

What's in a Word?
The Etymology & Historiography of Dynasty:
Renaissance Europe & Beyond

The history of dynasties per se – ‘the timeless topoi of dynastic power’ - is today intensively studied by historians.¹ Yet the history of ‘dynasty’ as a word or concept has not received significant attention, in spite of the word’s ubiquity across many fields and its enduring resonance in wider culture.² This article suggests that the story of ‘dynasty’ the word or idea might significantly complicate our study of ‘dynasty’ the topic. It argues that the term ‘dynasty’ is in fact surprisingly etymologically unstable, both in the past and the present, rendering it a problematic term for historians. This ancient word’s meaning in historical (and wider) discourse has changed fundamentally in the past 250 years, and in the process also diversified, acquiring multiple, alternative, potentially incompatible uses. The long-term change in the word’s meaning exposes historians to the risk of serious anachronism, of misreading our pre-modern sources. The modern plurality of meanings, meanwhile, carries the risk that our own language as scholars is inconsistent, imprecise and unsteady, and that meaning is gradually leaking out of this familiar super-word altogether.

This article will explore the problem of the word ‘dynasty’ in four steps: etymology, historiography, Jagiellonians, and implications. We will first trace the word’s etymology from Aristotle, using both historical dictionaries and bibliographical data from seven historic libraries: its peaceable existence in the medieval and early modern periods, through the ferment of the nineteenth century, up to the present. The modern (post 1950s) historiography on dynasties in early modern Europe (c.1450-1700) will then be used as a case-study, to show how in this one field the word confusion over ‘dynasty’ (between historians and their sources, and amongst historians themselves) has created potential structural cracks in some of the major characterisations, or analytical models, of the period. In light of this, the key findings of a collaborative project on Europe’s Jagiellonian dynasty (c.1386-1572) are here set out for the first time, as one example of how we might seek to navigate the linguistic pitfalls present in studying a major ruling lineage of the late medieval and early modern period. Finally, we consider the implications of this discussion for writing the history of times and places well beyond Renaissance Europe, not least in light of the global turn. C.S.L. Davies, in a series of celebrated articles on the Tudors, in which he discovered that sixteenth-century English monarchs did not go by that name, complained bitterly that the word ‘Tudor’ ‘saturates modern writing on the period’, ‘warps our understanding’, having ‘acquired a spurious sense of glamour or magnificence’.³ We might ask whether the same can be said of ‘dynasty’ itself, a word which Davies noted in passing was also absent in his sources but which, nonetheless, successfully managed to escape his ire.⁴

‘Dynasty’ has a thorny etymological history. ‘Dynastia’, when encountered in a sixteenth-century treatise, does and did not mean the same as ‘dynasty’ in a twentieth-century dictionary. The etymological shift will here be mapped in two ways. Firstly, we will trace changing definitions of ‘dynasty’ in Latin and vernacular dictionaries printed since the sixteenth century. Alongside that evidence, as a litmus test and case study, this article offers a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the word’s appearance in book-titles – that is titles of works printed from the fifteenth century until c. 1900, by drawing on the

vast data-set (running to 100,000s of titles) represented by the catalogues of seven leading research libraries: Oxford's Bodleian Library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Kraków), Kungliga biblioteket (Stockholm) and the Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen). These institutions capture a broad range of European national collections of early books.⁵ Book titles, those brief lexical formulae, are only one possible source for reconstructing a word's history, but a revealing one.

The first phase of this etymological story lasted from antiquity to the middle of the eighteenth century. 'Dynasty' was hard-wired into western political vocabulary by Aristotle (d.322 BC). In his *Politics*, where the term 'dunasteia' (δυναστεία) is used over a dozen times, it denotes power, lordship or dominion, with the implication of arbitrary rule by 'an extreme oligarchy' of aristocrats or top property owners.⁶ Aristotle wrote: 'He who is put in charge of [mercenaries] often becomes a tyrant... Or, if several are put in charge, these encompass a dynasty for themselves.'⁷ Aristotle's ancient Greek category of 'dunasteia' *might* include rule by a narrow set of princely kin, but that was only one of several possible manifestations of ultra-oligarchical government. Importantly, in the *Politics*, monarchy and dynasty were distinct phenomena or terminologies – Aristotle could write, for example, that what tyranny was to monarchy, dynasty was to oligarchy.⁸

'Dynasty' retained this original, exclusive Aristotelian meaning, of lordship or government, throughout the medieval and early modern periods in Europe, as contemporary dictionaries testify. Ambrogio Calepino's (d.1511) Latin *Dictionarium*, in its 1509 and 1570 editions, listed 'dynastia' as 'rule' ('potentatus').⁹ An expanded multilingual 1605 edition did not include an entry for 'dynastia', but did render 'dynastes' (dynast) as 'puissant seigneur' in French, 'Sennor muy alto y poderoso' in Castilian, 'pan namoznieiszi' in Polish, and 'a great lord or nobleman of great power' in English (in that order).¹⁰ Thomas Blount's 1661 *Glossographia*, a dictionary of 'hard words', rendered dynasty simply as 'government, rule or power'.¹¹ Exactly a century later, Nathan Bailey's English-German dictionary (1761) likewise translated 'dynasty' as 'rule' ('eine Herrschaft, Regierung').¹² 'Dynastia' was in these centuries an obscure and erudite term. Many dictionaries omitted it altogether. Robert Cawdrey's 1604 *Table Alphabeticall*, the first English dictionary, did not include it (but did have an entry for 'dominion').¹³ It was absent too from Altieri's 1726 Italian-English *Dizionario*, and Lacombe's pioneering French *Dictionnaire* (1766).¹⁴

The use of 'dynasty' in the titles of early modern printed books was virtually unknown. The bibliographical data analysed here shows that, between them, the seven library catalogues studied do not hold a *single* printed book featuring the word 'dynasty' in its title (in either Latin, or vernaculars) before the 1650s.¹⁵ This is corroborated both by the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) of books printed before 1501 and the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database, which contain no publications with 'dynasty' in their title.¹⁶ Indeed, by the year 1700 – that is, in the 250 years following Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the printing press – only some three authors in this vast dataset had chosen to employ the rare word 'dynastia' in their titles.¹⁷ They did so in the Aristotelian (now un-familiar) meaning of the word. A 1652 treatise entitled *A Most Secret Instruction and Universal History, from the year 1624, to the Present, on the... Machinations... against the entire House of Austria, by Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, Lorraine, Flanders and Other Dynasties*, used 'dynasties' to mean 'rulers' in a general sense, for

example, because seventeenth-century Italy did not possess an overall royal family, any more than did the Swiss republics.¹⁸ Two authors pre-1700 used ‘dynastia’ in their book titles alongside the name of a princely line, in ways which anticipated future developments, but which were nonetheless anomalous and unusual for their time. The title of Jacobus Mayer’s 1655 history of the medieval Saxon emperors of Germany, for example, included the phrase ‘from the Fourth Imperial Period, Second Dynasty, from Henry I... to Augustus IV’.¹⁹ A minor 1699 ecclesiastical publication also referred in its title to ‘the most ancient dynasty of Tautenburg’, where ‘Tautenburg’ is the name of both a place and its local noble house.²⁰ In these two isolated cases, the word ‘dynastia’ should properly be translated as ‘regime’ or ‘rule’ (e.g. ‘Fourth Imperial Period, Second Regime’), that being its only attested, and consistently recorded, meaning at this time.

