the pages, see J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 344 and RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 48r, 51v, 64v, 73v, 77r and 106r.

(53) An *archero* from the beginning of January 1594 until the end of 1595. He had asked to be given the offices of valet of the chamber or yeoman of the great wardrobe, but was finally given the post of Albert's harbinger of the household and court at the beginning of 1596 and fulfilled this role until 1598, when he was transferred to the archdukes' household, see J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 340; also RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 44v, 107r and 126v.

(54) An *archero* of the bodyguard from December 1574, in 1595 he was awarded the office of yeoman of the salsery in Albert's household. However, he was unable to accept it because of his age and ill-health, since the office was an arduous one, and so he was given 500 *reales* and the status of *archero reservado* [on reserve] with Philip III, see J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 314; also RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 61v, 68r, 70r, 88v and 90r.

(55) A halberdier from the final third of 1587 until the second third of 1593, when he was granted a post with an extra emolument (*avantage*) which he kept until the end of February 1595, see J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 303.

(56) A halberdier from the first third of 1591 until the last third of 1595, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 250.

form and dealing with all the written petitions sent to him, some endorsed by very important people, seeking favours or a change of office⁽⁵⁷⁾. It is difficult to establish any general pattern from the factional point of view concerning all the changes that took place in the names of the servants, but it is noticeable that posts of a certain importance were awarded to people whose ideas coincided more or less with those of the Castilianist camp. Such was the case of Francisco Campi, the son of the councillor of Aragon and the Crusade, Juan Campi⁽⁵⁸⁾, who was made gentleman of the household; another concerned the promotion of Juan de Toledo y del Águila to gentleman of the *boca*. Nonetheless, there were also appointments of prominent people close to the political ideas of the opposite camp, such as Pedro de Toledo, who was named chamberlain and clerk of the curtain, or the Count of Solre as master of the horse.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the overhaul of the service of the new governor of the Low Countries was far-reaching for two reasons: to prevent the archduke from being influenced by certain of his servants, and to enable his household to adjust to the future that awaited him as the new sovereign prince of the Habsburg Netherlands. In total, his household reached two hundred and thirty members plus the Bodyguards⁽⁵⁹⁾, “so His Highness set up his Household with scarcely less splendour than the Palace and the King’s Household”⁽⁶⁰⁾.

The Household of Archduke Albert during his Sojourn as Governor in the Habsburg Netherlands: 1595-1598

After resolving affairs concerning his servants, such as fixing their pay at three *reales* instead of the two that they received in Castile⁽⁶¹⁾, or attempting to ensure that the lodgings that had been occupied by his servants in Madrid were kept for their wives⁽⁶²⁾, Albert set off on August 26, 1595⁽⁶³⁾. The first major stop was Barcelona. From there, the archduke and his entourage

(57) A good example is the list of offices that remained to be filled shortly before the progress and the people who aspired to them, contained in RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 94r-96 r, which shows quite clearly the constant manoeuvring for position during the formation of Albert’s household.

(58) His biography is found in J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, *op. cit.*, p. 339-340.

(59) As testified by A. Sarmiento de Valladares in the missive he sent to the Count of Gondomar on September 3, 1595, BPRM, Ms II/2162, doc. 7.

(60) J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

(61) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 20v.

(62) *Ibid.*, fols. 59v, 67v and 69v, and IVDJ, Envío 92, fols. 272r-v. On the other hand, these women and their children were denied medicine and the services of a physician, something that had been granted to the servants of the duke of Alba and Don John of Austria when they went to the Habsburg Netherlands.

(63) A description of the progress can be found in IVDJ, Ms 26-1-10, fols. 88r-199v, entitled *Relación de la jornada que el serenísimo Archiduque Cardenal Alberto hizo de España a Flandes en los años de 1595 y 96*, written by Bernardo Gómez de la Vega, the archduke’s serjeant of the acatry and larder. See also J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, *op. cit.*, p. 8-81.

embarked in galleys bound for Genoa and, once in Italy, made for Turin where they were received by Catalina Micaela and the duke of Savoy, to whom they presented a number of gifts⁽⁶⁴⁾. Since it was impossible for him to go to the Eternal City in person to pay his respects to the Pope, Albert sent in his place the Count of Buren, the son of the Prince of Orange (who had been imprisoned for years in Arévalo Castle)⁽⁶⁵⁾. After their stay in Turin, the retinue headed for Burgundy, following the Spanish route, and from there to Luxembourg, where Albert was welcomed by Pierre-Ernest Mansfeld, and finally to Brussels where the entourage arrived on February 11, 1596⁽⁶⁶⁾. Altogether, the progress had lasted five and a half months.

Once he had arrived at his final destination, in addition to trying to resolve the innumerable conflicts that were bedevilling the Low Countries, the archduke continued to organize his service. One of the main aims was to incorporate Flemings, in an attempt to integrate the Flemish elites into his government project. This process, as we saw, had already begun in Madrid and it gathered momentum when it became known that Philip II intended to cede those territories to Archduke Albert, who was married to Isabella Clara Eugenia. Although many Flemings were recruited – specially as stewards, gentlemen of the chamber, *boca* and household, as we will see –, the number aspiring to office was even greater and some had to be discarded because the number of servants was already very high⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Other recruits to his service, seven to be exact, came from his brother Ernest's retinue. They were Sebastian von Westernachen and Maximilian von Dietrichstein mentioned earlier, Octavio Visconti, who carried on as gentleman of the chamber, Livio Bosso, who moved from comptroller to gentleman of the household, Blaise Hütter, who reached the position of secretary of state in the German language with the archdukes and was a valet of the chamber from 1598, and the cooks Guillermo Neri and Pedro Revillon. On the other hand, a large number of servants of the previous governor had to be rejected, given the avalanche of petitions. This was the case, among many others, of the embroiderer, Antoine de la Barre; the doorkeeper of the chamber, Jacques Abensaub; the silversmith, Robert Staes, although he would serve the archdukes at a later date; the barber and surgeon, Georg Visles; and the gentlemen of the *boca*, Philippe van der Burcht and Hércules de Nebra⁽⁶⁸⁾.

(64) With regard to all the gifts that the archduke made during his progress, see IVDJ, Ms 26-1-10, fols. 194v-195r.

(65) His biography is in the DBE.

(66) For Albert's entry into Brussels, H. KHEVENHÜLLER, *Diario, op. cit.*, p. 447-448.

(67) Some examples are: Joan de Barsdorp, a relative of the secretary Laloo, who requested a post of gentleman of the household but was refused on the grounds that there were too many already (RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 65r, 77r and 100r); Joan de Blasi, whom Albert had once given a letter of recommendation so that Archduke Ernest might receive him into his service as a yeoman of the bakehouse, and who asked the same of Albert, but was refused (fol. 115r); the *archeros* Gerard de Gessele (fol. 63r) and Leonard de Frantzville (fol. 73r), and the noble gentleman, François d'Auxi (fol. 63r).

(68) A summary of the memoranda of Ernest's former servants can be found in RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 99r-101r.

All these additions helped shape the household of the archduke, who not only changed the servants around but also modified the composition of the different areas of service and its structure between 1595 and 1598. In addition to the *bureo's* book, already alluded to, we have been able to gain detailed knowledge of Archduke Albert's service during these three years from three documentary sources. In particular, the 1595 listing cited earlier has been preserved, as has another undated one, which we can place in 1598 and can be found in ASV, Fondo Borghese, series I, 913, fols. 352r-356r, and a "Registro de partes de las cosas tocantes a la casa de su Alteza de 1595 a 1598" [Register of entries concerning the affairs of His Highness's household between 1595 and 1598] which can be found in AGR, SEG, no. 518/4. We shall now describe each of the areas of the household and how they evolved between 1595 and 1598.

The Chapel: We begin with the area of the household whose mission was to reflect the spirituality that the archduke wished to be followed in the territories he governed⁽⁶⁹⁾. In this case, the ideas followed were those of the Castilianist faction, dominant in Madrid at the time, as well as those of Albert himself, who, it should not be forgotten, was a Cardinal-Priest until 1598. In general, the main point to bring out is that the chapel was not very large – it was composed of only sixteen people when the progress began in 1595 – especially if we compare it with the one the Archdukes had years later when they included altar chaplains, cantors and musicians.

This section was in the charge of Pedro de Alarcón who, shortly before the progress to the Habsburg Netherlands, was appointed to the offices of lord almoner, dean of the chapel royal, and chamberlain to the archduke⁽⁷⁰⁾. He was never very happy about the prospect of leaving for the Habsburg Netherlands and soon after his arrival there, it was decided to allow him to be relieved so that he could return to Castile. He was granted a pension of 500 ducats in the archbishopric of Toledo and replaced in his posts by the chamberlain George of Austria, who was the only officer who had been in service since 1571. Apart from these titles, the illegitimate son of the bishop of Liège received a pension of another 500 ducats in Toledo as well as an appointment as clergyman in the archbishopric of Mechlin. George of Austria did not keep his posts for long, since, once the Act of Cession was passed and the archduke was preparing his progress to marry Isabella Clara Eugenia, he expressed his preference for remaining in his post in Mechlin rather than go to Castile. Various names were considered for the offices and the lord steward even attempted to split them⁽⁷¹⁾. Nonetheless, both posts were later awarded to Pedro de Toledo, who up to that point had been chamberlain and clerk of the curtain and who received, besides, the office of general administrator

(69) For the chapel royal during the reign of Philip II and its functions, see Luis ROBLEDO ESTAIRE & Henar PIZARRO LLORENTE's chapter (2.2) in J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 143-226.

(70) His instruction as dean of the chapel royal, dated March 15, 1596, is in AGR, SEG, no. 518/4, fols. 4v-5v. In *ibid.*, fols 5v-6r, we find his title to be a priest in ordinary and pastor, in accordance with an apostolical brief.

(71) *Copia de los apuntamientos que el Mayordomo Mayor dio a su Alteza antes de su partida a España dependientes della*, August 31, 1598, RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 8r.

of the army⁽⁷²⁾. He would become a figure of great significance during the Archdukes' reign, being their legate in Rome from April 14, 1603 to 1605, after relieving Jehan Richardot, first legate in the Eternal City⁽⁷³⁾. His good relations with the nuncio, Ottavio Mirto-Frangipani, demonstrate how close he was to the opinions of Rome and his appointment may well have been one of the many examples of the winds of change blowing through the monarchy in the final years of Philip II's reign. As for the post of sub-almoner, there is no record of one during the progress of 1595, but once in the Habsburg Netherlands the learned Juan de Vergara was appointed.

As far as the confessor is concerned, we noted earlier that Fray Iñigo de Brizuela came to occupy the post and we would emphasize the great political importance that he gradually acquired and displayed during the sovereignty of the Archdukes.

Subsequently, we find the six chamberlains. At the outset of the progress three of them were the aforementioned Pedro de Alarcón, Pedro de Toledo and George of Austria, and the remaining three were Francisco de Acuña, Juan de Torres y Córdoba and Pedro Cortés⁽⁷⁴⁾. During their time in the Habsburg Netherlands, the first two left their employment. Their replacements were, always maintaining six chamberlains in total, Martín de Guzmán and the learned Juan de Frías, who was also a counsellor, judge advocate of the chamber and secretary to the archduke. The latter office disappeared when the archduke lost his ecclesiastical status and the incumbents had to be redeployed.

Next were the six chaplains, two of whom during the progress were the Flemings Henrico Hornkens⁽⁷⁵⁾ and Pedro (Pieter) Pantins⁽⁷⁶⁾, both chaplains and cantors in the Burgundy household of Philip II and who wanted to return to their home country. They were accompanied by Juan Marquellain y Echevarría, the learned Francisco de la Portella⁽⁷⁷⁾, Fray Gonzalo Carena Prince and Frey Juan de Roco y Campofrío, the one who went on to achieve

(72) His biography is in Léon VAN DER ESSEN, ed., *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*, vol. 1 : *Correspondance d'Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, premier nonce de Flandre, 1596-1606*, Rome, 1924, p. 54-56, and in *Biographie Nationale publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 44 vols., Brussels, 1866-1986, vol. 16, p. 801-803.

(73) Victor BRANTS, "Jehan Richardot: Note d'après les documents inédits sur les origines de la légation des Pays-Bas à Rome et de la nonciature du Saint-Siège à Bruxelles", in *Le Museon*, vol. 10, 1891, p. 1-25.

(74) He was entrusted with the task of making a Visitation to the Royal Hospital because of the various reports that criticized Francisco de Humara, who had been managing it from the time of Farnese, and the rest of the ministers responsible, in Jean SCHOONJANS, "Castra Dei. L'organisation religieuse des armées d'Alexandre Farnèse", in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, 2 vols., Brussels, Université de Louvain, 1947, vol. 1, p. 532-523.

(75) J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 225.

(76) For this important figure, see Alejandro RAMÍREZ, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los españoles (1577-1606)*, 2nd ed., Madrid, Castalia, 1967, p. 11-12; also J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 346.

