

Sabaudian Studies

Political Culture, Dynasty, & Territory

1400–1700



Edited by Matthew Vester

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EARLY MODERN STUDIES SERIES

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Abbreviations

ACI = Archivio Comunale, Ivrea

ACS, AS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio del SS. Sudario

ADCO = Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or

ADHS = Archives Départementales de Haute-Savoie

ADS = Archives Départementales de Savoie

AHR = Archives historiques régionales, Aoste

ASPR = Archivio di Stato di Parma

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano

AST1 = Archivio di Stato di Torino, prima sezione

ASTR = Archivio di Stato di Torino, sezioni riunite

BAV, UL = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinates Latini

BNT = Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino

BRT = Bibliotheca Reale di Torino

Cam. Sav. = Camerale Savoia (Inventaire Générale des Titres du Duché de Savoie)

CC = Fonds du Conseil des Commis

CFE = Carteggio Farnesiano Estero

inv. = inventory

LMR = Lettere Ministri, Roma

ME = Materie Ecclesiastiche

mz. = mazzo

PGN = Materie Politiche per Rapporto all'Interno, Principi del Genevese e di Nemours

Segr. SS = Segreteria di Stato Savoia

Dukes of Savoy, 1343–1730

Amadeus VIII, r. 1391–1434 (1451): first duke of Savoy (1418); Pope Felix V (1439–1449); married Mary, daughter of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy

Louis I, r. 1434–1465: married Anne, daughter of King Janus of Cyprus

Amadeus IX, r. 1465–1472: married Yolande, daughter of King Charles VII of France

Filibert I, r. 1472–1482: early regency of his mother, Yolande

Charles I, r. 1482–1490: married Blanche of Monferrato, who served as regent for her son

Charles John Amadeus/Charles II, 1490–1496: regency of his mother, Blanche, for entire reign

Philip II, r. 1496–97: uncle of Filibert I

Filibert II, r. 1497–1504: son of Philip; married Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian I

Charles II/III, r. 1504–1553: brother of Filibert II; married Beatrice, daughter of King Manuel I of Portugal

Emanuel Filibert, r. 1553–1580: married Margaret, daughter of King Francis I of France

Charles Emanuel I, r. 1580–1630: married Catherine Michelle, daughter of King Philip II of Spain.

Victor Amadeus I, r. 1630–1637: married Marie Christine, daughter of King Henry IV of France

Francis Hyacinth, r. 1637–1638: regency of his mother, Marie Christine

Charles Emanuel II, r. 1638–1675: early regency of his mother, Marie Christine; married Marie-Jeanne-Baptiste of Savoy-Nemours

Victor Amadeus II, r. 1675–1730: early regency of his mother, Marie-Jeanne-Baptiste; married Anne of Orléans

Introduction

The Sabaudian Lands and Sabaudian Studies

Matthew Vester

One of the key developments in European history following the tripartite division of the Carolingian Empire in 843 was the appearance of the kingdom of Burgundy, which included large swaths of what is today Switzerland, northwestern Italy, and central and southeastern France. This kingdom of Burgundy became part of the Holy Roman Empire in 1032, and over the course of the following centuries portions of it were acquired by families and other political actors operating across this vast region. The Hundred Years' War might be considered one element of the gradual disintegration of the Burgundian kingdom and the subsequent scramble for authority over its remnant territories. Among the families that profited from this power vacuum was the house of Savoy, which emerged from the Maurienne valley, deep in the Alps, and acquired the comital title in the eleventh century.

When Amadeus VIII of Savoy saw his county of Savoie elevated to ducal status by Emperor Sigismund in 1416, he became duke for the third time, since he already held the titles of duke of Aosta (a valley southeast of the Mont Blanc) and of Chablais (on the southern shore of Lake Geneva). At this point his lands also included the seigniorship of Bresse (on the eastern bank of the Saône River, from the outskirts of Lyon north to the Doubs and east to the Pre-Alps), the lands of Bugey and Valromey east of Bresse, the barony of Gex and other bailiwicks near Geneva, the land of Vaud and the county of Romont (north of Lake Geneva), the county of the Genevois and the barony of Faucigny (west of the Mont Blanc), and the Tarentaise valley (north of the Maurienne). The dynasty enjoyed a variety of rights (formal and informal) over the city of Geneva. Amadeus's father, Amadeus VII, had acquired the county of Nice and its hinterlands (including Barcelonnette, in the Alps of High Provence) in 1388, and his grandfather Amadeus VI had annexed Cuneo, Santhià, Ivrea, Biella, and other places east of the Alps. To these territories on either side of the Alpine watershed he also added, two years later, the principality of Piedmont and other lands east of the Alps that had been in the hands of a cadet branch of his dynasty, the



Map 1. The Sabaudian states. Map by Matthew Vester.

Savoy-Acaia, when its head Lodovico died in 1418. Thus, in the early fifteenth century, the main branch of the dynasty consolidated its overlordship of lands reaching from Bresse and Vaud in the west and north all the way to the Mediterranean and the borders of Lombardy in the south and east. In the centuries following the reign of Amadeus VIII, the dynasty continued to acquire lands east of the Alps (the marquisates of Ceva and Saluzzo, the county of Asti, and the Monferrato). The diversity of these territories, linguistically, culturally, and geographically (they included plains, swamps, hill regions, the highest mountains in Europe, and coastlines) was perhaps unparalleled.

During the three centuries spanning the erection of the duchy of Savoy under Amadeus VIII and the long-desired acquisition of the royal title by Victor Amadeus II (king of Sicily in 1713, a title he traded for that of king of Sardinia in 1720), the dynasty ruled over a set of contiguous lands that, taken together, formed one of the more sizeable territorial states in early modern Europe (after the kingdoms of France, England, Spain, Portugal, and Naples). When the kingdom of Italy was created in the 1860s under Sabaudian leadership, its dynastic lands were divided and left without an integrated historiographic tradition, as French and Italian scholars focused instead on celebrating the historical roots of their new nation-states. As a result, subsequent European historiography has largely forgotten the history of the Sabaudian lands and the dynasty that ruled them during the early modern period.

This essay collection begins to fill this gap. The phrase “Sabaudian studies,” employed for the first time in 2009,¹ arises out of a historiographic context concerned with the history of the Savoy dynasty, the lands over which it ruled, and the relation between the two. It aims to preserve an awareness of the simultaneously centrifugal and centripetal nature of this subject, given the variety and distinctiveness of the territories involved, coupled with the unifying role of the ruling house. Although the phrase is new, a distinctive Anglophone (or at least, non-French and non-Italian) approach to Sabaudian history is not. Since the nineteenth century, much of the Italian and French scholarship on the house of Savoy and its Old Regime states has been constructed around national frameworks. French scholars tended to treat the history of the western Sabaudian lands as provincial history, without regard to their role as the late medieval seat of a sovereign ruler. Italian historians collapsed all of the cisalpine lands under the rubric of “Piedmont,” and discussed the role of this region as the inevitable leader of Italian unification. Scholars from each side of the Alpine watershed

1. In the context of a series of conference panels organized for the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in Geneva in May 2009.

Chapter 1

Sabaudian Studies

The Historiographic Context

Matthew Vester

Historians who do not read French or Italian might be surprised to learn that there is an extensive historiography in those languages on various aspects of the history of the territories that had been subject to the house of Savoy during the early modern period. That scholarship has been written from a variety of perspectives and methodologies, and has covered a wide array of subfields related to the society and culture of these territories. Often, however, this body of work has differed from that produced by Anglophone scholars, in ways to be clarified below. These differences have been central to a historiographic reconfiguration of scholarly approaches to the history of this dynasty and its lands, a reconfiguration described here as Sabaudian studies. This essay examines the genesis and nature of these differences, highlighting the role of English-language scholarship in their articulation. It does not examine recent scholarship in every subfield, and leaves some topics and works unaddressed (even English-language ones). Rather, it traces the history of the term *Sabaudian* and assesses how its referent has been addressed in Anglophone scholarship. It then examines how recent French, Italian, and Swiss scholarship has begun to employ a Sabaudian perspective. The third part of the essay surveys new work on political culture, dynasty, and territory in Sabaudian studies, and the final section looks at challenges for the field and topics for future study.

Brief History of the Term and Its Relation to Anglophone Historiography

In 1935 Ferdinand Lot, the well-known French medievalist, investigated the history and significance of the term *Sapaudia*, apparently first used by Ammianus Marcellinus to refer to the two banks of the Rhône river between Geneva and the land of the Sequani farther downstream. After examining efforts by other historians

to define the territorial limits of Sapaudia during ancient times, Lot concluded that other than locating it in the area between Lake Geneva, the Rhône, and the Alps, it was impossible to delineate precise boundaries. He also pointed out that ancient Sapaudia was certainly much larger than the county of Savoy that came into being between the ninth and eleventh centuries, and that it clearly referred to a naturally defined region rather than to an administrative province.¹

The county of Savoy to which Lot referred was in the hands of a family whose eleventh-century head, Humbert “the White-Handed,” established himself as the ruler of the Maurienne and of Savoy (south of Lake Geneva) following the breakup of the kingdom of Burgundy in 1032.² From its ancestral base in a valley just west of the Alpine watershed, this family expanded its holdings and jurisdiction over the following centuries, amassing a collection of lands that eventually stretched from the Saône river north of Lyon to the Sesia river in the Po valley, and from the southern shores of Lake Neuchâtel to the county of Nice. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dynasty significantly increased its political involvement east of the Alps, and by the late sixteenth century the dynastic court had stabilized itself in Turin.

During the Middle Ages and until the eighteenth century, one finds the Latin noun *Sabaudia* and the adjectives *sabaudianus*, *-a*, *-um* used to refer to the dynasty comprised of the descendants of Humbert, and to the territories over which this family extended its dominion. But by the sixteenth century, when use of the vernacular in both official and nonofficial texts was becoming increasingly common, some confusion was introduced when the French terms *Savoie* and *savoyard* began to be used to refer both to the dynasty and to its lands. Some later scholars understood that the French term *Savoie* had been meant as the equivalent of *Sabaudia*, and as a term that likewise had two referents. Others, like Lot, saw *Savoie* as a smaller, province-sized area within a much larger territory called Sapaudia.³ The fact that, by the sixteenth century, the dynastic lands east of the Alps (often referred to collectively by scholars as Piemonte) were becoming more important demographically, economically, and politically than *Savoie* (or even Sapaudia), made it confusing to use the terms *Savoie* and *savoyard* to refer to the ensemble of the dynasty’s states.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Anglophone scholars worked around this problem by continuing to use the Latin terminology when

1. Lot, “Les limites de la Sapaudia,” esp. 155–56.

2. Symcox and Cardoza, *History of Turin*, 42.

3. Berthoud Matruchot, *Étude historique et étymologique des noms de lieux habités*, 2:217–18; de Vignet, “Mémoire sur Humbert aux Blanches-Mains,” 307.

writing in the vernacular, and by using the adjective *Sabaudian* to refer to the dynasty and the entire collection of its lands.⁴ Charles Previt  Orton’s 1912 history of medieval “Savoy” located this territory at the center of European transit routes and examined developments on both sides of the Alps, in what he called “Burgundy” (including the Vall e d’Aoste) and “the kingdom of Italy.” Previt  Orton highlighted differences between “Italy” and “Burgundy and France,” but he also stressed how Count Thomas I (1189–1233) acquired for his domains on both sides of the Alps “consistency, some degree of internal order, and an embryo administration.”⁵ In 1931, George La Piana, an Italian-born church historian at Harvard, reintroduced the term *Sabaudian* to refer to the head of the dynasty, its court, and its archives. Like Previt  Orton, La Piana was interested in the role played by the house of Savoy in both Italian and European politics; hence his use of “Sabaudian” when discussing dynastic matters.⁶

A small number of postwar historians and art historians writing in English focused their attention on the early modern lands of the house of Savoy. H. G. Koenigsberger’s study of European representative assemblies included the Piedmontese estates, more transalpine than Italian, in his view, and “open to the influence of the political ideas of French and Swiss assemblies.” He explained the dynasty’s policy toward such assemblies in light of “the old jealousies between Piedmontese and Savoyards.” After Emanuel Filibert, who had been raised at the court of Charles V and “was determined to be the absolute ruler of his country,” recovered his lands in 1559 and convoked the estates a year later, it was for the last time (according to Koenigsberger). An apparent turning point in the history of representative politics in Italy, the absolute rule imposed by Emanuel Filibert and his successors enabled “the House of Savoy [to] claim the credit for keeping their state independent.”⁷ This narrative, which focused on regional divisions along modern national boundaries and on the construction of a powerful

4. One finds references to the glory of the “Sabaudian royalty,” to Duke Charles Emanuel I as “the Sabaudian Centaur,” to “Sabaudian chivalry,” to “the Sabaudian state” (in 1898), and to “the Sabaudian Court.” See Gallenga, *History of Piedmont*, 1:96; auction catalogue entry in *Catalogue of the Valuable Cabinet of “Cinque-Cento” & Later Medals*, 16; poem entitled “The Sabbath in Piedmont,” in Palmer, *Lebanon Leaves*, 352; Wiel, *Romance of the House of Savoy*, 2:129–30 (citing Achille Dina, *Jolanda, Duchessa di Savoia e la Ribellione Sabauda nel 1471* [Alba, 1892]); Groenewegen, *Treatise on Roman Laws*, 37.