The second phase in the etymological story of dynasty runs from the mid-eighteenth century to the present, and it witnessed a decisive shift. After twenty centuries of consensus, the first major note of discord was struck by the clever compilers of that landmark work of the French Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie*. Its fifth volume, printed in 1755, contained a one-page entry for ‘Dynastie’, composed by Edme-François Mallet.²¹ On the one hand, the *encyclopédistes* followed tradition in presenting ‘dynastie’ as a deeply antiquarian term, applicable only to the ancient world. Taking as its point of departure not Aristotle, but Manetho’s Greek-language *Aegyptiaca* (c. 300 BC), that founding text of Egyptology, the 1755 entry consisted of a potted history of the rulers of ancient Egypt, introducing the three ‘dynasties’ of gods, demi-gods, and finally of human kings. However, the actual definition of ‘dynastie’ found in the entry’s very first line was a startling novelty in the context of the early modern dictionaries surveyed above, a major departure from the Aristotelian meaning, and in some sense a contradiction of the bulk of the entry. It read:

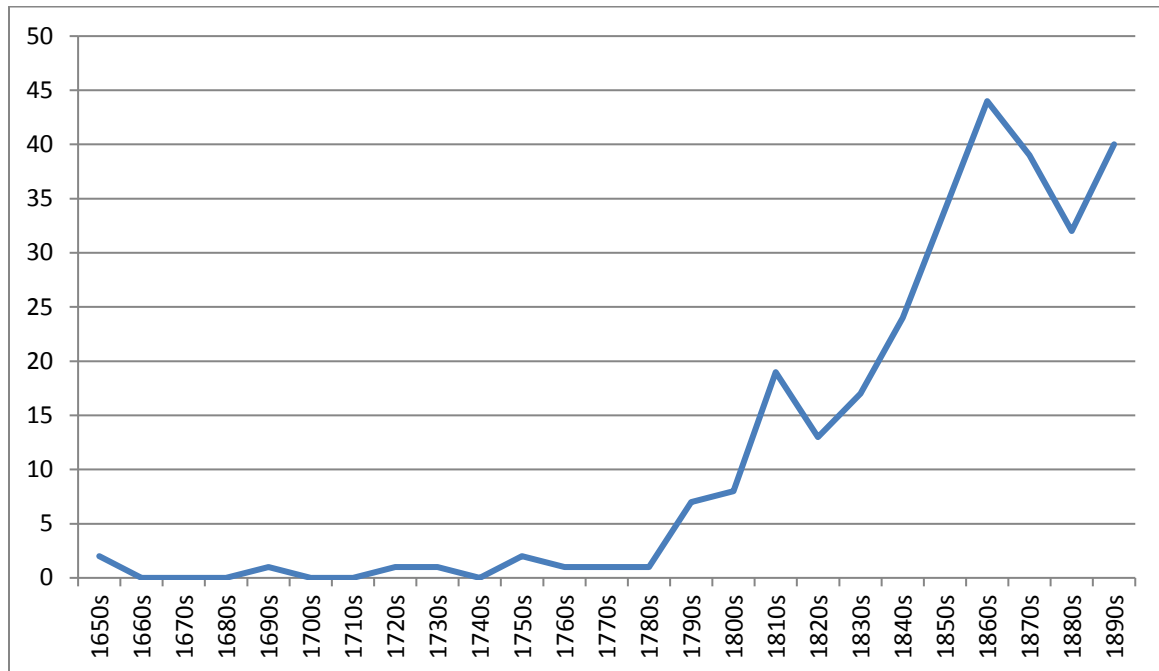
a line of princes from the same lineage who reigned over one country.²²

With this one sentence, Mallet rendered ‘dynasty’ not as government per se, but government in a more collective, long-term sense by figures of shared familial descent. The *Encyclopédie* did not elaborate on this definition, provide any source for it, or apply it to any context outside ancient Egypt, but it constituted a significant recalibration (or, if you will, misunderstanding).

In the wake of the *Encyclopédie*’s new interpretation, this hitherto obscure word slowly gained a newfound popularity with authors. This was an enthusiasm which would continue throughout the nineteenth century, and constituted a material change in the word’s fortunes. Graph 1 (below) shows the dramatically rising incidence of ‘dynasty’ in book titles from the late eighteenth century to c.1900, as recorded in the seven library catalogues examined. As Graph 1 shows, up until the 1780s, as throughout the seventeenth century, it was still rather rare to find ‘dynasty’ in book titles. This changed decisively however with the Revolutionary decade of the 1790s: if only seven dynasty titles had appeared between 1700 and 1789, another seven were published in the 1790s alone. These were largely revolutionary tracts on the French monarchy or its medieval history, such as Saint-Just’s 1794 polemic against those who sought to reduce the French Revolution to a mere ‘change of dynasty’.²³ Between 1800 and 1809 a further 8 ‘dynasty’ titles were published, and in the 1810s a total of 19 – that one decade thus boasting more such titles than the previous 350 years combined. Thereafter, the second half of the nineteenth century saw over 30

‘dynasty’ titles appear each decade, peaking in the 1860s (44). In total, the seven library catalogues record 290 book-titles published internationally (in Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia) between 1700 and 1900, in western languages, with ‘dynastie’, ‘dynasty’, ‘dynastia’, ‘dinastia’ etc. in their titles.²⁴

Graph 1: Number of Published Books with ‘Dynasty’ in the Title, by Decade (1750 to 1900)



(Source: calculated from catalogues of the Bodleian Library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kungliga Biblioteket, Kongelige Bibliothek.)

With what topics, then, did this wave of books addressing ‘dynasty’ concern itself, in the growth period of 1790-1900? A minority, some 15%, consisted (like Saint-Just’s early work) of contemporary political tracts, principally on French politics, where ‘dynastie’ remained an important polemical term in the turbulent years following the Revolution, under Napoleon, the Bourbon Restoration and Second Empire (1789-1870). Numerous works echoed Prevost-Saint-Lucien, for example, in his laudatory *Histoire de l’empire français sous le règne de son premier empereur, Napoléon Bonaparte... dédiée aux amis de la nouvelle dynastie* (1804), and by the 1860s the adjective ‘dynastique’ had come to refer explicitly to that political faction which favoured the Bourbon restoration in France.²⁵

Overwhelmingly, however, books foregrounding ‘dynasty’ in their titles from c.1790 were works of history. These most commonly (37%) took as their subject the history of medieval, early modern and (more rarely) modern Europe, such as Aimé Guillon’s *Le grand crime de Pépin le Bref... chef de la seconde dynastie française* (1800).²⁶ A second major category (20%) was ancient history (Egypt, Rome, Israel), with a strong emphasis on Egyptology, ranging chronologically from Cousinéry’s *Lettres sur l’inscription de Rosette, sur la déification de Ptolémée et la dynastie des Lagides* (1808), to Petrie’s *History*

of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the XVIth Dynasty (1894). Asian history was also present (15%), with colonial scholars employing ‘dynasty’ to write their histories of China, Thailand, Burma and India. The earliest English-language book (in this data) to use ‘dynasty’ in its title was, for example, Edward Waring’s *A Tour to Sheeraz... to which is Added a History of Persia, from the Death of Kureem Khan to the Subversion of the Zund Dynasty* (Bombay, 1804). Waring’s is one of 19 titles (6%) in this dataset published in non-European cities – in Serampore, Madras, Rangoon, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, or Algiers.²⁷ In this way, colonial and non-European cities became sites of a globalised concept production. In overall quantitative terms, however, it was clearly France which drove this long nineteenth century ‘dynasty’ trend in historical publications (just as it had in political tracts). Over two thirds (68%) of all the titles in Graph 1 were composed in French, almost a third of all titles were printed in Paris (120 works), and almost half of all the works on European history were specifically histories of France.

