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The household of archduke Albert of Austria from his arrival in Madrid until his election as governor of the Low Countries: 1570–1595

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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. Until recently there was no complete modern biography of him and, apart from his period as co-sovereign of the Habsburg Netherlands with Isabella Clara Eugenia, there are very few studies about particular episodes of his life. This represents

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 decline”, (Ref: HAR2009-12614-C04-02/HIST), directed by Professor F. Suárez Bilbao, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy. Abbreviations: AGS: Archivo General de Simancas; CJH: Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, DGT: Dirección General del Tesoro and E.: Estado; AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; Consejos: Consejos Suprimidos and E.: Estado; ASV: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Spagna: Segreteria di Stato, Spagna; BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; BPRM: Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid; IVDJ: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid; RAH: Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

2 See the political biography of Albert by Luc Duerloo, Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars (Farnham, 2012). There are two seventeenth century biographies: Aubert le Meere (Lemire), De vita Alberti Belgarum principis (Antwerp, 1622), and Jean-Chrysostome B. de Montpleinchamp, Histoire de l’Archiduc Albert gouverneur général et puis prince souverain de la Belgique, 1693, the edition by Aimé Louis Philémon Robaulx de Soumoy (Brussels, 1870) 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 and Luc Duerloo (eds.), Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621 Essays (Louvain, 1998), 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 [hereafter, O archiduque Alberto de Austria] (Lisbon, 1961), with comments by Domingos Maurício in: “O Arquiduque Alberto de Áustria, Vice-Rei de Portugal (1583–1593),” Brotéria 24, no. 4 (1962), 422–9. Also, as a collector and patron of art, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, Archduke Albert in Lisbon (1581–1593):
an enormous gap in the bibliography of the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, and a complete study of his life would help clarify many points concerning the histories of Portugal, the Habsburg Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy itself. 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 arrived in Castile with his brother, Wenceslas, until his election as governor of the Low Countries in 1595, as well as examining the political background during his upbringing and his function as an integrator of territorial elites in the different places he served.

The creation of the household for archdukes Albert and Wenceslas in Madrid: 1570–1576

Archduke Albert was born in Neustadt on November 13, 1559, the ninth child of emperor Maximilian II and his wife Maria of Spain, and hence nephew of Philip II. He very soon revealed how useful he could be to his uncle’s political strategies and, when he was eleven years old, it was decided to have him educated, together with his brother Wenceslas at the court in Madrid, where they took over from their older brothers, Rudolph and Ernest. Philip II’s intention was to ensure an orthodox Catholic upbringing for the future emperors, and possible successors to the Spanish throne, whilst, at the same time, instilling in them his own


3 For a short biography of the archduke, José Martínez Millán and Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales (eds.), Felipe II (1527–1598): La configuración de la Monarquía hispánica [hereafter, Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica], (Valladolid, 1998), 318.
political view of Christianity. The empress Maria, Philip II’s sister, was a great help to him in this endeavour by doing everything possible to further his aims.

Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest had been in Madrid since 1564 and their retinue, with Adam von Dietrichstein in charge as lord steward, was composed largely of servants from the Holy Roman Empire. However, what had been suitable for the older brothers was not going to be so for the younger ones and even before the names of the archdukes who would relieve Rudolph and Ernest were known, Philip II had decided that those in their service would be Castilian so that he could better control their immediate circle. This, naturally, did not convince the emperor, who did his utmost to ensure that some Imperial servants remained in Madrid with the archdukes. With this hope in mind, a small party of servants was assembled for the brothers in the Holy Roman Empire, much fewer in number than the group which accompanied their sister, Anne, the future wife of Philip II, and hence the future queen of the Spanish Monarchy.

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6 In a missive to Philip II dated May 29, 1570, the empress Maria expressed her view on this matter: “It seems to me that the emperor has decided to send two sons as you command. I think they will be the middle ones of those over here, although I don’t know this for sure ( … ). The emperor approved everything you said to him about this matter, but later, I saw that he thought it strange that they weren’t going to have any Germans. I blame others, and I think that if they were to have some, so that they don’t forget the language, for he is right about that, he will be very happy about the great favour you are doing him and them.” Cf. Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Manuel Salamanca López, Epistolario de la emperatriz María de Austria: Textos inéditos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba (Madrid, 2004), 181–182.

The two archdukes and the archduchess began their journey at the end of July 1570, finally arriving in Madrid in October. From there, they moved on to Segovia, the venue chosen for the wedding, where arrangements were set in train to establish a household for the archdukes, the whole process no doubt influenced by the political climate then prevailing at the court of the Prudent King.

The Alba faction that had been dominant until a few years earlier had lost power when its principal patron, the duke of Alba, left to put down the revolt in the Low Countries. Cardinal Espinosa exploited the duke’s absence to advance in the administration, using the new policy that made the Monarchy confessional to his advantage. Despite the cardinal’s promotion being endorsed by members of the Eboli faction, he seconded the duke of Alba’s policy in the Low Countries because of the religious and ideological ties that united them. The court faction that had initiated the confessional policy lost power towards 1570 following the failure of the Morisco Rebellion of 1568, and because of the enormous sums of money that Alba required in Flanders.