5. Previt -Orton, *Early History of the House of Savoy*, 125, 452.

6. La Piana, review of *Amedeo VIII*, by Francesco Cognasso. When referring to the territories ruled by the dynasty, La Piana wrote of “the little Alpine principality of Savoy.”

7. Koenigsberger, “Parliament of Piedmont during the Renaissance,” 21, 57, 73, 74, 79. For a reassessment of Koenigsberger’s account of the 1560 meeting, see Vester, “Regionalism and Fiscal Policy in the Southern Savoyard Lands, 1550–1580,” 191–220; and Vester, “Fiscal Commissions, Consensus, and Informal Representation,” 59–74.

Chapter 2

The Practice of Diplomacy at the Court of Amadeus VIII of Savoy (1391–1440)

Eva Pibiri

Translated by Matthew Vester

Readers curious about the history of the reign of Amadeus VIII enjoy the benefits of an extensive bibliography. Numerous historians have emphasized his diplomatic skill and his role as a mediator, both in France during the Hundred Years' War, and in Italy, especially during the conflict between the duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, and his Venetian and Florentine opponents.¹ The court of Savoy was thus the stage for a considerable amount of diplomatic shuttling, which also included missions related to Amadeus's marriage policy, designed to result in territorial expansion for his duchy.² Strangely, however, both the diplomatic practices of Amadeus VIII and the processes leading to his choice of

This essay is based on a portion of my PhD dissertation, published as *En voyage pour Monseigneur: Ambassadeurs, officiers et messagers à la cour de Savoie, XIVe-XVe siècles* (Lausanne: SHSR, 2011), which may be consulted for greater detail.

1. For the Hundred Years' War, see especially Schnerb, *L'Etat bourguignon 1363–1477*, 180–84, 240; Lacaze, "Aux origines de la paix d'Arras (1435)"; Baud, "Amédée VIII et la guerre de Cent Ans," 46–51; Baud, "La correspondance entre le roi Charles VII et le duc Amédée VIII pendant la guerre de Cent ans," 247–57; Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 2:45–54, 70; de Fresne Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 2:14, 17–19, 22, 113–14, 351–60, 405–14, 427.

2. Cognasso, "Il ducato visconteo da Gian Galeazzo a Filippo Maria"; Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 2:87–141; Cognasso, "L'alleanza sabaudo-viscontea contro Venezia nel 1434," 157–236, 357–426; Cognasso, "L'alleanza sabaudo-viscontea contro il Monferrato nel 1431," 273–334, 554–644; Cognasso, "L'intervento sabaudo alla pace di Ferrara nel 1428"; Gabotto, "Contributo alla storia delle relazioni fra Amedeo VIII di Savoia e Filippo Maria Visconti," 153–207, 277–321, esp. 196–99; Gabotto, "La guerra tra Amedeo VIII di Savoia e Filippo Maria Visconti," (1907): 429–90, (1908): 111–44, 168–209, 377–407, (1909): 3–47, 145–86; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1428 al 1435 nei 'conti' dell'Archivio Camerale di Torino," 141–220; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1431 al 1435 nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino," 81–235, 298–365; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1431 al 1435 nei *conti dei Tesorieri di guerra*"; Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia*, 68–97.

specific emissaries remain understudied topics.³ Due to the fact that resident ambassadors did not yet exist—only in 1460 was the first permanent Savoyard ambassador accredited at the papal court⁴—Amadeus VIII placed particular missions in the hands of the individuals whom he considered most capable of completing the negotiations successfully. A systematic examination of the exceptional series of financial accounts⁵ at the Turin state archives, of the collection of instructions provided to ducal envoys, and of letters or memoirs from their embassies, permits one to identify both the criteria on which diplomatic appointments were based, and the kinds of diplomatic techniques employed by Amadeus VIII.

Choosing Emissaries

The vast majority of envoys were chosen from among the ducal counselors. These men were well familiar with the political affairs of the duchy and met frequently with their lord. Ambassadors who were not also counselors were either members of the prince's household (squires, for example) or held territorial positions (such as judicial posts). While there were a number of nobles who took part in diplomatic negotiations, especially for missions of prestige, jurists were also an important presence. The latter were indispensable when it came to resolving the numerous legal disputes that marked the reign of Amadeus VIII, such as the problem of the fealty oath of the marquis of Saluzzo in 1413 and 1414,⁶ the debate over the county of Geneva between 1403 and 1424,⁷ and of course the accession

3. Only for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is there a developed bibliography on this topic. The works of four historians in particular should be signaled: Frigo, *Principe, ambasciatori e "jus gentium"*; Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690–1720*; Storrs, "Sardinian Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century"; Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy*; Zwierlein, "Savoyen-Piemonts Verhältnis zum Reich 1536 bis 1618."

4. Eusebio Margaria, archdeacon of Vercelli and apostolic protonotary, was sent to Rome as resident at the court of Pius II; AST1, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Protocolli dei notai della corona, Protocolli camerati 50, fol. 208r–v and Protocolli camerati 52, fol. 218r.

5. I refer above all to the accounts of the general treasury of Savoy, of the household, of accounts "de voyages," and those of the chancery. Diplomatic travels could also be recorded in the various territorial account books of the Savoyard states, such as those of the castellanies. The castellany accounts are held in part at the state archives in Turin, but some are also found in the various departmental archives, such as those of Savoie in Chambéry, of Haute-Savoie in Annecy, of the Côte-d'Or in Dijon, of Isère in Grenoble, and of the Alpes-Maritimes in Nice. For more on the geographic dispersal of the archives of the house of Savoy following World War II, see D'Angiolini and Pavone, *Guida generale degli archivi di stato italiani*, 4:375–83, and for a description of the organization of Savoyard sources, see Andenmatten and Castelnuovo, "Produzione documentaria e conservazione archivistica nel principato sabauda, XIII–XV secolo."

6. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 1:181–83; Barbero, "La dipendenza politica del marchesato di Saluzzo nei confronti delle potenze vicine al tempo di Ludovico I," 191–94.

7. Pibiri, "En ambassarie devers le roi des Romains." See also Barbey, *Louis de Chalon*, 86–92; Duparc, *Le*

of Amadeus VIII to the ducal title in 1416.⁸ Embassies in which both a noble counselor and a jurist took part reflected the two aspects of the negotiations. Ceremonial and courtly manners were one element. The nobles mastered this perfectly, emphasizing their personal and social prestige. The other factor was technical and satisfied by the requisite legal knowledge of the jurists.⁹

Amadeus VIII did not appoint members of his council or his court to these missions randomly. It is true that the great dignitaries of his domains, such as the chancellor or his field marshals, were usually mandated to sign marriage contracts or final treaties, but typically they did not engage in the process until after less important officers had carried out the repeated negotiations necessary to reach an agreement. It seems undeniable that Amadeus VIII appointed certain officers as privileged emissaries to particular places or persons. For example, in the case of negotiations with France and Burgundy, the duke preferred emissaries with familial roots in areas near those two states, facilitating exchanges between courts and sometimes even resulting in multiple service. Bertrand Melin, a squire from Bresse, offers a remarkable case. He was sent on over forty missions between 1403 and 1430 (when he died) to mediate between the combatants of the Hundred Years' War. He was a squire and castellan of Amadeus VIII, but he was also a squire of the dukes of Burgundy John the Fearless and Philip the Good, as well as bailiff of Maulévrier in Normandy for Amadeus VIII in 1412. Likewise, the Grolée, originally from Dauphiné but vassals of Savoy for their lands in Bugey, held elevated posts for the king of France and in the oligarchy of Lyon, and also were named regularly to the embassies that Amadeus VIII sent to France. A similar case is offered by members of the Martel family, especially Guillaume de Martel, lord of Grammont in Bugey, and Martellet de Martel, who were envoys on several occasions between 1413 and 1424 to the future King Charles VII, and with good reason. Guillaume was squire, counselor, and *maître de l'hôtel* of Amadeus VIII beginning in 1417, but he also carried out the functions of counselor and chamberlain of King Charles VI and then of his son the dauphin.¹⁰

These are the most salient examples, but other lineages that were well known on either side of the Savoyard border, such as the du Saix, the Luyrieux,

comté de Genève, 328–47.

8. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 1:214–18; Tabacco, *Lo stato sabaudo nel sacro romano impero*, 49–51.

9. The same was true in Burgundy; see Borchgrave, "Diplomates et diplomatie," 77; Spitzbarth, "Ambassades et ambassadeurs," 591–92; Schnerb, "Les ambassadeurs bourguignons," 225–29. For France, see Le Bis, "La pratique de la diplomatie," 147–49; Ganshof, *Le Moyen Age*, 214. For Milan, see Soldi Rondinini, "Ambasciatori e ambascerie," 327, 335–36; Leverotti, *Diplomazia e governo dello stato*, 36–39, 76–77; Margaroli, *Diplomazia e stati rinascimentali*, 275–89.

10. See Pibiri, "Le personnel diplomatique d'Amédée VIII de Savoie entre France et Bourgogne," 81–94.

Chapter 4

From Piedmont to Tenochtitlan

Social Conflict and Mercurino di Gattinara's Imperial Policies in New Spain

Rebecca Boone

According to contemporary accounts, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara held the reins of government during the most crucial, and many would argue the most glorious, era of the Spanish Empire. He became the grand chancellor of Charles V in 1518 at the age of fifty-three and held this title until his death in 1530. He left his mark, or in literal terms, his seal, on all important business of the realm. This jurist from Piedmont left a paper trail of thousands of legal and administrative documents. If they were placed end to end, they would stretch from the little town of Gattinara, Italy, across the ocean to Mexico City. Well, perhaps not. Nevertheless, Gattinara crafted policies and institutional structures that would define Spanish America for centuries. His decisions concerning America resulted in large part from his experiences in and concerns about the battleground of northern Italy in the early sixteenth century.¹

The vast empire inherited by Charles V included the newly discovered lands in America. For that reason, his grand chancellor played a large role in consolidating power in New Spain. Throughout the 1520s Gattinara served on the Consejo Real y Suprema de las Indias, through which all information about the New World passed. In this capacity he also served as judge presiding over the court that determined the legal right of Cortés to conquer Mexico and helped determine the rights of Columbus's heirs. Luigi Avonto, who has collected the numerous archival documents relating to Gattinara in America, interpreted his actions in light of his effort to centralize the imperial bureaucracy and his dedication to the ideal of universal

1. The most important work on Gattinara in English is Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor*. Gattinara also figures prominently in Headley, *Church, Empire and World*. Important articles by Headley on the ideological concerns of the grand chancellor include "Conflict between Nobles and Magistrates in Franche-Comté, 1508–1518," and "Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic, Humanist, and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara."

monarchy.² The present study seeks to extend that interpretation by focusing on the fear of social conflict as a prime motivation for his American policy. It sets his staunch support of Bartolomé de Las Casas's plan for peaceful colonization against a backdrop of European political turmoil.

In his autobiography Gattinara portrayed himself as an agent of God sent to prepare the way for a one-world government on earth. Universal monarchy would lead to the establishment of the kingdom of God, when universal peace and justice would reign supreme. Thus he aimed to unify all of Christendom under one empire and then convert all of the nonbelievers on earth. Doing so would make Charles the savior of mankind. And Gattinara, who also claimed the supernatural ability to see the future, was his prophet.³ He envisioned Italy as the keystone of empire. The peninsula, as the traditional capital of Christendom, represented a stepping-stone from which the emperor would make his way to Jerusalem to defeat the infidels.⁴ This vision had been present in a long line of emperor prophecies going back to the eighth century. Gattinara used these prophecies to underline the importance of northern Italy to the emperor's domains.