(77) AGP, Personal, Caja 843/5; L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Correspondance d'Ottavio Mirto Frangipani*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 55-56 and 277.

the greatest prominence⁽⁷⁸⁾. The number of chaplains was increased to seven when the learned Diego Ruiz, teacher to the pages, was granted the office soon after arriving in the Habsburg Netherlands. In 1598, the two Flemings, Roco de Campofrío, Juan Marquellain y Echevarría, and the learned Diego Ruiz continued as chaplains whereas the learned Francisco de la Portella had made up his mind to stay in Castile upon arriving there, and Fray Gonzalo Carena Prince had left office. In their place we find as new chaplains, the learned Carreño, who was dean of the chapel of the stable, and master Francisco Verdugo. The number of members of this office increased considerably during the archdukes' reign.

Lastly, we come to the two grooms of the chapel, Lorenzo de Amellin, who, with the Archdukes, went on to become sub-almoner, and Pedro de Ruymonte, who became master of chamber music shortly before the Act of Cession, in anticipation of the Archdukes increasing the numbers in the chapel.

The Chamber: The chamber may be regarded as the private space of the royal personages where their daily life unfolded, favours were dispensed and the activities of government took place, even though it was often difficult to separate it from other palace spaces⁽⁷⁹⁾. What is certainly clear is that the *sumiller de Corps* ran it; he had replaced the lord chamberlain in ceremonial in the mid-sixteenth century. As we have already seen, the Imperial ambassador, Hans Khevenhüller, was replaced just before the progress to the Habsburg Netherlands by Maximilian von Dietrichstein, who would hold the office until the marriage of Albert and Isabella, afterwards returning to the Empire. His post was filled by the Castilian, Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, Count of Añover, who, as we know, was growing in importance among those close to the sovereigns⁽⁸⁰⁾.

After the *sumiller de Corps*, we find the gentlemen of the chamber, an office that may be considered one of Archduke Albert's main instruments in his attempt to use his service as a way of integrating the Flemish elites. His first three gentlemen were appointed in 1577, and their number increased to six during the progress of 1595-1596. Five of them were Castilians: Bernardino de Ayala, son of the former lord steward, Alonso de Cárdenas, Gutierrez de Fonseca, Luis de Venegas and Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, mentioned earlier. There was one Fleming, the Count of Solre, who was also master of the horse. The Milanese Octavio Visconti, and four more Flemings would

(78) His biography is in J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 554.

(79) For the chamber, see Yves BOTTINEAU, "Aspects de la Cour d'Espagne au XVII^e siècle: l'étiquette de la chambre du roy", in *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 74, 1972, p. 138-157; and Ignacio Javier EZQUERRA REVILLA, ch. 2.1 of J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 121-143.

(80) Dries RAEYMAEKERS, "The "Gran Privado" of Archduke Albert. Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, Count of Añover (ca. 1560-1620)", in René VERMEIR, Maurits EBBEN & Raymond FAGEL, eds., *Agentes e identidades en movimiento. España y los Países Bajos. Siglos XVI-XVIII*, Madrid, Sílex, 2011, p. 129-149.

subsequently join them: the counts of Arenberg⁽⁸¹⁾, Egmont⁽⁸²⁾ and Ligne⁽⁸³⁾ in March 1596, and Charles-Emmanuel de Godefrod (Gorrevod), Count of Pont-de-Vaux the following year. In this way, the number of gentlemen of the chamber increased from six to eleven with the Flemish influx. Although there was still place for Castilians, the number of Flemings multiplied after 1599. The appointment of Charles-Alexandre de Croÿ, Count of Fontenoy and son of the marquis of Havré, just before the progress set off, was an indication of the coming trend. Naturally, there were numerous requests to obtain appointment to the office and many must have been rejected, such as those of Felipe de Robles, son of the baron de Villy, or Charles de Tisnacq, son of the former *Chef-président* of the *Conseil Privé* and acting lieutenant of Philip II's Bodyguard of *Archeros*⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Next we find the valets of the chamber, an office much coveted by those Flemings who were not nobles because it meant being in close contact with the archduke. During the Habsburg Netherlands progress, the four valets that Albert had had in his early years in Madrid were increased to seven, among whom the most outstanding were the Pole Diego Woislawski, also responsible for carrying the arquebus, the secretary Antonio Suárez de Argüello, Cataneo Mola⁽⁸⁵⁾, who became the Empress Maria's comptroller (1596-1603) and her daughter Margaret's (from 1603 until her death), and Joachim van Enzenaer, who was promoted to the position of keeper of the jewels to the archduke. The office underwent a thorough renewal during the three years of Albert's government with the turnover of several valets of the chamber, whose number increased to nine in 1598.

The office of varlet servant was discharged by Gaspar Rodríguez de Figueroa, former servant of the Admiral of Aragon from 1595 to 1598, when he was relieved by Diego de Olarte, son of the comptroller of the same name, and promoted to gentleman of the household.

As for the chamber's financial business, we find that the figure of the treasurer of the chamber had been eliminated before the Habsburg Netherlands

(81) Esteban Ibarra to his usual correspondents, February 23, 1596, AGS, E. leg. 610, fol. 9: "His Highness has given the key to his chamber to the count of Arenberg and he has accepted it and is delighted. He is among the most willing here and with this first appointment it will be necessary for His Highness to look at who else of the natives [of the Habsburg Netherlands] he will place in his chamber, because, having begun so high, it would not be right to leave things like that, both as concerns His Highness and in honour of the count". His biography in Georges MARTIN, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Croÿ*, La Ricamarie, Author's edition, 1980, p. 34.

(82) Son of the famous Count of Egmont, beheaded in 1568, and brother of the one who was killed at the battle of Ivry in 1590, see L. CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Historia de Felipe II*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 1554; Louis Prosper GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Brussels, F. Hayez, 1874, vol. 4, p. 459.

(83) Esteban Ibarra to his usual correspondents, March 28, 1596, AGS, E. leg. 610, fol. 44: "The other day I wrote to Your Lordships that His Highness had placed the count of Arenberg in his chamber and now to say that afterwards he gave him the counts of Ligne and Egmont as companions". For his life, see L.Pr. GACHARD, *Collection des voyages*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 459; J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, op. cit., p. 150 and 160.

(84) His biography is in the DBE, forthcoming.

(85) For the final settlement of his activities in Albert's household, see AGR, SEG, no. 518/4, fol. 6v.

progress, the last holder of this office being Melchor Martini. From then on, responsibility for the accounts fell to Joseph Handtli, the treasurer. His office was in the fourrier's department, along with the comptroller's post, which was occupied by Manuel de Arinçano, and the *greffier's*, held by Pedro de Mendoza. The office of notary of the chamber was equally important, and was held by Domingo de Acuña from 1595 to 1598.

There had been two physicians of the chamber from the time of the archduke's sojourn in Portugal, each with a stipend of 300 ducats. From 1595 to 1598 the incumbents were Dr. Francisco de Paz, who had been in post from 1583, and Juan Bautista Villarreal Echevarría, who had replaced the long-serving Suárez de Luxán. They were both assisted by the household apothecary, Diego Vélez, who was attached to the chamber even though he belonged to the fourrier's department.

With regard to the rest of the minor chamber offices, we find two laundresses of the body linen or to the archduke's person, one barber to the person, two barber's assistants and two grooms of the closet. The office of doorkeeper of the chamber, which had been filled by up to five people, disappeared.

Other offices attached to the chamber, but belonging to the fourrier's department, were the masters of the jewels and the great wardrobe, which, as we have already seen, were brought together in Archduke Albert's household. Both were held by Cataneo Mola, who, for his part, was valet of the chamber until March 1596 when he returned to Madrid and his office was taken over by the valet of the chamber Joachim van Enzenaer⁽⁸⁶⁾. The two yeomen who were at his command were increased to three in 1597. As for the grooms of the jewels and the great wardrobe, there were two in 1595 although only one of them would be serving in 1598.

Finally, we come to the skilled manual trades, also forming part of the fourrier's department, such as the tailor, hosier, shoemaker, braider and roper, and skinner, with stipends of 20,000 *maravedis* per year. Similarly, there was a clock-mender, the former halberdier Jacques Ruypacher, who had the assistance of the groom, Pedro Castañeda.

Offices: In this section we group together the rest of the household offices that cannot be included in other sections. Of course, the main office we find here is the lord steward, who supervised the efficient running of the household as a whole, a post occupied by the Admiral of Aragon from 1595 to 1598.

Reporting to him were the stewards, of whom there were only two at the beginning of the progress and both were Castilians: Cosme de Meneses as first steward and Luis Dávalos as second, after being promoted in 1595 from his earlier office of gentleman of the chamber. However, once in the Habsburg Netherlands, it was decided to increase their number and bring Flemings into the office. The requirements necessary for any aspirant to this office were "firmness and security in the Catholic religion and in the service of His Majesty, virtue, personal quality, experience and wealth and for their condition to be apparent so that those that have them all should be preferred

(86) For his work and chamber accounts from 1596 to 1598, see *ibid.*, fols. 6v and 11v-35v.

to the rest, and where some are lacking, the best of those offered and that have the fewest shortcomings be selected”⁽⁸⁷⁾. One of the new stewards, the previously mentioned Diego de Ibarra, had been selected in Madrid and for the remaining vacancies, reports on the candidates were drawn up and their pros and cons considered⁽⁸⁸⁾. From the aspirants, who in addition, had to fill the vacancy left by Cosme de Meneses who had resigned his post, Claude de Croÿ, lord of Creseques and Formensant⁽⁸⁹⁾, and Jacques-Philippe Villain, Count of Issenghien and Baron of Rassinghien⁽⁹⁰⁾ were chosen. So when the 1598 progress got under way there were four stewards.

Next we have the gentlemen of the *boca*, another office used by the archduke as a way of integrating Flemish nobles into his service. At the beginning of the 1595 progress, there were thirteen such gentlemen: Francisco de Córdoba, García Sarmiento de Mendoza, Alonso de Guzmán, Antonio de Toledo y Meneses, Juan de Toledo y del Águila, Juan Maldonado y Vargas, Vicente Serrano Zapata, Onofre Escriva, the Count of Valdemarino, Pedro Rodríguez de Ovalle, Beltrán de la Cueva, Francisco de la Cerda and Count Ferdinando Espínola. Another was the German Enrique (Heinrich) Berg, who died in Saône during the progress in 1595. Once in the Low Countries, the office was reformed and the number of members increased spectacularly until the 1598 progress when, with the addition of Flemings and Italians, there were twenty-nine, although several of them were sick and disabled. So, from 1595 to 1598, the following took up posts as gentlemen of the *boca*, although the Count of Valdemarino died in service: Maximiliane de Bourgoigne, Lord of Bredam; Hughes de Noyelle, Lord of Staden; Ludovico Reina; Cesare Boneti; Practz; Martín de Somogi; Jehan de Montmorency, Baron of Watines; Lamoraal de Hornes, Viscount Furnes; Alexandre de Verylz, Baron of Wylen; François de Hallewyn, Lord of Merkem; Fernando Doria; Philippe de Montmorency, Lord of Wassencourt; Charles de Bernemicourt, Lord of la Titoye; Werner van Baexem; Francisco de San Clemente; Don Eduardo; and Diego de Cárdenas, former serjeant of the archduke’s chandlery and woodyard. The number of rejected applicants was, of course, also very high⁽⁹¹⁾. It was not a particularly lucrative office and it required an economic effort to serve, especially when the archduke went on a campaign, which was one of the reasons they complained in 1596 and sought expense allowances, and asked not to be demoted in their palace functions⁽⁹²⁾. In 1598, after renewed protests, they were granted 600 *escudos* in expense allowances⁽⁹³⁾.

For their part, the gentlemen of the household did not undergo such a spectacular rise in the number of staff, although this office was also opened

(87) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 30r.

(88) A listing of the applicants in March 1596, *ibid.*, fols. 24r-26v, 30r and 33r.

(89) G. MARTIN, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Croÿ*, *op. cit.*, p. 80; J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 125.

(90) For this important figure, see L.Pr. GACHARD, *Collection des voyages*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 460.

(91) As we find with the rejection of requests made by Maximiliane du Castell, Gilles de Busleyden, Charles Quarre, and Alonso de Toledo, among others.

(92) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 98v.