The result was that Espinosa’s influence declined, as did the duke’s, while Philip II searched for different ways of solving his problems. The new situation favoured the rise of the old members of the Eboli faction and their influence is apparent in the creation of the Holy League against the Turks in 1571, a formation that ran counter to Alba’s interests since it diverted funds away from the Habsburg Netherlands.

Given this situation, it is easy to understand why it was decided that the household of the archdukes should be controlled by two figures who were close to the prince of Eboli, with links to Eraso and who also had the blessing of the empress Maria: the secretary Gaztelu and don Juan de Ayala, who was recalled from his quiet life as the governor of

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8 There is an account of the journey in J. Báez de Sepúlveda, Relación verdadera del recibimiento que hizo la ciudad de Segovia a la majestad de la reyna nuestra señora doña Anna de Austria, en su felicísimo Casamiento que en la dicha ciudad se celebró (Segovia, 1998). For political implications, see our article “La estancia del Prior de Castilla, Don Hernando de Toledo, en la Corte de Bruselas (1567–1570): Las luchas cortesanas,” in Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Jesús Molero García (eds.), La orden de San Juan entre el Mediterráneo y la Mancha (Alcázar de San Juan, 2009), 327-50.

9 For factional struggles during this period, José Martínez Millán, “Grupos de poder en la corte durante el reinado de Felipe II: la facción ebolista, 1554–1573,” in José Martínez Millán (ed.), Instituciones y élites de poder en la Monarquía Hispánica durante el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1992), 183–97.

10 See his biography in Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales, Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica, 329–30.
Aranjuez to be named tutor and lord steward, with an annual stipend of 375,000 maravedís.\textsuperscript{11} Between the two of them, they drew up a plan for the household and proceeded to choose the courtiers, although in queen Anne's household it was cardinal Espinosa who succeeded in appointing the principal officers.\textsuperscript{12}

In total, the household services that were arranged for the archdukes, consisted of some seventy servants plus pages, although some of the servants carried out several offices at the same time. Thanks to the set of documents kept in the Archivo General de Simancas, under Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 1\textsuperscript{a} época, legajo 1024, we know the members of the household service in its entirety, from May 1, 1571, when it started up, until the end of 1576. Looking at the way it was made up, it is possible to infer that the service assigned was on a par with that received by royal princes of tender years but inferior to that, for example, of the heir to the throne, prince don Carlos.\textsuperscript{13} Some household sections were not provided at all, for instance the palace Guard or the Hunt, or they were very small, as in the case of the Stable; no master of the horse was appointed, and the Chapel comprised only one confessor, Gómez Manrique, and a chamberlain, George of Austria,\textsuperscript{14} since the archdukes could use the appropriate section of the queen's household, or even the king's if need arose.\textsuperscript{15} What follows is a breakdown of this service, although citing only the names of the figures occupying the principal offices.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{11} Martínez Millán, “El archiduque Alberto en la corte de Felipe II”, 28–9.
\textsuperscript{12} José Martínez Millán, “La corte de Felipe II: la Casa de la reina Ana,” in Luis Antonio Ribot García (ed.), 	extit{La Monarquía de Felipe II a debate} (Madrid, 2000), 164–70.
\textsuperscript{13} For the members of the said service and its structure, José Martínez Millán (ed.), 	extit{La Corte de Carlos V}, 5 vols. (Madrid, 2000), 5: 130–3; José Martínez Millán and Santiago Fernández Conti (eds.), 	extit{La Monarquía de Felipe II: la Casa del Rey} [hereafter 	extit{Monarquía de Felipe II}], 2 vols. (Madrid, 2005), 2: 663–8.
\textsuperscript{14} He was the illegitimate son of Leopold of Austria, former prince-bishop of Liège, and served Albert as chamberlain until 1598.
\textsuperscript{15} For the use made by the royal princes or queens of the king's guards, especially the old guard of the Spanish guard, José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, “Las guardas palatino-personales de Felipe II,” in 	extit{La Monarquía de Felipe II}, 1: 477.
\textsuperscript{16} Translators' note: For the offices 'below stairs' we have used the names of the corresponding positions in the English royal household contemporary with the Burgundy household. On occasions, this has meant using the title of 'serjeant' for the person in charge of each office, for example, 'serjeant of the bread pantry' for 	extit{sumiller de la panetería} and 'yeoman' as the equivalent of 	extit{ayuda}, for example, 'yeoman of the bread pantry' for 	extit{ayuda de la panetería}. With regard to the offices of the chamber, the Spanish names have been translated more literally, e.g. 'gentleman of the table' for 	extit{gentilhombre de la boca}, to avoid any confusion with the English system, except where
The only steward assigned to them was Juan Pacheco y de Navas with an annual stipend of 56,100 maravedís; he also served as gentleman sewer.\(^{17}\) He naturally maintained a fluid relationship with the lord steward, don Juan de Ayala, and enjoyed his confidence, as was essential, given that he had to run the household whenever the lord steward was away. He had, in addition, extensive experience of royal domestic service since he had been Philip II’s gentleman of the table since 1555, whilst Philip was still a prince.

