

HORTAL MUÑOZ (José Eloy) & LABRADOR ARROYO (Félix), eds. *La Casa de Borgoña. La Casa del rey de España*. Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2014; one vol. in-8°, 573 p. (AVISOS DE FLANDES, 14). Price : 49,50 €. ISBN 978-90-5867-977-2. – Princely courts were of paramount importance in the formation and organization of Early Modern monarchical states, which were led by a *pater* or *mater familias*, who ruled primarily via custom, personal relationships, and through the granting of favours. The monarch governed from his court, which formed a sphere of political relations, it was a power base founded on clientelism, built around a complex organizational structure and regulated by norms. This essential feature of the Early Modern princely court has long been neglected in the historiography, but over the course of roughly the last three decades, it has increasingly come under the spotlight.

This is particularly true among Spanish historians, and in particular the circle around professor José Martínez Millán at the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*. The interdisciplinary *Instituto Universitario La Corte en Europa* (IULCE), which he founded, has organized numerous conferences in recent years, resulting in many publications on the structure, evolution and multifaceted role of the court between the XVIth and XVIIIth centuries. The IULCE focuses upon the court of the Spanish Habsburgs and Bourbons, which is a special case given the territorial complexity of the Spanish empire. That was, after all, a sprawling complex state, with various regional capitals where courts remained active. The court of Madrid itself was unique in the sense that it was essentially a collection of various Royal Houses or *Casas Reales*, such as the *Casa de Castilla*, the *Casa de Aragón* and the *Casa de Borgoña*. These were the legacy of the individual states that would later make up the Hispano-Habsburg Empire. These separate institutions were maintained in Madrid, where they functioned under the umbrella of the most preeminent House, the *Casa de Borgoña*. The members of these individual *Casas* represented the elite of the realm in question, and through these institutions they became integrated into the greater *Monarquía Hispánica*.

The *Casa de Borgoña* was introduced into the Iberian Peninsula following the death of Isabella of Castile in 1504, and the coronation of Philip the Fair, as king of Castile. The House of Burgundy, given both its shining reputation throughout Europe and elaborate rituals, pushed the other, less developed Houses into the background, and as a result was adopted by the ruler as the House of the dynasty, and thus of the whole monarchy. The households of the *infantes* were patterned after the Burgundian model, and so it was exported to several European capitals via their marriages to other princes. This publication is dedicated to the House of Burgundy, its introduction and impact in Madrid, as well as its spread throughout Europe. This volume is the culmination of the “Evolución y estructura de la Casa de Borgoña de los Austrias hispanos” conference held in 2011 at the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos in Madrid, which was organized by José Eloy Hortal and Félix Labrador, both members of the IULCE and former students of Martínez Millán.

This collection reflects the three major themes that were discussed during the congress. The first six contributions focus on the evolution of the House of Burgundy from the time at which it was introduced to the Iberian Peninsula by Philip the Fair until 1749, when it was renamed the “House of the King of Spain”, and later rechristened the “The Royal House” in 1759 when Charles III took the throne. The first essay in this section, from the hand of David Nogales Rincón, discusses the cultural impact that the Burgundian Court had on fifteenth-century Castile. Jean-Marie Cauchies analyses the different court ordinances issued by Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile between 1495 and 1506. Raymond Fagel examines normative texts for the changes made between 1515 and 1517 to the structure and composition of archduke, and later king Charles I's Burgundian court. These changes were made

under the influence of his advisor, Lord Chièvres, and they prepared the House for the new political reality that arose under the young king. Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales discusses the financial management of the House of Burgundy from 1517 to 1665, while Félix Labrador sketches the elaboration of the *Etiquetas Generales de Palacio* by the *Junta de Etiquetas* at the time of Philip IV (1621-1665). This institution codified the customs and ceremonies of the royal court anew, as well as the rights and obligations of the members of the *Casa de Borgoña*. Finally, Marcelo Luzzi's contribution, which builds on the earlier work of Carlos Gómez-Centurión, who passed away at the end of 2011, tries to answer the intriguing question of why the *Casa de Borgoña* remained the most important in the entire monarchy until the time of the Bourbons, and even became the *servicio único* in the XVIIIth century.

