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Started in 2006, Royalty Digest Quarterly is a journal devoted to the history, genealogy and images of the Royal Families of Europe.



Sigismundus Rex

THE VASA KINGS

In Poland-Lithuania

QUEEN

without a country

THE LOST DUCHESS

of 1861



Queen Sofia greets Emanuela, Duchess of Segovia, whose grandson behind her, the Duke d'Anjou, shakes the hand of King Juan Carlos. The future King of Spain is on the far right."

The American Curtis Sisters and the Duke of Anjou

by Richard Jay Hutto

The American-born Curtis sisters are now largely forgotten, even though one of their descendants is the famously-handsome present-day Legitimist pretender to the French throne and, as the most senior living male-line descendant of Hugh Capet and King Louis XIV of France, head of the House of Bourbon since 1989. The sisters' father, Joseph Davis Beers Curtis (1825 – 1870, also spelled *Curtiss*), was a partner in his family's very successful import-export company known for their exquisite silks, a business necessitating frequent trips to Paris. The company quickly became one of the largest importers of fabrics and dry goods in the United States. The family's lineage extended all the way back to Mayflower passenger William Bradford, a signer of the Mayflower Compact and long-serving governor of the Plymouth Colony.

In 1847, Joseph D. B. Curtis was dispatched to head the firm's Paris office, succeeding his uncle, Benjamin, while another uncle, Lewis, became president of the Farmers Loan & Trust Company in New York. Lewis had moved from the family's home in Stratford, Connecticut, to New York City in 1807 to enter the mercantile business. There he married Mary Elizabeth Beers and they were Joseph's parents. The year before Joseph's move to Paris, on April 12th, he married Elizabeth Shipton, only daughter of George W. Giles of New York City. Perhaps she remained for a while in New York City before joining him in Paris as their elder daughter, Elizabeth Beers "Bessie" Curtis, was born in New York in 1849. An only son, George Washington Lewis Curtis, was born in Paris in 1853. Another daughter, Josephine, would join them in 1861 (born in Paris to American parents so still a U.S. citizen).

Alas, Joseph did not live up to his family's expectations. In 1860 he wrote to his father, "I confess that the more I think, the darker the future seems to me.... I am 36 years old, have labored faithfully to support myself and family for 15 years, came to Paris with nearly \$30,000, and today all is gone, and I am \$20,000 worse than nothing." An 1869 balance sheet for the Paris house of L. & B. Curtis & Co. reveals that the firm had debts in excess of four million francs, of which 2,290,000 were uncollectable bad debts. L. & B. Curtis & Company had been one of the largest importing houses in the nation until the 1860s. The greater family, however, was still very wealthy and the Paris office failure did not negate their other investments. As late as 1939 another descendant left an estate of more than two million dollars.

"Joseph D. B. Curtis's last letter was written in January 1867 shortly before he suffered a mental breakdown, brought on, perhaps, by his own poor business judgement. Joseph was committed to an insane asylum in April 1867 suffering from 'progressive paralysis' and 'derangement of Mind,' He died there three years later leaving behind the ruins of L. & B. Curtis & Co."

Adding to Joseph's despair, his wife died in Paris at the age of 36 only six weeks after giving birth to their second daughter, Josephine Mary Curtis, on January 27, 1861. First-born daughter "Bessie" married at Nice on March 18, 1867, Maurice, 2nd Marquis de Talleyrand-Perigord, son of the 3rd Duc de Dino. The Marquis had served in the Mexican War and the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and distinguished himself in the Battle of Champigny. He and Bessie lived at their newly-built chateau on the

grounds of the former Chateau de Montmorency in the Nord *département* of France. They were the parents of only one child, daughter Marie Pauline “Palma” de Talleyrand-Périgord, who was born at Venice on April 2, 1871. It would be Palma’s eventual wedding that reunited the families of the two Curtis sisters.