But what did ‘dynasty’ actually mean when stamped on the frontispieces or spines of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century books, if we consider these titles in a more qualitative sense? Inferring word meaning and authorial intent from a book title alone is in almost all cases a tricky business. Yet some observations can be made. From the 1830s, for the first time it became commonplace for historians to pair the term ‘dynasty’ with the names of European royal lines, in a formula now very familiar to us. If de Florgy had first published on ‘the Premislid dynasty’ of Bohemia in 1808, he was followed by Vaughan on the ‘Stuart dynasty’ (1831), Guérard on the ‘Carolingian dynasty’ (1832), and Weiss on the ‘Bourbon dynasty’ (1839).²⁸ Works on the ‘Plantagenet dynasty’ (1850) and ‘Burgundian dynasty’ (1855) followed.²⁹ While this trend does not in itself clarify word-meaning, it does show new patterns of word-deployment.

Some of these long-nineteenth-century book titles, in their internal logic, do however betray in what sense their authors used ‘dynasty’ – and here we find a word in flux. Certain authors still used the word in its Aristotelian and early modern sense of ‘rule’ or ‘government’. In Irving’s successful *History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty* (8 editions from 1820), ‘dynasty’ meant the government of the Dutch Republic over its colony, there being no seventeenth-century Dutch princely line ruling New York to whom this could refer.³⁰ At the same time, however, a sense of dynasty as connected (primarily?) to royal family is also suggested in some books. From 1879 – using for the first time in a book title the phrase which would later so irritate C.S.L. Davies – Herbert Burke published his multi-volume *Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty*. Lauded by reviewers as bringing to life ‘the men and women who made England’, Burke’s work consisted of literary sketches of individuals such as Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn and Archbishop Wareham. This then is a biographically-focused telling of English history, strongly hinting at an understanding of ‘dynasty’ as a line of princes, but encompassing also their ministers.³¹

The implicit movement in word-meaning which we trace in book-titles merely reflects the explicit shift which took place in dictionary definitions of ‘dynasty’ in the nineteenth century. In 1799, the 8th edition of Samuel Johnson’s famous English dictionary still defined ‘dynasty’ quite straightforwardly in two words, as: ‘government, sovereignty’.³² From the 1820s, however, dictionaries started to note that ‘dynasty’ had two alternative meanings: Aristotle’s ‘government, rule’, and also the *Encyclopédie*’s ‘line

of princes' (often using the latter's exact wording). Thus Jean-Charles Laveaux's 1820 *Nouveau dictionnaire de la langue française* offered its reader:

Dynasty: from the Greek *dunasteia* power, authority, empire. A line of kings or princes from the same descent who have ruled in the same country. The dynasties of the Persians, the Assyrians, the Egyptians.³³

Both meanings were also included, somewhat awkwardly, in the 1852 London edition of Noah Webster's famous dictionary:

'DYNAST, n. A ruler; a governor; a prince; a government.
DYNASTIC, a., relating to a dynasty or line of kings.
DYNASTIDAN. One of a tribe of beetles of a gigantic size...
DYNASTY, n. Government, sovereignty; or, rather, a race or succession of kings of the same line or family, who govern a particular country.'³⁴

Larousse's magisterial French dictionary (1870) briefly rehearsed the old dynasty-as-government definition, before launching into a four-page essay on the 300 dynasties – genealogical lines of kings – seen in world history, accompanied by a gigantic table of royal families. The earliest example for this line-of-princes usage which Larousse could find, however, was only some fifty years old: he cited Madame de Staël's (d.1817) observation that 'if Bonaparte had been from an ancient dynasty, he would have pursued equality...'³⁵

A key turning point came as, in the late nineteenth century, the order of these definitions was switched in dictionaries, i.e. the kinship-hereditary meaning given as the primary one, and Aristotle relegated to second place. An 1878 London edition of Webster's dictionary, for example, now defined dynasty principally as 'a race of kings in the same line', adding 'sovereignty, government' as a supplementary meaning.³⁶ It is by this surprisingly recent route that we reach the current Oxford English Dictionary (OED) entry – an entry first composed in the 1897 edition, and still in use in the current OED.³⁷ The OED notes that the Aristotelian meaning of 'lordship, sovereignty, power' is 'now rare or obsolete', renders 'dynasty' as 'a succession of rulers of the same line or family; a line of kings or princes', and claims (questionably) that this latter meaning has existed in English since the mid fifteenth-century.³⁸ Here too we have arrived at the definition given in Jeroen Duindam's *Dynasties: a Global History of Power* (2016), 'family-based networks of power'.³⁹ Today, we find 'dynasty' defined in German dictionaries as 'ruling lineage, ruling house', in Spanish dictionaries as 'a series of kings or sovereigns from one family', in Czech dictionaries as 'a ruling lineage or family', and in a leading Polish dictionary as 'a ruling house, in which power passes by heredity from father to son'.⁴⁰ The new meaning now seems entirely self-evident to scholars, lexicographers and a wider public alike.

Thus, 'dynasty' in pre-modern Europe had meant exclusively 'government', 'rule' or 'power', and by the end of the nineteenth century it meant 'ruling family'. In other words, the noun or thing denoted by 'dynasty' has undergone a fundamental change since the Enlightenment, from government to royal kin – a shift, if you will, from the 'dominion' of the (Tudor) kings of England, to 'the Tudor family'. This process, as the word has shot to favour among western historians, has entailed a reification of royal family, as we shall see below. It represents too a major slippage of meaning in one of the cornerstone terms used in the writing of political history.

How, then, does this tricky etymological story play itself out in the historiography of early modern Europe, a field where dynasties have long been a central concern? The Renaissance is widely seen as the age of dynasty *par excellence*, with its rollcall of celebrated names such as the Medicis, Tudors, Habsburgs, Borgias and Bourbons. One scholar has declared ‘dynastic monarchy’ to be ‘the most characteristic political institution of early modern Europe’.⁴¹ The word is omnipresent in scholarship on Renaissance Europe – the Renaissance Society of America’s ITER bibliographic database, for example, records 381 academic books, articles, reviews and essays with ‘dynasty’ in their title published since 1950.⁴² However, to commandeer a phrase from Sebastian Conrad, ‘its widespread use betrays both the attractiveness and the elusiveness of the concept’.⁴³ Few scholars in this field offer definitions of dynasty (presumably seeing its meaning as obvious). The definitions which do occur are striking in their diversity. For Herbert Rowan, dynasticism is a political institution ‘that is neither wholly formal, established by specific conventions and maintained by explicit arrangement of law, nor entirely informal’.⁴⁴ For Tony Osborne, it is by implication an entity with a series of actual or potential legal claims and rights.⁴⁵ For Andrew Thomas, dynasty is simply ‘a ruling family’ per se.⁴⁶ For Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, dynasty is ‘the sense of self-definition of members of the family’.⁴⁷ For Wolfgang Weber, dynasty is an ‘optimal manifestation’ of the family, and for Geever & Marini ‘an imagined community’.⁴⁸ From such potentially incompatible definitions we can however in practice distil a wider historiographical pattern. Since the later twentieth century, historians of early modern Europe have clustered around three main understandings of what kind of thing ‘dynasty’ is: monarchical government per se, the mechanics of royal succession, or the internal social-cultural history of the family itself.