(93) *Ibid.*, fol. 14r-v.

up to the Flemish elites and used to promote servants of long standing. There were nine gentlemen of the household in active service during the progress of 1595: Diego Velázquez de la Canal, son of the comptroller Alonso Velázquez, Pedro Hurtado Barradas, Agustín de Samaniego, Francisco de Anaya Pereira, García Muriel de Valdivieso, Francisco Campi, Juan Prieto de Posada and the eminent Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola⁽⁹⁴⁾. To these nine should be added Diego de Escobedo Ribadeneira, who was Secretary for War of the state of Milan in 1595, but was granted the office of gentleman of the household thanks to recommendations from Catalina Micaela and Philibert of Savoy⁽⁹⁵⁾. Other gentlemen left the service because they preferred to stay in Madrid. Such was the case of Nicolás Cervantes de Loaysa or Luis de Goes Silvera, although they continued to appear as gentlemen of the household until 1597. During the period in the Low Countries between 1595 and 1598, García Muriel de Valdivieso and Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola left office, in the latter case because he was appointed secretary to the Empress Maria in Madrid on September 11, 1597. Likewise, others, such as Francisco Campi, who was serving in the army, or Juan Prieto de Posada left the Habsburg Netherlands. This led to new gentlemen of the household being appointed: Pedro Cabriel, formerly tutor to the pages, Ricardo de Otón, Gaspar Rodríguez de Figueroa, Fernando de Saavedra, Sebastian von Westernachen, Antonio Landi, Gonzalo de Nueros, Livio Bosso and Gilles du Faing, an agent and placeman of Mansfeld's⁽⁹⁶⁾. Thus, in 1598, there were sixteen gentleman of the household, although seven of them were away at the time. As the gentlemen of the *boca* had done, they asked on several occasions for their posts to be given more prestige, to be allowed to join the estate of those in receipt of entertainments, for their stipend, which stood at 200 ducats a year, to be increased and to be allowed to receive an expense allowance as they had difficulty maintaining themselves. However, the Admiral of Aragon decided that they should not form part of that estate since there were already too many entertained posts and they should either be involved in army matters, as in the case of Francisco Campi, or in secretarial tasks, like Gilles du Faing, Diego de Escobedo Ribadeneira, Livio Bosso or Pietro de Posada, and so save the archduke's household 3,500 ducats a year. They received only 300 *escudos* in expense allowances for the 1598 progress⁽⁹⁷⁾.

Next come those servants in the fourrier's department who were not attached to the chamber. Important officers in this group were those responsible for the health of the members of the household, namely the physicians of the household, reduced in 1598 to Gabriel de Sossa, the surgeon, with a stipend of 200 ducats a year, the apothecary, and his two grooms. In addition, there was the household and family barber.

(94) A figure of great importance in politics and literature; for his details and those of his family, see Joaquín AZNAR MOLINA, *Los Argensola*, Zaragoza, Librería General, 1939; Otis H. GREEN, *Vida y obras de Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola*, transl. Francisco Indurain, Zaragoza, Librería General, 1945; José María CASTRO CALVO, *Los Argensola, verdad y poesía de Aragón*, Zaragoza, Ibercaja, 1967.

(95) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 46r, 47r, 111r and 124v.

(96) His biography is in the DBE, vol. 18, p. 288-289.

(97) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 4r-v, 47v and 55v.

Also to be found in the fourrier's department were the harbinger of the palace and fourrier, Hernando de Zabala, and his two yeomen. Once in the Habsburg Netherlands, four gentleman harbingers were appointed for the different progresses that were imminent. These posts were filled by Jehan van Oostendorp, Rafael de Garay, Ban de Ragueni and Escipión de León. Then there were four ushers or doorkeepers of the antechamber whose job was to control movement about the different zones of the palace and who were made a once-and-for-all payment of an expense allowance of 500 *reales* in 1596 to supplement their stipend⁽⁹⁸⁾.

The remaining offices in the fourrier's department were responsible for looking after the linen and other household members and the archduke's servants. For these tasks there were two grooms of the closet, one food-bearer, one laundress of the table linen, one laundress of the linen of the salsery and of the pages and valets of the chamber, one head water bearer, one preserver and the sweepers, Francisco Pérez and Benito de Noguera. Finally, Miguel de Belloso, after being dismissed from his post of pantler, appears in 1598 as a groom in the fourrier's department while waiting to be appointed to an office in the household of the archdukes as doorkeeper to the ladies-in-waiting.

As regards the arrases, they were the responsibility of the serjeant arras-worker, Hermann Bermayren, who had the assistance of the yeoman Juan Cortés, who obtained the post in 1595 after Francisco de Quevedo had turned it down, and three grooms with stipends of 32,000 *maravedís* and bouche of court. Their salaries included a sum to pay for the silk and wool used in the arrases and for the arrasmenders who cared for and repaired them. By the same token, during the 1595 progress there was an entertained groom, Rodrigo Abaste, and a person in charge of the arras carts, Manuel van Dale, who ceased to serve once in the Habsburg Netherlands.

The bakehouse was run by the serjeant of the cellar, Juan del Royo, who was assisted by a yeoman. This post fell vacant shortly before the 1595 progress when Luis de Soto was promoted to yeoman of the great wardrobe and jewels and was taken over by the yeoman of the salsery, Pedro de Aguilera. The pantler and his wife María Magallais were dismissed in 1596 and that position was not filled again, so increasing the work of the four grooms of the bakehouse, two of whom were paid entertainments. The fruiterery was included within the bakehouse and in 1595 employed just one fruiterer, Antonio di Rovelasca. However, he was promoted to serjeant of the cellar and replaced by Juan de Cerezo, a yeoman, and a groom. Likewise, during the journey to the Habsburg Netherlands we find Alonso de Castillo y Peralta as an entertained groom, who consolidated his position when he arrived in Brussels.

The cellar was in the charge of a serjeant called Agustín Cuello before the departure to the Habsburg Netherlands but he was replaced by Antonio Ruiz de Ydobra and the latter, in turn, by the former fruiterer, Antonio di Rovelasca. Under him, he had a yeoman and two grooms with stipends of 32,000 *maravedís* and ordinary bouche of court. The post of entertained

(98) *Ibid.*, fols. 64v and 77v.

groom of the cellar, which Guil de Vesses occupied until 1596 and Gabriel Sánchez thereafter, came close to being eliminated but the serjeant of the cellar Rovelasca's request of October 29, 1595, for a labourer to be hired instead to unload everything to do with wine and snow, and who would only receive bouche of court and a wage of three *reales* a day, was turned down⁽⁹⁹⁾. Finally, before the retinue left Madrid, there was a German yeoman of the cellar, in receipt of an entertainment, called Christoph de Luçón, who was promoted to pottinger in Brussels after the death of Benito Rodríguez⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

The chandlery was run by the serjeant of the chandlery and woodyard, Diego de Cárdenas, who was appointed gentleman of the *boca* in 1598 and granted an entertainment to enable him to serve in the army; he was replaced in his post by Martín Pérez, a food-bearer. Under him, there were the yeomen, whose number increased from one in 1595 to four in 1598. The post of groom, which in 1595 was filled by Juan de Solís, disappeared when the latter became groom of the cellar.

As far as the salsery is concerned, it was in the charge of the serjeant of the salsery, Miguel de Piance or de Briones, who was, in his turn, steward of the estate for the bouche. He was in command of three yeomen who had been reduced to one in 1598, while the number of grooms increased from three in 1595 – including one in receipt of an entertainment – to six in 1598.

As for the larder, it was still run by a serjeant of the acatry and larder, who was Bernardo Gómez from 1595 to 1598, after taking over from Pedro Romano Corbino when he died. He had under him the clerk of the larder, Marcos Obrero, two yeomen and three grooms.

In the kitchen we have the figure of the buyer, whose job was to go to the market and select the products that were to be taken to the palace, as well as monitor the expenses in this area. The man who held this post until 1598 was Bartolomé Sardis when Miguel de Arán y Guevara, yeoman of the salsery, took over. Under him, there was the entertained yeoman, Pascual Navarro, and the groom and packsaddle boy, Benito Noguera, who was promoted to sweeper, leaving his former post vacant. In addition, as a temporary measure, the buyer had the help of the purveyors, Onorio Bolpe and Claudio Pelisionier, during the progress of 1595 and 1596 from Lorraine. Their posts disappeared once the archduke reached his destination. The kitchen also included the pottinger with a stipend of 42,000 *maravedís* and bouche of court, and who had a groom to do his bidding. As for the actual cooking, the figure of master cook did not appear until 1598, when Juan Fel was promoted from cook to the new position in anticipation of the creation of the Archdukes' household. Similarly, the number of cooks increased from four to five in 1598. Assisting the cooks were two kitchen porters and five grooms, whose number would rise to eight in 1598. In addition there was a pastry cook, Francisco Borgoñón, and two kitchen doorkeepers.

Finally, amongst the official positions, we find the following servants in place in the two estates we have been referring to, that of the chamber and entertained captains, and that of the pages. The first comprised three

(99) *Ibid.*, fol. 108r.

(100) *Ibid.*, fols. 106r-v, 108r and 127r.

stewards: one for the estate of the gentlemen of the chamber, Carlos Piance; one for the estate of the valets of the chamber, Francisco de Piña; and one for the entertained captains and of the chamber, Juan de Aranda. The latter took office in 1598 before leaving for the Habsburg Netherlands and after having resigned from his position as gentleman sewer to the estates of the principal gentlemen of the chamber, serving the estate of the valets of the chamber. Apart from the stewards, there was also a laundress to the estate of the gentlemen of the chamber and of the bouche, and a groom, Bartolomé Riquer, who commenced service in 1596. As for the estate of the pages, this was created in the Habsburg Netherlands in 1597 and comprised the steward, Lorenzo Carrillo, former harbinger of the estates, and the groom of the silver, Marco Antonio Pauleto. The post of cook to the estate of the pages and valets of the chamber had once existed, being filled by Francisco de Ribera until his death during the progress from Madrid to Brussels. To find lodgings for the various estates during the progress of 1595, four harbingers were appointed: Juan de Cabrera, Denis de la Forge, Juan de Lumbreras and Lorenzo Carrillo. Once in the Low Countries, they were relieved of their offices with the result that the four demanded to be given different positions. The first two were unsuccessful in their aim, but Juan de Lumbreras was appointed serjeant palfreyman and Lorenzo Carrillo steward of the estate of the pages.

The Stable: The stable was a section of the household of vital importance for royal personages, since it was responsible for their outward show of elegance and their image⁽¹⁰¹⁾. The creation of Archduke Albert's stable was marked, especially, by the appointment of Philippe de Croÿ, Count of Solre, as master of the horse, since, of all the Flemings who entered Albert's service, he had the most prominent political role. The main patron of his political career was Alessandro Farnese, which meant that his ideas were close to those of the Papists. This ideology brought him into conflict with the Count of Chinchón in Madrid during his time there as captain of the Bodyguard of *Archeros*, which decided him that it was best to return to the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁰²⁾. Once there, both his personal qualities and the shortage of Flemish counsellors who could be trusted, meant that he was frequently employed by different governors. The archduke occasionally used him as an ambassador but never fully took him into his confidence because of the count's political ideas. Besides, Solre never kept his opinions to himself and wrote countless memoranda to the various governors expounding the methods he would use both to achieve peace with the Dutch rebels and to reduce political strife in the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁰³⁾.

(101) For the stable during the reign of Philip II and its functions, see Carlos José HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, Alejandro LÓPEZ ÁLVAREZ & Luis ROBLEDO ESTAIRE's chapter (chap. 2.3) of J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 226-350.

(102) For his stay in Madrid as captain of the Bodyguard of *archeros*, see José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, "Las guardas palatino-personales de Felipe II", *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 468-472.

(103) Some of these memoranda are mentioned in Victor BRANTS, "Avis sur les affaires des Pays-Bas adressés à l'archiduc Albert par Philippe de Croÿ, comte de Solre", in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, vol. 83, 1914, p. 254-279; and Bernardo José GARCÍA GARCÍA, "'Ganar los corazones y obligar los vecinos': Estrategias de pacificación de los Países Bajos (1604-1610)", in A. CRESPO SOLANA & M. HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, eds., *España*

After the master of the horse, we find the equerries, Luis Blasco and Lope de la Cadena. Both were in office only a short time since the former was promoted to gentleman of the *boca* in the household of the Archdukes and the latter, who had previously been a gentleman of the household, was appointed equerry for the progress of 1595, due to his profound knowledge of the care and rearing of horses in general as well as of chargers and light cavalry horses in particular; however, he died in 1596. Their posts were occupied by César Falco Briceño, a nephew of María Manrique and a Knight of St. John, and by Fernando de Saavedra, who had been Albert's page since 1593, thanks to the fact that his father had served Don John of Austria in a similar capacity, and once in the Habsburg Netherlands he was granted the offices of gentleman of the household and equerry.

The person responsible for the day-to-day running of the stable was the fourrier or quartermaster, Wallerand Morel, a former *archero* of the Bodyguard, who performed this duty during the 1595-1596 progress. He had taken over from Joan Enríquez de Caneda shortly before undertaking the journey but he was unable to enjoy his new role for long as he died in 1596. His replacement was Melchor Martínez, who served in this post until the Act of Cession. Under the command of the fourrier were the yeomen, of whom there was only one in 1595, Jacomo de Monterrey, who would be joined by Miguel de Olivares in 1596, serving as *avener* after taking over from Pablo Rodríguez. Before leaving for the Low Countries, the *avener* was assisted by a groom to treat sick horses and also to measure the barley and sew up the sacks, but the incumbent stayed behind in Castile and although Pablo Rodríguez asked for a new man to replace him, the request was ignored⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. Another prominent figure was the clerk of the counting house and surveyor, who was Cristóbal de Paredes between 1595 and 1598, and whose work was reinforced in January 1596 by a new ordinance⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

The harness keeper and former fourrier of the stable, Bautista de Lemos, took care of the horses. Before the retinue set off from Madrid, he was informed that he would not be travelling with the archduke since Wallerand Morel, a protégé of the master of the horse, was going to be the new fourrier; however, the indisposition of the harness keeper, Pedro Marañón de Velasco, caused him to be recalled for the office with a stipend of 42,000 *maravedis*,

y las 17 provincias de los Países Bajos, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 137-165. However, the first to be written were addressed to the Archduke Ernest. One of them dates from February 1594 (AGS, E. leg. 607, fol. 199) in which he insists on the need to reform the army, as well as justice and military discipline. In this memorandum he puts forward the idea, which he was to repeat later, of the need "to win the hearts and goodwill of the local people". In November 1594, he delivered two new memoranda to Ernest, one dealing with the war with France (*ibid.*, fol. 200), the other, with the possible remedies to be applied in the country (*ibid.*, fol. 201). Similarly, he wrote two very interesting memoranda when Archduke Albert was selected, which can be found in IVDJ, Envío 47, Caja 63, docs. 506 and 529. In the first, he deals with the way the administration functioned in the Low Countries and possible remedies for the situation, while in the second, he focuses on the role of the Jesuits in the Habsburg Netherlands and their potential as a political weapon.

