

# Index

Aalst (Alost, Belgian town) Alva, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, mutineers at, 253 third duke of (1507-82), sacked, 155, 199 governor-general of the Netherlands and the Army of Flanders, 21-3, 143, accommodation for troops on the march, 80-90, 139-40 187, 201 in the Netherlands, 133, 139-41, 167 career of, 91, 100, 241 Acuña, Don Lope de (d. 1573), leads finances of, 21, 92-3, 94, 96, 102, 112, expedition along the Spanish Road 115-16, 142 n 28 government of the Netherlands, 21-3, in 1573, 76–7 fig. 11, 78 fig. 12, 86, 88, 182 n 16, 237, 240 91-4, 118-20, 195-6 age of troops in the Army of Flanders, march to the Netherlands (1567), 9, 28, 30-1, 166 29 and n 15, 54, 55, 56, 57, 71 and Aire-sur-le-Lys, capture of (1641), Plate 6 n 3, 73 and no. 9, 79 and n 14, 80, 83 Alameda, Alonso de, contador of the Army and n 24, 138, 195, 237, 240 military dress, 138 of Flanders (1567-77), 245 Albert, Archduke of Austria, opinions quoted, 10, 26, 28, 34, 35 n 28, governor-general (1595-9) and 72-3, 113, 145, 197, 201 sovereign ruler (1599-1621) of the American colonies, Europe's, xiv n 3, Netherlands a motive for the Low Countries' Wars, career, 47, 93, 219, 242 government and opinions of, 27 n 10, 64, 113-14, 210 95, 99, 140, 141 n 27, 144, 150 n 57, treasure from used to finance the Low 211, 213, 215 Countries' Wars, 204, 217–18 Albornoz, Juan de, secretary of state and see also individual colonies war in the Army of Flanders Amiens (French town), siege of (1597), 6, (1567-73), 97, 247 Alençon, François (d. 1584), duke of Antuñez, Manuel, maestre de campo and invades the Spanish Netherlands, 202, poet, 101 Antwerp (Belgian town) threatens Spanish Road, 56 fairs of, 124, 130, 202 n 14 Alsace, Habsburg dominion mutiny of Spanish troops at (1574), 159 occupied by France (1637), 219 fig. 16, 161, 162, 163, 166, 172–3, recruiting ground for Spain, 25, 45 197, 200, 253 strategic importance to Spain, 47, 60, sack of (1576), 155, 173 210 use of Spanish language in, 149



## Index

Inc	tex
Antwerp citadel	bandes d'ordonnance, Netherlands cavalry, 21
capture, 112	See also cavalry
mutinous garrison of, 160 n 6, 163, 165,	bandits, and recruiting, 39-40
166, 186, 211, 255	Bar, dukes of, see Lorraine
Aragon, rebellion of (1591), 209	barracks, 139-41
Aragón, Don Francisco de Mendoza	bastion (military fortification), 4-9, 5 fig. 1,
(1547–1623), Admiral of,	Plates 1, 2
mayordomo mayor of the	battles in the Low Countries' Wars, 7, 14-17
Archdukes and military	Baume-les-Dames (town in
commander, 93, 165 n 21	Franche-Comté), experience of the
arbitristas, Spanish reformers in the reign of	Spanish Road, 85–6
Philip III, 110	Benavente y Benavides, Don Crístobal de,
Ardres, mutiny at, 255	veedor general of the Army of
Armendáriz, Captain, 188 n 35	Flanders and councillor of Philip IV,
Aremberg, Jean de Ligne (1525–68), count	81, 243
of, 187	Benero, Hilario de, paymaster-general of
armies	the Army of Flanders (1651–3 and
abuses by, 96	1654–6), 245
artistic depiction, 103	Bentivoglio, Cardinal Guido, nuncio and
Dutch, 11, 17, 134 n 4	historian, 160
English, 23, 225	Berg, Count Henry van den, commander of
French, 3, 179, 225	the Army of Flanders (1628–32), 15
Imperial, 36, 65–6	n 27, 99, 219
Swedish, 17–18, 45, 218–19, 225	Bergen-op-Zoom (Dutch town), sieges of,
arms and armament of the troops, 3, 40-1,	(1588) 207; (1622) 2, 180–1, 261
54, 135, 139	Berlaymont, count, regiment of, 185 n 27,
Arras, Treaty of (1579), 203	191
artillery, use of, 15, 41, 221	Bern, Swiss canton, 56, 58
Arundel, see Howard, Thomas	Berwick-on-Tweed (English town)
asiento system of the Spanish empire,	barracks of, 140–1 n 24
124–31	fortifications of, 6, Plate 1
Axpe, Don Martín de, secretary of state and	Besançon (Imperial Free City in
war in the Army of Flanders	Franche-Comté), experience of the
(1634–6), 248	Spanish Road, 53, 55, 64, 82, 89
Aytona, Don Francisco de Moncada,	'Fairs' of, 124 n 15, 202 n 14
marquis of, acting governor-general	billeting, see accommodation
of the Netherlands (1633-4), 14-15,	Biron, Marshal, 59
25, 111 n 7, 242	Bobadilla, Don Francisco de, maestre de campo, 237, 240
Baggage, see transport for the troops,	Bohemia, revolt of (1618–22), 63, 215
baggage	Bommelerwaard (Netherlands island
Bahia (Salvador, Brazilian port),	between Waal and Maas)
recaptured from the Dutch (1625),	mutiny at, 188, 207, 253
112, 217	Spanish occupation of (1589), 188, 207;
Baltic, Dutch-Spanish rivalry in, 217	(1599), 211