A large corpus of work sees ‘dynasty’ as, essentially, the wider workings of royal government, an umbrella term for early modern monarchy. There is thus a tendency to employ ‘dynasty’ as a framework for narrating what are essentially histories of government-state-monarchy (in a faint echo of Aristotle). Surveys such as Michael Roberts’ *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523-1611* (1968), John Guy’s *Tudor England* (1988), Keith Cameron’s *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France* (1989) or Macek’s *Jagiellonský věk v českých zemích* (1992-9) [The Jagiellonian Age in the Czech Lands] are foremost tales of the Crown, government, elites and people, in which members of the ruling dynasty sit within a cast of thousands.⁴⁹ These surveys employ ‘dynasty’ (and named ‘dynasties’) as a convenient tool of periodisation, a narrative hook on which to hang big stories about the nature of a period, the story of a nation/people, and trajectories of state development. In effect, ‘dynasty’ here functions as an attractive synonym for ‘monarchy’. Duindam’s important comparative survey *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (2016) well illustrates this tendency. Duindam’s focus is hereditary monarchy and its global typologies from c.1300-1800.⁵⁰ With chapters on political theory, the court, and the dynamics of centre-periphery, his book demonstrates how capacious a concept – or rhetorical device – ‘dynasty’ can be for historians of early modernity. The volume could be titled *Monarchies: A Global History of Power* without any meaningful damage to its arguments, and it is perhaps not materially different in scope to, say, W. Spellman’s *Monarchies, 1000-2000* (2001).⁵¹

By contrast, other strands of scholarship on early modern Europe treat ‘dynasty’ more narrowly, as pertaining specifically to royal succession and the precise means by

which hereditary power was transmitted. For these historians, rules governing genealogy and inherited claims to power are the very kernel of 'dynasty' (as hereditability, 'a line of princes'). Eric Ives' 2006 article 'Tudor dynastic problems revisited' - which in fact refers to 'dynasty' only once, in its title - examines for example the legal confusions created by Henry VIII's Succession Acts and deathbed will. For Ives these are primarily constitutional problems, 'dynastic' in that they pertain to the royal succession and the competing legal claims of the king's possible heirs.⁵² Similarly, Katie Stevenson's study of the 'dynastic politics' and 'dynastic' competition of the English and Scottish kings circa 1500 focuses on the tactics used by James IV in order to 'position the Stewart dynasty's claims to the English throne' - here too dynasty principally means the politics of succession.⁵³

Moving further along our spectrum, 'dynastic' is also used by historians to mean the internal history of the early modern ruling family. Here, 'dynasty' serves as a synonym not for 'monarchy', but for 'family'. Cordelia Nolte's study of the margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach c.1500 uses 'family' and 'dynasty' entirely interchangeably in its analysis of hierarchy, normative family roles and patterns of epistolary contact, for example.⁵⁴ Likewise, Urszula Borkowska's 2011 *The Jagiellonian Dynasty in Poland* (not, nota bene, 'Jagiellonian Poland') offers a book-length tour of these royals' material possessions, residences and personal piety, in a social-cultural investigation of the lives and mores of one ruling family.⁵⁵ Paula Sutter Fichtner's recent study of sibling bonding among sixteenth-century Habsburgs, as a factor in international dynastic politics, offers a further example.⁵⁶ Used in this family-centred sense, 'dynasty' or 'dynastic' is especially popular as a label for the activities of royal women, and in particular their cultural patronage, as seen in collections such as Anne Cruz and Maria Stampino's *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*.⁵⁷ This might be because, unlike the adjective 'political', 'dynastic' when applied to women carries connotations of courtly, non-institutional, 'private' or soft power among females who (as we suppose) had no formal state-governmental function. 'Dynasty' here starts to let in clear daylight between 'family' and 'government', and has moved furthest from Aristotle. It is thus the gender-cultural history turn which has most fully embraced the Enlightenment (re)definition of dynasty as, first and foremost, a family, and possibly further consolidated it.

Such heterogeneous understandings of the term 'dynasty' in research on early modern Europe are problematic, and not just because they sow confusion by using a single word to mean one of several potential things. More serious trouble might occur when this effectively anachronistic word is used as a building block in major interpretations of the Renaissance period - where 'dynasty' is made to do considerable intellectual heavy-lifting, as a term with real analytical force, in studies of political thought, state-formation and cultural history.

Classic studies of early modern European political thought have, for example, presented 'dynasty' as an important contemporary concept in Renaissance theories of monarchy. Herbert Rowen's study of sixteenth-century France, *The King's State* (1980), argued that the French monarch owned the entire state outright as his personal, inherited property - this Rowen diagnosed as a contemporary theory of 'proprietary dynasticism', the word 'dynasty' here signalling a particularly extreme or thorough-going early modern concept of inheritance.⁵⁸ In Ernst Kantorowicz's classic *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), meanwhile, 'dynasty' is invoked to solve what Kantorowicz identifies as a key conundrum

for medieval and Renaissance political theorists: i.e. how the realm could be said to be immortal, if the king who embodied it could die. In Chapter Seven, Kantorowicz argues that medieval thinkers found in the idea of ‘dynasty’ their solution, because it was ‘perpetual’, providing ‘an uninterrupted line of bodies natural’, as ‘a supra-individual entity comparable to a *universitas*’.⁵⁹ This chapter makes heavy use of the word ‘dynasty’, not least in a sub-chapter on theories of ‘Dynastic Continuity’. In these ways, Kantorowicz presented ‘dynasty’ as a conscious and key element in medieval and early modern European political theory.

The Renaissance golden age of dynasties coincides – in the master narratives of twentieth-century scholarship – with the golden age of state-building, i.e. the (proposed) birth of proto-modern, centralising western governments. Some historians have seen ‘dynasties’ as squarely driving this process. Richard Bonney, for his panoramic survey of how Europe’s hereditary monarchies moved administratively, militarily and financially towards ‘modern’ statehood, chose the title *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660* (1991).⁶⁰ ‘Dynastic state’ here is de facto shorthand for an emerging early modern centralisation. ‘Dynasties’ are also strongly associated with the phenomenon of ‘composite monarchies’, ‘dynastic conglomerates’ or ‘multiple monarchies’ – giant unions of polities such as Castile-Aragon, Poland-Lithuania or Scotland-England, which redrew the European political map and which are also seen to characterise the early modern period, and its state-growth. The genesis of these supra-national formations is often attributed to ‘dynasties’, which here feature as supra-national bodies with private geopolitical agendas, master puppeteers. John Elliott, for example, diagnosed ‘dynastic ambition’ and ‘the dynastic international game’ as the midwife of these awkward mega-states.⁶¹ Michael Braddick too has listed four state-formation processes at work in the dynastic conglomerate of early modern Britain - the patriarchal state, fiscal-military state, confessional state and ‘dynastic state’ – likewise equating the latter with ‘state expansion’ into, among other places, Ireland and Scotland.⁶² An important consequence of these readings has been the characterisation of dynasties as lean, mean machines, ruthlessly pursuing their own self-interest, akin to modern international corporations (or mafia dons). Paula Sutter Fichtner’s 1982 study of Ferdinand I Habsburg suggested, for example, that the Habsburg’s main objective was ‘the perpetuation of the house of Austria’ – dynasty as a biological-political organism.⁶³ Guy Rowlands too presents the Bourbon dynasty as a self-conscious political actor wholly dedicated to the pursuit of its own private interests and ‘prestige’.⁶⁴ It has become common, in such ways, to present early modern European ‘dynasties’ as autonomous political agents operating at a stratospheric level. Here, then, early modern ‘dynasty’ is a family-based operation which exists beyond and above the state itself – dynasty no longer as oligarchy, but as empire or super-state.