Whether he sincerely believed in the biblical prophecies that he used is open to question. On the other hand, Gattinara had concrete interests in northern Italy due to his possessions there. Most likely, he aimed to found a state based on his own inheritance and the many additional fiefs granted to him for his imperial service.⁵ The region had been a battleground between Habsburg and Valois forces from 1494. He needed Spanish forces to secure his own dominion. It would take money to ensure that conditions on the ground in the Italian

2. In 1522, the king appointed him as head of a special commission to investigate the claims of Diego Velásquez, governor of Cuba, against Hernán Cortés, conqueror of Mexico. As is well known, Cortés had no legal right to claim territory on the mainland. When he landed at Vera Cruz, he claimed the land under the authority not of Velásquez, but of the Crown of Spain itself. Hence, Velásquez sued to claim rights and advantages derived from Mexico. However, in the judgment handed down from the commission headed by Gattinara, it was found that he had no claim, because his mandate expired once he appointed Cortés commander. The decision, dated Valladolid, 22 October 1522, also absolved Cortés from the accusation of rebellion, recognized the conquest, and appointed him governor of New Spain. In addition to sending reinforcements, the commission gave instructions to treat the Native Americans humanely; see Avonto, *Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara e l'America*, 49–50.

3. Incidentally, Christopher Columbus also portrayed himself as a prophet and described Ferdinand as the savior-emperor. Gattinara and Columbus seemed to have read many of the same biblical prophecies. In particular they focused on those linking the Reconquista in Spain against the Muslims to the destiny of world conquest under a Spanish king. See Columbus, *The Libro de las Profecías of Christopher Columbus*, 29. See also Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*.

4. The most complete statement of this vision is found in a work dedicated to Charles in 1516 upon his succession to the Spanish throne; see Gattinara, *Oratio Supplicatoria addressed to Charles V* (British Library, MS 18008). See also Boone, "Empire and Medieval Simulacrum."

5. Rodriguez, "Memoria, escritura y Estado" 199–224.

Wars favored Charles over the kings of France. Therefore, his main concern in his dealings with New Spain was providing revenue for the war effort in Italy.

The financing of war plagued all of the Holy Roman Emperors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At this time, Charles sought money from the great banking families, the Fugger, the Welser, and the Grimaldi.⁶ However, Gattinara understood early that America would be another, perhaps more potent, source of revenue for war. He had access to the reports of treasure derived from Mexico. A document in his family archives lists the resources of “Tenutistan” providing a detailed list of gold, silver, cotton, corn, and other resources, perhaps a Spanish translation of the pictographic Aztec tax records. Gattinara’s marginalia indicate his keen interest in the resources that existed there.⁷ In the Archive of the Indies, there are over 450 *cedulas* (reports) from the New World from 1518—twenty-two alone with Gattinara’s signature on them.⁸ The vast majority of these reports are lists of cargo from ships coming in from the New World, the index of which indicates the extent of Gattinara’s extensive imprint.⁹ A member of the Council of the Indies from 1518, Gattinara was made chancellor for life of the Audiencias Real for Española and New Spain, and given the seal of the Indies in 1522. In 1524 he was a founding member of the Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias, the presiding council over American affairs until the seventeenth century.

J. H. Elliott, in his famous *The Old World and the New*, presented the argument that the discovery of America did not sink into the European conscience until at least a hundred years after it began. However, much of this lack of interest resulted from the fact that Spain actively tried to keep its discoveries secret. Very few people outside the Council of the Indies really knew what was there. Gattinara happened to be one of the handful of people who could comprehend the possibilities of the New World. His close friend, correspondent, and fellow Italian, Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, had written the first history of the New World.¹⁰ Very few people knew more about America than the grand chancellor.

Moreover, Gattinara not only understood the immensity of treasure coming in from the New World, but he also acted on this intelligence. For him, the idea

6. Tracy, *Charles V: Impresario of War*, 308.

7. Avonto, *Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara e l’America*, 90.

8. Manuel Gimenez Fernández, *Bartolome de las Casas*, 2 vols. (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1953–60), cited in Avonto, *Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara e l’America*, 57.

9. Altolaguirre y Duvale and Bonilla y San Martín, *Índice General de los Papeles del Consejo de Indias*. On the extent of treasure from the Indies, see also Chaunu and Chaunu, *Seville et l’Atlantique 1504–1650*. The multivolume set includes all the statistics of early trade in the Atlantic world. Volume 2 reprints the registers and lists all of the ships, captains, and places for the early years.

10. Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*.

Chapter 5

Philibert-Albert Bailly, or The Origins of Valdostano Particularism

Alessandro Celi

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the duchy of Aosta—the oldest duchy within the composite Sabaudian states—experienced the development of a complete political theory that justified the valley’s broad autonomy. This autonomy dated from 1536, the year during which Duke Charles II’s control over most of his lands collapsed in the midst of foreign invasions. Despite this, valley elites, both religious and civilian, confirmed their loyalty to the house of Savoy and the Catholic religion. In order to protect these aims and to defend themselves against the twin threats of religious reformers (from Bern and Geneva) and the French Catholic invaders, these valley elites meeting in their estates assembly appointed an executive council. This *Conseil des commis* was charged with taking all steps necessary to preserve the independence of the Vallée d’Aoste until the house of Savoy was restored to its domains. The *Conseil* took over civil administration, enlisted three *bataillons* to defend the borders, and signed international treaties with France and Spain: military roads through the valley were closed to armies on all sides, so the invasions stopped short of it.

When Emanuel Filibert was restored to power, he permitted the *Conseil* to continue its activities. Thus, for a century and a half, the *Conseil* oversaw the valley’s government, which experienced no significant crises in either internal or foreign policy. But by the end of the seventeenth century, confronted with growing ducal absolutism, the valley’s practical political configuration began to develop a theoretical justification as well. The ultimate formulation of this theory was articulated by Jean-Baptiste de Tillier (1678–1744), secretary of the estates and the most influential member of the *Conseil*. But this essay will demonstrate that de Tillier was not the first person to theorize Valdostano autonomy. In 1661/62, the bishop of Aosta, Philibert-Albert Bailly, a Barnabite, had already formulated

several key concepts that were later taken up by de Tillier and employed as the foundation of his claims for the particularism of the Vallée d'Aoste.

From de Tillier Back to Bailly and Before

In the last decade of his life, de Tillier composed a text that offered a complete description of the geography and the history of the duchy of Aosta: *Recueil contenant dissertation historique et géographique sur la Vallée et Duché d'Aoste*, commonly known as *Historique du Duché d'Aoste* (1737). This work was influenced by the erudite studies of Ludovico Antonio Muratori and others, and by a humanistic heritage. It thus opened with the mythological origins of the valley, supposedly first inhabited by Cordelus, one of Hercules's companions. However, the importance of *Historique* does not reside in classical myths, but in its being the first complete examination of the reasons for and justifications of the privileges obtained by the duchy in prior centuries. In making his case, though, de Tillier employed concepts and words previously used by Bishop Bailly. In his *Historique*, de Tillier wrote that

the duchy of Aosta has always been a true *pais d'Estat*, forming one single and unified body...directed and governed politically and economically by the Conseil général or the Conseil des commis representing the former, which regulate and give orders for everything and all that concerns the service of the sovereign and the public, making...fiscal assessments and [carrying out] all other services.¹

Here the historian rephrased some words employed on an earlier occasion in Bishop Bailly's memorandum to Duke Charles Emanuel II, dated October 1679. In this work, the Barnabite wrote that

the Estates commonly referred to as Conseil général gather with the prince's permission when it is necessary for the good of the province, and the prince convokes them when he judges that his service will benefit, especially to determine and impose the *don gratuit* [subsidy], according to custom.

He added that "the Conseil des commis is the representative and executive body of the Conseil général which could not meet on every occasion that the prince's service and the country's need required it."²

1. de Tillier, *Historique du Duché d'Aoste*, 322–23.

2. BRT, *Storia patria* 542, fols. 132–38.

The similar language found in these two texts has been analyzed elsewhere,³ and it should not surprise the reader. De Tillier had known the bishop (who died in 1691) personally, and from 1700 on his office as secretary of the estates placed at his disposal all of the records of the Conseil des commis, including Bailly's original memorandum of 1679 (a copy of which was made by de Tillier himself and may now be found in the volume conserved in the Royal Library in Turin). It is thus possible to affirm that Bailly was one of de Tillier's sources, perhaps his most important one, for his interpretation of the relationship between the duchy of Aosta and the Sabaudian sovereigns. What remain relatively unexplored are the influences on Bailly: On which sources did the prelate rely as he elaborated his theories?

So far, Valdostano historiography has identified as Bailly's principal source the legal studies in which he engaged during his youth. Lin Colliard, the most authoritative Valdostano historian of the second half of the twentieth century, wrote in the first published edition of Bailly's *Etat Intramontain* that the bishop "understands perfectly ancient, medieval, and modern jurisprudence, from Justinian to the jurists of his time, [and] displays his convictions with admirable synthesis and precision, worthy of the greatest lawyer."⁴ Today it is possible to modify this opinion owing to a better knowledge of Bailly's works, especially his letters, whose editing and publication had been undertaken by the recently deceased (and much missed) Gianni Mombello of the University of Turin, in cooperation with the Académie Saint-Anselme of Aosta.

One of Bailly's letters from early 1662 offers many clues to help us understand the sources of the bishop's thought:

The Conseil des commis of the Vallée d'Aoste is a representative executive council of the Conseil général, and is composed of the bishop, nobles, and members of the third estate, just as the Estates Generals in several French provinces, such as Béarn, Languedoc, Brittany, as formed of the three orders of the [Catholic] Church, the nobility, and the people or third estate, which includes...judicial personnel and magistrates [*gens de justice, et de robe longue*].⁵

It is easy to recognize here the same words and expressions that Bailly would employ seventeen years later and that de Tillier would use in 1737, permitting us to antedate these components of the bishop's thought about Valdostano institutions to the beginning of 1662. This was just a few weeks after Bailly had won a

3. Celi, "Monseigneur Bailly."

4. Bailly, *L'état intramontain*, 10.

5. Bailly to Duchess Christine, 19 January 1662 (letter 516), in *Correspondance d'Albert Bailly*, vol. 7, 1659–63, 260–62.

Chapter 6

Recollecting Court Festivals

Ceremonial Accounts in Sixteenth-Century Savoy

Thalia Brero

At the turn of the sixteenth century, European royal and princely courts began to produce narrative documents of a new kind: reports relating the sequence of events taking place during some of the ceremonies and festivities surrounding the sovereign. These texts are of exceptional interest. Not only do they represent a literary genre of their own, but they illustrate in a very eloquent way the strategies followed at that time to display princely power. They are also valuable evidence enabling historians to reconstruct these specific events, as well as life at court more generally.

Surprisingly, these documents have so far not drawn much attention from scholars. The following pages are dedicated to the emergence of these “ceremonial accounts,” for which they will attempt to offer a definition and a typology, focusing on the example of the Savoyard court and concentrating on the reign of Charles II of Savoy¹ (1504–53), when the custom to compose this sort of text became established in this duchy.²

Ceremonial Accounts at the End of the Middle Ages

During the fifteenth century, centralization and the affirmation of princely authority led to a significant development of court ceremonies. It became more and more

This paper is an English adaptation of a more extensive article in French: Thalia Brero, “Les premiers récits de cérémonie à la cour de Savoie (1440–1550): L'apparition d'un genre littéraire?” in *Ecrire l'histoire, penser le pouvoir (XIVe–XVIe siècle)*, ed. Laurent Ripart (forthcoming). Many thanks to Carolyn and Kathryn for proofreading this work.

1. Some French historians identify him as Charles III, considering that the title of Charles II already referred to one of his predecessors. But the latter, who died at the age of eight, was in fact known under his compound name, Charles John Amadeus. We shall therefore follow Italian historiography, which refers to the duke who interests us here as Charles II. The fact that contemporaries used this name is proven by numismatics, among other things.

2. This article reflects issues raised in a chapter of my thesis in progress, under the supervision of professors Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Bernard Andenmatten (University of Lausanne). Dedicated to ceremonial at the court of Charles II of Savoy, it will publish all the accounts of ceremonies dating from his reign.

obvious that rituals punctuating a monarch's rule were also opportunities to express his political and economic power, his supremacy over the nobility, and the legitimacy and strength of his lineage. This tendency is reflected in the sources. Chronicles notably pay particular attention to courtly ceremonies, especially beginning in the middle of the fifteenth century. Festivals such as christenings, funerals, weddings, triumphal entries, jousts, or rituals linked to orders of knighthood, which were previously only fleetingly mentioned, began to be depicted in a more and more detailed way by chroniclers, especially in Burgundy.

At the same time, the increased importance of ceremonial in royal and princely courts led to a new category of documents intended to describe a specific ceremony or a particular event that took place at court, without necessarily contextualizing it. These isolated texts—chronicles of a single event—are designated as “festival books” by Anglo-Saxon scholars and “*Festberichten*” by their German-language counterparts. There is, to my knowledge, no comparable French idiomatic expression. I have chosen to call these documents *récits de cérémonie*, or ceremonial accounts, for the term “festival book” encompasses only a portion of this genre, as I will explain later.

Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, ceremonial reports could be found in growing numbers in France, with a marked predilection for rituals related to the transfer of power, such as funerals and coronations. At the turn of the century, the production of these documents spread to England, Savoy, the Italian courts, and the Holy Roman Empire. It has to be emphasized that this observation does not apply to Burgundy, probably because that court had a particularly developed historiographic culture: since chronicles already described ducal rituals, ceremonial accounts might perhaps have seemed redundant. Thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in most European courts, princely celebrations were usually described in separate accounts—a trend that was to increase throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Historiography

It is, however, difficult to piece together a complete view of the literary phenomenon constituted by these ceremonial accounts, because the bibliography dedicated to them suffers from important gaps. Until recently, this subject had been of interest mainly to historians writing during the *ancien régime*. Indeed, several compendia dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gather accounts of princely and royal ceremonies. In France, the most famous example is Théodore Godefroy's

*Ceremonial de France*³ (1619), republished thirty years later by his son Denis in an enhanced two-volume version entitled *Le Ceremonial françois*.

Contemporary historiography remains strangely silent about ceremonial accounts. Even though they appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century, medievalists have never really taken an interest in these texts as a genre, limiting themselves to mentioning, here and there, an isolated example relating to their specific research. But early modern historians such as Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly have recently begun to turn their attention to the subject.⁴ One should mention as well the *Europa Triumphans* project, run by the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at the University of Warwick, which has led to the publication of two imposing volumes in which forty-four festival books are edited.⁵ In association with this research, the British Library has reproduced 253 opuscles that relate princely celebrations; its website allows readers to consult them, and offers very interesting introductory notices written by various specialists.⁶ Also, the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel has digitized 314 of these festival books within the framework of the project *Festkultur online: Deutsche Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts zur Festkultur des Barock*.⁷

Ceremonial accounts, scattered throughout European archives and libraries, are now being brought together and made more accessible. But despite this growing interest, studies dedicated to these texts remain surprisingly rare. The above-mentioned studies offer a stimulating, though incomplete, theoretical framework. They have indeed totally neglected the emergence—and then the generalization—of ceremonial accounts in European courts, and have focused only on the late development of these documents, from the end of the sixteenth century on.

Typology

The earliest beginnings of this literary genre have yet to be studied. My research on this subject has shown that some permanent features can be observed from

3. The full title is *Le Ceremonial de France, ou description des ceremonies, rangs et seances observées aux couronnemens, entrées et enterremens de rois et roynes de France, et autres actes et assemblées solempnelles. Recueilly des memoires de plusieurs secretaires du roy, herauts d’armes et autres par Theodore Godefroy, advocat au Parlement de Paris*.

4. Watanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern European Festivals”; Watanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern Festival Book”; Watanabe-O’Kelly and Simon, *Festivals and Ceremonies*.

5. For more information on this project, see <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/europa/>. The book is titled *Europa Triumphans*.

6. British Library, *Treasures in Full: Renaissance Festival Books*, online at <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/homepage.html>.

7. *Festkultur online* is found at <http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/wdb/festkultur/index.htm>.

Chapter 7

Charles Emanuel I's Foreign Policy

The Duke of Savoy's French Voyage (1599–1600)

Stéphane Gal and Preston Perluss

It is not surprising that His Highness the duke of Savoy's voyage to France has been the subject of much discussion, for the duke's decision has astonished his friends, courtesans, enemies, and almost everyone. The underlying reasons for this decision will remain difficult to discover for most, since people judge things by their outward manifestation and will stand puzzled by the duke's motives as long as the voyage's purpose is cloaked in secret and remains hidden to most eyes.¹

Thus begins a manifesto, most likely composed by the chevalier Berton, occasional ambassador in France for the duke of Savoy. The text was probably written between December 1599 and March 1600 and constitutes a preamble that perfectly summarizes the spirit of ducal policies, particularly his foreign policy, built upon marvels, surprises, and secrecy, with a dash of incomprehensibility.² The latter trait resulted from a policy whose main characteristic lay not in the readily visible, with an effect of smoke and mirrors, but in a deeper, hidden truth whose motives and stratagems largely exceeded the common ken, known but to the duke and the elect few.

Herein we shall assume that Charles Emanuel I (1562–1630) devoted his life not only to the sole ambition of obtaining a royal crown, but also to revealing to the world the arcane depths of his very being: that is, showing that he was intrinsically “royal” and that this God-granted truth would finally gain acceptance by all other princes. And what better way to prove one's innate royalty than by acting royally!

1. AST1, Negoziazioni colla corte di Francia, mz. 7, no. 4, “Progetto di manifesto da pubblicarsi in caso che si dovesse continuare la guerra con la Francia,” fol. 1.

2. Samuel Guichenon most likely drew upon this document when compiling his *Histoire généalogique*, 769–74.

In light of recent studies undertaken in such fields as cultural history (Pierpaolo Merlin and Franca Varallo),³ political thought (Claudio Rosso and Cornel Zwierlein),⁴ diplomatic history (Toby Osborne),⁵ and religious history (Paolo Cozzo),⁶ the moment seems appropriate to reexamine the possibilities that Charles Emanuel I afforded to his states as well as the manifold and complex tactics he brought to bear during the span of his long reign.

Today, the belief that Charles Emanuel's unending quest for grandeur in both domestic and foreign policy was a simple response to an insatiable appetite for power is difficult to reconcile with the duke's tactical choices. Here we will seek to demonstrate that the duke's putative inconstancy was not at all inconstant either in its means or ends. The duke's behavior reflected a methodically implemented project to legitimate his royalty, a royalty that Europe had steadfastly denied. Seeking to establish these claims is in itself an enthralling research project, and all the more fascinating given the duke's personality, imbued with Renaissance values, strongly influenced by French, Spanish, and Italian cross-currents. Charles Emanuel's quest for legitimacy led to daring choices both in times of peace and in war, whether in conflicts between states or in face-to-face encounters. He bewildered adversaries and allies alike: startling, seducing, and dazzling the other while scrambling the codes of conduct and transgressing the bounds of diplomatic etiquette. This policy, subtle and parlous, both connived and inspired, was evidence not of inconstancy but of faith in a particular strategy: by constantly putting himself in jeopardy, the duke sought to demonstrate to the entire world the veritable nature of Savoy and its prince, not a duke, but a king, a new David!⁷

A reinterpretation of Charles Emanuel's reign through a new heuristic framework might better aid us in understanding his territorial claims, his voyages back and forth from France and Spain, and his startling embassies—in particular his voyage to Paris undertaken at the dawn of the seventeenth century. This latter mission was of the duke's own device; his firmest intention undergirded the project, which thus reveals a great deal about Charles Emanuel's personal politico-diplomatic practice.

In what follows, we have drawn upon five different types of documents: account ledgers detailing the disbursements made during the duke's French

3. Varallo, *Ceremonie al tempo di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*; Merlin, *Tra guerre e tornei*.

4. Rosso, "L'ordine disordinato," 37–79; Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei*, 483–548.

5. Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy*.

6. Cozzo, *La geografia celeste dei duchi di Savoia*.

7. For a complete explanation, see Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie*.

voyage during the years 1599 and 1600; correspondence between Charles Emanuel and his ambassadors during the same period; a draft manifesto written after the voyage by one of the aforesaid ambassadors, most likely Berton; parts of Pierre Monod's contemporary biography of Charles Emanuel (Monod was a Jesuit priest) and, finally, Pierre de L'Estoile's *Chronicles*, always a fruitful source for grasping the rumors and gossip that coursed through Parisian society in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

A Prince Portrayed in Faded Tones: Charles Emanuel I in French Historiography

Charles Emanuel I, duke of Savoy, reigned from 1580 to 1630. His reign has long been treated contemptuously in French historiography under the powerful influence of two military campaigns against the house of Savoy: the first occurred during the reign of Henry IV, while the second took place under Richelieu's authority. These works of denigration stand in sharp contrast to ultramontane historiography, whose praise of the individual portrayed as a principal precursor in the movement towards a united Italian nation can be excessive.

The onslaught against Saluzzo in fall 1588 and the subsequent decade of war set off unprecedented hostility toward Savoy: numerous pamphlets were printed, such as the *Satyre Ménippée*, which assailed the duke's bad faith and advocated the need for vengeance through morally "justifiable" war. These minatory brochures found favor in longer works written by official historiographers and chroniclers among whom figure Brantôme, Palma Cayet, and Pierre Matthieu—the latter having appropriated the criticisms directed against the duke by René de Lucinge, once a protégé of Charles Emanuel.⁸

Taken as a whole, this hostile corpus possesses one largely overlooked novelty: for the first time, a front of resistance took shape involving a swath of territory extending from Geneva and Grenoble to encompass Lyon and even Chambéry. Several texts, in the form of monologues, ditties, and theatrical sketches, were composed in Franco-Provençal patois—the vernacular spoken by the duke's own subjects and others in Savoy, francophone Switzerland, the Vallée d'Aoste, Bresse, Lyon, Forez, and even in the Dauphiné. These texts ridiculed the duke and his pretensions to reign over French and Swiss territory. Among these texts, the most famous was *Cé qu'é l'aino*, a patriotic song composed in Geneva in the aftermath of the duke's failed attack on that town in December 1602. The majority of these texts were printed in Lyon and draw on the classic tools of satire, while taking their

8. Lucinge, *Les occurrences de la paix de Lyon*, 12.

Chapter 8

The Model of the Holy Savoyard Prince

A Religious Discourse for Political Ends

Michel Merle

Translated by Matthew Vester

This essay examines the reconstruction of the hagiographic memories of Blessed Amadeus IX of Savoy (1435–72), the archetype of young and gentle princeliness, and of Marie Christine of France, duchess and regent of Savoy (1606–63), for purposes of dynastic propaganda.¹ The promotion of Amadeus's cult by means of votive icons and his retroactive beatification on 3 March 1677, during the pontificate of Innocent XI, resulted in the creation of an important documentary record, now housed in the Turin state archives and the secret archives of the Vatican.² Marie Christine, consort of Duke Victor Amadeus I (1587–1637) and daughter of King Henry IV, evokes the female image of the holy princess, pious widow, regent, and monastic benefactress.³ The religious discourse surrounding both of these

1. Bloch, in *Les rois thaumaturges*, 153–54, provides a similar example in the cult that developed around the tomb of Don Carlos de Viana, heir to the crown of Aragon who died in 1461. This model of saintliness encountered growing success among the public beginning in the late fifteenth century, as indicated by the popularity of princely figures such as Casimir of Poland (1458–84) or the Burgundian prince Herdicie, whose legend was evoked by Guillaume Paradin in his 1573 *Mémoires de l'histoire de Lyon*, 68. Prospero Lambertini characterized the life of blessed Amadeus as follows: "Among other things, the blessed Amadeus, third duke of Savoy, excelled in charity and offered a remarkable example of goodness" ("B. Amadeus III Sabaudiae dux inter alia præclare gesta illud caritatis, et mansuetudinis insignes exemplum edidit"); *Doctrina de servorum Dei beatificatione*, 268.

2. AST1, Storia della Real Casa, Storie particolare, cat. 3, mz. 4–9; AST1, Biblioteca antica, A stampa, Canonizzazione del Beato Amedeo III Duca di Savoia, S.l., 1676; ASV, Congr. Riti, Processus, Amedei IX 3i ducis Sabaudiae, processus apostolicus Vercellensis super cultu immemor., 2815; *ibid.*, proc. apost. Taurinensis super cultu immermor., 2814.

3. For a complete explanation of this topic, see Barone, Scaraffia, and Zarrì, *Donne e fede*. An unavoidable example of Sabaudian dynastic holiness is the Blessed Margaret of Savoy-Acaia, whose cult in the diocese of Alba was instrumentalized for propaganda purposes in order to legitimate the acquisition of the Monferrato by Duke Charles Emmanuel I; see Mostaccio, "La riscoperta sabauda di Margherita di Savoia-Acaia."

Sabaudian rulers grew out of an environment of Tridentine spirituality in the seventeenth century, when the two texts on which our analysis of these figures is based were produced. A brief assessment of the relationship between the house of Savoy and religious sensibilities in its lands between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries helps to place these texts and this discourse in context.