## Index

booty, 151, 154-5 camp-followers of the Army of Flanders, Bormio (town in the Valtelline), Spanish 80, 150-1, 252 fort constructed at (1620), 64 captain, commander of an army company Botero, Giovanni, political theorist, 14, 15 power over his men, 29-30, 35, 134-5, Boyle, Roger, baron Broghill, military 144, 169-70 writer, 15 recruiting methods, 25, 28, 38 Braudel, Fernand, historian, 42 captain-general of the Army of Flanders Brazil, Dutch, 112, 219 and mutineers, 162-3 bread, army (pan de munición), 135-6 office-holders, 92-5, 177 Breda (Dutch town) powers, 29, 93-4 Cardinal-Infante, Don Fernando, brother of Dutch Republic captures (1590), 11 peace talks at (1575), 113, 198-9 Philip IV and governor-general of Spain captures (1580), 203; (1625), 2, the Netherlands (1634–41), 66–7, 100, 103, 180 112, 203, 217 Spanish garrison of, 155 and n 75 Carnero, Alonso, contador of the Army of Breisach (town in Alsace), 47 Flanders (1584-7 and 1589-95), 133 Breughel, Pieter, artist, 21 n 1, 245 Breuil, Carlos de, chaplain-general, 146 n 42 Carnero, Antonio, contador (1587-9) and bridges in the early modern period, 71-2 historian of the Army of Flanders, British and Irish soldiers in the Army of 104 n 38, 246 Flanders Castañeda, Don Sancho de Zúñiga y demobilization of, 158 Monroy, marquis of, councillor of desertion, 183 Philip IV, 175-6 military corridors of, 42-3 Castel Rodrigo, Don Manuel de Moura y numbers, 24, 231 Cortereal, marquis of, recruitment of, 26, 34, 42 governor-general of the Netherlands (1644-7), 242 unit organization of, 234 value, of, 26 Castellanos, Cristóbal de, contador of the British soldiers in the Dutch army, 42 Army of Flanders (1567-74), 245 Brussels, mutiny at, 254 Castrofuerte, Marquis of, councillor of bullion, movement and importance of, 49, Philip IV, 36 Casuso Maeda, Luis de, contador of the 57, 128–9, 164 Army of Flanders (1622-30), 181 Burgundy, see Franche-Comté and Charles the Bold n 11, 246 Catalonia, revolt of (1640-59), 223 Cabala, Domingo de, secretary of state and Catholic Church, see papacy, clerical war in the Army of Flanders services and religion cavalry in the Low Countries' Wars, 2-3, 9, (1573-5), 184Cadiz (Spanish port), English attack, 67, 217 16-17, 139, 185 n 27, 235 Cedrellas, Bartolomé, soldier, 153 Calais (French port), 48 Calais, mutiny at, 255 Centurione, Ottavio, financier, 125 Calderón, de la Barca, Pedro playwright, 103 Centurione, Vizente, financier, 125 Callot, Jacques, artist, 103 Cerralvo, Marquis of, governor-general camarada, see comradeships designate of the Netherlands Cambrai, mutiny at, 255 (1591-2), 209



## Index

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de company, army unit, 10-11, 16-17, 29-32, (1547-1616), Spanish writer, 33, comradeship (camarada) in the Army of 103, 137, 157 Channel, English, as military corridor, 44, Flanders, 151-2, 171-2, 188 48-9, 67-8 contador of the Army of Flanders Chapeaurouge, François de, Genevan duties, 94 diplomat, 58, 59 office-holders, 245–6 chaplains in the Army of Flanders, 103, contaduría mayor de cuentas, audit office of the Castilian exchequer, 95-6, 98 104, 145-7, 233-5; see also religion Charles II, king of England, Scotland and contributions-system in the Netherlands, Ireland (1649–85), 193 121-2 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519-58) council of Flanders, 95 and king of Spain, 52 council of state, 95, 99, 109, 110, 165 n 22, financial legacy of, 34, 125 199, 213 opinions of, 27, 125 council of war in the Netherlands, 93 Charles VIII, king of France (1483-98), 3 council of war in Spain, 29 n 17, 93, 95, Charles IX, king of France (1560-74), Crespi de Valdaura, Cristóbal, 149 Charles the Bold of Burgundy, duke Crèvecoeur fort, mutiny at, 174 n 42, 211, (1463-77), 54, 63Châtelet, mutiny at, 254 crime in the Army of Flanders, 82, 84-5, Chézery, val de (Valserine, in Savoy), link 152 between Rhône and Cruickshank, Charles, historian, 135 Franche-Comté, 59, 64, 71 Cruso, John, military writer, 10 children see Spanish soldiers in the Army of Curiel, Gerónimo de (d. 1578), Spanish Flanders, families of factor at Antwerp and Paris, 201 Chile, xiv n 3 Cigogna, Juan Andrea (d. 1597), Dávila, Sancho, 101 superintendent of contributions in Davison, William, 7 the Netherlands 1574-6 and 'debauchers', agents paid to entice soldiers 1579-88, 120, 121 from one army to another, 183-4 Civil Wars, English (1642-51), 44 decrees of bankruptcy (decretos), orders Clark, Sir George, historian, 23 suspending payments from the Cleves-Jülich, German duchies of Castilian treasury strategic importance, 1, 12 fig. 2, 214 mechanism of, 126-7 succession struggle (1609–14), 214–15 in 1575, 116, 127, 199–200 clothing, military, see uniform in 1596, 127, 209-10 in 1607, 213 Coignet, Michel, cartographer, 64 Cologne, war of (1583-9), 132, 214 in 1627, 130 Coloma, Don Carlos (1566–1637), Delgadillo, Hernando, Spanish commissary, ambassador, military commander 88 n 37, 157 n 1 and historian, 101, 102, 134 n 4, demobilization, 190-4 158, 160 n 5, 182 n 17 depositario general, 'public trustee' for the Coloma, Pedro, contador of the Army of Army of Flanders (after 1596), 147 Flanders (1580–95), 245 desertion, 177, 181, 182-6, 193-4