The idea of dynasty as conscious agent is, however, most fundamental to new cultural history approaches. A growing body of work explores dynasties’ self-fashioning and identity. Here we have dynasty as discourse, if you will. The major collection edited by Geevers and Marini (2015) asks by what mechanisms dynastic identity was shaped in the early modern period. Here, dynasty is no longer a tool employed to explain other phenomena, but is itself the primary phenomenon under investigation. Geevers and Marini present dynasty as a group into which members are socialised, with a curated, shared identity rooted in collective memory, a family narrative, confessional choices, props such as ancestor portraits and tombs, and a dynastic name.⁶⁵ Their volume is the culmination of

an entire current of scholarship since the early 2000s on noble familial or ‘dynastic’ self-fashioning, which has drawn heavily on Roberto Bizzocchi’s work on genealogical crazes among the Italian nobility.⁶⁶ In this strand of research, intense dynastic self-awareness is posited as a distinctive characteristic of early modern political culture. Here too, therefore, ‘dynasty’ is enshrined as a central organising principle of Renaissance life and lived experience. Scholars of early modern political theory and royal succession have therefore used ‘dynasty’ as a synonym for ‘hereditary monarchy’, and social-cultural historians as a synonym for ‘family’. Both uses are indebted to (and descendants of) the *Encyclopédie*’s ‘line of princes’ formulation, albeit in different ways.

The rather promiscuous use of the word or concept ‘dynasty’ in the historiography of early modern Europe is not without its critics. The image of the early modern dynasty as a cunning, sophisticated and strategically-minded operator has been challenged by Matthew Vester, who urges us to read dynasties not as rigid, mighty corporations, but as contingent coalitions, and as just one more non-state actor in the ‘polycentric’ politics of sixteenth-century Europe.⁶⁷ John Morrill too has recently stressed that dynastic agglomerations, or mega-states, could be created not so much by clever ‘dynastic calculation’, the product of a dynastic hive mind, as by pure ‘dynastic chance’, via unforeseen (or unforeseeable) genealogical accidents planned by no-one.⁶⁸ From an art historical perspective, Andrew Blume has questioned whether dynastic consciousness really was a major driver of patronage by Renaissance elites such as the della Rovere popes.⁶⁹ This of course brings us back to C.S.L. Davies, who was sceptical (in a different way) as to whether ‘dynasties’ genuinely had contemporary names, whether they were thus able to perform honed family identities, and whether therefore we could or should base chronologies of British history on retrospective, arbitrary ‘dynastic’ names and divisions. Davies set in his cross-hairs the formulation ‘Tudor England’, not ‘Tudor dynasty’ per se.⁷⁰ Yet some readers drew precisely that inference, with David Rundell commenting that Davies’ work showed that ‘descent, but not dynasty’ was important in sixteenth-century understandings of monarchy.⁷¹

So where does the complex etymology of ‘dynasty’ – slippery, volatile, a red herring? – and its current chaotic usage leave the historian of Renaissance Europe? Can we imagine a Renaissance Europe without ‘dynasty’? This, in a sense, is the thought-experiment conducted by the five-year research project *Jagiellonians: Dynasty, Memory & Identity in Central Europe*. This project asked: how do late medieval and early modern sources describe, present and construct the identity of one leading European ruling house? The question was posed in an open way so as not to presuppose (or impose) the presence of ‘dynasty’ or ‘dynastic’ language. In this way, the project tried to recapture early modern language about ruling houses from the bottom up, temporarily putting aside the ‘dynastic’ terminologies and conceptual prisms we have inherited from later, intervening centuries.

The Jagiellonians are a particularly useful case-study for such an investigation. This royal lineage is normally said to originate with the pagan Grand Duke of Lithuania Jogaila (d.1434), who in 1386 accepted baptism, married Queen Hedwig of Poland, and was crowned that kingdom’s Christian king. Jogaila’s male descendants went on to rule the grand duchy and Polish kingdom (to 1572), and also the elective kingdoms of Hungary (1440-44, 1490-1526) and Bohemia (1471-1526), while his plethora of female kin married into the leading houses of Central and Northern Europe. By 1500, Jogaila’s direct line ruled

more land within Europe than any other Christian royal house, their territory stretching from Prague to Kiev, Danzig to Zagreb.⁷² The story of the Jagiellonians is thus a large part of the overall story of dynasty (and its languages) in early modern Europe. The sheer scale of their territories allows comparison of the languages of royal lineage across many different polities. Their two centuries in power, meanwhile, permit us to trace the evolution of that language over time, from the late Middle Ages to the confessional age. Hundreds of chronicles, letters, royal wills, inventories, humanist tracts, speeches, poems, royal charters, treaties and statutes were examined by the project, and their rhetoric about these royals examined. What follows is an outline of the findings of this research, which will be fully reported in a forthcoming collective book.⁷³ This work was led by the author as Principal Investigator (P.I.), with research on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania conducted by Giedrė Mickūnaitė, the kingdom of Hungary by Stanislava Kuzmová, the kingdom of Bohemia by Ilya Afanasyev, the Holy Roman Empire and Austria by Dušan Zupka, and on Sweden and Finland by Susanna Niiranen. Research on the kingdom of Poland was carried out by the P.I.

The project found, firstly, that there is no consensus in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources as to who was a member of the 'Jagiellonian family'. 'Dynasty' in historical scholarship is now routinely understood as a family in power, with family as the mechanism by which power is transmitted, and 'family' itself normally taken as a given.⁷⁴ Yet, in the texts studied, the existence of a single, identifiable, delineated family descended from Jogaila is by no means a given, a finding which will come as no surprise to historical anthropologists. The boundaries, membership and construction of this 'family' are instead porous, plural, contingent, diffuse, heterogeneous and (to us) unfamiliar, having precious little in common with the neat Jagiellonian family trees published in modern textbooks, and thus complicating our sense of this as a unitary royal kinship group, recognised as such in its own day. These royals could be presented, for example, as a series of parallel families descended from kings other than Jogaila: a family of King Ladislaus II (d.1516) in Buda, or a family of his father Casimir IV (d.1492) in Cracow. They could simultaneously be viewed as part of a grand international kinship network comprising the inter-married royalty of all Europe, what is sometimes termed the 'society of princes': 'Jagiellonian' letters from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries emphatically claim princes all over the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, France and Italy as intimate kin, whereas these links might appear genealogically highly tenuous to us.⁷⁵ Jogaila's descendants were also presented as members of multiple royal houses at once: King John Albert's tomb (d.1503) in Cracow cathedral, for example, presents him firmly as a Habsburg of imperial blood, and not just a scion of his paternal Lithuanian line. Evidence of a consistent 'family' consciousness – i.e. awareness of a family geographically large and historically deep – is also thin. References to 'our house' or 'our family' are relatively infrequent in letters exchanged between 'Jagiellonians' from c.1450-1590, and knowledge of wider family, whether living or dead, was shown in their letters to be remarkably shallow and patchy. If Jagiellonian family membership and structure (like those of other 'dynasties') appear stable in the literature today, this is likely a retrospective projection of modern ideas of kinship.