Upon reading the trial records for Amadeus's elevation, one is immediately struck by the absence of documents produced by Amadeus's own contemporaries. This absence exposes that which the hagiography had long sought to dissimulate: the significant fragility of the political power exercised by the house of Savoy. The story of Amadeus had been a "holy biography" that was never subject to critical study until the 1660 appearance of Samuel Guichenon's *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie*.⁴ The few sources concerning the reign of Amadeus cluster around the events of his coronation, his apparent epilepsy, and the regency of his wife, the energetic Yolande of France, daughter of Louis XI.⁵ The few records that remain shed no light on the difficulties faced by the Sabaudian states during this period, such as the Burgundian and Bernese invasions and the French king's interference in the dynasty's affairs.

The hagiographic discourse fills this vacuum, transforming these years into a new golden age. From the 1550s onward, during Emanuel Filibert's restoration to his dynastic lands, a number of instructions were issued to court historiographers. These first life histories of Amadeus are anecdotal, offering a sketch of a picturesque and colorful saintliness,⁶ constructed around the hagiographic trope of the charitable prince who is the "father of the poor." Duke Charles Emanuel I did not hesitate to give himself this title as he drew attention to his role as the natural protector of his subjects, especially during times of war and plague.⁷ During the second decade of the seventeenth century, Charles Emanuel⁸ also

4. Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique*, 547–62.

5. With the exception of treatises and cartularies edited by the court historiographer Guichenon for his *Histoire généalogique*, only a few manuscripts from the accounts of the ducal household were partially transcribed during the nineteenth century. The bulk of the archives of the ducal notary-secretaries at the Turin state archives have not been published. See Marini, *Savoardi e piemontesi nello stato sabauda*; Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia*.

6. These legendary accounts were developed by authors such as Domenico della Bella, aka Macchanée, *Epitomæ historice novem ducum Sabaudorum* (ca. 1515), and Guillaume Paradin, *Chronique de Savoie* (1602), 332–39.

7. In his testament dated 5 May 1598, Charles Emanuel I addressed his eldest son, Philip Emanuel, in these terms: "Be a father to the poor and support their needs liberally. By acting this way you will be able to obtain the Lord's grace for your faults in accord with the powerful custom of this house. Likewise, be pious, merciful, religious, and trustworthy"; AST1, Materie per rapporto all'interno, Testamenti, mz. 4, no. 9.1, fol. 1r. For more on this topic, see Aladjidi, *Le roi père des pauvres*.

8. Gal, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie*.

decided to abandon his classicizing emblem, the centaur (and its device “Opportune,” which symbolized a spirit of political virtuosity), and to adopt the image of a holy prince and protector of the dynasty.⁹ The model of the holy medieval prince tended to complete the representational paradigm of the Christian Hercules rather than replacing it.

Recent work on this subject shows that crowned holiness experienced a promotional surge between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, mainly thanks to the efforts of mendicant orders, especially their third orders.¹⁰ It is certain that Dominican and Franciscan tertiaries active at the Sabaudian court modified the spiritual climate as the prince and those close to him engaged with and influenced each other. In a general sense, the religious context of the Sabaudian states during the early seventeenth century was closely tied to geography. They were at once an advanced bastion of Catholicism against the Genevan Reform and a political entity subject to Roman “influence” that, although not preponderant, was still significant. The dynasty’s lands thus experienced a level of religious effervescence centered around leading personalities such as the Oratorian and bishop of Saluzzo, Juvenal Ancina (1545–1604) and the bishop of Geneva-Annecy, François de Sales (1567–1622). The foundation of new monasteries and the renovation of existing ones prompted a wave of intensive missionary activity—together, these developments provide an excellent indicator of “Tridentine revival.” The artisans of this spiritual reconquest and guarantors of a living faith in the Sabaudian states were above all the Jesuits, Barnabites, Capucins, Oratorians, and to a lesser degree the Theatines.¹¹ Parallel to the missions carried out not only in the regions of the Genevois and the Chablais but also in the Waldensian valleys (Chisone, Pellice, and Germanasca), was the development of a spirituality focused on devotion to Mary and to the Incarnation, leading to the construction of new worship centers such as the sanctuaries of the Virgin of Oropa and of the “Holy Mountains” of Belmonte, Crea and Varallo.¹² This shift in turn supported another change: the growing fame of the preachers

9. In 1601 the French minister Sully had medals struck representing King Henry IV as Hercules striking down the centaur, representing Charles Emanuel I; see Jacquot, “L’allégorie aux revers de médailles et de jetons du XVe au XVIIe siècle.” A few years later, ca. 1619, the duke of Savoy issued nine-florin coins depicting the Blessed Amadeus IX on the reverse. Some of these appear to have been used as miraculous medals, illustrating the diffusion of the cult, especially in the Chablais, thanks to its promotion by François de Sales; ASTI, *Storia della Real Casa, Storie particolare, mz. 3, no. 5*, “Memoriale presentati a S. Santità ed alla Sacra Congr. de’ Riti per la beatificazione di Amedeo III di Savoia,” fol. 67v.

10. See Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, esp. chap. 5, “Sainly Princesses and Their Heavenly Courts,” 195–294.

11. See Dompnier, *Enquête au pays des frères des anges*; and Erba, *La Chiesa sabauda*.

12. Cozzo, “Santuari del Principe.”

Chapter 9

The House of Savoy and the Theatre of the World

Performances of Sovereignty in Early Modern Rome

Toby Osborne

On 10 December 1607, Prince Maurice of Savoy, Duke Charles Emanuel I's fourth son, was promoted, at age fourteen, to the college of cardinals by Pope Paul V Borghese. The event was both the end of a diplomatic campaign and the beginning of an invigorated campaign of ceremonial performance in Rome, as the *avvisi*, Rome's news reports, testified. Maurice first arrived there in February 1621 with a household of two hundred people; in March, for a service at the Sistine Chapel, he reportedly traveled through the city with a cortege of more than one hundred coaches.¹ The sheer number of his followers and the impression of his entourage were intended to mark him out in Roman society. In 1623, when Maurice returned, he once again excited attention, recorded with rhetorical tropes of spectacle and public joy: "The people with great enthusiasm gathered to see the wealth of the vestments, the enormous entourage of more than three hundred people, including many nobles."² For Urban VIII's coronation in September 1623, following a conclave in which Maurice had played a significant role, the cardinal-prince had new livery ordered from Milan for his pages and household staff, a material display of wealth and prestige that was intended to impress.³

Maurice, as a cardinal-prince, brought a type of sustained magnificence to Rome in the 1620s and '30s that Savoy had previously lacked.⁴ We can readily understand why Charles Emanuel had been so determined to secure a cardinal's

1. BAV, UL 1089, fol. 149v, 20 February 1621, and fol. 185v, 3 March 1621.

2. BAV, UL 1093, fol. 479v, 28 June 1623. See also AST1, LMR, mz. 33, fasc. 8, no. 25, Alessandro Scaglia to Charles Emanuel I, 29 June 1623.

3. BAV, UL 1093, fol. 687v, 6 September 1623.

4. For Maurice's magnificence as a patron, see Oberli, *Magnificentia Principis*.

hat for a son, outlined in his well-known advisory instructions for the prince of Piedmont, written in 1605. “All great ambitions begin in Rome, such as royal and imperial titles, and the like,” he wrote.⁵ This was astute advice. Charles Emanuel appreciated his state’s strategic role as a buffer protecting the Italian peninsula from heresy in southern France and the Alpine regions, while reiterating his aspiration of regaining Geneva—enduring themes of Sabaudian-papal relations.⁶ He also understood the mutability of Roman politics, of the sudden shifts in power and factions as popes came and went. The duke clearly felt that a Sabaudian cardinal-prince could guarantee political constancy and influence in Rome. Most tellingly, though, he grasped Rome’s enduring importance as a site of political legitimization, whether for dynastic or political ambitions. Anastasio Germonio, serving as Charles Emanuel’s ordinary ambassador in Rome, put this critical point clearly in a letter written in February 1592 to the duke’s consort, in which he wrote that “all the interests of war and peace, not only of this Province of Italy, but of Christendom, depend on the court of Rome.” The papal court, he added, “is like a register of all state business.”⁷

Given this abiding importance of papacy for Catholic Europe, we might ask what other European court-capital had the power to affirm or undermine claims to sovereign power or grades of sovereignty made by competing rulers. Where else was there such intense ceremonial performance by Europe’s powers, or such a perceived need to display sovereignty? That is why Maurice’s presence in Rome was important. He was not the only Sabaudian in the papal capital, though, as other actors had parts to play—ambassadors, other cardinals, and the Sabaudian “nation.” It is on their involvement in the court and city during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that this essay principally focuses. Drawing on recent methodological interest into the study of premodern ritual and ceremonial culture, the essay serves as a case study into how a dynasty, its subjects, and supporters sought to maintain and indeed create a sovereign image for international audiences, in a period when status was subject to constant scrutiny and negotiation.

Germonio’s image of Rome as a “register of all state business” resonates with the most common metaphor of Rome, as the “theatre of the world.” It was used

5. Ricotti, *Storia della monarchia piemontese*, 3:427. We can likewise understand why, following Maurice’s renunciation of his cardinal’s hat in 1642, the Sabaudian regent Marie Christine tried (unsuccessfully) to obtain a hat for another prince of the dynasty; see Cozzo, “In seconda fila,” 151.

6. E.g., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, 5:206. For two different approaches to Sabaudian-papal relations see Erba, *La Chiesa sabauda*; and Mörschel, *Buona Amicitia*? For a brief overview of Savoy’s presence in Rome, consult Cozzo, “In seconda fila.”

7. AST1, LMR, mz. 12, fasc. 3, no. 32, Germonio to Catalina Michaela, 1 February 1592.

repeatedly, playing ambiguously on the court-city's central importance as a political and ceremonial arena and perhaps also on anxieties of pretense and dissimulation that seemed inherently bound up with its mutable politics.⁸ The language of theatre has acquired particular methodological meanings for pre-modern historians as they have sought analytical tools for understanding court culture, and given the theatrical metaphor's ubiquity in Rome it would be tempting to apply them. According to Clifford Geertz's study of Negara, the Balinese "theatre state," all members of society, from kings to peasants, engaged in mass rituals that were performances of social and metaphysical relationships in a divinely ordered universe. Participants in the theatre state understood who they were through court ceremonies. Geertz's model has proved extremely attractive, and even as recently as 2006 the language of the theatre state was explicitly used in Peter Rietbergen's study of Urban VIII's Rome, though here it seems more to do with theatricality loosely understood.⁹ Caution must nevertheless be exercised in describing Rome as a full-blown theatre state, where, to quote Geertz's most famous assertion, "power served pomp, not pomp power."¹⁰ Andrew Brown and Graeme Small have argued that the theatre state is a useful but limited model when applied to the late medieval Burgundian Netherlands since the ceremonies employed by its dukes clearly buttressed power.¹¹ The same can be said of papal Rome (as Rietbergen inadvertently argues).

The theatre state model is moreover too static to map directly onto early modern court politics. As we will see, Rome was not a site of fixed social drama where its actors performed unchanging roles. With this in mind, the methodologies of symbolic communication, which have gained greater credence in recent years, offer more flexible and dynamic tools for interpreting Rome's politics. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger's sustained application of symbolic communication to her work on the Holy Roman Empire, as a salient example, has suggested that imperial institutions remained strong as long as their participants continued to believe in the efficacy of the empire's rituals, and when the ceremonial performance of imperial power gradually lost its force during the eighteenth century, the empire itself weakened. The central point is that political and institutional identities have meaning primarily when performed and re-performed in convincing or compelling ways.¹²

8. On Rome as a theatre and on pretense, see Rosa, "Per 'tenere alla futura mutatione volto il pensiero.'"

9. Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 377–78.

10. Geertz, *Negara*, 12.

11. Brown and Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries*, 30–32; Brown, "Ritual and State-Building."

12. Stollberg-Rilinger, "Le rituel de l'investiture dans le Saint-Empire de l'époque moderne." More

Chapter 10

The Prolonged Minority of Charles Emanuel II

Kristine Kolrud

It is by no means surprising that five-year-old Duke Charles Emanuel II (b. 1634, r. 1638–75) appeared as the charming God of Love (fig. 10.1) and that Duchess Marie Christine of France (1606–63) was praised as the actual regent in the ballet performed in her honor in February 1640. Almost eleven years later, in December 1650, however, the then sixteen-year-old duke appeared as a zephyr (fig. 10.2), donning an outfit quite similar to his guise as a small child. This was one of several roles he had in the two ballets performed on the occasion of the marriage alliance between Marie Christine's youngest daughter, Princess Adelaide, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, Ferdinand Maria. Charles Emanuel had officially taken over the reins of government in 1648, but in reality the regency continued. By emphasizing the young duke's need for further education, Marie Christine could argue for the continuation of her own government and demonstrate that Charles Emanuel's education was now in good hands. This article will consider the emphasis on education, particularly in the ballet *L'educatione d'Achille*, as well as a publication by Charles Emanuel's tutor as an argument in favor of the prolongation of the duke's de facto minority.