## Index

Deventer (Dutch town) engineering in the early modern period fortifications of, 6, Plates 2 and 3 civil, 70-1 siege of (1591), 208 military, 4-7, 15 Diest (Belgian town), mutinies at England in 1590-1, 159, 161, 254 foreign policy of, 67, 206-7, 212 in 1599–1601, 211, 212, 255 military practice, 44, 123 n 13, 133 in 1606-7, 165, 168, 213, 256 see also British soldiers discipline in the Army of Flanders enterprisers, military, see military in mutinies, 164, 165, 170-3, 174, contractors entretenidos (staff officers) in the Army of 199-200 Flanders, 93-4, 99 in the ranks, 134, 153, 169–70, 184–5, 188 for senior personnel, 98-9 Épinal (town in Lorraine), experience of the disease in the Army of Flanders, 89, 143, Spanish Road, 82 n 22, 83, 186 n 31 Ernest, Archduke of Austria (1553-95), distance, problem of, 42, 95, 240 governor-general of the domino theory of strategy, 109-11 Netherlands, 241 Doria, Juan Andrea, 111 n 7 Escobedo, Juan de (d. 1578) secretary of state and war in the Army of Doullens, mutiny at, 255 Downs, battle of the (1639), 68, 220 Flanders, 192, 247 Drake, Sir, Francis, 206-7 étape system, 80-7, 88 drill, 10 n 17, 210 Dunkirk (Channel port mostly controlled fairs of exchange, 124-5, 191, 202 n 14 by Spain until 1658), 2, 48, 223 families of soldiers, see Spanish soldiers, families of fleet of, 2 Fawkes, Guy, soldier in the Army of garrison of, 151 Flanders and Gunpowder mutiny at, 254 Duplessis-Mornay, Philippe, French conspirator (1605), 34 Huguenot writer, 57, 58 Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria and later Dutch Republic, see United Provinces (1618-37) Holy Roman Emperor, 45, 47, 65-6, 215 Eguigerem, Ascención de, contador of the Feria, duke of, 63 n 46, 137 n 15, 182 n 17 Army of Flanders (1603–10), 246 Fernández de Navarrete, Pedro, Spanish Eguiluz, Martín de, Spanish soldier and arbitrista, 110 military writer, 138 finance, public, during the Low Countries' electo, leader of a mutiny, 160-2 Wars, 57, 90, 94-9, 109-32, El Greco, see Theotocopoulos, Domenikos 195-225, 249, 257-60 Elizabeth I, queen of England (1558–1603), Finglas, Thomas, 'debaucher', 183 fleets 32, 117, 206, 212 Empire, Holy Roman Dutch, 2, 49, 67–8, 188, 213, 217, 218 opposition to invasion by Spanish troops English, 206-7 French, 48 (1599), 132 Spanish intervention in (1619-34), Huguenot, 49 Ottoman, 195 214-16 Spanish, 2, 48-9, 67-8, 196 used as military corridor by Spanish troops, 44-5, 63, 65, 214 Spanish Netherlands, 2



### Index

Fourquevaux, Raymond de Beccarie de Gembloux, battle of (1578), 7, 202 Geneva, city and republic of Pavie (1508-74), sieur de, military writer, 7 n 12 Spain and, 53-5, 182 n 16 France and the treaty of Lyon (1601), 58 army of, 3, 29, 179, 222 Genoa, city and republic of Spanish deserters and, 186 financiers of, 48, 51 Spanish intervention in, 220-1 strategic importance to Spain, 51, 53, 127 and the Spanish Road, 57, 61-2, 129, 209 gentlemen-rankers (particulares), war with Spain, 6, 27, 61, Plate 5, 206, importance of, 33-4, 101 216-17, 218, 219-23 George III, king of England (1760-1820), Franche-Comté of Burgundy soldiers from, 24, 26, 158, 234 German soldiers in the Army of Flanders Spanish Road in, 72-3, 75-8 (figs. 10, 11, demobilization of, 158, 190-1, 192 desertion of, 182 12), 83, 88 strategic importance of, 51, 52 military corridors of, 44, 47 Francis I, king of France (1515-47), 6 mutinies of, 158 recruitment of, 23, 25, 26, 29, 36, 44 Franciscan Order, in Spanish Netherlands, troop size, 22, 24, 231, 236 fraud in the Army of Flanders unit organization of, 233-4 by captains, 135-7, 187 value of, 25 by clerical staff, 95-9, 105 wastage of, 179, 182-3 control of, 97-8 Germany, see Empire, Holy Roman Geyl, Pieter, historian, 11 and n 21 Frederick V, elector palatine and (1619–20) 'winter king' of Bohemia, 45, 215, Ghent (Belgian town), 40 see also Palatinate mutiny at, 165, 211, 255 freebooters, operations in the Netherlands, Pacification of (1576), 200 Girón, Don Fernando, Spanish soldier and 14, 40 Fronsberg, Count, regiment of, 191 councillor of Philip IV, 227, 238 Fuentes, Don Pedro Enríquez de Guzmán, Grésin, see pont de Grésin Toledo y Azevedo, count of, Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von, novelist, 150 governor-general of the Netherlands Granvelle, Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de (1517-86), adviser of Philip II, (1595), 60–1, 113–14, 145 n 38, 209 Fuentes fort, at the mouth of the Valtelline, 49-51, 56, 60, 109 n 2, 110 6т Grave (Dutch town), 205 mutiny at, 256 Galaretta, Francisco de, secretary of state Graz, Treaty of (1617), 47, 215 and war in the Army of Flanders 'great rivers barrier' idea (in the (1636-8 and 1644-8), 248 Netherlands), 11 and n 21 Galaretta Ocariz, Martín de, secretary of Gregorian Calendar, adopted by the Army state and war in the Army of of Flanders in 1583, 134 Flanders (1655-69), 248 Grisons, the league of Protestant garrisons in the Low Countries, 9, 14, 140, landowners controlling the south-eastern corner of modern 143, 150 Gayangos, Balthasar de, contador of the Switzerland, 61-3, 65-6 Army of Flanders (1595–9), 245 Grol, siege of (1595), 15