(104) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 108v.

(105) This can be found in AGR, SEG, no. 518/4, fols. 2r-4v.

which would increase to 60,000 in 1597⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. The serjeant palfreyman, before the progress, was Felipe de Salinas, but his request to be allowed to stay in Madrid was accepted and he was relieved by Martín García, who only served until 1597, with a stipend of 42,000 *maravedís*. At that point he was replaced by Juan de Lumbreras, former harbinger of the estates, who, like all the other holders of that office, had been dismissed because the office was not needed in the Habsburg Netherlands. He maintained his stipend of 42,000 *maravedís* during 1597, but managed to increase it to 60,000 the following year as head coachman and harness keeper⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. Naturally, the serjeant palfreyman had the assistance of a yeoman palfreyman, Sebastián Perales. Other minor offices connected with the care of the horses were those of the saddler, harness maker, horse trainer and overseer of the horses. Between 1595 and 1598, Julio Piperne combined this latter office with that of cartaker. Also, during the progress of 1595-1596, there was another cartaker, Cornelis Banicque, who died no sooner had the archduke reached the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

As for the stable's couriers, when the entourage left Madrid there were two Castilians, Miguel de Olivares and Alonso de Ávila, with a stipend of 32,000 *maravedís* and ordinary bouche of court. However, once they were in Brussels, it was decided that it made more sense to have Flemings as they knew the language and the roads better. So, although Alonso de Ávila continued to act as a courier until 1598, Miguel de Olivares changed his job in 1596 to become a yeoman fourrier and was replaced by the former *archero* of the Bodyguard, Bertrand le Saige, who was joined by another Fleming, Simon van Estreque, in 1598. As for the trumpeter, Albert made no provision for one in his household until after the Act of Cession, although the services of a German trumpeter, Johann Quinti or Quisqui, were called upon during the progress of 1595. He was of the Italian school of stables in Philip II's Burgundy household, and left the service once in Brussels and after receiving an expense allowance⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

The footmen and foot squires made up the main body of the stable staff as the two groups accounted for twenty people: twelve in the first group and eight in the second. They were offices whose holders fluctuated a good deal because of promotion. Examples are Pedro de Mena Villasante, who went from footman to foot squire in 1598, and Bernardo Amico, who was promoted from foot squire to doorkeeper of the antechamber in the same year.

The pack animals or mules were also an important part of the stable. In 1595, the archduke owned one hundred, but they were reduced to fifty in 1596 because of the heavy costs. From 1590, these animals had been in the care of the master of the mules, Francisco Enríquez de Caneda, son of the stable fourrier, Juan Enríquez de Caneda, who had stayed in Madrid. The importance of the master of the mules and the pack animals increased substantially during the progresses, at the same time as their costs rose, so that it was vital at that time that he should be on good terms with other officers of

(106) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 47v and 73v.

(107) *Ibid.*, fols. 47v, 72v and 98v.

(108) *Ibid.*, fols. 98r, 106r and 111r.

(109) *Ibid.*, fol. 107v, and J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, *La Monarquía de Felipe II, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 378.

the household such as the *grefier* or the steward responsible for organizing the journey⁽¹¹⁰⁾. The fourrier or quartermaster was there to control expenditure on the pack animals, their provisions and harnesses. This position did not exist in the archduke's household until 1596, when the entourage reached the Habsburg Netherlands, and was only used for the expeditions of the army in France. The officer appointed to carry out this task was the Fleming Charles Bertin, but we no longer find him serving when the archduke was preparing his departure for the 1598 progress, nor do we have any record of this office in the household of the archdukes⁽¹¹¹⁾. On the other hand, posts charged with the task of helping the master of the mules with the care of the pack animals did exist. There were two or three yeomen of the pack animals with stipends of 32,000 *maravedís*; a purveyor of mules and horses, Juan Bautista Esquenardo, who only served during the 1595-96 progress because his work ended once the accounts were settled; and the packsaddle-maker, an office that disappeared just before the progress to the Habsburg Netherlands as its holder, Sebastián Tarrafa, remained behind in Madrid with a grace and favour payment of 50 ducats, as we have already mentioned.

The coaches in the stable were looked after and controlled by the head coachman, a position occupied by Juan de Acosta before setting off from Madrid⁽¹¹²⁾. Once it was decided that he was not going to travel, Juan de Torres, who had been a coachman in Portugal, was appointed the new head coachman and paid a stipend of 42,000 *maravedís*, which increased to 60,000 in 1597⁽¹¹³⁾. He had two coachmen under him in 1595, reduced to one in 1598.

As for the small armoury that the archduke had at his disposal, we find the two huntsmen mentioned earlier, Manuel Pimienta, who received permission from the archduke on August 28, 1597 to return to Portugal, and Juan Issino, who was the sole remaining huntsman after his colleague had resigned. We also find a crossbowman, Joan Ramos, who ceased activity in 1597 with the result that the post disappeared from the household⁽¹¹⁴⁾. The third and final office in the armoury was for "the one who carried the arquebus," held for the three years of Albert's government by Diego Woislowski, mentioned earlier.

Next, we find the house of the pages, who were usually young men of good family being trained to rise to higher positions in the service of royalty. In the archduke's household there were several examples of promotion of this kind at court, such as Nicolás de Cervantes Loaysa and Pedro Hurtado Barradas, who went from being pages to the archduke himself to become gentlemen of his household, or Onofre Escriba, Philip II's page and *coustillier* [someone who accompanied the king to chapel or church or on journeys] and the archduke's gentleman of the *boca*. Between 1595 and 1598, depending on the moment, we find twelve or thirteen pages although the number of

(110) This can be seen in the comments made by the lord steward in July 1596 when the archduke was preparing to go to the front to fight the French, in RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 1v-2r.

(111) *Ibid.*, fol. 48v.

(112) For the coaches, see Alejandro LÓPEZ ÁLVAREZ, *Poder, lujo y conflicto: coches, carrozas y sillas de mano en la corte de los Austrias, 1550-1700*, Madrid, Polifemo, 2007.

(113) RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 47v, 50r and 54r.

(114) *Ibid.*, fols. 73r, 80r, 99r and 108r.

applications for this office was much higher than that; even the son of Martín de Aragón, the lord steward's brother, was refused entry⁽¹¹⁵⁾. For the most part, we do not know the names of the pages since, unusually, it is the one office in the listings where only the number of office holders appears rather than their names. During the progress to the Habsburg Netherlands, the pages' house was run by a tutor with a stipend of 60,000 *maravedis*, Pedro Cabriel, who left office once the entourage had arrived, being promoted to gentleman of the household⁽¹¹⁶⁾. He had the deputy tutor, Dionisio Costa de Holona, to help him. When Pedro Cabriel left the post, Holona took over as tutor as there was no one else senior to him. The pages' education was conducted by a teacher, who had to be well qualified and was responsible for teaching them catechesis and Latin. From 1595 to 1598, the post was occupied by the learned Diego Ruiz who was referred to earlier as the archduke's chaplain and who owed his appointment to the good offices of Juan de Acuña, whose chaplain he had been⁽¹¹⁷⁾. In spiritual matters, the pages were assisted by a chaplain, who was Simón Votello from 1595 to 1598, with a stipend of 50,000 *maravedis*. Each of the four posts – teacher, chaplain, tutor and deputy tutor – enjoyed the services of a servant who could eat whatever food the pages left. Besides these offices, there were other auxiliary ones such as the “master and examiner to teach fencing and how to handle all weapons”, which is not on record in 1595, although in 1593 the post was occupied by Pablo de Paredes⁽¹¹⁸⁾, or an entertained groom of the chandlery serving the pages, such as Domingo Calvo from 1596 to 1598⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

Finally, the stable also had a dean of the chapel, who does not appear in the listings in that post because one of the archduke's chaplains always took responsibility for it. To be precise, the learned Carreño took on responsibility for it when he assumed the office of chaplain, being relieved by Juan de Marquellain y Echevarría when the 1598 progress was undertaken, since he was very old and not fit enough to travel⁽¹²⁰⁾.

The cost of the archduke's stable, as we saw with the mules, soared during the progress to the Habsburg Netherlands, mainly because there was little control over the coaches used, whose cost reached a peak of 300 ducats a day. From 1596, thought was given to ways of reducing the costs and various ideas were considered⁽¹²¹⁾. One was to cut down on the number of mules and sell the horses when the military expedition against France was over, and then buy them back when they were needed with the money made from their sale.

(115) “Don Francisco Aragón beseeches Your Highness to receive into his service as a page Joan de Aragón (15 years old), the son of his brother, don Martín de Aragón” (Response) “That His Highness does not intend to take more than 12 pages and has the full quota” (*Ibid.*, fols 65v and 77r).

(116) He had the most varied tasks and was responsible during the progress for, among other things, getting the pages' lodgings ready and supplying them with firewood, service, bedding and underwear. For this reason he had to claim 531 *reales* that he had paid out with his own money and which, finally, the comptroller agreed to reimburse (*Ibid.*, fol. 112r).

(117) BPRM, Ms II/2162, doc. 115.

(118) AHN, Consejos, leg. 4413, no. 28.

(119) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 45r.

(120) *Ibid.*, fol. 8v.

(121) *Ibid.*, fols. 1v–6r.

Another was to rationalize the way stipends were paid as well as how to audit the fourrier's accounts after Wallerand Morel's death. In the end, the campaigns against France and the peace negotiations and the Act of Cession prevented specific measures from being taken and the matter was left in the air till 1598.

Guards: Archduke Albert had a guard of halberdiers during his time as viceroy of Portugal, but he left them there when he was recalled to Madrid. Once in the monarch's court, the king's nephew used his uncle's guards on those occasions they were considered necessary, but when it was decided that he should go to the Habsburg Netherlands as governor, it was made clear that the archduke should be provided with his own Bodyguard.

The importance of the guard was not so much the defence of royalty as the fact that it formed part of the ruler's outward display, as was the case with the stable, and was a suitable way of assimilating territorial elites and providing representation for different nationalities⁽¹²²⁾. Therefore, the guard became a fundamental part of the retinue of an archduke destined to be the sovereign prince of the Habsburg Netherlands and who, consequently, had to project a clearly defined image to the outside world and who had already demonstrated in Portugal that he knew how to use his household as an integrating factor.

Before setting off, it was decided that the corps of guards would be formed, and their commanding officers appointed, once the archduke had arrived at his new political post. Similarly, the liveries that they would wear would be made in the Habsburg Netherlands; the steward, Diego de Ibarra, placed the order with five Flemish merchants who had belonged to Ernest's household⁽¹²³⁾. Hence, in January 1596, Albert was joined in Sicily by the two corps of guards that were formed, the *archeros* and the halberdiers. Pierre de Hénin-Lietard, Count of Boussu⁽¹²⁴⁾, was chosen as captain of both corps, although he did not serve for long because in 1596 he was away, in 1597 he served in the army after being appointed *chef* of artillery, and in April 1598, he died. As a result, effective command of both corps fell to Lieutenant Martín de Somogi, who was also a gentleman of the *boca*.

Although we do not know the exact number of soldiers in the Bodyguard of *Archeros*, whose members were of Flemish origin, there must have been about fifty, the same number that previous governors had had in their corps of guards. In fact, we find that in 1605, the archduke's Bodyguard of *Archeros* comprised a captain, a lieutenant, forty-eight *archeros*, a trumpeter and a groom⁽¹²⁵⁾. On the other hand, we do know that the halberdiers, who were

(122) In general, for the Spanish Guards, José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, "Las guardas palatino-personales de los monarcas Austrias hispanos", in *Reales Sitios*, vol. 179, 2009, p. 4-21. For the *Archeros*, J.E. HORTAL MUÑOZ, "La "Noble Guarda de Archeros de Corps", *op. cit.* For the halberdiers, José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, "La "Compañía de Tudescos de la guarda de la persona real de Castilla" en el contexto de la Casa Real de los monarcas Austrias hispanos (1519-1702)" in José MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & Rubén GONZÁLEZ CUERVA, eds., *La Dinastía de los Austrias: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, Madrid, Polifemo, 2011, p. 391-438.

(123) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 100v.

(124) His biography in J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, *op. cit.*, p. 71 and G. MARTIN, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Croÿ*, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and 61.