The Sabaudian lands were ruled by Marie Christine of France (daughter of Henry IV and Marie de Medici) from the unexpected death of her husband, Victor Amadeus I, in 1637 until her own death in 1663. The earliest ballet, *Hercule et Amore* (Hercules and Love), was performed on the occasion of Marie Christine's birthday, 10 February, at Chambéry in 1640.¹ It was danced during the civil war when the duchess's regency was being contested by her two brothers-in-law. She eventually consolidated her regency, and when, at the age of fourteen, Duke Charles Emanuel II was to assume control of the government, he

1. See the codex in BRT, *Storia Patria*, 952.



Figure 10.1. Tommaso Borgonio, *Hercole et Amore*, folio showing Charles Emanuel II as Amor (with similarly dressed Amorini), Biblioteca Reale di Torino, Turin, St.P.952, fol. 41. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i beni e le Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Reale, Turin. No further reproduction allowed.



Figure 10.2. Tommaso Borgonio, *L'educatione d'Achille*, folio showing Charles Emanuel II as zephyr, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Turin, q.V 58, fol. 14. Photo: Studioelle, Turin. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Turin. No further reproduction allowed.

agreed to let his mother continue.² By the time of the later ballets, *Gli Ercoli Domatori de' Mostri*, and *Amore Domatore degli Ercoli* (Monsters Conquered by Herculeses [Heroes] and Herculeses [Heroes] Conquered by Love), performed on 15 December 1650 in Turin, and *L'educatione d'Achille e delle Nereidi sue sorelle nell'isola Doro* (The Education of Achilles and the Nereids, His Sisters, on the Island of Doro), danced on 22 December 1650 in Turin, Marie Christine therefore had to insist on her continued presence as actual head of government.³

Ballets at the Court of Savoy and Their Documentation

The ballets were not only performed by the court, but as was the case elsewhere, they were enactments of actual court life.⁴ *Hercole et Amore* and *L'educatione d'Achille* would be considered a mix of opera and ballet by today's standards,⁵ and the performances were in turn divided into separate ballets, consisting of a series of entries with professional singers and amateur courtier dancers. Mythology was a key element used to comment upon the house and the prince or princess. The use of sources could be rather free; emphasis was placed on adaptation to the ruler. The various ballets shared the same core structure and the interaction of poetry, music, dance, and scenography was central.⁶ The performances are best characterized as a Savoyard variant of the French *ballet de cour*. The carousel, or type of horse ballet, *Gli Ercoli Domatori de' Mostri*, was performed by the court in the public piazza in front of the ducal palace and was similar in structure to the danced ballets but was performed by men only. Count Filippo di San Martino d'Agliè was responsible for the three performances.⁷

All of the performances are well documented in art historical terms. They are part of a series of illuminated manuscripts from the collection of the house of Savoy, the majority of which record ballets performed during Marie Christine's regency.⁸ Fourteen manuscripts with miniatures and ornamental designs are

2. Claretta, *Storia della reggenza*, 2:252; Ricotti, *Storia della monarchia*, 6:62–64. Somewhat prolonged minorities were not unusual and their duration varied. Three years after Charles Emanuel's majority, his cousin Louis XIV asked his mother, Anne of Austria, to continue as head of council when his minority ended in September 1651. For Louis XIV's majority ceremony, see Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, 131.

3. See the codices in BNT qV 58 (*L'educatione d'Achille*) and BRT, *Storia Patria*, 949 (*Ercoli Domatori de' Mostri*)

4. See for instance McGowan, "Les Fêtes de Cour en Savoie."

5. See Bouquet-Boyer, "Musical Enigmas," 33.

6. McGowan, "Les Fêtes de Cour," 196, 200.

7. For this central figure and *inventor* of ballets, see McGowan, "Les Fêtes de Cour."

8. Among the most important studies on the manuscripts are Viale Ferrero, *Feste delle Madame Reali*; and McGowan, "Les Fêtes de Cour." The recent exhibition catalogue *Feste barocche* contains valuable updated

Chapter 11

Fiscality and Territory

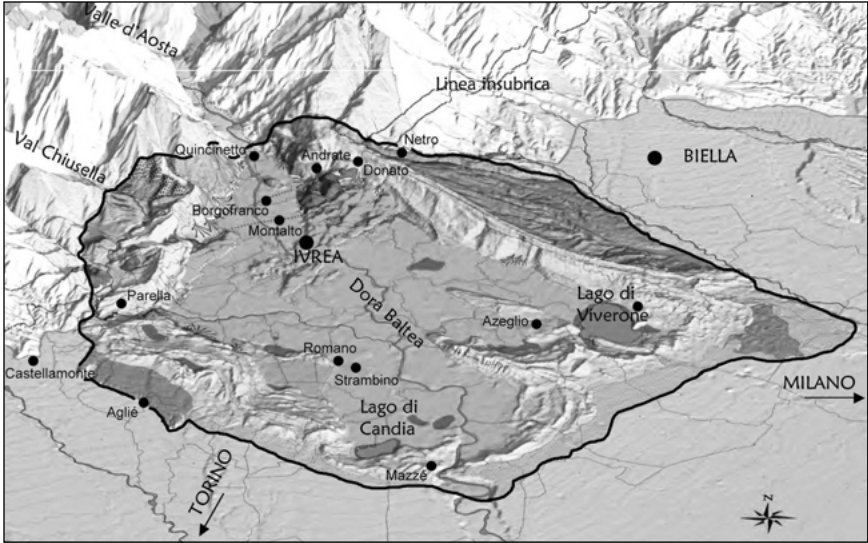
Ivrea and Piedmont between the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Guido Alfani

During the sixteenth century, the introduction of a new “ordinary” tribute, the *tasso*, changed the way in which the communities of the Sabaudian domains kept their *estimi* (property tax registers). This process, which was completed in the following century, is part of the deeper transformation effected by the *tasso* (and other fiscal innovations) in terms of how the state, cities, and territories interacted. Also contributing to this transformation was the transfer of the capital to Turin in 1563, which had a negative impact on other Piedmontese cities. While this transfer could not be described as a fiscal action, it was surely one of the main causes of the fiscal malaise perceived in many parts of Piedmont, often leading to the claim that the fiscal burden had become excessive. Old Regime cities routinely made such claims as they bargained for tax cuts, but during the seventeenth century it is likely that a significant number of Piedmontese communities had good reason to protest.

This was certainly the case for the city of Ivrea, in northwestern Piedmont. Ivrea’s situation offers a local perspective on the general transformations affecting the cisalpine (eastern side of the Alps) part of the domains of the house of Savoy. The city invites study due to its exceptionally detailed surviving documentation, including both *estimi* and books of daily corrections made to them. These sources have permitted construction of a unique kind of database detailing information about property and patrimonies.

Our analysis, which covers the period between the second half of the fifteenth century and the later seventeenth century, begins with a synthetic discussion of the changing characteristics of the Sabaudian fiscal system in the early modern period. Next, this essay will examine the fiscal sources available and the innovations in the recording of property made necessary by the introduction of the *tasso*, new enfeoffments, and related developments. Finally, a



Map 11.1. Ivrea and its surroundings. Map by Guido Alfani (from Alfani, “Ambiente fisico”).



Figure 11.1. Ivrea, from the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (1682).

study of the evolution of patrimonies and distribution of wealth in Ivrea will be matched against the changing relationship of the city with its territory and with Piedmont. Here, the essay will measure the impact of the creation of new fiefs in Ivrea's *contado* under Charles Emanuel I, the plague of 1630, and the enlargement of the patrimony of the church during the Counter-Reformation.

The Reform of the Sabaudian Fiscal System after the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)

Historians have traditionally identified in the Sabaudian states, and particularly in their Piedmontese part, one of the more institutionally advanced areas of the Italian peninsula, at least beginning in the early modern period. This is true also as regards literature on fiscal systems. Improvements in the fiscal system have been considered a key part of a process through which the Savoy dynasty built its own "modern" state, a position that Enrico Stumpo's classic book on Piedmontese fiscality during the early modern period greatly helped to consolidate.¹ The considerable fiscal capacity of the Sabaudian states was also crucial in allowing them to build their military power. In fact, since the end of the sixteenth century, the Sabaudian states and the Republic of Venice were the only Italian states able to mobilize, and to pay for, an army large enough to make war autonomously against the great European powers.² Recent historiography has also situated the Sabaudian case with respect to the development of the fiscal state across Europe.³

The story of fiscal reform in Piedmont during the sixteenth century is inextricably tied to the vicissitudes of the Savoy dynasty during the Italian Wars (1494–1559), when the French and the Spanish fought for supremacy over the Italian peninsula.⁴ In particular, after the French invasion of 1536, which resulted in the occupation of their territories on the western side of the Alps as well as of most of Piedmont, the dukes of Savoy lost control over the vast majority of their lands. Ivrea was a notable exception, having been conquered by the French but later abandoned when the troops of Emperor Charles V, allied to the house of Savoy, advanced from Milan. In 1554, however, the city was taken again by the

1. Stumpo, *Finanza e stato moderno*.

2. Alfani, *Il Grand Tour*.

3. Capra, "Italian States"; Pezzolo, "Republics and Principalities in Italy."

4. Hostilities broke out in 1494 when the king of France, Charles VIII, invaded Italy and only came to an end with the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). The best-known phase of the conflict is probably that which saw the war between Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V of Hapsburg. For a detailed account of these events, see Fueter, *Storia del sistema degli stati europei dal 1492 al 1559*. For the involvement of Ivrea in the wars, see Alfani, *Il Grand Tour*.

Chapter 12

Reshaping Local Public Space

*Religion and Politics in the Marquisate of Saluzzo
between Reformation and Counter-Reformation*

Marco Battistoni

Not long ago, the historiography of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation mostly focused on the policies of confessionalization and social disciplining pursued by the political and clerical leadership of early modern Europe. Other fundamental components of religious change that did not fit into the paradigm behind this line of research were seriously disregarded. This was especially the case when they were at odds with two prevailing assumptions: the unidirectional top-to-bottom character of cultural change and the primacy of doctrines in determining behavior.¹

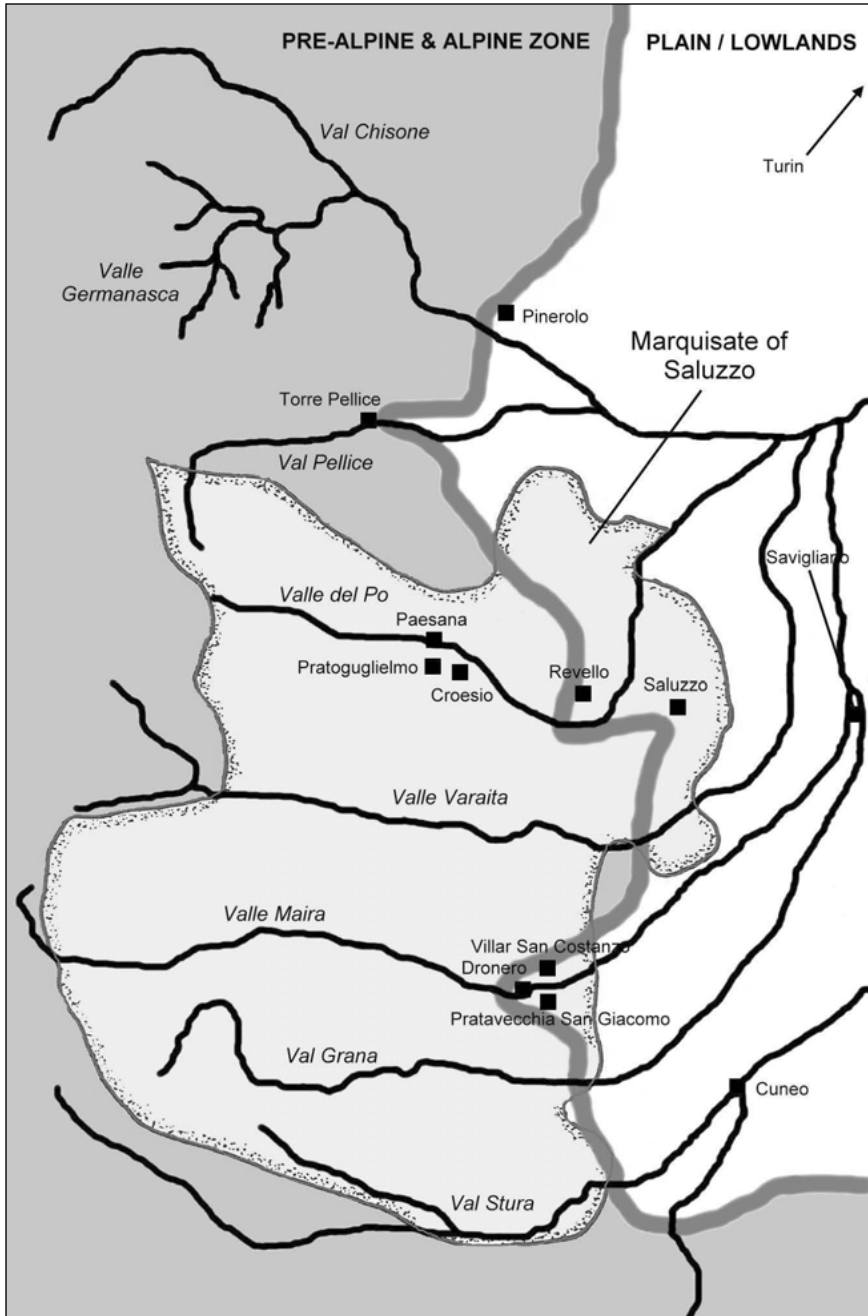
More recently, research has paid increasing attention to a wider range of forces capable of bringing about epochal changes in religious attitudes of early modern Europeans. In particular, much more relevance has been given to the role of local communities in devising specific and sometimes remarkably novel religious solutions.² Therefore, a major shift has occurred from authoritarian confessionalization to grassroots “communalism” as a conceptual label representing the formation process of religious practices and identities in early modern times.³ A community-focused approach can significantly advance knowledge of the factors involved in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, provided that first, local public space is studied in its entirety in order to avoid any a priori dichotomy between the

I am deeply indebted to Matthew Vester for his thorough revision of my text. Of course, the entire responsibility for any remaining inaccuracies rests solely with the author.