To her great detriment, Bessie took her husband to visit the summer resort of Newport, Rhode Island, where he was remembered as, “short and rather stout and decidedly ordinary-looking, and being moreover supposedly deeply in debt.” There the marquis was introduced to the very wealthy Adele Livingston Sampson whose father was a founder of Chemical Bank (later Chase Bank). Adele was the wife of Frederic W. Stevens who at their engagement had been, “a young lawyer with briefs yet to be won, and no hopes of family inheritance, his company was desired and sought for his excellent position, engaging qualities and handsome appearance and not for his possessions.” Stevens was a grandson of Albert Gallatin, who served 14 years of U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, but that lineage could not compete with that of a future French duke. Adele Stevens left her husband and their two eldest children to return to France with the marquis, traveling openly with her two younger children and paying all their bills along the way. Divorce was bad enough but walking out on her two older children was beyond limits. Her Newport friends promptly dropped her from their invitation lists. When she eventually returned to Newport as a duchess with plans to enlarge her mansion for entertaining, she learned that her former friends would not receive her.



The two sisters, Josephine (left) and Bessie

Bessie obtained an uncontested divorce from her wayward husband on August 11, 1886, before he succeeded to his title as 4th Duc de Dino. Adele had also divorced her first husband and she and the marquis were married on January 25, 1887, at the American Church in Paris. In honor of his son’s fortunate marriage, the groom’s father, in anticipation of his own title as Duc de Sagan, bestowed upon his son the father’s title as 4th Duc de Dino. Adele’s dowry was said to be \$3 million (more than \$36 million in current equivalent). Her fortune did not prevent their



Left: Josephine Ruspoli with daughter Vittoria. Right: Emanuele Francesco Ruspoli, I. principe di Poggio Suasa



Left: Roger, vicomte de Dampierre and duc de San Lorenzo (18992-1975) with his wife, Vittoria, Princess Ruspoli (1892-1982)



Right: Vittoria de Dampierre with her three children Emmanuelle (1913-2012), Richard (1916-2004) and Beatrice (1918-1990).

eventual divorce in Paris in 1903. Not surprisingly, there were no children and Adele reverted to her former name. She died in 1912 leaving more than \$1 million to her four children in addition to equal shares in her father's trust fund.

The second Curtis daughter, Josephine, married in Paris on June 18, 1885, as his third wife Don Emanuele Ruspoli, 1st Prince of Poggio-Suasa and a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He had twice served as mayor of Rome and was also a deputy and senator of the Kingdom of Italy. His first wife died of malaria having given birth to five children and his second wife died of complications giving birth to their only child. A son of the first marriage would bring the two family lines together. Mario Ruspoli, 2nd Prince of Poggio Suasa, married in 1890 Palma de Talleyrand-Perigord, daughter of Bessie Curtis. Thus Bessie's daughter married Josephine's step-son.

Palma and her husband lived in the U.S. where he was an attaché at the Italian embassy. The Curtis family had owned 23,000 acres in southern New Jersey's pine barrens where the couple built on her share of the land a large, lakeside country club called The Chatsworth Club. It became an exclusive retreat for the wealthy, including President Benjamin Harrison and Vice President Levi P. Morton as well as members of the Astor, Drexel, Morgan, and Gould families. The Ruspolis built a villa there where their son, Costantino (who would be killed in action in Egypt in 1942) was born, but it burned down in the 1930s.

Josephine and her husband had three children. Their second was Donna Vittoria (1892 – 1982) who married in Rome in 1912 Roger de Dampierre, 2nd Duc di San Lorenzo and Nobile di Viterbo. His male family members were named Marquesses of Dampierre in 1725,

hereditary French peers in 1827, and Roman Dukes of San Lorenzo by primogeniture by the Holy See in 1888. It would be Emanuela, daughter of that marriage, who would bring her family into the highest ranks of royalty.