(125) "Relación de los criados de sus Altezas serenísimas que al presente sirven", AGR, Audience, reg. 33/4, fol. 70r -v.

all from Germany or Lower Saxony, numbered one hundred, although the lord steward tried to reduce them to fifty since a large number of them did not provide effective service⁽¹²⁶⁾. His idea, however, was not implemented and we find the archduke with a unit consisting of five squadrons of eighteen soldiers, with a squadron corporal at the head of each, a captain, a lieutenant, a sergeant, a quartermaster, a drummer, a fifer and a groom⁽¹²⁷⁾.

As we see, in the time of the Archdukes, each corps of guards was given a captain and a lieutenant, which meant that the posts were duplicated. This distribution came about in 1598 when two captains were appointed to replace the late Count of Boussu, at least during the progress of the newly-weds. Those appointed were Robert de la Marck, Lord of Barbançon⁽¹²⁸⁾, as captain of the halberdiers, and Claude de Beaufremont, Lord of Sombernon⁽¹²⁹⁾, for the *archeros*, after discarding other names, such as the Count of Egmont. Similarly, two lieutenants were appointed; Martín de Somogi continued to be attached to the halberdiers, but we do not know the name of the lieutenant of the *archeros*. During the archdukes' period, a third unit was added to the corps of guards: the Spanish arquebusiers, whose importance increased as the years went by.

The *archeros*' and halberdiers' salaries were barely enough to get by on and to live comfortably they needed grace and favour payments, which were granted as an extra, in the form of forage for the horses, provided by Brabant province, a month's stipend as a new year gift, or the ninety *reales* that they were given for each month the newly-weds' progress to Italy and Valencia lasted⁽¹³⁰⁾. Similarly, once they had joined the archdukes, the Bodyguard of *Archeros* went on to enjoy the offices of the so-called *Tour de Rolle*, which, up to that moment, had been a prerogative of the *archeros* of the Spanish monarch⁽¹³¹⁾.

Preparations for the Progress to Contract Marriage with the Infanta

(126) RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 1r-v.

(127) "Relación de los criados de sus Altezas," AGR, Audiencia, reg. 33/4, fols. 70v-71v.

(128) "It seems that Your Highness could fill the post of captain of the halberdiers with Monsieur de Barbanzon who has applied for both; I believe that he will be happy with one and he is a man of quality, and he has served you and your father and he knows the language and on this occasion Your Highness could save some cost as he has reformed the regiment of Germans that he has (which is a consideration)", RAH, Ms A-61, fol. 11r. Born 1564, died March 3, 1614, he was the founder of the branch of the princes of Barbençon.

(129) *Ibid.* "And since Your Highness does not wish to give the bodyguard of *archeros* to the count of Agamont so that too many posts are not accumulated in one person, and to have more people in your service, it appears that Your Highness could bestow the favour on Monsieur de Sombernon, a gentleman of the *boca* to His Majesty, and who is a man of quality, of good bearing and a splendid person, and a native of Burgundy and son of a man who has served His Majesty and is at present his servant and is here in the county of Burgundy, and withal, it seems that he would take on the post and Your Highness would be well served".

(130) *Ibid.*, fol. 16r.

(131) For the *Tour de Rolle*, see J.E. HORTAL MUÑOZ, "La Noble Guarda de Archeros de Corps", *op. cit.*, p. 250.

Isabella Clara Eugenia and the Establishment of the Archdukes' Household

The strategic importance of the Low Countries was recognized as fundamental by every sixteenth century statesman, whether Spanish or of any other nationality. One only has to recall that in 1544, after intense deliberation by Charles V's counsellors, it had been decided that it was less costly for the Monarchy to give up the kingdom of Milan than the Low Countries⁽¹³²⁾. Despite its importance, there were numerous projects that considered the idea of abandoning the Habsburg Netherlands, handing it over to other monarchies or converting it into a sovereign state, but dependent on the Spanish Monarchy⁽¹³³⁾. The rumours about the latter possibility were triggered by the failure of the Armada against England in 1588 and there was speculation about the marriage of Archduke Ernest to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, with the sovereignty of the Low Countries as her dowry⁽¹³⁴⁾. However, the infanta's claim to the French throne, together with Ernest's sudden death in the Habsburg Netherlands shortly after he became governor, put paid to this possibility. These problems did not arise with Albert and it was finally possible to implement the plan. It is not our intention to go into the Cession in any depth here since numerous authors have dealt with the subject⁽¹³⁵⁾. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe the effect it had on the archduke's service, which had to be expanded to adapt to his new status as sovereign rather than governor, and furthermore it had to be merged with the service of his wife, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

At the same time as talks were being held with the aim of ensuring that the deed of Cession would be accepted, changes were being made in the household as well as preparations for Albert's impending progress to the Iberian peninsula to marry the infanta. After deciding that the archduke would travel with all his household across Italy, where he would meet Prince Philip's future wife, the archduchess Margaret of Austria-Styria, the retinue that was to accompany the new sovereign began to be made ready⁽¹³⁶⁾. From Madrid an attempt was made to dispense with the Admiral of Aragon as the archduke's lord chamberlain and, to that end, he was proposed as the new ambassador to the Empire, enabling Guillén de San Clemente to be relieved, something which he had earnestly desired. Francisco de Mendoza refused even to contemplate such an option and called upon the help of the

(132) Federico CHABOD, "¿Milán o los Países Bajos...? Las discusiones en España sobre la 'alternativa' de 1544", in *Homenaje de la Universidad de Granada a Carlos V, 1500-1558*, Granada, Universidad, 1958, p. 331-372.

(133) Rafael VALLADARES, "Decid adiós a Flandes: La Monarquía Hispánica y el problema de los Países Bajos", in W. THOMAS & L. DUERLOO, eds., *Albert & Isabella*, *op. cit.*, p. 47-54.

(134) Fr. CAEIRO, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria*, *op. cit.*, p. 374-375.

(135) In general, consult the proceedings of the seminar held in Louvain (December 1997), and the catalogues of the exhibitions that took place in Brussels (September 1998) and Madrid (December 1999). Finally, see Alicia ESTEBAN ESTRÍNGANA, "Los estados de Flandes. Reversión territorial de las provincias leales (1598-1623)", in J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 593-682.

(136) Albert to Philip II, July 26, 1598, AGS, E. leg. 615, fol. 147.

archduke to prevent it⁽¹³⁷⁾, which Albert managed to do, although the admiral was ordered to stay in the Habsburg Netherlands in command of the army, which was still fighting the rebels. Despite this, the Admiral of Aragon was charged with making all the preparations for the journey, leading to some feverish activity⁽¹³⁸⁾. Furthermore, he had to coordinate the servants who were going to leave and those who were going to stay behind in the Habsburg Netherlands because of the state of their health or their personal preferences.

The admiral's first concern was to establish the number of stewards who would undertake the journey, especially bearing in mind that he was not going to travel with them. As we saw, there were four in 1598 (Luis Dávalos, Diego de Ibarra, the Lord of Creseques, and the Count of Issenghien) but it was not known whether the first one could join the progress, while the third was going to stay in the Habsburg Netherlands. Moreover, the Count of Issenghien was relatively inexperienced and the Admiral of Aragon suggested that Alonso de Cárdenas, a gentleman of the chamber, should be promoted or that the French Count de la Vère, Gastón Espínola, Jerónimo Valter Zapata or Juan Bautista de Tassis should be appointed as new stewards. Nevertheless, Luis Dávalos turned up for the progress and the new appointments remained in abeyance, though not forgotten. With the Archdukes back in the Habsburg Netherlands, Jerónimo Valter Zapata was appointed steward and Gastón Espínola, gentleman of the chamber, while Alonso de Cárdenas continued as gentleman of the chamber; the Count de la Vère joined the household, although he was killed shortly afterwards at the battle of Nieuwpoort, whilst his wife, Antonetta de Ravenel, became duenna of honour to the infanta. Tassis, for his part, was appointed ambassador to France in 1599.

At the same time, as we saw, after some debate, the question of who should occupy other household posts was resolved; these posts included the lord almoner and chaplain, the other chaplains, captains and lieutenants of the guards, the gentlemen of the *boca* and of the household, equerries, varlet servants, and so on. Certain offices were enlarged with the introduction of Flemings, in particular. A system of expense allowances was also set up to defray the costs of the servants who were to go on the progress, in an attempt to avoid them being as badly hit economically as they had been during the journey of 1595-1596⁽¹³⁹⁾. As we saw, the stipends of the *archeros* were

(137) The admiral of Aragon to Albert, June 25, 1598, *ibid.*, fol. 152.

(138) His actions are in *Copia de los apuntamientos que el Mayordomo Mayor dio a su Alteza antes de su partida a España dependientes della*, August 31, 1598, RAH, Ms A-61, fols. 8r-19v and 35r-42v.

(139) To be more specific, 200 *escudos* were paid to the confessor Fray Iñigo de Brizuela, 300 to the chaplains, 150 to the priest and the pages' chaplain, 1,000 *escudos* to those clergymen who were chamberlains, gentlemen of the chamber or stewards, and 1,500 to lay holders of those offices, 600 to the gentlemen of the *boca* who had been in continuous service and 300 to those who had been absent because they were captains in the army, plus paying them their entertainment (monthly retainer), another 300 to the gentlemen of the household (including the lieutenants of the guard), 200 *escudos* to the heads of offices, and 100 to the yeomen plus bouche of court for those who left wives in the Habsburg Netherlands, 50 to the grooms, both of the household and the stable, 300 to the married valets of the chamber and bouche of court for their wives and 200 for the unmarried men, 500 to the comptroller and the *grefier*, 300 to the serjeant of the acatry and larder, 1,000 to the treasurer Joseph Handtlip and another 1,000 for the master of the horse and captains of the guards.

increased by 90 *reales* a month and those of the halberdiers by 30. The archduke accepted most of these expense allowances, although some took a long time to be paid, leading to protests.

In an attempt to limit the enormous costs, the estates during the progress were reduced to three: one for the stewards, gentlemen of the chamber, chamberlains and a few important nobles who would travel with the archduke, cases in point being the duke of Aumale, the counts of Berlaymont and de la Vère and the Lord of Recourt; another for the ladies-in-waiting and gentlewomen of the Habsburg Netherlands that the archduke was taking with him plus their servants; and, finally, another for valets of the chamber and the rest of those who normally ate with them. For those offices not included in the estates, some allowances were granted, such as those to the gentlemen of the *boca*, who received 28 *reales* a day for food and 9 to feed their horses, while those of the household, chaplains and physicians were given 12 *reales* plus 6 more for their horses.

Similarly, the lord steward aimed to settle all the accounts of the officers and anyone else to whom the archduke owed something. The household and office accounts were passed to the comptroller for settlement and the heads of each office had to settle those of their own section. Even so, every day there were new expenses and there was always a remainder to be calculated. This led the admiral to propose that the accountant Juan López de Ugarte should be left to deal with the matter in the archduke's absence.

It was also of vital importance to anticipate the costs to be met on the road and ensure there would be enough money. Accordingly, the treasurer was given the task of seeking credit against some of the revenue from the Low Countries and making provision for money to be available in the various places that the entourage would pass through. At the same time, the Lord of Chassey was appointed gentleman harbinger, since he had already been purveyor for the army that entered Burgundy with the archduke in 1595, so that, together with the other four harbingers, he could prepare lodgings for the retinue.

The stable took on an important role in logistic matters, especially the management of the coaches and horses for the great entourage that would be travelling. As for the mules, it was decided to use the fifty that the archduke owned, together with about seventy hired carts, after it had been decided that the servants travelling with them should send on any clothing not necessary during the progress to Castile by ship, and that they would only take what was strictly essential overland. With regard to the horses, Albert's stable contained one hundred and forty and another one hundred and ten had to be hired, in spite of the fact that only officers of the household received one. Bouche of court was granted to each of the chamberlains for three horses, to each gentleman of the chamber for four, to the gentlemen of the *boca* for three and to those of the household for two.

The final thing to take into account was how the servants accompanying the archduke would be organized, what route they would follow and what rules should be laid down governing their behaviour when they entered the Empire; this was because the difference in traditions and the delicate political situation obtaining at the time invited prudence during their sojourn in the archduke's homeland. Consequently, it was decided that no servant should be the cause of any disturbance, that when they entered a town or village they

would march in twos and the trumpeters would not announce their arrival in the place where the emperor was, out of respect for His Imperial Majesty.