1. See Boettcher, “Confessionalization”; and Reinhard, “Disciplinamento sociale, confessionalizzazione, modernizzazione,” for a review of the relevant literature.

2. See, for instance, Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque*, and Forster, “With and Without Confessionalization.”

3. On “communalism,” see especially Blickle, *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man*; and Blickle, *Kommunalismus*.



Map 12.1. The marquisate of Saluzzo. Map by Matthew Vester.

sacred and the profane,⁴ second, its essentially segmental structure is recognized so that local communities can be rethought as genuinely composite entities,⁵ and finally, it is not regarded as self-contained.⁶

Recent studies in the field of political history have convincingly argued against construing the local community (either urban or rural) in early modern times as a monistic and holistic entity, in view of the scattered distribution of rights and powers on a local as well as on a global scale.⁷ In particular, a substantial amount of evidence has been offered concerning the multifarious array of local bodies or institutions entitled to the regulation of both secular and religious matters. These bodies and institutions—we are told—included not only town and village communities, but also, for instance, single neighborhoods, kin groups, and devotional or festive societies. Their actions usually had cultural and religious as well as political implications, since they extended to both material resources and spiritual creations such as rituals, cosmological symbols, moral or aesthetic codes, and appropriate ways to express feelings or emotions. Many dramatic changes in religious beliefs and practices that occurred during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation can thus be seen as the cumulative results of actions taken by various local bodies and institutions struggling to assert themselves in the public scene.

In this paper I will adopt a local approach to the study of the political consequences of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, by focusing on a historic area of southwestern Piedmont, the marquisate of Saluzzo, during the Reformation, that is, roughly between 1530 and 1620. The marquisate of Saluzzo was an autonomous, statelike, territorial entity,⁸ which in 1548, after the extinction of the dynasty that had ruled it since the twelfth century (the Saluzzo

4. A splendid example of this approach is the pioneering book by Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. See also Trexler, *Church and Community, 1200–1600*. Some persuasive arguments against reducing the ever-changing and negotiated distinction between sacred and secular space to a fixed and simple dichotomy in the study of medieval and early modern Christianity are provided by Spicer and Hamilton, “Defining the Holy.” See also Coster and Spicer, “Introduction.”

5. As in a recent book by Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*.

6. See a very relevant discussion of the notion of “local political space” in Bordone et al., “Lo spazio politico locale in età medievale, moderna e contemporanea.”

7. Some major contributions to this line of research are rooted in Italian microhistory. See Torre, *Il consumo di devozioni*; and Torre, *Luoghi*. In the field of Reformation and Counter-Reformation studies, Fehleison, *Boundaries of Faith*, offers an insightful illustration of the principle that global forces can best be explored through the uniqueness of locales.

8. The marquisate of Saluzzo was formally a fief of the Holy Roman Empire. From 1536 to 1559 the French were also in possession of most of the Savoyard state.

Chapter 13

Composite Politics in the Vallée d'Aoste

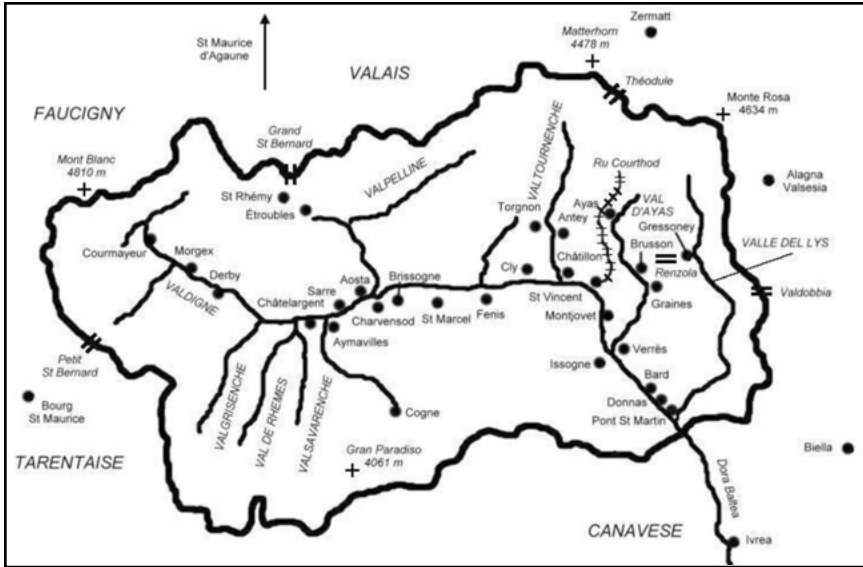
Matthew Vester

Historians and the Concept of the Composite State

In a paper delivered in 1975, H. G. Koenigsberger sought to explain why some monarchies in some countries were significantly limited by representative assemblies, while others enjoyed a relatively free hand, especially in matters of taxation. One explanation he explored was that of Norbert Elias, who had pointed out that in some places monarchies grew more powerful due to their ability to “balance the different interest groups within the country against each other and gain increasing control over them.”¹ Koenigsberger observed that this “royal mechanism” worked when the Crown was the institution best positioned to represent the kingdom as a whole (but not when another institution, like a parliament, could “command the loyalties of men of all classes throughout the country so as to encompass a most complex variety of individual and local party motivations”). Complicating this model, though, was the fact that most European states were “composite states, including more than one country under the sovereignty of one ruler,” in which there were thus multiple representative assemblies.² In addition, these states sometimes resulted from the combination of formerly independent contiguous countries. The key analytical insight here is that the ability of a central political actor to increase its authority with respect to other actors through its monopoly of power brokerage functions was significantly compromised when multiple actors could claim a number of allegiances within a given polity. Koenigsberger’s overall argument with respect to composite monarchies seems thus to have been that their composite character undermined the effectiveness of the “royal mechanism,” rendering it more difficult for truly absolutist states to develop in such contexts.

1. Koenigsberger, “Monarchies and Parliaments,” 199, where Koenigsberger summarizes Elias.

2. *Ibid.*, 201.



Map 13.1. The Vallée d'Aoste. Map by Matthew Vester.

Seventeen years later, J. H. Elliott further developed the notion of a composite state and suggested that even France could be considered in these terms.³ Elliott identified in “dynastic ambition” one of the reasons for the creation of composite states, and also one of the means by which these states were held together, through dynastic pledges to “observe traditional laws, customs, and practices,” and to perpetuate “estates and representative institutions.”⁴ Patronage systems and coordinating institutions (such as governing councils) also helped rulers to integrate various elements of their composite states. On the other hand, rulers implicitly granted to local elites “a measure of self-government,” in return for an agreement by those elites not to challenge the status quo. Elliott also suggested that an evolving allegiance to the ruling dynasty on the part of local leaders increased the chances for stability, and that dynastic loyalty was easier to generate than loyalty “to a wider community created by political union.”⁵ If Koenigsberger saw composite monarchy as an obstacle to a goal of centralization,

3. Elliott, “Europe of Composite Monarchies,” 51.

4. *Ibid.*, 51–52, 54. In this passage, Elliott seems to take for granted the existence of a kind of immemorial tradition in these places, without acknowledging the ways in which historical processes (including the negotiations between different political actors) within such territories “invented traditions” there.

5. *Ibid.*, 55, 57.

Elliott saw it as a solution to the problem of a goal that was unattainable anyway, for a variety of reasons, and as a mechanism providing for “local self-government” by elites who were likely to be drawn closer to the Crown.⁶

Other scholars have used the concept of composite monarchy in different ways, showing how the composite nature of some states could increase the influence of popular political activities,⁷ situating the concept within the move “to construct non-nationalist histories of nations” that take into account “sub-state nationalisms,” among other things,⁸ and examining the concept’s implications for political thought⁹ and for political identity.¹⁰ In this essay I would like to push the boundaries of the notion of a composite state, or composite polity, to explore the relationship between political activities at different levels of a particular set of early modern jurisdictions. For both Koenigsberger and Elliott, this concept was useful because it helped explain the political dynamic between center and locality. Both historians also saw “Piedmont-Savoy” as a composite state in which Duke Emanuel Filibert was unusually successful in integrating the territorial components into a centralized sovereignty.¹¹ More recent Sabaudian studies have been more circumspect in their assessment of how effectively the house of Savoy centralized its power during the early modern period, and have continued to underline differences in terms of how governance was effected in the cisalpine lands, the transalpine lands, the county of Nice, and the Vallée d’Aoste.¹² Still,

6. *Ibid.*, 69.

7. This could result in the ironic result that “the very people who were so often ignored in the relations between core and periphery could suddenly become the pivot on which rested the precarious political balance in composite states”; Corteguerra, “Popular Politics in Composite Monarchies,” 39.

8. David Armitage has described ways in which the kingdom of Scotland was not only part of a composite British empire, but was also “itself a compound monarchy” with fluid boundaries; see “Making the Empire British,” 36, 41.

9. Joan-Pau Rubiés has examined the political theory according to which the crown of Aragon was not only part of a more broad composite Spanish monarchy, but was itself confederal, showing how “a plurality of reasons of state” existed within a given sovereignty; see “Reason of State and Constitutional Thought,” 2–4, 17.

10. Mia Rodríguez-Salgado investigated forms of political identity shared by members of composite monarchies and concluded that *patria*, while a crucial component of this identity, was also something that could refer to a town, village, or hamlet, and not merely to an entire country or province; see “Christians, Civilised and Spanish,” 234, 236–37.

11. For Koenigsberger, “Piedmont-Savoy” was a “composite monarchy” in whose “central province of Piedmont the duke carried out a *coup d'état* in 1560 and from then ceased to summon his parliament,” adding that thereafter “he and his successors left the parliaments of the outlying provinces of Saluzzo and Val d’Aosta severely alone”; “Monarchies and Parliaments,” 204. Elliott’s variation on this theme contends that “few early modern rulers were as well placed as Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, who, after recovering his war-devastated territories in 1559, was in a position to begin the construction of a Savoyard state almost from scratch, and passed on to his successors a centralizing bureaucratic tradition which would make Piedmont-Savoy, at least by the standards of early modern Europe, an unusually integrated state”; “Europe of Composite Monarchies,” 54.