The Chamber did no have very many servants either. It comprised a physician, with an annual wage of 112,200 maravedís; four valets of the chamber with a stipend of 36,000 maravedís, one of whom, Bautista Mola, was also yeoman of the great wardrobe and jewels; a barber, with a salary of 36,000 maravedís; and four doorkeepers of the chamber who belonged to the king’s household but served the archdukes during 1571 and 1572 with an expense allowance of 2,500 maravedís over and above their usual stipends.

As for the Fourrier’s department, the preceptor was a prominent figure since Philip II paid a good deal of attention to his nephews’ education during these formative years. For this purpose he relied on the three men who had introduced the archdukes to legal affairs in the Holy Roman Empire: Nicolas Coret, Mateo de Otthen and Augier Guilain Busbeque (or Augerio Busbecq),\(^{18}\) to whom were added the castilian, Sebastián Pérez, and between them, they set about preparing Albert and Wenceslas for making the leap into active political life. Although we have evidence of the importance of the other three in the education of the archdukes, only Mateo de Otthen appears as their preceptor in the household accounts, with a stipend of 90,000 maravedís; Otthen, moreover, was one of those closest to the

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\(^{17}\) For a biography, Martínez Millán and Fernández Conti, \textit{La Monarquía de Felipe II}, 2: 343.

The treasurer of the chamber was also an important official position, occupied by Justo Valter with a total stipend of 200,000 maravedís. His task was to keep records of monies assigned to the chamber as well as to take responsibility for the payment of the salaries of the members of the household every four months, as in the other royal households. To help him in his duties, there was the comptroller, Diego de Olarte, with a stipend of 150,000 maravedís, and the grefier, García Álvarez Osorio, with a stipend of 125,000 maravedís and a grace and favour payment of another 50,000, who replaced Mattheus de Ocáriz on November 1, 1571, and went on to become the treasurer of the chamber, in 1576, after the death of Justo Valter. The grefier also had the help of an officer with a stipend of 25,000 maravedís. Other members of the Fourrier’s department were the two yeomen of the great wardrobe and jewels, who received stipends of 15,000 maravedís annually, supported by two grooms who earned 7,200. In addition, there were two household physicians in charge of the health of the members of the retinue, Suárez de Luxán and Luis de Rivera, with stipends of 60,000 maravedís, increasing to 80,000 in 1578, and an apothecary, Rafael Arigón with a stipend of 15,000. As for the harbingers, there was one for the palace, Diego de Arze, who also combined the offices of serjeant of the chandlery and serjeant arras-worker, with a salary of 50,000 maravedís, and two for the household and court, with 40,000. To take care of hygiene, we find a groom of the closet who had a salary of 7,200 maravedís, a sweeper, who earned 7,300 until 1576, when it was raised to 12,000, and two laundresses, one for the body linen and another for the table linen, earning 45,000. Finally, there is evidence of a head water bearer who earned 75,000 maravedís, a food-bearer, paid 18,250, and a shoemaker with no stipend although he was awarded expense allowances during his service.

With reference to positions that formed part of the Fourrier’s department, those concerning the arrases and chandlery were combined

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19 Descended from a Danish family, he began to teach the archduke Latin when the latter was nine years old. He accompanied the archdukes on their journey to Madrid and was their private tutor until he became Albert’s secretary during his stay in Portugal, remaining with him until Albert departed for the Habsburg Netherlands. Afterwards, in Madrid he was put in charge of his master’s affairs. Philip II granted him a pension of 1,500 ducats in the archbishopric of Toledo and appointed him a beneficed clergyman in the diocese of Mechlin; see AHN, Consejos, lib. 174, fol. 91r, and Caeiro, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria*, 129–30.

20 For household expenses and accounts from its creation on May 1, 1571 to 1574, see IVDJ, Envío 7, fol. 446.
and the office holders were the same. It was headed by Diego de Arze, and he was aided by five servants: two yeomen with stipends of 35,000 maravedís, one of whom, Miguel de Gurrea also served as sewer to the pages, and three grooms, with 27,000; they all had permission to eat any food left by the pages. The Bakehouse, for its part, was included with the Cellar and both were headed by the serjeant of the cellar, Rodrigo de Castro, who enjoyed a stipend of 50,000 maravedís. The office of yeoman was nominally split until Bernabé de la Peña combined them in October 1572. Both offices, whether separate or combined, received a stipend of 34,400 maravedís. For their part, the grooms always worked for both the Cellar and the Bakehouse, with a wage of 27,200 maravedís. The only position that differentiated between the Cellar and Bakehouse was the pantler’s, in charge of the bread, and with a stipend of 7,300 maravedís. The salsery was headed by Francisco de Portilla, who was also steward of the estate for the table; he received a stipend of 50,400 maravedís. He had a yeoman to help him, whose stipend was worth 15,000 maravedís, and two grooms who earned 7,300. The number of servants in the larder was fixed at three, with a serjeant of the acatry and larder to prevent pilfering. The serjeant of the acatry and larder, Amaro Márquez, had a wage of 56,400 maravedís; there was also a clerk of the larder, paid 40,400 maravedís, a post occupied by Santiago Jiménez until January 20, 1573, Pedro de Mendoza from that date until January 16, 1576, and Alonso de Salmerón thereafter; and a yeoman of the larder, who was paid 34,000 maravedís. Finally, the Kitchen employed a buyer, Juan de Torres, between May 11 and July 7, 1571, and Hernando de Zabala from then on, with a stipend of 27,373 maravedís, plus 7,300 for the stipend of a groom who led the mule with the pack saddles; both buyer and groom also received bouche of court, consisting of two pounds of mutton and one of beef, eight loaves of bread and an azumbre [some two litres] of wine per day. There were also two cooks with stipends of 35,000 maravedís, a porter who was paid 35,350 maravedís, two grooms earning 25,300 maravedís and a pastry cook, 35,000.