Spain's Alfonso XIII was born a king as his father, Alfonso XII, died while his queen, Maria Christina, was pregnant. Until the birth, the unborn son's mother acted as regent until her child, Alfonso, was born on May 17, 1886. Just after the baby's birth he was carried naked on a silver tray to the prime minister to mark the birth. Within five days he was given the Golden Fleece and was baptized with water from Palestine's Jordan River.

When it became time for the young king to find a wife, he traveled to England and stayed at Buckingham Palace as a guest of King Edward VII who thought Alfonso might choose one of his Connaught nieces. Instead he was smitten by Princess Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg, called "Ena" in the family, daughter of King Edward's youngest sister, Princess Beatrice. There were questions of rank and religion when their marriage was proposed but King Edward created his niece a Royal Highness (she had been only a Highness) and she converted to Catholicism. Ena's brother, Prince Leopold, was born with haemophilia, the disease that had killed his uncle and namesake, the Duke of Albany, so there was a 50% chance that Ena carried the disease, but King Alfonso discounted (or ignored) that possibility and blamed his wife when their sons inherited the disease.

On May 31, 1906, the couple married in splendor but their wedding day brought tragedy when their royal procession back to the royal palace was attacked by a would-be assassin who threw a bomb into the carriage. Ena exhibited the steely determination learned at the knee of her grandmother, Queen Victoria, and did



Queen Ena with her six surviving children Cristina, Alfonso,, Gonzalo, Juan, Jaime and Beatriz.

not break down in public. That day began the Spanish people's impression of her as cool and emotionless. The Spaniards, a passionate people, never really warmed up to her nor she to them although she performed her duties beautifully. Unfortunately, the Spanish monarchy ended on April 14, 1931, after local elections favored a republic. King Alfonso XIII left the country.



Emanuela and her husband, Infante Jaime, depart their wedding.



Queen Ena with five of her children, Jaime 2nd from left, and her mother, Princess Beatrice of Battenberg.

Prior to that nadir, the royal children had come quickly. On May 10, 1907, first-born son Alfonso became Prince of Asturias as the first-born son. Alas, he was a carrier of haemophilia. He renounced his rights to the throne in 1933 and morganatically married a Cuban commoner before dying of internal bleeding after a car crash at the age of 31.

That placed next in line the second son Infante Jaime, born on June 23, 1908. From the date of his brother's renouncement, for the next ten days Infante Jaime was Prince of Asturias and heir to the throne. He was born with an inner ear infection and gradually lost his hearing until, at the age of four, an operation for double mastoiditis left him completely deaf. His parents subjected him to painful treatments by several doctors who promised to "cure" him and he was educated by two nuns who would not allow anyone to use sign language to communicate. By his own perseverance, he eventually learned to lip-read in three languages. Under pressure from his parents who feared his hearing disability and speech impediment would preclude his service as king, Jaime was forced to renounce his rights to the Spanish throne in favor of his younger brother (and sixth child), Infante Juan. However, he did NOT renounce his rights to the French throne. As consolation, his still-reigning father granted him the title "Duke of Segovia."

Infante Jaime married in Rome on March 4, 1935, Emanuela de Dampierre (1913 – 2012), daughter of the 2nd Duke of San Lorenzo and his wife, Donna Vittoria Ruspoli, and granddaughter of Josephine Curtis. Emanuela grew up in Paris until her parents' divorce in



Left: The Duke and Duchess of Segovia. Right: The same with his sister, Infanta Beatrice, and her husband Don Alessandro, 5th Prince of Civitella-Cesi"

1930 when she returned to the Palazzo Ruspoli to live with her grandmother, Josephine. She served for two years as a Red Cross nurse. The marriage was arranged by their parents and neither considered it a love match. Emanuela's mother gave the couple an engagement reception at the palazzo attended by many royals as well as the American ambassador.