12. See for example Symcox, “Dinastia, Stato, amministrazione,” 49; also a variety of work by Blythe

Chapter 14

Sabaudian Spaces and Territories

Piedmont as a Composite State

(Ecclesiastical Enclaves, Fiefs, Boundaries)

Blythe Alice Raviola

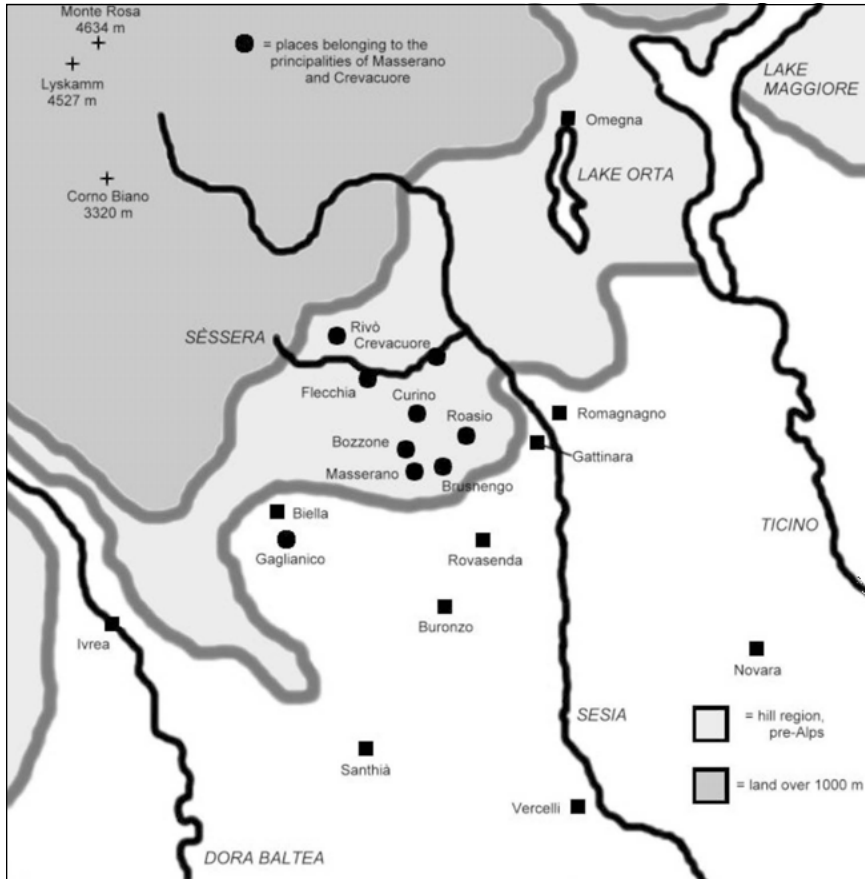
Many specialists in Piedmontese history are already persuaded that early modern Piedmont was a composite state and quite a bit is known about its jurisdictional fragmentation. While it is thus unnecessary to demonstrate a reality that the most recent historiography has illuminated,¹ it would be useful to offer a summary of the situation, in order to complete a puzzle made of very different kinds of pieces.

As an eighteenth-century intendant would have done for his sovereign, I will begin by identifying places that, for a variety of reasons, had not been part of Sabaudian Piedmont since the fifteenth century. In fact, when one locates these places on a map, one easily notices the first basic point that I wish to make: they were situated at the boundaries of the state.² Such lands include the marquisate of Saluzzo, the marquisate of Monferrato, the marquisate of Ceva, many imperial fiefs in the Langhe and in Monferrato, jurisdictional islands like the territorial seigniories of Incisa, Cocconato, Gattinara, Tizzone, and Crescentino, the ecclesiastical and papal fiefs in the dioceses of Asti, Biella, and Vercelli dioceses, Pinerolo (between 1630 and 1696), and the “newly acquired provinces” of Alessandria, Tortona, Valenza, and Novara until 1708. Most of these places bordered on the primary core of the dynasty’s power or intersected its frontiers. The county of Nice and the duchy of Savoy, essential elements of the Sabaudian

I thank Matthew Vester for his kind invitation to submit this essay and Laura Capuano, who read it with attention and passion

1. See Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia*; Barbero, *Storia del Piemonte*. See also Bianchi, *Il Piemonte in età moderna*; and Bianchi, *Il Piemonte come eccezione?*”

2. Raviola, *Lo spazio sabaudo*.



Map 14.1. Above, Masserano and Crevacuore. Map by Matthew Vester.

polity, were located at its boundaries. The same was true of the Genevois, owned by a collateral branch of the dynasty.³

What sort of legal, terminological, and historical sense is one to make of these territorial entities? Some of them were like small states unto themselves, and some even considered themselves as such, acting like states and exercising a rough form of diplomacy. Any effort to define these places requires one to confront the old conceptual problem of the modern state. This notion is ontologically static and could appear too institutional, but it remains central to debates within early modern history and other fields. For example, scholarly exchange with

3. Vester, *Jacques de Savoie-Nemours*.

historians of the Middle Ages is now essential to understanding Italy and the Holy Roman Empire as examples of composite spaces. Examination of interactions between Italian and imperial actors in the early sixteenth century is especially useful, because their political languages were not dissimilar. The politics of Charles V in the Italian peninsula are not comprehensible if we fail to see that many princes or towns considered him the protector of rights acquired earlier. Attention devoted by medieval historians (such as Giorgio Chittolini) to the proper definition of powers, status, and lands focuses our reflections on the state-building process of the early modern period.

Thus, it may be the case that completely eliminating the idea of “the state” would be as inopportune as overemphasizing it, and Piedmont is a good laboratory to prove this contention.⁴ Until about twenty years ago, most of the historiographic literature on the Sabaudian lands strongly underlined the process of centralization initiated by Emanuel Filibert following the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. But recent research on Piedmont during the late fifteenth century and during the reign of Emanuel Filibert’s father, Charles II, demonstrates the limits of this paradigm.⁵ First, the aggregation of territories that were spatially separated from each other in a “leopard-skin” pattern had already begun during this earlier period, in accordance with what had been taking place in other Italian contexts. Second, this process of consolidation did not bring an end to local autonomies, which continued to coexist alongside the institutional reforms promoted by the duke. Moreover, a microhistorical approach makes it clear that the absolutism attributed to Victor Amadeus II and to the whole *Settecento riformatore* was imperfect: if one changes perspective and examines local sources, one is able to unmask the limits of this older view and to see how peripheries resisted the mechanisms of centralizing power.⁶

Masserano and Crevacuore: Thorn in the Side or a Would-Be State?

The long-lasting case of the ecclesiastical fiefs seems to be a good example of how the claims of the state were opposed by both seigniorial authorities and international actors, if one takes into consideration places that depended directly

4. See my “Territori e poteri.”

5. Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia*. See also Bianchi and Gentile, *L'affermarsi della corte sabauda*; Bianchi, *Il Piemonte in età moderna*; Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi*.

6. Torre, “Faide, fazioni e partiti ovvero la ridefinizione”; Ragusa and Torre, *Tra Belbo e Bormida*; Bordone et al., *Lo spazio politico locale*; Spione and Torre, *Uno spazio storico*.

Postscript

In Memory of Robert Oresko

Geoffrey Symcox, Matthew Vester,
Toby Osborne, and Blythe Alice Raviola

I first encountered Robert in a seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in London, sometime in late 1981 or early 1982. The memory is still clear and fresh. I had recently arrived in London, starting what turned out to be a three-year stint running the University of California Education Abroad Program office there. The job allowed me time to work in the grand reading room of the British Museum (as it still was in those days) and to attend the weekly seminars in early modern European history at the Institute. In one of these seminars I presented my research on Victor Amadeus II of Savoy, previewing the study of his reign I was just completing. From my experience of similar presentations I did not expect anyone in the seminar to have more than a nodding acquaintance with my subject, and so it came as a pleasant surprise to receive perceptive, well-informed comments from one of the participants; this was of course Robert.

A few days later he invited me to lunch at the house in Kensington he shared with his partner, Roger Clark. We talked of our shared interest in the history of the Savoyard state and became good friends. By that time Robert had been living in London for about ten years and had become thoroughly Anglicized. Over many subsequent lunches (Robert only drank white wine) he told me how after coming to London he had first run his own art publishing business, but had then gravitated back into academic life, starting work on a doctorate (which he never completed) with Ragnhild Hatton, then professor of International History at the London School of Economics, who—it so happened—was also his neighbor and friend, living just one street away in Kensington. (There was a personal connection for me too: she was a valued friend who had encouraged and supported me ever since graduate school.) Robert's historical method—building up a multiple perspective on his subject through close research in a wide range of archives across Europe—owes much to Ragnhild's concept of "international history," well suited to studying the history of a cosmopolitan, pre-nationalistic Europe. Like her, Robert was a polyglot, indefatigable *topo d'archivio*; like her

too, he was a staunch empiricist with scant sympathy for theory. The great strength of their multidimensional archival method was its ability to perceive connections and tease out motivations invisible to scholars restricted to the perspective of a single state and its records.

I soon came to realize that the other methodological influence guiding Robert's work was the great art historian Rudolf Wittkower, with whom he had studied at Columbia University. But Robert did not like to be called an art historian, and chided me when I used the term to describe him; he was a historian *tout court*. Nevertheless his training in the history of art showed in everything he did. Not just in his many contributions to *Apollo* and other journals in the arts, but in the way he brought visual evidence to bear on the subjects he investigated, integrating it seamlessly into the argument, as exemplified in his splendid article (or should I say mini-monograph?) titled "The House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown" (1997). Here the visuals are not just illustration, but an essential component of the argument.

Although we had constant discussions about the early modern Savoyard state, I never really discovered what first drew Robert to this relatively obscure subject, so remote geographically and chronologically from the fields of Italian history favored by English-speaking scholars. He had chosen Turin over Florence and Venice, the "forgotten" seventeenth and eighteenth centuries over the Renaissance and the Risorgimento. I think his choice of period was probably made early on; as an undergraduate at Wesleyan University he had opted for early modern European history, studying with Richard Vann. But his reasons for choosing Piedmont-Savoy as the focus of his research are not so easy to explain. Perhaps, like me, he was first drawn to Piedmont by its magnificent architecture, the legacy of Guarini, Juvarra, Alfieri, Vittone, and a host of lesser masters, and by the dignity and elegance of Turin's *centro storico*. (Here I would note that his mentor Wittkower had made the case for the importance of Piedmontese architecture and urbanism in a number of pioneering studies.) Or perhaps he was drawn to the Alpine charms of Chambéry and Annecy, a city he particularly loved. Or perhaps it was because of Turin's opera house; he always tried to do his research in cities that could gratify his passion for opera, especially in later years Vienna. Finally I think his choice of Piedmont-Savoy must also have had something to do with his preference for studying smaller states and lesser courts, rather than the big powers. True, he spent a good deal of his time studying the titans of early modern Europe, Bourbon France, and the Habsburg empire, their courts and their politics. But his real interest was in the secondary players on the chessboard; hence his interest in the duchy of Lorraine, which he saw as a close

parallel to the Savoyard monarchy, though destined for a very different fate at the hands of its powerful neighbor.

Robert's interests as a historian were unabashedly elitist. Although he was well aware of the achievements of the social historians and was ready to make use of their insights when they served his purposes, like his mentor Ragnhild Hatton, he studied rulers and their courts, their intermarriages and their interactions, at times almost with an anthropologist's eye. The personal could not be separated from the political. So for him, the history of the Savoyard state was the history of its ruling dynasty, about whose foibles and proclivities, past and present, he was extraordinarily well informed. Here I parted company, for I could not share his enthusiasm for the house of Savoy or his interest in its current tawdry representatives. On this issue, and other political questions, we disagreed amicably; Robert was very much a man of the Right, wearing his politics on his sleeve, as provocation to be sure, but also with a tinge of impish self-irony. His politics were part of the persona he carefully fashioned for himself, *plus royaliste que le roi*. (He once told me that one of his future projects was to be a study of the Catholic reactionary Joseph de Maistre.) In the world of Savoyard court politics, his research interests were guided by his personal likes and dislikes. From early on he had developed a keen interest in—or I should perhaps say fondness for—the second Madama Reale, Maria Giovanna Battista di Savoia-Nemours, while conceiving a corresponding dislike of her predecessor, Madama Maria Cristina, whom he never failed to denigrate whenever the opportunity arose. His criticism of my negative assessment of Maria Giovanna Battista in my book on Victor Amadeus II led me to revise my views, so in the chapter on her regency that I wrote for the *Storia di Torino* I offered a much more positive interpretation of her regency. It is a great pity that Robert did not live to complete the full-length study of Maria Giovanna Battista that he had planned, and for which he had finished most of the research. This is a grave loss.

Robert was an intensely social animal. He loved parties (I recall, hazily, a luncheon at the Café de la Paix in 1989 that lasted until the early evening), he was a loyal friend (and could be a combative foe), and he reveled in gossip, for which he displayed a wicked talent. His social and scholarly worlds were inseparable. Wherever he went—Oxford, Turin, Geneva, Vienna, Paris, but above all in London—he cultivated contacts with local scholars and established friendships with them. Scholarship was something to share and pursue with his wide circle of friends and acquaintances, and the scholarly projects he initiated were, in a real sense, outgrowths of the social networks he developed. Thus the Society for Court Studies that he cofounded in 1995 was a social as well as a scholarly

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