Eventually, and after lengthy preparations, the entourage left Brussels on September 9, 1598⁽¹⁴⁰⁾, while the other servants remained in the Habsburg Netherlands⁽¹⁴¹⁾. The archduke, however, had to delay his departure until September 14 since he had to brief the acting governor, Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who had arrived in the capital on September 6. Several important personages appear in the entourage, but we shall concentrate on those courtiers who would become part of the archdukes' future service. For instance, the presence of seven women of the most important Flemish families stands out; they were to serve the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia in her new household and travelled under the responsibility of the steward Issenghien and the gentleman of the household, Gilles du Faing. Philip II had already advised Albert that it would be a good idea to choose these noble ladies in the Habsburg Netherlands before setting off, so that they could accompany the infanta on her way back after the marriage⁽¹⁴²⁾. Those chosen were Marguerite de Lille, Countess of Bucquoy, future duenna of honour with a stipend of 30,000 *maravedís* a year, and Magdalena de Trazegnies, Marie de Montmorency, Claudine de Mérode, Alexandrine and Françoise de Noyelle and Louise de Sainte-Aldegonde as ladies-in-waiting. These were joined in Valencia by the women from the infanta's former service who were going to accompany her in her new role as sovereign of the Habsburg Netherlands. Among them were Juana de Jacincourt as chief lady-in-waiting⁽¹⁴³⁾, the Countess of Uceda as

(140) There are several descriptions of the entourage and who was in it, such as Carlos COLOMA, *Las guerras de los Estados Bajos, desde el año de 1588 hasta el de 1599*, Antwerp, 1622 (consulted in the Madrid 1948 edition, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXVIII, lib. 11, p. 61-62), or the one written by the gentleman of the household, Gilles du Faing, in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Ms 18433, published in Louis Prosper GACHARD, *Collection des voyages, op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 458-462 (for a description of the progress, see p. 457-504). Unfortunately, however, both of these are incomplete, as are the "Apostillas históricas" by Bernardo José GARCÍA GARCÍA in the edition of Lope de VEGA's, *Fiestas de Henia*, Florence, Alinea Editrice, 2004, p. 33-40.

(141) In AGR, Audience, reg. 33/2 we find the ordinance of September 13 that the archduke left the paymaster general of the navy for him to pay the stipends and bouche of court to the household servants who remained in Brussels.

(142) Philip II to Albert, June 3, 1598, AGS, E. leg. 2224-1, fol. 155: "The lady who is to be my daughter-in-law will bring a few servants from Germany with her, as you will have gathered from Don Guillén, and now I believe it would be in our interest if you could ensure that six women of rank of those states, two widows and four gentlewomen, come to Milan for the same time, so that all of them might serve my daughter, the Infanta, and return at the appropriate time with her and from Milan to here accompanying and serving my daughter-in-law. I leave the choice of these six women in your hands because you are there and will know which people combine all the necessary qualities to carry out such duties".

(143) She arrived in Castile as a French lady-in-waiting to Isabella of Valois and after the latter's death she was appointed lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne on December 1, 1570. She continued to serve in this office from 1580, in the household of the Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, and from 1585 only for the first of them. Her long years of service, the fact that the Infanta trusted her and that she was available to go to the Habsburg Netherlands encouraged Philip III to appoint her chief lady-in-waiting to Isabella Clara Eugenia with a stipend of a million *maravedís* a year, on October 16, 1598 in the monastery of San Jerónimo Extramuros (the title is in AHN, Consejos, lib. 252, fols. 432v-433r), succeeding the countess of Paredes, who died in 1596 (AGP, Personal, Caja 16584/2; AGS, CSR, leg. 40, fol. 7 and AHN, Consejos, lib. 251, fols. 218r-v).

duenna of honour, and the lady-in-waiting, María Manuel. As can be seen, not too many accompanied the infanta in her venture, although other Castilian women did join her, such as the lady-in-waiting Vicenta Ferrer or the duennas of the closet, Teresa Dávila and Isabel de Castro. Apart from the women just mentioned, we find some men who also belonged to the former service of the infanta in Castile and who accompanied her on her long journey to the Habsburg Netherlands as a way of getting ahead in their careers. Among them was Juan Díez Ochoa, who rose from groom of the great wardrobe and jewels to be the infanta's notary of the chamber, or Juan Fernández de Izaguirre, former officer of the larder and buyer to both Queen Anne and Queen Margaret of Austria and who we find, in 1605, as the Archdukes' guard to the ladies-in-waiting.

Nonetheless, it is noticeable that very few of Isabella Clara Eugenia's servants joined the Archdukes' household; the majority of the office holders in the new service came from Albert's household or were new entrants. By the same token, and as we have already stated, there is a pronounced increase in the number of Flemings, particularly in the higher offices, as a novel means employed by the sovereigns to integrate the local elites into their political project⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.

During the progress⁽¹⁴⁵⁾, the initial travel plan was modified as the archduke decided to set out with a few servants for Prague, after it was decided at the last minute that Archduke Albert should visit Rudolph II. Meanwhile, the main body of his household would wait for him in Trent, awaiting the arrival of Archduchess Margaret and her retinue. In Spira, Albert informed the few servants who were accompanying him that he was going to continue the journey alone to meet his brother and that they should also make their way to Trent. Once the meeting with the emperor was over, the archduke travelled to the city where his entourage and the future queen's were waiting together. They then set off for Ferrara where Clement VIII had offered to conduct the marriages by proxy of Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia, and Prince Philip and Margaret of Austria-Styria⁽¹⁴⁶⁾. Finally, the marriages were consummated in April 1599 in Valencia, whence the new sovereigns of the Habsburg Netherlands returned with their new service and so initiated a new stage in their lives and in the territories in which they had become sovereigns⁽¹⁴⁷⁾.

(144) Philip II to Albert, July 16, 1598, AGS, E. leg. 2224-1, fol. 146: "The high-ranking natives [of the Habsburg Netherlands] of those estates that you are bringing with you, where you ask if it will be with the aim of employing them afterwards in the service of the Infanta, you may choose them with this purpose to be among us, as I believe they will do right to serve and they will value it highly as will the whole nation".

(145) The description of the progress, besides the one cited earlier in Gilles du Faing's text, is also in in José GARCÍA MERCADAL, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, Reedition Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999, vol. 2, p. 648-653; J.R. CAMPOFRÍO, *España en Flandes*, op. cit., p. 231ff; and Johann RAINER, "Tú, Austria feliz, cástate: La boda de Margarita, princesa de Austria Interior, con el rey Felipe III de España, 1598-1599", in *Investigaciones Históricas*, vol. 25, 2005, p. 31-34.

(146) Aldobrandino to Caetani, August 11, 1598, ASV, Spagna, leg. 326, fols. 33-34.

(147) Over the Archdukes' household, Dries RAEYMAEKERS Ph.D. diss. Antwerp University, 2009 in Dutch, with its first conclusions in Spanish in J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN & M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 1072-1083.

As we have seen, archduke's Albert household was modified in Madrid in 1595, with the aim of adequate it to his new condition as governor of the Netherlands, without forgetting Philip II's plan to marry him with his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia to give both of them the sovereignty of the Habsburg Netherlands. With that purpose, Albert received such a great entourage, in which started to form part the most important Flemish nobles, to vinctuate them to the new political project.

After the Act of Cession in 1598, and the marriage between Albert and Isabel Clara Eugenia the year after, the household of the Archdukes was established. The core of this new entourage was Albert's former household, together with a female chamber for the archduchess. Nonetheless, the number of servers increased enormously (mainly Flemish) as symbol of the new sovereignty, being the origin of what was going to be called the Royal Household of Brussels during the seventeenth century.

SUMMARY

José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from His Election as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands until His Investiture as Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries, 1595-1598*

Archduke Albert of Austria was one of the most important figures in the Spanish monarchy of the Austrias during the reigns of his uncle, Philip II, and his cousin Philip III. However, his figure has not been studied really in-depth until these last years, allowing us to understand much better many points concerning the histories of Portugal, the Habsburg Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy in the last decades of the XVIth century and the first ones of the XVIIth.

This essay is focused on the study of his royal household from 1595, when he was elected as governor of the Netherlands, until 1598, when he was invested as Sovereign Prince of the same lands. It complements the one that we made from 1570 until 1595, allowing us to examine the political background during his upbringing, the people that surrounded Albert during those years and the function of his household as an integrator of territorial elites in the different places he served.

Archduke Albert's Household – Low Countries – Archdukes – Spanish Monarchy

SAMENVATTING

José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *De huishouding van aartshertog Albrecht van Oostenrijk, van zijn aanstelling tot gouverneur van de Nederlanden tot zijn benoeming als soeverein vorst, 1595-1598*

Aartshertog Albrecht van Oostenrijk was één van de belangrijkste figuren uit de Spaanse monarchie van de Habsburgers gedurende de regeringen van zijn oom Philips II en zijn neef Philips III. Zijn persoon is evenwel tot de laatste jaren nooit echt diepgaand bestudeerd. Nu dit is gedaan kunnen wij verschillende facetten van de geschiedenis van Portugal, de Nederlanden, het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Spaanse Monarchie van de laatste decennia van de zestiende tot de eerste van de zeventiende eeuw beter begrijpen. Dit artikel bestudeert de koninklijke huishouding vanaf 1595, toen hij werd aangesteld

als gouverneur van de Nederlanden tot 1598, toen hij werd benoemd als souverein vorst. Het sluit aan op ons vorig artikel over de periode van 1570 tot 1595, en het stelt ons in staat de politieke achtergrond tijdens zijn opvoeding te bestuderen, alsmede de mensen die hem gedurende deze jaren omringden. Ook krijgen wij nu een beeld van de integrerende functie van zijn huishouding voor de territoriale elites in de verschillende plaatsen waar hij diende.

Huishouding van Albrecht van Oostenrijk – Lage Landen – Aartshertogen – Spaanse Monarchie

RÉSUMÉ

José Eloy HORTAL MUÑOZ, *La Maison Royale de l'archiduc Albert d'Autriche, depuis son élection en tant que gouverneur de la Flandre jusqu'à son investiture comme Prince souverain des Pays-Bas, 1595-1598*

L'archiduc Albert d'Autriche a été une des personnalités les plus importantes de la monarchie espagnole des Habsbourg pendant les règnes de son oncle, Philippe II, et de son cousin, Philippe III. Cependant, sa figure n'a pas été vraiment étudiée jusqu'à ces dernières années, or elle nous permet de comprendre beaucoup mieux de nombreux points concernant les histoires du Portugal, des Pays-Bas espagnols, du Saint-Empire et de la Monarchie espagnole pendant les derniers décennies du XVI^e et le début du XVII^e siècle.

Cette contribution est centrée sur l'étude des maisons royales depuis 1595, quand Albert a été désigné gouverneur des Pays-Bas, jusque 1598, quand il a été investi comme Prince souverain des mêmes terres. Elle complète l'étude que nous avons faite pour la période 1570-1595, ce qui nous permet d'examiner le contexte politique lors de son éducation, l'entourage d'Albert pendant ces années et la fonction de sa Maison royale comme intégratrice des élites territoriales dans les différents lieux où il exerçait ses fonctions.

Maison Royale de l'archiduc Albert – Pays-Bas – Archiducs – Monarchie Espagnole.

**THE ARCHDUKE'S SERVANTS LISTED ACCORDING TO OFFICE HELD
(1595-1598)⁽¹⁴⁸⁾**

CHAPEL (*CAPILLA*)⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Confessors (*Confesores*)

Juan Velázquez de las Cuevas (1595)

Fray Juan Vicente (1595)

Fray Iñigo de Brizuela (1595-98)

Lord almoners⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ (*Limosneros mayores*)

Pedro de Alarcón (1595-1596)

George of Austria (1596-1598)

Sub-almoner (*Ayuda delimosnero mayor*)

The learned Juan de Vergara (?-1598)

**Chamberlains or gentlemen of the
cloth who lived outside the palace**

*(Camareros o gentilhombres de hábito
eclesiástico que vivían fuera de palacio)*

George of Austria (1595-1596)

Pedro de Alarcón (1595-1596)

Francisco de Acuña (1595-1598)

Pedro Cortés (1595-1598)

Pedro de Toledo (1595-1598)⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Juan de Torres y Córdoba (1595-1598)

The learned Juan de Frías (1595-1598)

Francesco di Cugna (?-1598)

Martín de Guzmán (1598)

**Judge advocate and secretary (*Auditor
de cámara y secretario*)**

The learned Juan de Frías (1595-1598)

Chaplains (*Capellanes*)

Doctor José Sobrino Morillas (1595)

Juan de Roco y Campofrío

(1595-1598)⁽¹⁵¹⁾

(148) This appendix lists the known officeholders, according to post, following the sources listed *infra*. The years of entry and departure are recorded in chronological order. Key: (?) = one of the two dates is unknown; (c.s. *consta servicio*), recorded as in service = the person is known to have been in post at a particular date.

(149) They were, in their turn, deans of the chapel royal and chamberlains.

(150) He was also clerk of the curtain.

(151) From 1595 to 1598 he was also the ecclesiastical judge of the household and court.

Fray Gonzalo Carena Prince (1595-?)

Henrico Hornkens (1595-1598)

Juan Marquellain y Echevarría

(1595-1598)

Pedro (Pieter) Pantins (1595-1598)

The learned Francisco de la Portillo

(1595-1598)

The learned Diego Ruiz (1595-1598)

The learned Carreño (?-1598)

Master Francisco Verdugo (?-1598)

**Grooms of the chapel (*Mozos de
capilla*)**

Lorenzo Amellin (1595-1598)

Pedro de Ruymonte (1595-1598)⁽¹⁵²⁾

STEWARDS (*MAYORDOMOS*)

Lords Stewards (*Mayordomos mayores*)

Hans Khevenhüller (1595)

Francisco de Mendoza (admiral of

Aragon) (1595-1598)

Stewards (*Mayordomos*)

Cosme de Meneses (1595-?)