Instead, in the overwhelming majority of contemporary texts about the royals directly descended from Jogaila, the primary attribute or identity invoked was that of monarchy itself – royal title and status. Most contemporary sources referring to these people simply make no explicit mention of their blood-line, descent or family. We are most

likely to encounter ‘Jagiellonian’ kings presented in coinage, medals and panegyric, as a single, reigning, glorious monarch. Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian and Lithuanian chronicles, meanwhile, explicitly located Jogaila, his sons and grandsons within the much bigger framework of a national or regnal history stretching back to mythic founders. These kings appear in chronicle narratives as individual links in a historic chain of office-holders, and certainly not as a family group: the emphasis is on the long-term legal continuity of the realm/monarchy itself, and not on the coming and going of individual ruling lineages, which are carefully glossed over. This is how the identity of national kings is presented in Miechowita’s *Chronica Polonorum* (1519), Antonio Bonfini’s *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, or in image-cycles of national kings, such as the hugely popular printed genre of *icones regni poloniae*.⁷⁶ Not only is monarchy (rather than specific lineage identities) the pre-eminent discourse in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ‘Jagiellonian’ Europe in the hundreds of texts examined by the project, but these regnal discourses were also antithetical to ‘dynasties’ in their logic.

What language do we find then, in that minority of 14th-16th century texts from these lands which *did* speak directly of royal blood-lines? In common with C.S.L. Davies’ findings for England and Wales, the project finds that texts composed about the Jagiellonians between c.1380-1570, across seven early modern polities, only very rarely used the appellation ‘Jagiellonian’, and never the term ‘dynastia’. How, then, do sources talk about these royals in the absence of these words? Contemporary rhetoric about Jogaila’s kin as a single identifiable lineage can be broken down into two main elements, which may or may not coexist within any given source: narrative and name. That is, texts and objects which present Jogaila’s family as a historical subject in its own right, whose special story can be narrated; and texts which choose to reify that family further by conferring on it a single name (even if they did not agree on what that name should be). In the ‘Jagiellonian’ case, the project found that these rhetorics of name and narrative gradually emerged *ex nihilo* for this new ruling line, and evolved significantly in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The story of how a few contemporary writers discovered, and described, this royal line’s collective identity can be split into three phases. In the course of the fifteenth century, a rapidly standardised laudatory history of Jogaila’s line as evangelists, crusaders, fecund and pious princes first emerged in Latin Christendom, principally within the diplomatic orations delivered by Polish and Lithuanian envoys before the papal court in Rome. These speeches were authored by humanist-educated clergy and courtiers as part of a revival of laudatory, classical genres whose very structure required explicit praise of a subject’s family and descent. Such texts took as their prototype the eulogy for Jogaila delivered at the Council of Basel (1434) by the Polish canon Mikołaj Kozłowski, and culminated in a Polish crusade oration of the 1480s written by Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus), who wrote at length to Pope Innocent VIII of ‘this most illustrious and glorious family’, its virtues and achievements.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, this special family still had no agreed or collective name: in such orations they might variously be the ‘house of Poland’, or ‘house of Casimir’.

In the second phase, from c.1510 to 1572, humanist writers discovered a new, experimental name for Jogaila’s line. A flurry of international royal summits and weddings in Central Europe (1512, 1515, 1518), attended by courtiers from across the Holy Roman Empire and Italy, generated a wave of neo-Latin praise-literature, composed specifically for

these (culturally-politically competitive) ceremonial occasions in Kraków and Vienna. These literary works culminated in the family-praise-chronicle *De Jagellonum Familia* by the Polish king's Alsatian secretary Jodocus Ludovicus Decius (1521), the first printed book to adopt this humanist-invented name in its title, accompanied by a celebrated woodcut family tree showing some 80 individuals. Decius' genealogical praise-chronicle summed up the shared characteristics of this 'Jagiellon family': 'The men are skilled in arms and war, erudite in Latin letters, and what is the most supreme virtue of all most pious in the Christian religion.' Its women, wrote Decius, serve their husbands faithfully and have given birth to very many princes.⁷⁸ 'Jagellonum', a name dating from c. 1520, was thus a conscious literary creation, an archaising name designed to lend classical Latin dignity to a leading royal house of Christendom. Still, 'jagellonum' was a niche word which the royals themselves did not use at this time – as their letters and prayer book marginalia show - and it was slow to find favour even among court writers. A series of royal weddings in Cracow in the 1530s and 1540s passed without the word being invoked by courtly poets. Decius' formulation only started to find wider favour with the death of King Sigismund I in 1548, when elegies chose to embrace (and mourn with) this name, in texts such as Stanisław Orzechowski's *Ornata et copiosa oratio habita in funere Sigismundi Jagellonis Poloniae Regis*.⁷⁹

The third and most decisive phase in the growth of early modern Jagiellonian rhetoric came only after the line's political extinction. In 1572, King Sigismund Augustus of Poland-Lithuania, 'last of the Jagiellonians', died without heir. In the chaotic regional power vacuum seen during the ensuing interregna (1572-5), Sigismund Augustus' three surviving sisters became the first of this kinship group to apply the 'Jagiellonian' name to themselves. Although the last of their royal line, as *women* these sisters – Queen Catherine of Sweden (d.1583), Duchess Sophie of Brunswick-Lüneburg (d.1575) and Princess Anna of Poland (d.1596) - could not easily or readily succeed their brother as reigning (female) monarch of Poland-Lithuania. In 1572, there thus ensued a painful separation of the now female Jagiellonian lineage, and the actual Crown. In the absence of the royal office itself, the sisters now proclaimed their 'family' identity with a sudden vigour. At this crucial juncture in the fortunes of the term 'Jagiellonian', then, the agency of royal women and issues of gender were both crucial. Duchess Sophie, in her correspondence with the Polish council from 1573 now invoked her ancestors, writing of the 'golden age' of the 'Jagiellonians'.⁸⁰ The coronation portrait of Anna, crowned queen of Poland in 1575, carried the inscription 'Anna, last of the Jagiellonians, who ruled for 200 years', as she used the name 'Anna Jagiellonka' for the rest of her life.⁸¹

However, the rhetoric of a glorious Jagiellonian dynasty only reached its full apogee, however, with the succession of a Swedish prince to the Polish-Lithuanian throne in 1587, who (in addition to his election) claimed an inheritance right via his mother Catherine Jagiellon. Sigismund III's (r.1587-1632) first entry into Cracow took the form of a visual and poetic pageant of 'Jagiellonian' ancestors.⁸² Throughout his reign, Sigismund III and his supporters, in chapels and mausoleums, royal entries, political pamphlets, Jesuit drama, letters and pageantry performed and mythologised the idea of a 'Jagiellonian line', and Sigismund's sons continued this tradition well into the 1650s.⁸³ From 1572 onwards, we thus see that in the absence of actual Jagiellonians to succeed to the throne (male or female), the rhetoric of a specific, named, extinct royal family became (in their place) a major and novel source of potential legitimacy in itself. The humanist-

invented decorative name, a literary game, had entered into the mainstream of central European early modern political discourse.