The Stable, as we noted, was very small and only the Pages’ House attained any size. We do not know their exact number but we do know that, in order to attend to them, a teacher was appointed at 40,000 maravedís, to teach them catechesis and Latin, a position which was filled by Master León until his death on March 13, 1575; they also had a tutor, Juan (Johann) Fritznaver, until the end of September 1571 and Pedro Romano Corbino from 1573. There was also a sewer, a
groom with a stipend of 6,000 maravedís, and a servant, from 1574, for another 6,000 maravedís. Finally, there were six footmen with 20,250 maravedís each in stipends.

The stipends were not particularly high, especially if we compare them with those granted in the household of the king or queen. To take a striking example, in the queen's household, the lord steward earned one million maravedís a year and only 375,000 in the archdukes' household. The paltriness of the stipends may be one reason why a number of servants held several offices at the same time. Another explanation is that the archdukes' tender years and their, as yet, scant belongings meant that certain sections of the household, such as the Jewel Office, the Cellar and other similar offices had not yet assumed great relevance.

Many of the servants who comprised the archdukes' first household were serving for the first time in a royal household, although we are in a position to confirm that a considerable number did have experience and came from three different areas of service: Imperial servants who formed part of the retinue that the archdukes themselves brought with them from the Holy Roman Empire, former servants of the deceased prince Carlos, and servants from the household of queen Isabella of Valois.

The presence of servants drawn from the retinue that had accompanied the archdukes on their long journey from the court of Vienna to Madrid, had been, as we saw, a stipulation of emperor Maximilian, anxious not to lose control over his sons' immediate circle. The empress Maria had warned her brother that the emperor would not tolerate a household that had no German speakers in it, and his mind was only set at rest when he had checked that that there were, in fact, several being appointed.21 There is no doubt at all that the empress Maria’s opinion carried weight in the choice of servants; meanwhile, the rest returned to their home countries, together with those of her daughter Anne's retinue who did not join any royal household. The Pages' House was one of the areas with the greatest number of prominent figures from the Imperial court, as Juan (Johann) Fritznaver was the preceptor and tutor to the pages until the end of September 1571 and Roberto Olacher was the pages’ groom until March 28, 1573, when he was replaced

21 As can be seen in the letter from the empress to her brother, dated July 31, 1571: “And the Emperor is happy that there remain some who can speak their language,” cf Galende Díaz and Salamanca López, Epistolario de la emperatriz María de Austria, 220–1.
by another Imperial servant, Jorge Alemán until December 31, 1573. By the same token, we find various footmen, such as Jacques Lanze or Adrianis de Merica, or valets of the chamber, such as Paulo Quenobel or Pedro Poinso. Other examples were the groom of the kitchen, Tomás Rolet; the laundress of the body linen, Juliana Rubin; the barber to the person, Tomás Remelli; and, of course, the preceptor and secretary, Mateo de Orthen and the chamberlain, George of Austria. There were various cases of Imperial servants who were assigned permanently to Madrid but who, in the end, preferred to return to the Holy Roman Empire with archdukes Rudolph and Ernest in the summer of 1571. This was the case of the previously mentioned Juan (Johann) Fritznaver, and the laundress, Isabel de Buce.

As for those figures who had originally served prince don Carlos, who had died in 1568, it should be stressed that it was not only when the household was first set up that they were given appointments, but in stages until 1577. When the heir to the throne died, his servants were given annual monetary compensation in the form of a lifelong juro [a perpetual bond], rather lower than what they had received in their former positions, or until they were granted another position in some royal household; and this was also the case in queen Isabella of Valois’ household. So, in general, we may consider that those figures who went on to form part of the archdukes’ household improved their positions in comparison with the offices they had held in the household of the heir to the throne, although their stipends did not improve in proportion, since those offered in don Carlos’s household were substantially higher than those in that of Albert and Wenceslas; and some even earned less in the archdukes’ service than from the juro they had been granted. We actually know the names of twelve servants who moved from don Carlos household to serve the archdukes, beginning, in May 1571, with the sweeper, Enrique Joyman, who formerly swept for prince don Carlos; the comptroller, Diego de Olarte, former keeper of the jewels to the heir; the clerk of the larder, Santiago Jiménez, formerly groom of the