Luis Dávalos (1595-1598)

Diego de Ibarra (1595-1598)

Claude de Croÿ (Lord of Creseques and Formensant) (?-1598)

Jacques-Philippe Villain (Count of

Issenghien and Baron of Rassenghien)

(1598)

***Gentilhombres de la boca*⁽¹⁵³⁾**

Enrique (Heinrich) Berg (1595)

Pedro de Guzmán (1595)

Francisco de Córdoba (1595-1598)

Beltrán de la Cueva (1595-1598)

Onofre Escriva (1595-1598)

Ferdinando, count Spinola (1595-1598)

Alonso de Guzmán (1595-1598)

García Sarmiento Mendoza (1595-1598)

Juan de Toledo y del Águila (1595-1598)

Antonio de Toledo y Meneses

(1595-1598)

(152) In 1598 he was by then the archduke's master of chamber music.

(153) There was not an equivalent at the English Royal Household.

Count of Valdemarino (1595-?)
 Francisco de la Cerda (1595-1598)
 Juan Maldonado de Vargas (1595-1598)
 Pedro Rodríguez de Ovalle (1595-1598)
 Vicente Serrano Zapata (1595-1598)
 Practz (c.s. 1596-1598)
 Martín de Somogi (c.s. 1596-1598)
 Werner van Baexem (?-1598)
 Charles de Bernemicourt (Lord of la
 Titoye and Viscount of Thieuloy) (?-1598)
 Maximilien de Bourgoigne (Lord of
 Bredam) (?-1598)
 Don Fernando Doria (?-1598)
 François Hallewyn (Lord of Merkem)
 (?-1598)
 Lamoraal Hornes (Viscount Furnes)
 (?-1598)
 Jehan Montmorency (Baron Watines)
 (?-1598)
 Philippe de Montmorency (Lord of
 Wassencourt) (?-1598)
 Hughes de Noyelle (Lord of Staden)
 (?-1598)
 Ludovico Reina (?-1598)
 Cesare Boneti (1598)
 Diego de Cárdenas (1598)
 Don Eduardo (1598)
 Don Francisco de San Clemente (1598)
 Alexandre de Verylz (Baron of Wylen)
 (1598)

Varlet servants (*Varlets servants*)

Gaspar Rodríguez Figueroa (1595-1598)
 Diego de Olarte (1598)

**Gentlemen of the household
 (*Gentilhombres de la casa*)**

Diego Velázquez de la Canal (1595-1598)
 Luis de Goes Silvera (1595-c.s. 1597)
 Pedro Hurtado Barradas (1595-1598)
 Nicolás de Cervantes Loaysa (1595)
 Francisco Campi (1595-1598)
 Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola
 (1595-1597)
 García Muriel de Valdivieso (1595-?)
 Agustín de Samaniego (1595-1598)
 Francisco de Anaya Pereira (1595-1598)
 Lope de la Cadena (1595-1596)
 Diego de Escobedo Ribadeneira
 (1595-1598)
 Juan Prieto de Posada (1595-1598)
 Livio Bosso (1596-1598)
 Gilles du Faing (1597-1598)

Fernando de Saavedra (?-1598)
 Pedro Cabriel (?-1598)
 Ricardo de Otón (?-1598)
 Sebastian von Westernachen (?-1598)
 Don Antonio Landi (1598)
 Don Gonzalo de Nueros (1598)
 Gaspar Rodríguez de Figueroa (1598)

CHAMBER (CÁMARA)

***Sumilleres de Corps* (≈ Grooms of the
 Stole)**

Hans Khevenhüller (1595)
 Maximilian von Dietrichstein
 (1595-1598)

**Gentlemen of the chamber
 (*Gentilhombres de la cámara*)**

Juan Bravo de Acuña (1595)
 Luis Dávalos (1595)
 Alonso de Cárdenas (1595-1598)
 Gutierrez de Fonseca (1595-1598)
 Philippe de Croÿ (count of Solre)
 (1595-1598)
 Bernardino de Ayala (1595-1598)
 Rodrigo de Niño y Lasso (count of
 Añover) (1595-1598)
 Vicente Serrano Zapata (1595-1598)
 Luis de Venegas (1595-1598)
 Charles, count of Egmont (1596-1598)
 Charles de Ligne (count of Arenberg)
 (1596-1598)
 Lamoraal, count of Ligne (1596-1598)
 Octavio Visconti (1596-1598)
 Charles Emmanuel de Godefrod
 (Gorrevod) (count of Pont-de-Vaux)
 (1597-1598)
 Charles-Alexandre de Croÿ (marquis of
 Havré and count of Fontenoy) (1598)

**Physicians of the chamber (*Médicos
 de cámara*)**

Suárez de Luxán (1595)
 Francisco de Paz (1595-1598)
 Juan Bautista de Villarreal Echevarría
 (1595-1598)

**Notary of the chamber (*Escribano de
 cámara*)**

Domingo de Acuña (1595-1598)

**Laundress of the chamber (*Lavandera
 de cámara*)**

Ana María (1595-1598)

Valets of the chamber (*Ayudas de cámara*)

Cataneo Mola (1595-1596)
 Diego Daça (1595-1598)
 Joachim de Enzenear (1595-1596)
 Juan Lainez (1595-1598)
 Juan de Ribera (1595-?)
 Antonio Suárez de Argüello (1595-1598)
 Diego Woislowski (1595-1598)⁽¹⁵⁴⁾
 Pedro Castellanos (?-1598)
 Blaise Hütter (?-1598)
 Jehan Jacomo (?-1598)
 Bartolomeo de Salinas (?-1598)
 Jakop Fleckhamer (1598)

Doorkeepers of the chamber (*Porteros de cámara*)

Santos Martínez (1595)

Barbers (*Barberos*)

Bartolomeo de Salinas (1595-?)

Barber's assistants (*Ayudas de barbero*)

Cristóbal de Arze (1595-1598)
 Francisco Vázquez (1595-1598)

Fourrier's department (*Furriera*)**Secretaries** (*Secretarios*)

Mateo de Otthen (1595)
 Antonio Suárez de Argüello (1595-1598)
 The learned Juan de Frías (1595-1598)
 Juan de Mancisidor (1595-1598)⁽¹⁵⁵⁾
 Sebastian von Westernachen (1595-?)⁽¹⁵⁶⁾
 Juan Carrillo (c.s. 1597-1598)⁽¹⁵⁷⁾
 Juan de Roco y Campofrío (1597-1598)

Advisor in legal matters (*Consejero en cosas de letras*)

Fernando Carrillo (1595-1598)

Masters of the great wardrobe and jewels (*Guardajoyas y ropa*)

Cataneo Mola (?-1596)
 Joachim van Enzenaer (1596-1598)

Yeomen of the great wardrobe and jewels (*Ayudas de guardarropa y joyas*)

Pedro Castellanos (1595-?)
 Miguel Martínez del Sol (1595-1598)
 Miguel Miñes (1595-?)
 Luis de Soto (1595-1598)
 Juan de Verdugo (1597-1598)

Grooms of the great wardrobe and jewels (*Mozos de oficio de guardarropa y joyas*)

Francisco de Andrada (1595-1598)

Treasurers (*Tesoreros*)

Melchor Martini (1595)
 Joseph Handtliip (1595-1598)

Treasurers of the chamber (*Maestros de la cámara*)

Melchor Martini (1595)

Comptroller (*Contralor*)

Manuel de Arinçano (1595-1598)

Grefiers (*Grefieres*)

Diego de Arze (1595)
 Pedro de Mendoza (1595-1598)

Physicians of the household (*Médicos de la casa*)

Doctor Roon (1595-?)
 Gabriel de Sossa (1595-1598)

Surgeons (*Cirujanos*)

Francisco de Sossa (1595-1696)
 San Juan de Beroza (1597-1598)

Apothecary (*Boticario*)

Diego Vélez (1595-1598)

Grooms to the physicians and apothecary (*Mozos de oficio de los médicos y de la botica*)

Jerónimo Gómez (1595-1598)
 Manuel Núñez (1595-1598)

(154) He was also the one who carried the arquebus.

(155) He was Secretary of State and War.

(156) He occupied the post of Secretary of State in the German language.

(157) In his turn, he was the archduke's cofferer and his representative at court during his time in Flanders.

Barbers of the household and royal family (*Barberos de casa y familia*)

Gregorio Pérez (1595-?)
Baltasar González (1595)
Juan Calvo (?-1598)

Harbinger of the palace (*Aposentador de palacio*)

Hernando de Zabala (?-1598)

Yeomen harbingers of the palace (*Ayudas de aposentadores de palacio*)

Francisco de Quevedo (1595)
Juan Reinoso (1595-?)

Clock-mender (*Relojero*)

Jacques Ruypacher (1595-1598)

Groom to the clock-mender (*Mozo de oficio de relojero*)

Pedro Castañeda (1595-1598)

Grooms of the closet (*Mozos de retrete*)

Bartolomé Hernández (1595-1598)
Huberto Valecarte (1595-?)

Food-bearer (*Ujier de la vianda*)

Martín Pérez (1595-1598)

Gentlemen harbingers (*Aposentadores de la Casa y Corte*)

Miguel de Vallezillo Villasur (1595)
Diego Rengifo Calderón (1595)
Jehan van Oostendorp (1596-1598)
Rafael de Garay (?-1598)
Ban de Ragueny (?-1598)
Escipión de León (1598)

Laundres of the body linen (*Lavandera de la persona*)

Francisca Vázquez (1595-1598)

Laundres of the table linen (*Lavandera de la boca*)

María de Larrançá (1595-1598)

Laundress of the linen of the salsery and the linen of the pages and valets of the chamber (*Lavandera de la ropa de la sausería y de la ropa de los Pajes y Ayudas de Cámara*)

Beatriz de Embert (1595-1598)

Water bearer (*Aguador*)

Juan Verdejo (1595-1598)

Preserver (*Conservera*)

Francisca de Almada (1595-?)

Sweepers (*Barrenderos*)

Benito de Noguera (1595-1598)
Francisco Pérez (1595-1598)

Tailors (*Sastres*)

Andrés Martín (1595-c.s. 1596)
Jaime Rodríguez (1595-1598)

Hosier (*Calcetero*)

Lázaro López (1595-1598)

Shoemakers (*Zapateros*)

Juan Fernández (1595)
Nicolás Blesvoer (1596-1598)

Braider and roper (*Cordonero*)

Alonso Palomino (1595-1598)

Skinner (*Pellejero*)

Francisco de Bruselas (1595-1598)

Grooms of the fourrier's department (*Mozos de la furriera*)

Juan Monforte (1595)
Miguel de Belloso (1597-1598)

Arrases (*Tapicería*)**Serjeant arras-worker (*Tapicero mayor*)**

Hernan (Hermann) Bermayren (1595-1598)

Yeomen arras-workers (*Ayudas de tapicería*)

Francisco de Quevedo (1595)
Juan Cortés (1595-1598)

Grooms to the arras-workers (*Mozos de oficio de tapicería*)

Juan (Johann) Bermayren (1595-1598)
Juan Monforte (1595-?)
Gaspar de Vega (1595-1598)

Entertained groom to the arras-workers (*Mozo entretenido de tapicería*)

Rodrigo Abaste (1595-?)

Responsible for the arras carts (*Tiene cuenta de los carros de la tapicería*)

Manuel van Dale (1595-?)

Ushers of the antechamber (*Ujieres de saleta*)

Diego Núñez de Aguilar (1595-?)

Diego Rodríguez (1595-?)

Pedro (Pieter) Vlete (1595-1598)

Doorkeepers of the antechamber (*Porteros de saleta*)

Juan Solano (1595-1598)

Bernardo Amico (?-1598)

Martín Suárez (?-1598)

Bakehouse (*Panatería*)**Serjeant of the bakehouse (*Sumiller de la panatería*)**

Juan del Royo (1595-1598)

Yeomen of the bakehouse (*Ayudas de la panatería*)

Luis de Soto (1595)

Pedro de Aguilera (?-1598)

Pantlers (*Paneteros*)

Miguel de Belloso (1595-1597)

María de Magallais (1595-1596)

Grooms of the bakehouse (*Mozos de oficio de la panatería*)

Alonso Berdejo (1595-1598)

Juan Nieto (1595-?)

Francisco Rodríguez (1595-1596)

Joan Pelegrín de Alarcón (?-1598)

Entertained grooms of the bakehouse (*Mozos entretenidos de la panatería*)

Pedro de Palacios (1595-?)

Joan Pelegrín de Alarcón (1595-?)

Fruiterer (*Frutier*)

Antonio di Rovelasca (1595-?)

Yeomen fruiterers (*Ayudas de la frutería*)

Jorge de Sossa (1595)

Domingo López de Soto (?-1598)

Grooms of the fruiterery (*Mozos de oficio de la frutería*)

Juan Verbeken (1595-?)

Juan Arias (?-1598)

Entertained groom of the fruiterery (*Mozo entretenido de la frutería*)

Alonso Berdejo (1595)

Cellar (*Cava*)**Serjeants of the cellar (*Sumilleres de la cava*)**

Agustín de Cuello (1595)

Antonio Ruiz de Ydobra (1595-?)