There were no lingering doubts about the Spanish royal family's approval of Jaime's choice of a bride when King Alfonso XIII escorted Emanuela down the aisle at Rome's Church of Sant'Ignazio as her father did not attend. Crown Prince Umberto and Crown Princess Marie José of Italy attended as did an additional 2,000 guests including Queen Amelia of Portugal, Grand Duke Dmitri of Russia, the Count of Paris, Prince Christopher of Greece and his wife, Princess Françoise, and many others. One of the official witnesses was Prince Aymon of Savoy, Duke of Spoleto and Aosta.

Queen Ena, then living in London, did not attend her son's wedding but the couple left directly from their wedding to visit her there. Jaime's elder brother, Alfonso, who renounced his rights before his brother, did not attend the wedding but expressed his resentment that family approval had been given to his brother's marriage to a commoner and withheld from his own. He announced from Cannes, "...from the start I did not intend to be present at the marriage. My father refused to recognize my marriage to a commoner, but in today's case he is recognizing my brother's bride, all of which is unreasonable." Emanuela,

daughter of a duke, was from a noble family although not a royal one (just as Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon was when she married the future King George VI and Lady Diana Spencer was when she married the future King Charles III). It was reported that the wedding, "will be held as quietly as possible because of his father's political position and because of family mourning for Don Gonzalo, the youngest son of the king, who died following a motor-car accident last August." Don Gonzalo was also a haemophiliac and died after the accident in Austria. Just two weeks before the engagement of Emanuela and Don Jaime was announced, his sister, Infanta Beatriz, became engaged to Prince Alessandro Torlonia, son of American heiress Elsie Moore.

Unfortunately, Emanuela and her husband had little in common and the marriage was not happy. Reportedly an alcoholic, he had no real training or vocation and was ill-suited to a life that didn't depend on everyone else. There were reports that Emanuela and her husband had frequent arguments. Still, they had two sons: Prince Alfonso, born on April 20, 1936, and christened by the future Pope Pius XII at the Palazzo Ruspoli, and Prince Gonzalo, born on June 5, 1937. Their father insisted that his sons were French dynasts and entitled to the style of "Royal Highness."

Emanuela and Jaime divorced in Bucharest in 1947. While their Romanian divorce was recognized in Italy, it was not by the Spanish or French governments and, more importantly, by the Catholic Church (divorce did not

become legal in Spain until 1981). So everywhere except Italy they remained married. Emanuela's subsequent 1949 marriage in Vienna to a Milanese stockbroker, Dr. Antonio Sozzani, was considered to be void since she was still married to Jaime. Sozzani (1918 – 2007) was the founder of Indosuez (now Credit Agricole) and director general of the Bank di Credito di Milano. He paid for her sons' education and reportedly financially supported her even after they separated and she began a relationship with an Italian attorney, Federico Astarita. As she was considered still to be married to her first husband, her second marriage had no legal recognition. From 1947 until she died in 2012, Emanuela was considered in Spain and in France as the only wife of Infante Jaime.

He, too, had re-married in 1949 Charlotte Tiedemann, a German opera singer and actress with strong Nazi ties, but the Spanish royal family refused to recognize the marriage and banned her from any family event. She used the title Duchess of Segovia but the family only recognized Jaime's first wife as duchess. She was barred from attending the wedding of her husband's son, Alfonso. Even her mother-in-law, Queen Ena, refused to meet her. A prominent family member recalled, "They ignored her because she was divorced and because they believed she wasn't a good influence on him. That's why she was erased from the public eye." A family council meeting in 1954 denied her request to be recognized as Duchess of Segovia. When Don Jaime, Duke of Segovia, died in 1975 (his sister, Cristina, claimed that his second wife killed him by hitting him over the head with a bottle), "Gonzalo stayed with her at home, keeping her occupied, to prevent her from attending [the funeral] and avoid a scandal." She died alone in Lausanne in 1979 at the age of 60.