22 A record of juros granted on the dissolution of the two households can be found in AHN, Consejos, lib. 251 with the title “Libro primero de la cámara desde el 19 de septiembre de 1568 hasta el 24 de septiembre de 1570. Libro de despachos de la cámara en el qual están particularmente todas las mercedes que su Majestad hizo a los criados del príncipe don Carlos y reina Doña Isabel nuestros señores que sean en gloria y a otros.” First book of the chamber from September 19, 1568 until September 24, 1570. Book of despatches from the Chamber in which can be found in particular all favours made by His Majesty to the servants of Prince Don Carlos and Queen Isabella, our lord and lady, may they be in glory, and to others, trans.
larder; and the yeomen arras-workers and yeomen of the chandlery and sewer to the pages, Miguel de Gurrea and Pedro Rodríguez, who were previously grooms to the arras-workers. Later, and in chronological sequence, the following entered into service: the buyer, Hernando de Zabala, the prince’s groom in the fourrier’s department; the yeoman of the salsyery and the estates, Domingo de Valdés, formerly a groom of the bakehouse; the grefier, García Álvarez Osorio, valet of the chamber to the prince and who would acquire importance later as treasurer of the chamber; the clerk of the larder, Alonso de Salmerón, formerly water bearer and serjeant of the woodyard to don Carlos; the yeoman of the larder, Juan de Arroyo, previously groom to the yeoman of the cellar; and the grefier, Pedro Álvarez de Casasola, who had been the heir’s valet of the chamber. Finally, and now in 1577, Alonso Velázquez de la Canal, a person with a long tradition in the service of royal households, since he served in several of them for thirty-six years, turned up in the archdukes’ household as comptroller.23

The servants from the former household of queen Isabella de Valois joining the archdukes’ household, just six, were fewer in number than those from prince Carlos’s since most of those joining another royal household went to queen Anne’s. They found themselves in the same situation as the servants of prince Carlos: their position improved but not their stipends. In May 1571, Rodrigo de Castro, who had been the former deputy of the master of the mules, was taken on as serjeant of the cellar and bakehouse. There was also Francisco Luçero, the yeoman of the salsyery and estates, a former yeoman sewer to the ladies-in-waiting of the deceased queen; and Juan de Santiago, the yeoman of the jewel office, a former groom of the great wardrobe. Later, on July 1, Juan Francés was taken on as pantler, a post he had also held in Isabella of Valois’ household; Luis de Laguna, formerly fourrier of the pack animals, entered as yeoman of the cellar and pantry, and Adán de Cornechin, a former groom of the larder, entered as a yeoman in the same office.

23 More specifically, he was serjeant of the bakehouse in the Burgundy household between 1558 and 1559 at least, and in the household of prince Carlos in 1557 and 1564. In 1564, he became grefier of the second household, serving there until the death of the heir to the throne. Later, in 1577, he became comptroller of archduke Albert’s household and remained in this position until his death on July 23, 1592. He was also contino in Castile from February 29, 1556 until his death, see AGS, CJH, leg. 250, carpeta 17, and DGT, Inventario 24, leg. 903; AHN, Consejos, leg. 4408, no. 98, year 1578, lib. 251, fol. 50r, and lib. 252, fols. 115v –116r; RAH, MS A-61, fol. 47v.
The reform of 1577: Albert’s service is separated from Wenceslas's

After their household service had been set up, both archdukes, Albert and Wenceslas, were groomed in readiness for the moment when Philip II should determine their future roles in political life. This decision was about to be made for Albert in 1576 when the allies of the duke of Alba proposed him as a candidate for governor of the Low Countries in place of the deceased Requesens. However, the members of the papist faction, who were still firmly in control, imposed the choice of don John of Austria. In exchange, Antonio Pérez, at the request of Philip II, pulled strings in Rome so that Albert would be named Cardinal-Deacon, which came about on March 11, 1577, and the following year he was appointed Cardinal-Priest. Similarly, he was considered for appointment as archbishop of Toledo after the death of Carranza on May 2, 1576, but Antonio Pérez preferred someone with more experience and closer to his own way of thinking, like Gaspar de Quiroga, who was appointed on August 17, 1577.

Whilst Albert was being steered towards offices of this importance, his brother Wenceslas received certain privileges from the Order of St John and he was thought of as its future prior, this move being part of Philip II’s strategy of controlling the Order by using members of his family. However, the archduke’s death in 1578 put paid to that idea.24

Even before the death of Wenceslas, some thought had been given to the need for separating the services of the two brothers, particularly in view of the growing importance of archduke Albert within the court. His appointment as Cardinal-Deacon set that process in motion and it was decided to make the necessary changes to provide him with his own household and include in it certain positions hitherto not considered necessary.25 The whole process, of course, was carried out under the watchful eye of the papist faction.

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24 Ignacio Ezquerra Revilla, “Tentativas de la corona por controlar la orden de San Juan en tiempo de Felipe II: la “expectativa” del archiduque Wenceslao de Austria en el gran priorato de Castilla y León (1577–78),” in Ruiz Gómez and Molero García, La orden de San Juan entre el Mediterráneo y la Mancha, 401-30.

25 We know the key members of the household in 1577, thanks to the account given by ambassador Hans Khevenhüller in Diario de Hans Khevenhüller, embajador imperial en la corte de Felipe II [hereafter, Diario], intro, Sara Veronelli, trans. and ed. Félix Labrador (Madrid, 2001), 125, which Martínez Millán mentions in “El archiduque Alberto en la corte de Felipe II”, 35.
To be specific, the positions of gentleman of the table and of the chamber were introduced for the first time into Albert’s retinue and, because of his own association with the church, gentlemen of the cloth or chamberlains, who lived outside the palace. The number of stewards also increased.