The second group of essays deals with the developments in, and the importance of, the various departments that made up the *Casa de Borgoña*, namely: the Chapel (*Capilla*), the Chamber (*Cámara*), the Palace (*Casa*), the Stables (*Caballeriza*), and the Guards (*Guardas*). The most attention is paid to the Chapel. In his second contribution to this volume, David Nogales Rincón elaborates on an aspect of the first essay in this collection by examining the influence of the Burgundian Chapel on the Chapels of the courts of Castile and Aragon during the XVth century. Tess Knighton continues in this vein, analysing the effect that the arrival of the famous *Capilla Flamenca* had on the Iberian Peninsula. The presence of these singers and musicians, for a short time in 1506-1508, and then permanently from 1517 onwards, helped to ensure that the musical techniques characteristic of Franco-Flemish polyphony, had an even greater influence on Iberia's leading composers. This, together with the dispersal of former members of the *Capilla Real Aragonesa* after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, ensured the distribution of elements of the Franco-Flemish polyphony across the peninsula. Paulino Capdepon Verdú is also concerned with musical aspects of the Chapel. He deals with the *Capilla's* various activities, as well as its composition in the XVIIth century, and thereby delves deeper into the successive *maestros de capilla*. Esther Jiménez Pablo highlights yet another aspect of the Chapel, one which has been of great importance to the history of the Habsburg Netherlands, namely the institution's ideological role, and in particular the part played by the Chapel's leading clerics in determining the type of spirituality that the prince wanted to sew across his lands. Under the reign of Philip II, a strict, ascetic and intellectual religiosity prevailed; this then evolved towards the more personal religious experience that the Discalced-Recollects movement promoted early in the XVIIth century.

In his hefty contribution – more than 50 pages long – José Martínez Millán focuses on the changes that took place within the Royal Chamber, which was without a doubt the department with the most coveted positions. It was there that the fiercest factional struggles occurred, as the Chamber offered the greatest changes to influence the royal will, and many favours and gifts were distributed via this institution. However, the study of the Chamber's evolution is an exceedingly complex affair because two Houses served the king concurrently, that of Burgundy, which represented the dynasty, and that of Castile, the most powerful realm in the monarchy. Both Houses had their own Chamber, and it is no easy thing to analyse them separately. This is further complicated by the establishment of the *Consejo de la Cámara* of Castile in 1588, an institution that grew out of the House of Castile.

María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper analyses some aspects of an important part of the *Casa*, namely the dining ritual and the *oficios de boca*. These were the staff who controlled the preparation, handling and presentation of the dishes and beverages that were reserved for the royal table. She lays out an elaborate structure in which both the upper aristocracy as well as the more humble servants had a part to play. The highest *oficios de boca* were much sought after because they led to direct contact

with the monarch. This department consisted of courtiers from all corners of the monarchy, and it was therefore essential to the integration of the highest elites in the empire. This also meant that it was very difficult for the prince to prune the number of offices; after all, savings of this nature came at a high political cost.

Three other contributions concern the portrayal of both the monarch and the monarchy. The *Caballeriza*, the subject of Alejandro López Álvarez's essay, was the department responsible for arranging both the monarch's travel and public appearances, and as such played a major role in the formation and dissemination of the ruler's public image. José Antonio Guillén Berendero examines the practicalities of awarding princely honours, the Golden Fleece in particular, and the role played by the order's king of arms in that context. Finally, José Eloy Hortal deals with the various functions performed by the *Guardas Reales*, such as guaranteeing the safety of the monarch and his family, and assisting at the ruler's public appearances. The *Guarda* was also the department in which several of the monarchy's *naciones* were represented on an organized basis.