At the death of former King Alfonso XIII in 1941, his family moved to Lausanne, Switzerland, near their grandmother, former Queen Ena. They moved first into the Hotel Royal then to the Villa Les Rocaillies and the two sons were sent to school at Collège Saint-Jean in Fribourg. In 1953 they visited Spain for the first time and in September of 1955 both were injured in an automobile accident while they were driving from Windsor. "The police said they believed the driver fell asleep at the wheel and ran off the road at a curve six miles northwest of Lausanne."

In 1959 Gonzalo's engagement was announced to American heiress Dolly Fritz, whose family owned San Francisco's Huntington Hotel. It was expected "that Pope John XXIII would perform the ceremony" but that marriage never took place. Although Gonzalo married three times, he had only an illegitimate but acknowledged daughter, Stephanie Michelle de Borbón, by Sandra Lee Landry. Alfonso and Gonzalo, supported by their grandmother, Queen Ena, and other family members, asked the courts to end their father's control of family



*Emanuela and Jaime with their sons,
Alfonso and Gonzalo*

funds, claiming he had squandered more than \$200,000 (more than \$2.5 million in today's equivalent). Although Jaime was found to be competent, a trustee was installed to control his extravagance.

Gonzalo's uncle, the Count of Barcelona (grandfather of Spain's current king), invited him to attend the wedding of his daughter, Margarita, to an aristocratic commoner. Gonzalo officially protested in writing because his uncle had not recognized his royal rank in addressing the invitation. That same year, Gonzalo's father gave him the title Duke of Aquitaine. Gonzalo died of leukemia on May 27, 2000, at Lausanne and was buried in the Chapel of Saint Sebastian at the Convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid. His elder brother, Alfonso, would cause headlines and return his family to public notice and officially gain status as a Royal Highness.

Francisco Franco (1892 – 1975) led the Nationalist forces to overthrow the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War. In 1936 he was named as *Generalísimo* of the National Army and Head of State. He eventually would become a fascist dictator. The new constitution gave Franco the right to choose a man "of royal lineage" as king but did not specify from which branch of the family he must descend. He agreed in the 1960s to name a monarch to succeed his own regency but held that prize like bait before the opposing family factions. In 1969 he named Prince Juan Carlos as his heir. Juan Carlos was a son of Juan, younger brother of Alfonso and Jaime, who had renounced their succession rights. Juan waited for years to take the throne, only to see himself passed over in favor of his son since Franco considered Juan to be too liberal. It was a bitter pill to swallow even if the monarchy was restored.

Juan Carlos spent much of his youth in Italy and in 1947 went to Spain to complete his education; in 1955 he began his military service. In 1956 Juan Carlos and his only brother, “Alfonsito,” were supposedly playing with a gun they did not know had a bullet in the chamber. Details were always murky but Juan Carlos was holding the gun when his younger brother was shot in the forehead and died.

Jaime, the Duke of Segovia, in 1949 renounced his renunciation as it had been forced upon him by his parents. In 1950 Alfonso received from his father the title Duke of Bourbon. In 1952 Franco directed the Duke of Segovia to send Alfonso to Spain to be educated by Franco. At that point Alfonso was still a very real possibility to be chosen as the next king and Franco wanted that leverage in case Juan Carlos disappointed him. When Franco passed over Alfonso, Juan Carlos urged his father, Jaime, to renounce the Spanish throne or Franco might appoint Alfonso the heir. It was a good bargaining chip. Franco died on November 20, 1975, and the Spanish courts declared Juan Carlos King of Spain two days later.

The newly-appointed heir to the throne, Juan Carlos, asked Alfonso to be the chief witness at Franco’s ceremony declaring Juan Carlos the heir and Alfonso accepted. As a reward, Franco named Alfonso Spain’s Ambassador to Sweden but he continued to believe that he might replace Juan Carlos if things did not evolve as Franco wished.