The five gentlemen of the table appointed were: Diego de Guzmán, Jerónimo de Mendoza, Juan de Ludeña, Francisco de Vargas (a teacher of theology), and a professor from Salamanca, Bazán Pérez. As for the appointments of gentlemen of the chamber, these were: Cosme de Meneses, Gabriel Niño and Luis Enríquez. As has already been mentioned, three more men in religious orders were appointed as gentlemen of the cloth or chamberlains who would not reside within the palace because of Albert’s status as a cardinal, and who joined George of Austria. The new incumbents were: Martín de Alarcón, named chaplain of the king’s Castile household on June 25, 1580, Miguel de Ayala, a member of the lord steward’s family and dean of the chapel in Granada from 1582, and Andrés Pacheco, who eventually became bishop of Segovia and Cuenca. The final three ended their service before the archduke’s progress to Portugal to assume the position of viceroy, and received in return pensions in a number of bishoprics: Miguel de Ayala 300 ducats from Granada, Martín de Alarcón, another 300 from Santiago and Andrés Pacheco, 500 from Cuenca. Finally, Luis de Ayala, who was related to the lord steward, and Juan Gaitán joined the steward, Juan Pacheco y de Navas.

We do not know who exactly formed the rest of the new entourage since the documents kept in legajo 1024 from the first period of the Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas stop at the end of 1576, just before the archdukes’ household was split. However, we may infer that, compared to the earlier one, the number of office holders would not have varied greatly, since the death of Wenceslas prompted Albert to provide posts for those servants who had been assigned to his brother. From July 26, 1577, the new household was endowed with 20,000 ducats per annum in income from Toledo for its maintenance, an amount considered spartan by the lord steward, don Juan de Ayala, whose request for more was turned down.

26 A short biography can be found in Martínez Millán and Fernández Conti, La Monarquía de Felipe II, 2: 145.
27 AHN, Consejos, lib. 174, fols. 89r and 91v.
28 Martínez Millán, “El archiduque Alberto en la corte de Felipe II”, 34.
Appointments to the new household were controlled by the papist faction, as has been mentioned, and, in fact, several members of don Juan de Ayala's family entered the service. However, this group found itself isolated from power after the downfall of Antonio Pérez in 1579 and although many figures took advantage of the cover afforded by their service to Albert to survive at court, the new situation made itself felt. The appointment as page, in 1579, of Juan de Toledo y del Águila, son of the Castilianist judge of the household and court (and so a member of the fifth court of the Council of Castile), Alvar García de Toledo, is just one small symptom that the trend that had favoured the papists was beginning to turn down.

Archduke Albert’s sojourn in Portugal and his return to Madrid: 1583–1593

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 attempted to weed out the remnants of the papist faction 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 Granvelle’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.

29 For a biography, see Martínez Millán and Fernández Conti, La Monarquía de Felipe II, 2: 720–2.
30 For the court struggles during this period, Santiago Fernández Conti, Los consejos de Estado y Guerra en el reinado de Felipe II, 1548–1598 (Valladolid, 1998), 172–84; Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales, Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica, 138–47.
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Despite the control exerted by both the Ebolists and the papists in the first decade of his 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. This affinity made it possible for archduke Albert to be appointed to the difficult post of viceroy of Portugal. It had been speculated that empress Maria, recently arrived in the Iberian Peninsula, would take charge of the government but the eventual decision favoured her son. Although Antonio Danvila y Burguero puts forward other reasons, we believe that the choice fell upon Albert because the main task that Philip II wanted the viceroy to perform was to establish Confessionalism in Portugal, and the kind of spirituality that the empress practised was not the most suitable for accomplishing this task. Her son’s, on the other hand, did approach what the king wanted, and an example of this is that his confessors were always of the Dominican Order, instances being Juan Velázquez de las Cuevas, Fray Juan Vicente and Fray Íñigo de Brizuela. With a view to carrying out the task entrusted to him by the monarch, Albert gradually accumulated the titles of viceroy, Inquisitor General, and the pope’s legatus a latere during his ten-year stay in Portugal.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the structure and members of archduke Albert’s household during his Portuguese sojourn is very incomplete with no source to give us an overall view. Thanks to memoranda written at later dates and held in the personal section of the Archivo General de Palacio, manuscript A-61 of the Real Academia de la Historia or other sources, we have been able to pinpoint some of the servants, albeit only in part. However, some interesting general conclusions can be drawn.