### Index

Groningen (Dutch town) Hohenems, Count Hannibal von, German reconciliation with Spain (1580), 203 captured by Dutch (1594), 11, 173 Holland (province of the Netherlands), 15 guerilla warfare in the Low Countries' Wars, 10-11, 14-15, 185 Guerra de la Vega, Gonzalo, contador of the Army of Flanders (1610-22), 246 Gunpowder Plot (1605), 34 n 25, 44 Holstein, Adolph duke of, 32 Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden (1611-32), 17, 45, 218, 219Gutiérrez, Alonso, 2 n 3 Haarlem (Dutch town) mutiny at (1573), 169, 172, 253 siege of (1572-3), 7, 139, 169 Hainaut (Belgian province), 160, 185 n 27 Hal (Belgian town), centre for wounded veterans, 143 Hale, Sir John, historian, 3 Hamont, mutiny at, 173 n 40, 255, 256 harvests Low Countries, 157, 174, 207, 210 Spain, 34, 210, 218 Hauser, Henri, historian, 56 Heiligerlee, battle of (1568), 187 Henríquez de Castro, Don Diego, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1653-4 and 1656-60), 245 Henry, king of Portugal (1578-80), 203 Henry III, king of France (1574-89), 207 Henry IV, king of France (1589–1610) government of, 100, 205, 209, 210, 225, 235 Spain and, 57-9, 60, 125, 206, 207, 208 Herenthals, mutiny at, 255

Hernani, Diego de, contador of the Army of

Hexham, Henry, soldier and lexicographer,

structure and powers of, 91-108,

Flanders (1630-51), 246

high command of the Army of Flanders,

136, 145, 154, 235 Hinojosa, Marquis of La, 79 n 13

histories of the Low Countries' Wars

written by officers, 101

148-9

Honnecourt, battle of (1642), 111 Hoogstraten (Belgian town), mutiny at, 160, 173 n 40, 212, 256 hospitals, military, 141-4 horses, 135, 139; see also cavalry Howard, Thomas, Lord Arundel, 44 Hugo, Herman, chaplain and writer, 103 Huguenots, French, 196 attack Spanish shipping, 48, 49 threaten the Spanish Road, 56, 57 Hundred Years' War between England and France, 10 n 17, 123 Ibarra, Don Diego de, inspector-general of the Army of Flanders (1593-9), 243 Ibarra, Esteban de, secretary of state and war in Madrid and Brussels, 114 n 13, 148 n 49, 173, 243 Ibarra, Francisco de, commissary-general of the Army of Flanders (1567), 71 Ieper (Ypres: Belgian town), siege of, 186 Ijzendijk fort, mutiny at, 256 Indies (Spain's overseas empire), see American colonies inspector-general, see veedor general 'Invincible Armada', see Spanish Armada Irish soldiers, see British and Irish soldiers Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infanta, regent in the Netherlands (1621-33), 47, 99, 175 n 43, 180, 210-11, 219 Isendijk fort, mutiny at, 174 n 42, 256 Italian soldiers in the Army of Flanders demobilization of, 158 desertion of, 185 military corridors of, 48, 60 mutinies of, 166, 168

recruitment of, 26, 27, 38, 184

military enterpriser (d. 1587), 45

mutiny of Spaniards in, 158-9, 161 n 9,

169 n 32, 171 fig. 18, 253

Spanish plans to burn or flood, 114

see also United Provinces



## Index

troop size, 24, 50, 177, 178, 179 unit organization of, 234 value of, 27 Italy importance to Spain, 53, 109, 132, 195-6, Spanish rule in, 28, 182 Jesuit Order in the Spanish Netherlands, 146 Jews, Sephardic, 130-1 141 n 27, 244 John of Austria, Don, natural son of Charles V and governor-general of the Netherlands (1576-8), 7, 93, 95, 99, 177, 192, 193 n 7, 196, 200, 202, 241 Lombardy, see Milan John José of Austria, Don, natural son of London Philip IV and governor-general of the Netherlands (1656-9), 242 Joinville, Treaty of (1584), 207 juros, government bonds issued by the Castilian treasury, 126, 128, 202 101, 145 n 39 Kerpen fort, mutiny at, 255 Kortrijk (Belgian town) capture of, 203 mutiny at, 134, 159 fig. 16, 160 n 5, 253 La Chapelle, mutiny at, 163 n 14, 253, 254 Lannoy, Don Fernando (d. 1579), nobleman of Franche-Comté maps of, 72-3 prepares the duke of Alva's march, 57, 73, 83 n 24, 87 n 33 Laloo, Alonso de, 181 n 13 languages in the Low Countries, 148-9 Lastur, Juan de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1579-80 and Lorraine, duchy of 1585-90), 243 La Torre, Don Diego de, secretary of state and war in the Army of Flanders (1641-4), 248Lausanne (Swiss town), 58, 64 Laws of War, 8 Leiden (Dutch town), siege of (1574), 181, 184, 198