Antonio de Rovelasca (?-1598)

Yeomen of the cellar (*Ayudas de la cava*)

Manuel de Farelans (1595)

Francisco Rodríguez (1596-1598)

Entertained yeoman of the cellar**(*Ayuda entretenido de la cava*)**

Cristóbal (Christoph) Luçón (1595-1596)

Grooms of the cellar (*Mozos de oficio de la cava*)

Juan Rodríguez de Rebollar (1595)

Jerónimo de Ledesma (1595-?)

Guil de Vesses (1596-1598)

Juan de Solís (?-1598)

Entertained grooms of the cellar**(*Mozos entretenidos de la cava*)**

Guil de Vesses (1595-1596)

Gabriel Sánchez (1596-98)

Chandlery and woodyard (*Cerería y busería*)**Serjeant of the chandlery (*Cerero mayor*)**

Diego de Cárdenas (1595-1598)

Yeomen of the chandlery and woodyard (*Ayudas de la cerería y busería*)

Antonio de Mendoza (1595-1598)

Jerónimo de Ledesma (?-1598)

Valeriano Rama (?-1598)

Francisco Sánchez (?-1598)

Groom of the chandlery and woodyard (*Mozo de oficio de la cerería y busería*)

Juan de Solís (1595-?)

Salsery (*Sausería*)**Serjeant of the salsery and steward of the estate of the bouche (*Salsier y mayordomo del estado de boca*)**

Miguel de Piance (1595-1598)

Yeomen of the salsery (*Ayudas de la sausería*)

Francisco de Piña (1595)
 Pedro de Aguilera (1595-?)
 Miguel de Arán y Guevara (1595-1598)
 Toribio Díaz (1595-1598)
 Jacques de Hamis (1595)

Grooms of the salsery (*Mozos de oficio de la sausería*)

Alonso González (1595)
 Nicolás Correa (1595-1598)
 Sebastián Hernández (1595-1598)
 Juan Morán (1595-1598)
 Baltasar Tesenbercq (1595-1598)
 Gabriel Sánchez (1596-98)
 Felipe (Philippe) de Berghes (?-1598)
 Domingo de Villarroel (?-1598)

Entertained grooms of the salsery (*Mozos entretenidos de la sausería*)

Felipe (Philippe) de Berghes (1595)
 Pedro de Vargas (1595-?)

Estates (*Estados*)**Sewer to the estates of the principal gentlemen of the chamber who serves the estate of the valets of the chamber (*Maestresala de los estados de los caballeros de la cámara que sirve al estado de las ayudas de cámara*)**

Juan de Aranda (1595-?)

Steward of the estate of the principal gentlemen of the chamber (*Mayordomo del estado de los caballeros de la cámara*)

Carlos de Piance (1595-1598)

Steward of the estate of the valets of the chamber (*Mayordomo del estado de los ayudas de cámara*)

Francisco de Piña (1595-1598)

Steward of the entertained captains and the chamber (*Mayordomo de capitanes entretenidos y cámara*)

Juan de Aranda (?-1598)

Steward of the estate of the pages (*Mayordomo del estado de los pajes*)

Lorenzo Carrillo (?-1598)

Harbingers of the estates (*Aposentadores de los estados*)

Juan de Cabrera (1595-1596)
 Lorenzo Carrillo (1595-1596)
 Denis de la Forge (1595-1596)
 Juan de Lumbreras (1595-1596)

Laundress of the estate of the gentlemen of the chamber and of the bouche (*Lavandera del estado de los gentilhombres de la cámara y boca*)

Francisca Rodríguez (1595-1598)

Cook to the estate of the pages and valets of the chamber (*Cocinero del estado de los pajes y ayudas de cámara*)

Francisco de Ribera (1595-?)

Groom of the silver of the estate of the pages (*Mozo de plata del estado de los pajes*)

Marco Antonio Pauleto (1597-1598)

Groom to the estate of the chamber (*Mozo del estado de la cámara*)

Bartolomé Riquer (1596-1598)

**Larder (*Guardamangier*)
Serjeant of the acatry and larder (*Dispensero mayor*)**

Bernardo Gómez de la Vega
 (1595-1598)

Clerk of the larder (*Guardamangier*)

Marcos Obrero (1595-1598)

Yeomen of the larder (*Ayudas del guardamangier*)

Francisco Sánchez (1595-?)
 Alonso Hernández (1595-1598)
 Lucas Hernández (1598)

Groom of the larder (*Mozo de oficio del guardamangier*)

Lucas Hernández (1595-1598)

Entertained grooms of the larder (*Mozos entretenidos del guardamangier*)

Gonzalo López (1595-1598)
 Francisco de Villarreal (1595-?)

Kitchen (Cocina)**Buyers (Compradores)**

Bartolomé Sardis (1595-?)
Miguel de Arán y Guevara (1598)

Purveyors (Provedores)

Onorio Bolpe (1595-c.s. 1597)
Claudio Pelisonier (1595-c.s. 1597)

Entertained yeoman buyer (Ayuda entretenido del comprador)

Pascual Navarro (1595-1598)

Groom to the buyer (Mozo de oficio de comprador)

Benito de Noguera (1595)

Packsaddle boy (Cajonero)

Benito de Noguera (1595)

Pottingers (Potagieres)

Benito Rodríguez (1595)
Cristóbal (Christoph) de Luçon (1596-1598)

Groom to the pottinger (Mozo de oficio de potagier)

Miguel González de Naibia (1595-1598)

Master cook (Cocinero mayor)

Juan Fel (?-1598)

Cooks (Cocineros)

Juan Fel (1595-?)
Pedro de la Granja (1595-?)
Juan Márquez (1595-?)
Maese Pedro Vivas (1595-1598)
Francisco Bravo (?-1598)
Antonio Cambrín (?-1598)
Guillermo Neri (?-1598)
Pedro Revillón (?-1598)

Porters (Portadores)

Francisco Bravo (1595-?)
Antonio Úngaro (1595-?)
Domingo Pérez (?-1598)
Juan Pérez (?-1598)

Grooms to porters of the kitchen (Mozos de portador de cocina)

Mateo Maturín Francés (?-1598)
Alonso Muñoz (?-1598)

Grooms of the kitchen (Mozos de oficio de cocina)

Alonso de Bustamante (1595-?)
Mateo Maturín Francés (1595-?)
Alonso Montanel (1595-?)
Joan de la Mota (1595-1598)
Juan Parera (1595-?)
Domingo Pérez (1595-?)
Esteban Carniel (?-1598)
Pedro Gutiérrez (?-1598)
Juan Reinados (?-1598)
Diego de valladolid (?-1598)
Juan Zerco (?-1598)

Doorkeepers of the kitchen (Porteros de cocina)

Esteban Carminat (1595-1598)
Hans Verestol (?-1598)

Entertained doorkeeper of the kitchen (Portero entretenido de cocina)

Hans Verestol (1595-?)

Pastry cook (Pastelero)

Francisco Borgoñón (c.s. 1595-1598)

Purveyor of dairy produce (Encargada de proveer de productos lácteos)

María de la Paz (1595)

STABLE (CABALLERIZA)**Masters of the Horse (Caballerizos mayores)**

Luis Enríquez (count of Villaflor) (1595)
Philippe de Croÿ (count of Solre) (1595-1598)

Equerries (Caballerizos)

Luis Blasco (1595-1598)
Lope de la Cadena (1595-1596)
Don César Falco Briceño (1598)
Fernando de Saavedra (1598)

Pages (Pajes)

Gerard de Watteville (Baron of Versoix) (?-?)

Teacher to the pages (Maestro de los pajes)

The learned Diego Ruiz (1595-1598)

Chaplain to the pages (*Capellán de los pajes*)

Simón Votello (1595-1598)

Tutor to the pages (*Ayo de los pajes*)

Pedro Cabriel (1595-?)

Deputy tutor to the pages (*Teniente de ayo de los pajes*)

Dionisio Costa de Holona (1595-1598)

Entertained groom of the chandlery serving the pages (*Mozo entretenido de la cerería sirviendo a los pajes*)

Domingo Calvo (1596-1598)

Clerk of the counting house and surveyor of the stable (*Contador y veedor de la caballeriza*)

Cristóbal de Paredes (1595-1598)

Fourriers of the stable (*Furrieres de la caballeriza*)

Joan Enríquez de Caneda (1595)

Wallerand Morel (1595-1596)

Melchor Martínez (1596-1598)

Yeoman fourrier of the stable (*Ayuda del furrier de la caballeriza*)

Miguel de Olivares (1596-1598)

Yeoman of the stable (*Ayuda de la caballeriza*)

Jacomo de Monterrey (1595-1598)

Aveners (*Libradores de la cebada*)

Pablo Rodríguez (1595-1596)

Miguel de Olivares (1596-1598)

Harness keepers (*Guardaneses*)

Pedro Marañón de Velasco (1595-?)

Antonio de Mendoza (1595)

Bautista de Lemos (1595-1598)

Yeoman harness keeper (*Ayuda de guardanés*)

Sebastián de Viñuelas (c.s. 1597)

Serjeant palfreyman (*Palafreneros mayores*)Felipe de Salinas (1595)⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Martín García (1595-1597)

Juan de Lumbreras (1597-1598)

Yeoman palfreyman (*Ayuda de palafrenero*)

Sebastián de Perales (1595-1598)

Couriers (*Correos*)

Alonso de Ávila (1595-1598)

Miguel de Olivares (1595-1596)

Bertrand le Saige (1596-1598)

Simon de Estreque (1598)

Trumpeter (*Trompeta*)

Juan (Johann) Quinti (1595-1596)

Master of the Mules (*Acemilero mayor*)

Francisco Enríquez de Caneda

(1595-1598)

Fourrier of the pack animals (*Furrier de la acemilería*)

Carlos Bertín (c. s. 1597)

Entertained yeomen of the pack animals (*Ayudas de entretenido de la acemilería*)

Senese Bonomo (1595- c.s. 1596)

Francisco del Bueno (1595- c.s. 1597)⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Matías Linden (1595-98)

Purveyor of mules and horses**(*Obligado de las acémilas y de los caballos*)**

Juan Bautista Esquenardo (1595-1596)

Packsaddle-maker (*Bastero de la acemilería*)

Sebastián Tarrafa (1595)

Head coachmen (*Cocheros mayores*)

Juan de Acosta (1595)

Juan de Torres (1595-1598)

Coachman (*Cochero*)

Diego Cano (1595-1598)

(158) He also occupied the post of horse trainer.

(159) Together with Matias Linden, he was confirmed in his post upon his arrival in Brussels.

Harness-maker (*Guarnicionero*)

Lázaro Gutiérrez (1595-?)

Huntsmen (*Cazadores*)

Juan Issino (1595-1598)

Manuel Pimienta (1595-1597)

Crossbowman (*Ballestero*)

Joan Ramos (1595-c.s. 1596)

Foot squires (*Escuderos de a pie*)

Bernardo Amico (1595-1598)

Domingo Blanes (1595-1598)

Pedro López de la Torre (1595-1598)

Juan Bautista Núñez (1595-1598)

Pedro Ochoa de Landa (1595-?)

Santiago de la Peña (1595-1598)

Andrés de Samaniel (1595-1598)

Francisco de Ugeta (1595-?)

Leonardo Terçio (?-1598)

Roberto Verçel (?-1598)

Pedro de Mena Villasante (1598)

Footmen (*Lacayos*)

Claudio Borgoñón (1595)

Juan Andrés (1595-1598)

Francisco Arranz (1595-1598)

Hernando de Castilla (1595-1598)

Juan Gallego (1595-1598)

Martín Gullemes (1595-1598)

Pedro Hernández (1595)

Bernardino Larela (1595-1598)

Pedro de Mena Villasante (1595-1597)

Martín de Mendías (1595-1598)

Alonso Rodríguez (1595)

Sebastián Ruiz (1595-1598)

Martín Suárez (1595-?)

Pedro de Hinojosa (1595-1598)

Velázquez (1595)

Gonzalo de Vía (1595-1598)

Alonso de Novoa (?-1598)

Cartakers (*Sobrestantes de los carros*)

Cornelis Banicque (1595-c.s. 1596)

Julio Piperne (1595-1598)

Saddler (*Sillero*)

Jacques Fanarina (1595-1598)

GUARD (*GUARDA*)**Captain of the bodyguard of archeros and halberdiers (*Capitán de la guarda de archeros y alabarderos*)**

Pierre de Hénin-Lietard (count of

Boussu) (1596-1598)

Captain of the Spanish guard (*Capitán de la guarda española*)

Rodrigo Niño y Lasso (count of

Añoover) (1596-1598)

Captain of the bodyguard of archeros (*Capitán de la guarda de archeros*)

Claude de Beaufremont (Lord of

Somberton) (1598)

Captain of the halberdiers (*Capitán de la guarda de alabarderos*)

Robert de la Marck (Lord of

Barbençon) (1598)

Lieutenant of the bodyguard of archeros and halberdiers (*Teniente de guarda de archeros y alabarderos*)

Martín de Somogi (1596-1598)

Servants (*Criados*)

Antonio Martínez (1595)

Bernardino Attilo (1595-?)⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Hanz Beltha (1595-?)

George Uter (1595-?)

Luis de Castro (c.s. 1596)

Vicente Fernández (c.s. 1596)

(160) He was also a horse trainer.