In 1972 Alfonso married at El Pardo Palace in Madrid Doña Maria del Carmen Martinez-Bordiú y Franco, daughter of the 10th Marquis de Villaverde and, more importantly, Franco’s granddaughter. Prince Ranier and Princess Grace of Monaco were among the attendees. Later that same year Franco gave to Alfonso the Spanish title of Duke of Cádiz, made him a Grandee of Spain, and awarded him the style of Royal Highness.

Alfonso and his wife had two sons, Francisco in 1972 and Luis Alfonso in 1974. When Alfonso’s father, Jaime, died in 1975, Alfonso took his courtesy title as Duke of Anjou.

Alfonso and his wife separated in 1979 and received a civil divorce in 1982 followed by a religious annulment in 1986. On February 7, 1984, the two sons were in a car driven by their father returning from a ski trip in the Pyrenees when they were in a serious automobile accident. Francisco, only 11 years old, died and his father suffered injuries. His brother, Luis Alfonso, also was injured but survived as the patrilineal senior great-grandson of King Alfonso XIII. From that date Luis Alfonso was recognized by Legitimists as his father’s heir and was given by his father the additional title Duke of Borbon. Three years later the Spanish government declared that the family’s dynastic titles (including Duke of Cádiz) were borne only for the holders’ lifetime. Thus Luis Alfonso could not inherit the title as a grandee of Spain.



*Emanuela and her grandson, Luis Alfonso,
Duke of Anjou, at the Vatican.*

The father, Alfonso, was president of the Spanish Skiing Federation from 1977 to 1984 and president of the Spanish Olympic Committee from 1984 to 1987. He was skiing at the Beaver Creek Resort near Vail, Colorado, on January 30, 1989 when he collided with a cable that was being raised at the finish line of the Alpine World Ski Championship. He suffered a broken neck, severing his brain stem, and was killed instantly at the age of 52. One observer characterized it as being guillotined. From that date, his only surviving son, Luis Alfonso, used the courtesy title as Duke of Anjou. Legitimists consider him the rightful heir to the French throne but not his father’s Spanish dukedom due to his grandfather’s renunciation of the latter. He was also heir to his mother’s Spanish Dukedom of Franco and grandeanship but those titles were abolished by law in 2022. Luis Alfonso holds French citizenship through his grandmother, Emanuela, to whom he remained close. He argues for a constitutional monarchy in France but claims he is “not anti-republican.” In 2021 he attended the wedding of Grand Duke George Mikhailovich, heir to the non-existent Russian throne.

Luis Alfonso married in the Dominican Republic civilly on November 5, 2004, and religiously the next day Maria Margarita Vargas Santella, daughter of a wealthy Venezuelan businessman. Then-King Juan Carlos was displeased that the invitations used the groom’s style as “Duke of Anjou” and no member of his family attended the wedding. The couple live in Madrid and have four children, all born in the U.S.:

Princess **Eugénie** *2007
French legitimists view her as
“Madame Royale,” the style of
the eldest unmarried daughter
of the king of France.

Prince **Louis** (twin), *2010
Given by his father the title,
Duke of Burgundy.

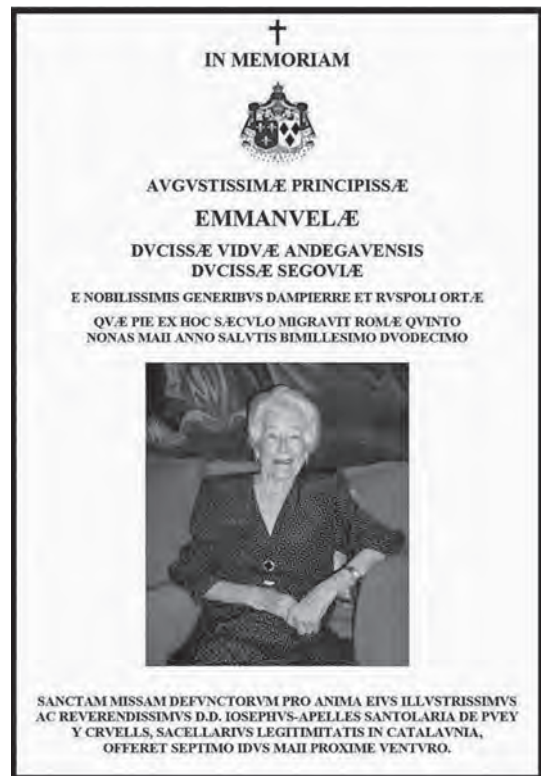
Prince **Alphonse** (twin),
*2010 Given by his father the
title, Duke of Berry.