Lens, battle of (1648), 222 Lepanto, battle of (1571), 28, 196 Leyva, Don Sancho Martínez de, 135 n 8, Liège (Luik) prince-bishopric of, 52-3, 132 Lier, mutiny at, 165, 166, 211, 255 ligue of French Catholics, 1585-98, and Spanish support, 11, 58, 183, 207 Lira, Don Juan de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1634-41), 95, Lixalde, Francisco de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1567-77), 95–6, 115 n 17, 197 n 5, 243 first peace of (1604), 67, 212 second peace of (1630), 44, 67 Londoño, Don Sancho (d. 1569), Spanish soldier and military writer, 61 n 41, Lons-le-Saunier (French town), 88 Lope de Vega Carpio, Felix (1562-1635), playwright, 103, 147 López de Aliri, Juan, visitador and contador (1599–1603) of the Army of Flanders, 98 n 19, 246 López de la Cueva, Balthasar, secretary of state and war in the Army of Flanders (1575–6), 247 López de Ulloa, Thomas, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1626-32 and 1642-51), 96, 143 n 32, 244 López Hierro de Castro, Don Sebastián, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1648), 143 n 32, 244 French occupation of, 55 Spanish Road and, 52-3, 55, 75 fig. 10 strategic importance to Spain, 47, 52, 53 Lorraine, dukes of, and Spain, 37, 52-3 losses of troops, see wastage Louis XIII, king of France (1610-43), 111,



#### Index

Lutheran troops, 37 Medina Celi, Don Juan de la Cerda, duke Luxemburg (Belgian province), 84 of, governor-general designate of mutiny in, 254 the Netherlands (1571-3), 73, 237 Lyon, League of (1623), 65 Medina del Campo (Spanish town), 'Fairs' Lyon, peace conference and treaty of at, 124, 125 medio general, see decrees of bankruptcy (1601), 58–60 Melo, Don Francisco de, governor-general Maastricht (Dutch town), sieges of, (1579), of the Netherlands (1641-4), 100, 7; (1632), 47 220-I, 242 mutiny at, 256 Mendieta, Tomás de, paymaster-general of Macchiavelli, Niccolò, Florentine writer the Army of Flanders (1621-5), 244 and politician, 3, 4-6 Mendoza, Bernardino de, Spanish soldier, Mancicidor, Juan de, secretary of state and diplomat and writer, 101 war in the Army of Flanders Metz, city of, French enclave in Lorraine (1595-1618), 93, 248 (after 1552), opposition to Spain's Manrique, Don Antonio, tercio of, 154, military movements, 53 Mexía, Don Agustín, Spanish soldier and Mansfelt, Count Charles of (d. 1596), councillor of Philip IV, 37, 237, 240 commander of the Army of Mexía, Don Ambrosio, Spanish colonel, 37 Flanders, 188 Milan, Spanish duchy of, 46-7, 51, 58-67, Mansfelt, Count Peter-Ernest de, 150 governor-general of the military careers, 100-2, 104 Netherlands (1592-3), 65, military contractors, 32-3, 38, 44, 134-5, 184 138, 151, 191 Mantua (Italian duchy), disputed military corridors, see military movements succession to (1627-31), 218 military dress in the Army of Flanders, 41, maps in the early modern period, 72-5, 138-9, Plate 6 76-8 figs. 11-12, Plate 5 military justice in the Army of Flanders march, military, speed of, 87-89, 240 exercise of, 93-4, 99, 135 n 6, 175, 184-5, marriage of troops in the Army of Flanders, т88 135, 147, 149-50 officers of, 233 military leave, 156, 179 Martigny (town in Switzerland), 58 Masi, Cosme, secretary of state and war in military life, quality of, 120, 133-56, 169-70, 175, 180-2, Plate 6 the Army of Flanders (1580-92), military movements 105, 247 Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor (1612–19), cost, 90 itineraries: land, 42, 45-68; Mayenne, Charles of Lorraine, duke of, sea, 42, 48-9, 67-9 leader of the French Catholic ligue, numbers involved, 237-9 58 problems: political, 42-69, 175; practical, Mechelen (Belgian town) 70-90 sack of (1572), 155 speed, 42, 87-9, 240 Spanish military hospital at, 141, 143 'military revolution' concept, 17 medicine, military, in the Army of Flanders, military treasury, see pagaduría 141-3, 179 militia, used by the Army of Flanders, 40



## *Index*

mobilization of the Army of Flanders, Navarrete, Juan de, paymaster of the 21-41,67 artillery (1567-74) and contador Mondoucet, Claude de, French diplomat, (1574-80) of the Army of Flanders, 115, 182 n 15 105, 177 n 3, 245 Mondragón, Cristobal de (1504-96), Navarro Burena, Dr Antonio, secretary of Spanish military commander, 101, state and war in the Army of Flanders (1648–55), 248 120, 192 n 6 Mons (Belgian town), siege of (1572), 7, 22, navies, see fleets 23, 196–7 Nervèse, Pierre de, Captain, 180 n 9 Mook (Netherlands town), battle at (1574) Netherlands, Spanish finances of, 118-32, 250 116, 162, 169 Morán, Isidro, secretary of state and war in geography, 11-14 the Army of Flanders (1595), government of, 91-108 Netherlands soldiers in the Army of 248 Moriensart, Lord, minister of state, 40 Flanders moriscos, rebellion of (1568-71), 92, 119, demobilization of, 192 196 mutinies of, 168, 199 mutinies, 117, 134, 144, 152, 157-76 recruitment of, 29, 36, 37 troop size, 22, 24 demands of, 162, 167, 168 in the Army of Flanders, 49, 100, 127, unit organization of, 235 157-76, 198, 199, 207, 209, 211-12, value of, 25 wastage of, 170 213, 253-6 in the Dutch army, 167-8, 174 n 42, 199, Nevers, Charles of Gonzaga, duke of, 218 202-3 New Model Army, in England, 133 Nieuwe Tijdinghe (Antwerp newspaper), 64 in the French army, 182 n 18 Nieuwpoort, battle of (1600), 141, 210, in the Swedish army, 17–18 motives, 168-70 protocols, 163-4 Nonsuch, Treaty of (1585), 206 punishment, 165, 169, 170-3, 174, 187; Nördlingen, battle of (1634), 66-7 see also military justice in the Army Nuñez Saravia, Juan, banker, 130 n 28 of Flanders Olave, Pedro de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1580-5), 95, 243 Naples, Spanish vicerovalty contributions to the Low Countries' Olivares, Don Gaspar de Guzmán Wars, 223 (1587-1645), count-duke of, Spanish troops' love of, 182 favourite and chief minister of Philip Nassau, Louis count of (d. 1574), 23, 56, IV, 65-7, 93, 102, 112, 132, 175, 219 162 n 12, 187, 191, 196 O'Neill, Henry, Irish colonel, 44 Nassau, Maurice count of (d. 1625), 208, Oquendo, Don Antonio de (1577-1640), Spanish admiral, 78, 131 n 29, 220, Nassau, William count of, see Orange, William of Nassau, prince of Orange, William of Nassau (1533–84), national feeling in the Army of Flanders prince of, stadholder of Holland and strength of, 152 Zealand, 11, 22, 32, 92, 115, 169, weakness of, 168 191, 196, 206