This Jagiellonian, or non-Jagiellonian, story shows that an authentic late medieval and early modern rhetoric of royal houses needs to be recovered and reconstructed from contemporary sources themselves, and not taken as read or its presence assumed. Furthermore, Renaissance or Baroque praise-rhetoric of royal families may not overlap precisely with our modern notion of 'dynasty' (e.g. as an autonomous, supra-national, self-interested agent). We should not assume that royal lineage-praise commanded widespread contemporary consent, that it was readily legible to those without top-flight humanist education, or that it always originated from within royal households and chancelleries themselves (which had far more robust claims to legitimacy and power than an invented name). Although texts discussing, praising or critiquing named royal lines did therefore exist in Renaissance Europe, this was not self-evidently a central, organising, or dominant political rhetoric of the period, but co-existed (and competed) with other rhetorics, e.g. of monarchy, nation or commonwealth. This late medieval and early modern language therefore stands in some contrast to modern western scholarship on the Renaissance period, in which 'dynasty' has become a favoured label and organising interpretative principle.

Now, one might ask, as many did of C.S.L. Davies' blistering articles on the non-Tudors: so what? The above might well appear to be a spectacular splitting of hairs. What does it matter if the word 'dynasty' has become, among early modernists and others, a tacit synonym for 'hereditary monarchy' and/or 'royal family'? Or if the Jagiellonians, that lineage which is anyway so hugely obscure to many, were not called 'Jagiellonians'? Is it not self-evident that by 'dynasty' modern scholars of early modern Europe simply mean a royal family, and such families self-evidently existed and ruled polities in Renaissance Europe, just as they did in other times and places, regardless of what language they themselves might have used? We know what *we* mean, after all, when we call the Jagiellonians or Bourbons a dynasty. This case has been made with particular eloquence by the historical sociologist Zenonas Norkus, in defending his use of 'empire' to describe late medieval societies which did not employ that word about themselves. Norkus complains that historians are too hung up on words – stuck in a classical, historicist 'hermeneutic methodology', overly preoccupied with preserving the authentic world-view of the historic subject. Norkus argues that in order to analyse and discuss the past at all, we need to employ broad (necessarily, knowingly anachronistic) analytical terms or categories like 'empire' – or 'dynasty'? - as 'workhorse concepts'.⁸⁴ In such a view, etymological anachronism is just a minor technical detail which should not hold us back.

We might contrast Norkus' approach with a quotation from the *Confucian Analects*, with which Morton Fried prefaced his great work of language-concept deconstruction, *The Notion of Tribe* (1975): 'if names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language is not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success'.⁸⁵ In order to analyse and discuss the past, we of course need concepts and organising categories. However, we should not just pick up the concepts we happen to find lying around, readily to hand, in the western historian's toolkit (that deep, dusty bag) - because there is a risk that we will pull out the wrong concept-word for the problem or topic in question, mistaking apples for pears. Picking up the concept-word 'dynasty', for example, one can tell a perfectly coherent story about a Jagiellonian dynasty which

flourished from the 1370s to 1570s, using our modern understanding of that term. But just because this word-concept appears to fit the story, or even appears to fit *some* of the sources, does not mean it is the right one to use, because the fit might be only superficially or partly true, or misleading – a *faux ami*. As the Jagiellonian case shows, modern scholarship can project with panache a workhorse concept like ‘dynasty’ onto a situation where it is perhaps but a hologram; and in some real etymological sense absent. Happening upon a word-concept like dynasty, we might therefore first pause to ask where it comes from, who made it, and what past agendas are built into its very fabric, because our western workhorse concepts (empire, dynasty) are old, inherited and second-hand.

Norkus presents workhorse concepts as usefully *etic*, i.e. as capturing an external observer perspective (that of the modern scholar). He contrasts this favourably with an *emic* approach, i.e. adopting the perspective of the observed subject (such as late medieval royals). However, this is arguably to miss the extent to which the *etic* and *emic* collapse into one another when western historians study the western past; the distinction might be a false, or at least fuzzy, one. In other words, our apparently ‘*etic*’ ‘outsider’ working word-concepts (‘dynasty’) are not cleanly separated from the fifteenth-century terms we study (‘*dynastia*’), but have evolved directly out of them, often in surprising, untidy or forgotten ways.

If the western word ‘dynasty’ is such a slippery underpinning for analyses of European history (where western languages enjoy a common lexical reference point in the ancient Greek ‘*dunasteia*’), the risks of concept mis-translation are that much greater when this term is applied outside Europe. Here, ‘*dynastia*’ has to cover intact not only the great epistemological (and etymological) distance between the pre-modern and modern European worlds, but also the distance between western and extra-western cultures. Applying Aristotle’s or the *Encyclopédie*’s ‘dynasty’ to Aztec rulership, or giving it as the translation of the Chinese ‘*cho*’, or the Mughal courts’ ‘*khanadan*’, risks magnifying local European misunderstandings about this word on quite some scale. If Chakrabarty and Conrad are right that world history as a discipline is shaped in its very DNA by western concepts, categories and language, then the fraught etymology and historiography of ‘dynasty’ suggest that we need to pay very close attention to the archaeology of this western concept, whether we are writing central European, European, global or globalising histories.⁸⁶ In all these enterprises, it might thus be useful to know that – contrary to what generations of Polish school-children have been taught - Grand Duke Jogaila was not after all a member of a ‘Jagiellonian dynasty’.

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¹ Duindam, *Dynasties*, 13.

² ‘Dynasty’ does not have an entry, for example, in Brunner et al, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*.

³ C.S.L. Davies, “Representation, Repute, Reality”, 1438, 1440.

⁴ C.S.L. Davies, “Tudor: What’s in a Name?”, 35.