During the creation of the viceroy’s household, the archduke expressed his preference for keeping a Castilian majority amongst his servants, as had been the case up until that time. As a way of attracting the sympathies of the elites of the neighbouring kingdom towards their recent annexation, Philip II was conscious of the need to organize the service in accordance with the customs of Portugal, that is, in the image and likeness of the way he had set up his own Portuguese

31 Antonio Danvila y Burguero, D. Cristóbal de Moura, primer Marqués de Castelrodigo, 1530–1613 (Madrid, 1900), 539–40, says in his book that Albert was preferred because the empress was a spendthrift, because Maria’s character and intelligence might cause problems and because Philip II wanted someone trustworthy close to him to take care of the infantas.
32 Khevenhüller, Diario, 270.
So, although the office holders of the most important positions of the archduke remained the same, Portuguese gentlemen of the chamber were appointed and new positions introduced peculiar to Portugal, such as *crucifero* or Abbreviator.\(^{34}\)

Another measure adopted was to endow the household with those areas it did not possess on the grounds that they had previously been considered unnecessary, such as, the Hunt and the Guard, or to complete others, such as the Chapel and the Stables. Consequently, a master of the horse was appointed, a position that fell to the archduke’s gentleman of the chamber, Luis Enríquez, and huntsmen such as Manuel Pimienta and Juan Issino. The area we know best is the Guard, thanks to the ordinances issued on October 20, 1586, for the new corps of halberdiers;\(^{35}\) the monarch having already made provision, in the instructions he left for the archduke in 1583, for part of Albert’s stipend to be used to pay the said guard.\(^{36}\) These ordinances laid down that the Guard would be composed of a captain, with more limited powers than in the royal guards, being unable to take on or dismiss any halberdier without the consent of the archduke; there would also be a lieutenant and six officers, namely, four squadron corporals, a notary, and a harbinger with a wage of ten gold florins and the cost of the uniform, as well as fifty-eight halberdiers and a drummer, who would receive eight gold florins and with a supplement in their wages to help offset the cost of the uniform. The wage was spread over three payments, as in the royal guards, and the captain or lieutenant had to draw up a roll of these payments. After ten general articles, the instructions also introduced forty articles explaining internal administrative functions. Finally, the last part prescribed the way justice was to be administered, which, according to the text, was the same as that used in the royal guard.

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\(^{33}\) For Philip II’s Portuguese royal household, Labrador Arroyo’s study in *La Monarquía de Felipe II*, Martínez Millán and Fernández Conti, 1: 820–945, see also *Ibidem*, 2: 593–663 for its members.

\(^{34}\) This position, equivalent to a secretary of religious affairs, was held by Roco de Campofrío from 1592.

\(^{35}\) “Institución y ordenanzas de la Guarda Alemana que mandó fundar el señor Archiduque Cardenal Alberto legado a la de S.M. en el reino de Portugal, Lisboa, 20 de octubre de 1586,” AHN, E. lib. 728. It is already published in Félix Labrador Arroyo, *La Casa Real en Portugal, 1580–1621* (Madrid, 2009), 214-21.

\(^{36}\) Caeiro, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria*, 514. In chapter 31 of these instructions, it says: “Hey por bem que depois de entenderdes no Governo em diante enquanto o tiverdes se dê de minha fazenda para a despeza de Vossa meza, e pagamento de Vossa Guarda.”
The archduke dispensed with this guard when he left the kingdom of Portugal to go, first to Madrid, and then to the Low Countries, although some of its members, such as Jacques Ruypacher, continued to serve him.37

Albert’s governorship in Portugal was generally satisfactory; from 1588, however, there was speculation about his departure, as the Monarchy needed him.38 After the failure of the Armada against England, Philip II became quite pessimistic and looked weary; he began to think that he was incapable of carrying the workload that he had until then. Following the advice of Moura and Idiáquez, who saw the archduke as someone who would defend their ideas, the king deemed it necessary for his nephew to return to help him in Madrid, placing him close to prince Philip to instruct him in business matters. In fact, Philip II confirmed this point with his ambassador, Olivares, and entrusted him with the mission of asking Rome whether the archduke’s offices of nuncio and inquisitor would be maintained if Albert left Portugal.39 This first attempt to bring Albert back to Madrid did not prosper due to the threat of English expeditions against Lisbon and other coastal areas of Portugal. Nevertheless, rumours about his return to Madrid or to the Low Countries as governor were constant for the rest of his time as viceroy in Portugal.40

After the first attempt, Philip II was more careful about the preparations for Albert’s return and consulted with important figures in Portugal, such as the count of Portalegre, to sound out opinions on the advisability of his nephew giving up the post of viceroy.41 Furthermore,

37 He was a halberdier with a place reserved for him in the archduke’s German guard when he was in Portugal until 1593; in 1595 we find him in Flanders as a clock-mender in the household, RAH, MS A-61, fol. 65r, 72v, 79r, 99v and 108r.

38 Buongiovanni to Montalto, November 5, 1588, ASV, Spagna, leg. 36, fol. 456r: “Qui s’e levata voce, ch’in breve S. A. sia per andare in fiandra, però non se n’ha che anche certezza.” Here there have been rumours that H.H. is soon to go to Flanders, but not if it is also certain, trans.

39 Philip II to Olivares, December 1, 1588, AGS, E. leg. 951, fol. 166.

40 Among other testimonies, Biglia to Montalto, January 20, 1590, ASV, Spagna, leg. 36, fol. 197r. “Dicono che S. A. partirà in breve per fiandra, e che in suo luoco verrà a questo governo il Marchese figliuolo dell’Arciducca Ferdinando, il che da gran noia a tutto questo regno.” They say that HH will soon leave for Flanders and that the Marquis son of the Archduke Ferdinand will come to this government in his place, which is tedious for the whole of this kingdom, trans.