## Index

Ossorio, García, contador of the Army of	'Pays de Waes', mutiny in, 253
Flanders (1652-71), 246	Paz, Pedro de, maestre de campo, 134 n 5,
Ostend (Belgian town), Spanish siege of	237, 240
(1601–4), 1, 212	peace in the Low Countries, proposals for,
Ottoman Empire, and Spain, 28, 34-5, 92,	94, 109, 199–200, 208, 220, 221,
195–6, 201	222
Oudenaarde, mutiny at, 253	Philip II, king of Spain (1556-98)
Oxenstierna, Axel, Swedish Chancellor,	finances of, 100, 109–32, 197, 198, 204
17	foreign policy towards
Oxenstierna, Gabriel, 17–18	England, 11, 206–7
	France, 110, 207–8, 209
pagaduría, military treasury of the Army of	Geneva, 53
Flanders	Germany, 35-7
as deposit bank, 131-2	Netherlands, 91, 114-17, 118, 195,
receipts of, 94, 137, 196 fig. 21, 199, 203	200–1, 203, 208
fig. 22, 205 fig. 23, 211 fig. 24, 215	government of, 198
fig. 25, 216 fig. 26, 220 fig. 27, 221	opinions quoted, 26, 200–1, 204
fig. 28, 223 fig. 29, 224, 251, 257–8	religious beliefs, 113-14
Palatinate, Rhineland state	and the Spanish Road, 51-8
and Cleves-Jülich succession, 214	Philip III, king of Spain (1598–1621), 47,
invaded by Spain (1620), 214-15	113, 210–14
strategic importance of, 45, 218	Philip IV, king of Spain (1621-65), 1
papacy, 59, 65, 112, 208; see also religion	finances of, 100
Parma, Alessandro Farnese, prince and later	foreign policy of, 216-23
duke of, governor-general of the	opinions of, 39, 65 n 51, 102, 134, 144
Netherlands (1578–92)	n 36, 214, 220–1, 226
and the Army of Flanders, 191, 203,	pícaro, rise of the, 153-4
204-5, 206-9	Piedmont, duchy of, see Savoy
career of, 2, 7, 97, 100, 202, 241	plague
finances, 102, 121, 144, 191	effects on recruiting, 36
government of, 95, 99, 145, 152, 203,	in Spain, 210, 223
205	spread by troops, 49, 89
opinions quoted, 89, 123, 154, 208	spread by others, 56
Parma, Margaret of Austria, duchess of,	plunder, see booty
regent of the Netherlands	Polwiller (Polweiler), Baron Nicolas von
(1559–67), 91, 118, 120	(d. 1588), grand bailiff of Alsace
patriotism, 152	and German military enterpriser,
Pavia, peace of (1617), 63, 64	45
pay in the Army of Flanders, 98–9, 117,	pont de Grésin, bridge over the Rhône, 59,
133–4, 154–5, 164, 177, 190, 192–3,	61, 72 n 7, Plate 5
214	Pont-sur-Sambre (French town), mutiny at,
paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders	159, 164, 168, 254
office of, 94, 95–6	Pontarlier (town in Franche-Comté)
office-holders, 243–5	experience of the Spanish Road, 58,
see also <i>pagaduría</i>	86