Prince **Henri** *2019 Given by his father the title,
Duke of Touraine.

His grandmother, Emanuela, suffered the death of her
other son, Gonzalo, from leukemia in 2000. Her later
years were unhappy but she proudly supported her
grandson and was often featured in photos with him. Her
memoirs were published (in Spanish) in 2003. Emanuela
died in Rome on May 3, 2012, and was buried in the
Dampierre family vault at the Passy Cemetery in Paris.



*Luis Alfonso,
le Duc d'Anjou*



Notes

- 1 Some sources say she was born in Paris but the 1850 US census has her as a two year old with her family and confirms that she was born in New York.
- 2 https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4443/collection_organization#scroll::repositories/12/resources/4443
- 3 https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4443/collection_organization#scroll::repositories/12/resources/4443
- 4 Obituary of Lewis B. Curtis, New York Times, 17 Jan 1939.
- 5 https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4443/collection_organization#scroll::repositories/12/resources/4443
- 6 There were five other marriages of American heiresses into this family: Jeanne Seilliere, Anna Gould, Helen Stuyvesant Morton, Cecilia Ulman Blumenthal, and Adele Livingston Sampson Stevens.
- 7 New York Times, 27 Jan 1887, p 1.
- 8 Married to Her Marquis,” New York Times, January 27, 1887, p 1. Richard Jay Hutto, *Crowning Glory: American Wives of Princes and Dukes*, Henchard Press, 2007, p 224.
- 9 <https://forums.njpinebarrens.com/threads/the-prince-of-chatsworth.14803/>
- 10 New York Times, November 27, 1983.
- 11 A product of a morganatic marriage, Ena’s father’s children would normally have been born with the style “Serene Highness”; however, Queen Victoria had issued a Royal Warrant on 4 December 1886 granting the higher style of “Highness” to all sons and daughters of Prince Henry and Princess Beatrice, thus she was born Her Highness Princess Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg.
- 12 “Assumed the title Duke of Segovia”, Montague-Smith, Patrick, *Debrett’s Peerage*, London: Kelly’s Directories, p 10.
- 13 New York Times, March 5, 1935, p 21.
- 14 New York Times, January 21, 1935, p 18.
- 15 Silvia Cruz Lapeña, *Vanity Fair*, January 24, 2021.
- 16 Jacques Bernot, *Les Princes Cachés (The Hidden Princes)*, Lanore, 2014.
- 17 Mercedes Licer, widow of Gonzalo de Borbon, the Infante’s second son, quoted in Silvia Cruz Lapeña, *Vanity Fair*, January 24, 2021.
- 18 New York Times, September 11, 1955, p 81.
- 19 New York Times, December 18, 1959, p 32.
- 20 Queen Victoria’s Descendants, Companion Volume, Rosvall Royal Books, 2004, p 56.
- 21 New York Times, January 25, 1962, p 9.
- 22 Begonia Aranguren, *Emanuela de Dampierre, Memorias: Esposa y madre de los Borbones que pudieron reinar en España* (Madrid: Esfera, 2003), p 111.
- 23 *Les Manuscrits du CEDRE V, Le Royaume d’Espagne III. Cercle d’Etudes des Dynasties Royales Europeennes (CEDRE)*, Paris, 1992, pp 162-164.