- ⁵ For the purposes of this exercise, ‘book’ is taken as a publication of at least 10-15 pages in length.
- ⁶ Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, 67, 181-2, 211-12, 220-221, 224, 226-7, 234, 256.
- ⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, 221.
- ⁸ Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, 181-2. See also Bearzot, ‘Dynasteia’.
- ⁹ Calepino, *Dictionarium*, fo. qijj ‘dynastia vis potentatus’; likewise, 1570 Paris edition, 345.
- ¹⁰ Calepino, *Ambrosii Calepini*, ‘Dynastia’.
- ¹¹ Blount, *Glossographia*, unnumbered pages.
- ¹² Bailey, *A Compleat English Dictionary*, 207.
- ¹³ Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall*.
- ¹⁴ FAltieri, *Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese*; Lacombe, *Dictionnaire*.
- ¹⁵ Catalogues of Bodleian Library, Oxford, www.solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk; Bibliothèque nationale Française <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/index.do>; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/start.do>; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana <https://digi.vatlib.it/opac/stp/?ling=en>; Biblioteka Jagiellońska <https://chamo.bj.uj.edu.pl/uj/search/query?theme=system>; Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm <https://ask.kb.se/>; Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, https://rex.kb.dk/primop-explora/search?vid=NUI&lang=en_US&sortby=rank (accessed 19.11.18).
- ¹⁶ Incunabula Short Title Catalogue and Early English Books Online (accessed 15.11.18)
- ¹⁷ These are: Schönwetter, *Illustres Cardinales*; Mayer, *Pentadem imperatorum germano-saxonum*, and Friderich, *Confessio Paulina*.
- ¹⁸ Schönwetter, *Illustres Cardinales*.
- ¹⁹ Mayer, *Pentadem imperatorum germano-saxonum*.
- ²⁰ Friedrich, *Confessio Paulina*. See Kneschke, ‘Schenck von Tautenburg’.
- ²¹ *Encyclopédie*, vol. 5, 176.
- ²² ‘Signifie une suite des princes d’une même race qui one régné sur un pays’, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 5, 176. ‘Race’ was rendered in this work as ‘extraction, lignée, lignage, ce qui se dit tant des ascendans que des descendans d’une même famille’, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 13, 740.
- ²³ Saint-Just, *Convention nationale*.
- ²⁴ The use of δυναστεία itself in book titles before 1900 appears non-existent in the surveyed catalogues.
- ²⁵ Prevost-Saint-Lucien, *Histoire de l’empire français*; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*, vol. 6, 1465.
- ²⁶ Guillon, *Le Grand Crime*.
- ²⁷ Marshman, *History of India*, 1st edition and 2nd edition; Gray, *The Alaung Pra Dynasty*; Botafogo, *O balanço da dynastia*; Lorente, *Historia del Perú*; Berbrugger, *Le Tombeau*.
- ²⁸ de Florgy, *Histoire de Bohème*; Vaughan, *Memorials*; Guérard, *Essai*; Weiss, *Des causes de la decadence*.
- ²⁹ Todièrre, *L’Angleterre sous les trois Édouard*.
- ³⁰ Irving, *A History of New York*.
- ³¹ Burke, *Historical Portraits*.
- ³² Johnson, *A Dictionary*, unnumbered pages.
- ³³ Laveaux, *Nouveau dictionnaire*, 641: ‘Dynastie: du grec *dunasteia* puissance, autorité, empire. Suite de rois ou de princes d’une même race qui ont régné dans le même pays. Les dynasties des Perses, des Assyriens, des Egyptiens.’
- ³⁴ Webster et al, *Dictionary*, 334.
- ³⁵ Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*, vol. 6, 1463-5.
- ³⁶ Webster and Robson, *A Portable Dictionary*, 184.
- ³⁷ *A New Dictionary*, vol. 3, 738.
- ³⁸ Oxford English Dictionary online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58852?redirectedFrom=dynasty&> (accessed 10.12.18).
- ³⁹ Duindam, *Dynasties*, 1.
- ⁴⁰ *Duden Das Große Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, 602; *Diccionario*, vol. 1, 1003; Pala and Všíanský, *Slovník českých synonym*, 58; *Słownik języka polskiego*, ‘ród panujący, w którym władza przechodzi dziedzicznie z ojca na syna’ <https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/dynastia.html> (accessed 10.12.18).
- ⁴¹ Rowen, *The King’s State*, 1.
- ⁴² <https://search.itergateway.org> (accessed 10.12.18)
- ⁴³ Conrad, *What is Global History?*, 6.

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- ⁴⁴ Rowen, *The King's State*, 2-3.
- ⁴⁵ Osborne, *Dynasty & Diplomacy*, 28.
- ⁴⁶ Thomas, *A House Divided*, 4.
- ⁴⁷ DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography*, 137.
- ⁴⁸ Discussed and quoted by Geevers & Marini, 'Introduction', *Dynastic Identity*, especially 10-12.
- ⁴⁹ Roberts, *The Early Vasas*; Guy, *Tudor England*; Cameron, *From Valois to Bourbon*; Macek, *Jagiellonský věk*.
- ⁵⁰ Duindam, *Dynasties*.
- ⁵¹ Spellman, *Monarchies, 1000-2000*.
- ⁵² Ives, "Tudor dynastic problems revisited".
- ⁵³ Stevenson, "Chivalry, British sovereignty".
- ⁵⁴ Nolte, "Gendering princely dynasties".
- ⁵⁵ Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów*.
- ⁵⁶ Sutter Fichtner, 'Sibling Bonding and Dynastic Might.'
- ⁵⁷ Cruz & Stampino, *Early Modern Habsburg Women*; Skogh, "Dynastic representation"; Dreier, "Memoirs as dynastic means"; Eichberger, 'Margaret of Austria's portrait collection'.
- ⁵⁸ Rowen, *The King's State*.
- ⁵⁹ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, especially 314-336, quotes at 316, 336.
- ⁶⁰ Bonney, *The European Dynastic States*.
- ⁶¹ Elliott, "A Europe of Composite States", 51-53.
- ⁶² Braddick, *State Formation*, 346.
- ⁶³ Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria*, 1.
- ⁶⁴ Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, 10.
- ⁶⁵ Geevers & Marini, "Introduction", *Dynastic Identity*.
- ⁶⁶ Bizzocchi, "Culture généalogique". See also Spangler, *The Society of Princes*; Marchante-Aragón, "Temples of dynastic memory".
- ⁶⁷ Vester, *Renaissance Dynasticism*, especially 1-15.
- ⁶⁸ Morrill, "Dynasties, Realms, Peoples".
- ⁶⁹ Blume, "The Sistine Chapel".
- ⁷⁰ Davies, "Tudor", 35.
- ⁷¹ Rundell, "In Praise".
- ⁷² For outlines of Jagiellonian history and historiography in western languages, see Bues, *Die Jagiellonen*: and Natalia Nowakowska ed., *Remembering the Jagiellonians*.
- ⁷³ N. Nowakowska, I. Afanasyev, G. Mickūnaitė, S. Kuzmová, S. Niiranen & D. Zupka, *Dynasty in the Making*.
- ⁷⁴ There has been some exploration of this assumption by Geevers and Marini, *Dynastic Identities*, "Introduction", and in Nassiet, *Parenté, noblesse*.
- ⁷⁵ See for example Princess Anna on Catherine de' Medici, Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie*, vol. IV (Kraków, 1868), 9-11 (December, 1572).
- ⁷⁶ See also Nowakowska, "An Ambiguous Golden Age".
- ⁷⁷ *Codex Epistolaris*, 323-30; Callimachus, *Ad Innocentium VIII*, 70.
- ⁷⁸ Decius, *De Iagellonum familia*, at fo. LII: 'Bello conilijs viribus & armis valuere, latinis litteris... in universum eruditi, quod supremæ virtutis munus est nihil supra Christianæ religionis pietatem unque coluerunt. Tum foemineus sexus plusque fragilis illa sustinet natura virtutibus redimitus, externis nationibus gratus, maritis fidem servavit, multa prole clarissimos principes fecit parentes'.
- ⁷⁹ Orzechowski, *Ornata et copiosa oratio*.
- ⁸⁰ Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie*, vol. IV, 23.
- ⁸¹ The portrait hangs in Kraków cathedral.
- ⁸² *Sigismundi III*.
- ⁸³ See Nowakowska, "Ambiguous Golden Age".
- ⁸⁴ Norkus, *An Unproclaimed Empire*, 8-9. Duindam too argues that comparison requires 'general concepts', *Dynasties*, xiii.
- ⁸⁵ Fried, *The Notion of Tribe*. Fried's quotation is from *Confucian Analects*, Bk XIII, Ch III: 2 & 5, trans. by James Legg.
- ⁸⁶ Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe*; Conrad, *What is Global History?*, 4.