## Index

Portugal	Requesens y Zúñiga, Don Luis de
conquest of (1580–2), 203	(1528-76), governor-general of the
financiers of (1625 onwards), 131, 217	Netherlands
revolt of (1640–68), 193, 219	career of, 56, 94, 100, 241
Prada, Andres de, secretary of state and wa	
in the Army of Flanders (1578–80)	
247	195–200
prisoners of war, 14, 15, 143, 144	horses of, 139
prostitutes in the Army of Flanders, 150	opinions quoted, 114, 123 n 13, 134, 142,
provisioning, military	152, 157, 181 n 12, 182, 198, 199
on the march, 79–90	rewards for soldiers, 133–4, 154–5, 166, 180
in the Netherlands, 134–5, 207, 251	Richardot, Jean (d. 1609), minister of the
see also étapes	
=	Brussels government, 140 n 23, 204,
Pyrenees, peace of the (1659), 56, 65, 193,	208 n 24
223	Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal-Duke of Richelieu
quarter, granted to prisoners, 143-4	(1585–1642), 19, 221
quarters, quartering, see accommodation	Rijnberg, mutiny at, 254
Queralt, Don Luis de, maestre de campo,	
n 42, 237, 240	Roberts, Michael, historian, 17, 115 n 16
Quevedo, Francisco de (1580–1645), autho	
130 n 28	Rodríguez Alva, Cristóbal, Spanish soldier
Quiroga, Gaspar de (1512–94),	and poet, 101
Cardinal-Inquisitor of Spain and	Rodrigues de Malvenda, Pedro, banker, 193
councillor of Philip II, 113	n 7
	Roermond, mutiny at, 256
Raleigh, Sir Walter (d. 1618), English	Romero, Julián, (1518–87), Spanish military
explorer and historian, 195	commander, 101, 102, 103, 142
ransoming prisoners, 14, 48, 144	Roose, Pieter (1586–1673), minister of the
recruiting methods of the Army of	Brussels government, 34
Flanders, 25–45, 182, 188	Rubens, Sir Peter Paul, artist, 103
'reformation'	Ruiz, Simón, banker, 201
suppressing jobs, 99, 187, 188	Ruíz de Pereda, Don Gaspar, veedor general
suppressing payments, 99	of the Army of Flanders (1622–9),
suppressing units, 186–9	99
regiment, army unit, 14-15, 29-30,	
233-5	Saarbrücken, 58
religion	Saavedra, Don Fernando de, captain, 177
in the Army of Flanders, 103-4, 145-6,	
152-4, 160 n 5, 179, 233-5	Sailly, Thomas SJ, chaplain, 146
a motive for the war, 56, 112, 113-14,	St André fort, mutiny at, 174 n 42, 211, 255
202, 206, 208, 223	St Claude (town in Franche-Comté), 59
see also chaplains	St Jean de Maurienne (town in Savoy), 87
Religious Orders and the Army of Flander	rs, St. Pol, mutiny at, 253
145-7	St Truiden (Belgian town), 161



## Index

Salamanca, Gerónimo de, banker, 128 n 21 sieges, 4-8, 9, 15, 22, 23, 139, 169, 180-1, Salamanca, Don Miguel de, secretary of 184, 186, 196-7, 198, 199, 207, 208, state and war in the Army of 212 Flanders (1638-41), 248 Simancas, archives of, 91 Saluzzo, marquisate of, 9 n 16, 37, 58, 248 Simplon Pass, 58, 64 first Alpine tunnel in (1480), 70 Sluis, mutiny at, 253 San Juan, Pedro de, secretary of state and Spain war in the Army of Flanders financial position of, 115-16, 123-32, (1618-33), 248195-227 passim Sánchez de Bahamonde, Diego, electo, 161 military organization, 9, 11, 14, 25-41 national 'device', 138 and n 18 Sandoval, Hernando de, staff officer, 184 policy in the Netherlands, 2-3, 21, 95-6, santelmos, false soldiers at muster, 135 97-100, 102-5, 109-17 Santa Clara fort, mutiny at, 174 n 42, 256 and sea-power, 2, 67-8, 207 Santa Isabella fort, mutiny at, 256 see also Philip II, III, IV Santesteban, Gabriel de, paymaster-general Spanish Armada (1587-8), 11, 23, 35, 207 of the Army of Flanders (1590-5 Spanish language, use in Netherlands, and 1600-3), 209 n 27, 244 148-9 Savoy, duchy of Spanish Road French occupation of, 52, 58, 210 artistic depictions, 71, Plate 5 and Geneva, 54 described, 42-69, 70-90 Spanish Road in, 52-3, 64, 75 fig. 10, 83, number of troops using, 64, 237-9 Spanish soldiers in the Army of Flanders 210, Plate 5 and the treaty of Lyon (1601), 58 brutality by, 153 families of, 144, 146, 148, 150 Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, duke of (1580-1630), 54, 58-9, 63-4, demobilization of, 192-3 65 n 51 and Italy, 182 Savoy, Emmanuel-Philibert, duke of life of, 79-82, 120, 153, 154 (1559-80), 52, 56military corridors of, 42-69 Schenck, Martin, military enterpriser mutinies of, 134, 152, 156, 157-76 (k. 1589), 14 numbers, 9, 21–3, 24, 27, 50, 177, 235, Sea Beggars, the, 22, 48–9, 196 Sebastian, king of Portugal (1554-78), recruitment of, 23, 30, 33-5, 38-40, 153, secretaries, military, see clerical services relations with the Netherlanders, secretaries of state and war of the Army of 148-9 Flanders, 247-8 unit organization of, 40, 233, 235, 236 Serbelloni, Gabrio, military engineer, 87 value of, 27, 163 n 36, 237, 240 wastage of, 177–9, 186–8 Spínola, Ambrosio (1569–1630), banker and service-money (servicio de casa, servitiegeld) paid by civilians to troops, 122, 133 maestre de campo general of the 's Hertogenbosch (Dutch town) Army of Flanders taken by the Dutch (1629), 15, 218 commands expeditions to the besieged (1601), 15 Netherlands, 1-2, 59, 93, 184, 212, Spanish garrison of, 140 218, 238



#### Index

military achievements and opinions, 102, 136, 140 n 38, 147, 165, 174-5, 180, 214-15 Spínola, Don Gaston, count of Bruay, maestre de campo, 167 Spínola, Lorenzo, banker, 145 n 38, 201 Stanley, Sir William (1548–1630), English colonel in Dutch and Spanish service, 183 States-General, see United Provinces Strasbourg, 56 strategy in the early modern period, 109-32 Struzzi, Alberto, soldier and designer of toy-soldiers (1614), 1-2, 151 n 61 Suleiman, Ottoman Sultan (1520-66), Sully, Maximilian de Béthune (1560–1641), duke of, chief adviser of Henry IV of France, 205 n 19, Plate 5 Swedish troops, see armies, Swedish Swiss Confederation political neutrality of, 52, 53, 54, 56, 60 pro-Spanish Catholic cantons, 60 see also Grisons, Valtelline Swiss infantry, 2 Tassis, Juan Bautista de, Spanish soldier and diplomat, 2 n 2, 97 n 15, 206 n 21 Tellier, Michel le, French secretary for war, 136 n 10 'Tenth Penny', tax imposed on the Netherlands (1572), 118-19 tercio, military unit, 10, 15, 16, 17, 89, 138, tercio of Sardinia, 'reformed' in 1568, 187-8 tercio viejo de Lombardía, 'reformed' in 1589, 158, 188 Terranova, Duke of, 52 n 19 testaments of soldiers, 145, 146-7 Theotocopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco) painter, 103 Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618-48), 17-18, 65, 215-22 Tienen (Tirlemont: Belgian town), 173 Tilly, Johan Tserclaes, Count of, 36