The third and final part of this voluminous publication relates how the *Monarquía Hispana* exported the norms of the legendary Burgundian court ceremonial it had adopted throughout Europe. Starting with Philip II, the households of all the princes and queens were organized "à la bourguignonne", although they often retained Castilian elements, and via their marriages, elements of the Burgundian model were introduced to other European courts. The contribution of Blythe Alice Raviola highlights how smaller courts had the requisite openness and flexibility in order to integrate and absorb such innovations from Madrid. For example, Catherine Michelle, a daughter of Philip II, was able to introduce many Burgundian elements in Turin following her marriage to Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, resulting in the "spagnolizzazione" of the court's customs and practices. This was much less the case in Paris. Based on the *États* – lists of courtiers indicating their office and salaries, as well as their appointment and departure dates – Fanny Cosandey and Eloïse Rocher demonstrate that when Anne of Austria and Maria Theresa of Spain arrived in the French capital in 1615 and 1660 respectively, their entourages were gradually but decisively reduced until their retinues consisted entirely of French nationals, and the French queen's court completely corresponded to the classic French model.

The Spanish Maria Anna, who married the future emperor Ferdinand III in 1631, and Margaret Theresa, who married Leopold I in 1666, also brought their own retinues and traditions to their new homeland. According to Laura Oliván Santaliestra, the traditionally strong familial, political and religious ties between the two branches of the House of Habsburg and the great prestige of the Spanish monarchy in the Holy Roman Empire, among other things, made it possible for a number of Spanish ceremonial uses to become imbedded in the court of the empress, although Viennese reticence in this regard became stronger at the end of the XVIIth century. Moreover, Spain's influence over Vienna's court ceremonies had its limits, so one certainly can not speak of any wholesale adoption. Henar Pizarro Llorente's contribution deals with the movement in the opposite direction that took place under Elisabeth of France, queen consort of Spain from 1621 to 1644. He shows that contrary to what has commonly been believed, the court of the Spanish queen was less influenced by the *Casa de Castilla* than by the Burgundian standard. Henar Pizarro Llorente also demonstrates that the highest positions in the queen's court were very important politically, and that is why it was not easy to either reorganize it or to simply abolish some offices, despite the pressing economic need for savings at the time.

From the above, it is clear just how rich and varied the content of this book is. Not only is it certainly an important contribution to the political history of Early Modern Spain, but this also extends to the Habsburg Netherlands, France, the smaller Italian

states and the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, José Eloy Hortal and Félix Labrador touch upon a great deal of information that is interesting from a comparative point of view. For that reason, it is actually regrettable that the work is only being published in Spanish, which, while an important language, is not one familiar to all of the researchers who would benefit from this book, thus hindering the dissemination of their ideas that the contributors to this volume deserve. Martínez Millán's circle has published an incredible amount of material on the court of the Spanish Habsburgs, and more recently on the Bourbons as well, but almost without exception all of these publications have been in the tongue of Cervantes. So while the research taking place is both rich and diverse, it is slow in filtering through to the international community of historians and other social scientists. Unfortunately, this publication suffers from the same problem.

However, while small critiques can be made here and there of some of the contributions, there are no truly fundamental issues. All that awaits is for a historian to critically analyse one of Martínez Millán's central tenets, namely that under the pope's approving eye, the *Monarquía Hispana* evolved into a *Monarquía Católica* by the end of the XVIth century, and thus became much more accommodating to Rome than previously – a proposition that does arise in Esther Jimenez's contribution, among others. It is also important to note that while nearly all of the authors kept one of the three main conference themes in mind when writing, which has led to a large degree of coherence in this volume, some contributions could allow for greater synthesis. It is much to be regretted that no general conclusions were formulated at the end, although the editors' introduction attempts to fill this lacuna. A name index and a bibliography of the works cited in the footnotes would also have made the volume more user friendly, and an organigram of the House of Burgundy would have ensured that the reader had visual aid to help them navigate the institution's complexities. But setting aside these issues, this book does exactly what it sets forth to do in its introduction, which is to provide an assessment of the role played by the *Casa de Borgoña* at the court of Spain's Early Modern rulers and thus improve our knowledge of the Spanish monarchy in its entirety. And that is absolutely worth any such minor inconveniences. – René VERMEIR (Ghent University).