41 Portalegre to Philip II, March 1591, RAH, MS K-9, fol. 74v –75v. Displaying his proverbial pessimism, the count expressed the view that it was not a good moment and that he thought it necessary for Albert to stay there for at least two more years.
he used his ambassador in Rome to secure income for him from a church in Castile so that the archduke’s servants could receive some financial benefits when he left Portugal, although this situation was sufficiently well covered by the lucrative Priory of Crato, which enabled Albert to award favours charged against that income even during his time in the Low Countries. Notwithstanding this, Philip’s ambassadors in Rome managed to obtain for him the possibility of providing for his followers from the income of Sigüenza cathedral. It should be remembered that the income from the Monarchy’s richest archdiocese, Toledo, was subsequently added to the income from Crato and Sigüenza, so that the archduke had a generous supply of resources available to reward those who served him. This was a great incentive to anyone seeking to enter his household.

Everything pointed to the fact that Albert would return to Madrid sooner or later and this was confirmed on March 5, 1593, when Philip II communicated to the archduke that both he and his household should return to Castile. From Madrid, precise arrangements were made for the progress; several carts for the luggage, a judge of the household and court and a royal harbinger were sent to Portugal and the frontier posts were notified. At the same time, Philip II prepared lodgings in the Madrid court to accommodate the more than 400 retainers who were expected to travel with his nephew. This caused considerable upheaval as it meant taking over the accommodation of a number of royal servants, mostly those in menial posts and harbingers. Once these vicissitudes were overcome, the entourage left Lisbon on August 16

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42 Philip II to Sessa, July 10, 1591, AGS, E. leg. 958 (no pagination).
43 Caeiro, “O Archiduque Alberto no Priorado do Crato,” chapter 7 of O archiduque Alberto de Austria, 321–44.
44 Olivares to Philip II, September 22, 1591, AGS, E. leg. 957 (no pagination).
45 IVDJ, Envío 92, fol. 84r, in a note to Juan Vázquez, July 21, 1593, “His Majesty commands that a warrant be despatched so that the ports of Castile give free passage to the clothes of the Lord Prince Cardinal Albert and his servants without paying duty of any kind, and because it would be difficult to send a private list of the said clothing as there is much of it, with small things and belonging to different people, His Majesty says that it should be stated in the said warrant that everything should be allowed through freely on the authorization of don Joan de Ayala, his lord steward, with no other surety required.”
46 This can be seen in various notes to the harbingers in ibid, fols. 89r–91r, also in the impressions of some contemporaries, such as Diego Ochoa de Avellaneda to the count of Gondomar on July 28, in BPRM, MS II/2149, doc. 12, or the nuncio to Aldobrandino, in ASV, Envío 92, leg. 44, fols. 263–4.
and, a little over a month later, the archduke arrived at the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial to pay his respects to Philip II and his mother, the empress Maria.47

Archduke Albert’s second sojourn in Madrid: 1593–1595

Upon his arrival in Madrid, Albert 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 the heir to the throne, and he was even entrusted with the mission of receiving nuncios and ambassadors.48 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.49

The other mission that Philip II had in mind for his nephew was to appoint him archbishop of Toledo. This idea, as we have seen, had been broached before but on this occasion it came to fruition. The incumbent at the time was still 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

47 A description of his arrival can be found in a letter from the nuncio to Aldobrandino, on September 25, in Ibidem, fols. 291–3.
49 Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales, Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica, 257–61.
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 media annata [half annates] had been paid. 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 Flanders cut short the entire process.

Ever since his arrival in Madrid, the different factions at court had tried to win the archduke over to their side, but the Castilianists had a distinct advantage as Philip II had told Moura to stay close to his nephew and advise him. The empress Maria, 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, 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,

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50 The state of unrest in Toledo can be seen in the anonymous manuscript kept in BNE, 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, trans.

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

52 Caeiro, *O archiduque Alberto de Austria*, 360–70.

53 Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales, *Configuración de la Monarquía hispánica*, 274.

54 A biography of this renowned diplomat is found in the introduction to his diary.
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which was similar to the empress’s. In the event, it did not work and Albert stuck to his own political and religious ideas.

Throughout 1593–4, 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. These complaints could not be too acrimonious since Philip trusted his nephew implicitly and the latter had never acted illegally or 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. 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 Flanders was to be archduke Albert.

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

55 Ibidem, 24–5, emphasizing his friendship with Antonio Pérez, and their ideological closeness.
56 The Patriarch of Alexandria to Aldobrandino, April 26, 1595, ASV, Envío 92, leg. 46, fol. 269r–v: “Questa grave infirmita 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 Flanders in the place of Archduke Ernest (...). The Spanish pretenders at Court show no displeasure whatsoever at H.H’s departure, trans.
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. Albert’s personal household was going to occupy such a relevant place in his new tasks, as it did in the former ones.  

58 The continuation of this study in “The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from His Election as Governor of Flanders until His Investiture as Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries: 1595-1598”, Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis, 91-4 (2013)