Toledo, Don Fadrique de (d. 1585), son of the duke of Alva and commander of the Army of Flanders, 148 n 49, Toul, French enclave in Lorraine (after 1552), 53, 55 Tournai (Belgian town in Belgium), 203 towns captured by the Army of Flanders, 7-8, 261; see also names of individual towns transport for the troops' baggage, 86-7, 155 treaties, see name of treaty Tribunal de la Visita, 98 Tribunal de las cuentas de Flandes (1581-4), Tromp, Maarten Harpertszoon, Dutch admiral, 67-8 tunnel, first Alpine (1480), 70 Turkish empire, see Ottoman Empire Twelve Years' Truce, 1609-21, 21, 67, 193, debate over, 21, 193, 110 debate over renewal of, 193, 216 Tyrol, Habsburg dominion, recruiting ground of the Army of Flanders, 25, 45 Ugarte, Hortuño de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1608–21), Unceta, Martín de, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1577-9 and 1600-3), 94 n 10, 141 n 27, 201 n 13, 244 uniforms, see military dress 'Union of Arms' scheme (1625–8), 132 United Provinces of the Netherlands (the Dutch Republic) costs of war to, 118-23, 192, 226 foreign support of, 206 fortresses, 11 growth of, 11-12, 198, 200, 203, 209-10 overseas trade of, 112, 210, 217 and Spanish deserters, 175 and the Spanish Road, 57-8, 219



#### Index

Urquina, Matheo de, secretary of state and Virginia, English colony in America, war in the Army of Flanders xiv n 3 (1618-25), 248 Visita, government enquiry in the Utrecht (Dutch city), 15 Netherlands 1593–1602, 98 Valdés, Francisco de, maestre de campo and military writer, 101, 153 Valdés, Jordán de, inspector-general, 96–7 wages of soldiers n 13, 243 Valenciennes, mutiny at, 253 Valtelline, Alpine valley controlled by the 133-56 Grisons, 61, 62 fig. 9, 63, 64, 66, 74 Vauban, Sébastien le Prestre de, French military engineer, 16 Vázquez, Mateo, private secretary to Philip veedor general (inspector-general) of the Army of Flanders office of, 96-7 office-holders, 243 Veere (Dutch town), naval arsenal at, 2 Vega, Don Hernando de, president of the n 27, 244 council of Finance, 204 Velada, Antonio Sancho Dávila Marquis of, 97 n 15, 102-3 Velasco, Don Luis de, maestre de campo, 93 Velázquez, Diego, artist, 2, 103 methods of, 3-18 Vélez de Guevara, Luis, playwright, 103 Vélez de Medriano, Gerónimo, secretary of state and war in the Army of Flanders (1633-4), 248 venereal diseases in the Army of Flanders, 177-86 Verdugo, Francisco (1536-95), Spanish troops officer and historian, 10 n 17, 101, 192 n 6 Vervins, peace of (1598), 58, 209 victuallers, military, 251 on the march, 79-81, 137 in the Netherlands, 137, 151 see also provisioning Vieilleville, Marshal, 73 144-8, 151-2 Vigenère, Blaise de (d. 1596), French military writer, 35, 136

Vitelli, Chiappino, marquis of Cetona (d. 1575), senior officer of the Army of Flanders, 120, 188 n 35 in the Army of Flanders, 104, 115-16, in the Dutch army, 134 n 4 Wake, Isaac, English Ambassador, 38 n 36, Wallenstein, Albrecht von (k. 1634), Imperial general, 36, 217, 218 Walloons, see Netherlands troops Walter Zapata, Don Gerónimo, paymaster-general (1595-1600) and inspector-general (1600–3) of the Army of Flanders, 93, 94 n 9, 209 warfare in the early modern period armies, size and composition of, 3, 21-41, battles, see under individual engagements cost of, 115-16, 118-33, 195-227 'war-game', made for prince Philip (IV) of Spain in 1614, 1-2, 151 n 61 wartegeld (waiting money) system, 32-3 wastage of troops in the Army of Flanders, weapons see arms and armament of the Wedell, Antonio, paymaster-general of the Army of Flanders (1633-4), 244 Weert (Belgian town), mutiny at, 159 fig. 16, 161 n 8, 168, 212, 255 Williams, Sir Roger (d. 1595), English soldier and military writer, 9, 28 wills of soldiers in the Army of Flanders, women in the Army of Flanders marriage of, 149-50



#### Index

numbers of, 141, 252
paid 'marriage allowance', 136
prostitutes, 150
Wright, Benjamin, English merchant
engaged in shipping Spanish troops
to Flanders, 67–8
Wylkes, Thomas, Queen Elizabeth's agent
in the Netherlands, 107, 117

Ysla, captain Hierónimo de (d. 1596), 151 n 62 Zichem (Belgian town), mutiny at, 160, 161
n 7, 163 n 15, 167, 168, 170
n 37, 173, 174, 209, 253
Zierikzee, siege of (1576), 199
Zúñiga, Don Antonio de, tercio of, 154, 237, 240
Zúñiga, Don Baltasar de, Spanish soldier and diplomat, 60, 63, 64, 65
Zutphen (Netherlands town), capture of, 22, 208
Zweibrücken, dukes of, 45